

SPATIAL ENTRAPMENT, SOCIAL MOBILITY AND EDUCATION: THE CASE
OF ANKARA-DEMETEVLER

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ABSTRACT

SPATIAL ENTRAPMENT, SOCIAL MOBILITY AND EDUCATION: THE CASE OF ANKARA-DEMETEVLER

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Today, increasing social and economic fragmentation of the society together with important transformations in spatial structures redefine the dynamics of social mobility and education as one of the key means of defining the position of people in social hierarchy.

The main objective of this thesis is to evaluate the relationship between sociospatial mobility and education by concentrating on the case study conducted in Demetevler which is one of the low-income neighbourhoods of Ankara having various dynamics of change in terms of economic and social transformations.

Throughout the study, the neighbourhood in question has been analysed with reference to the patterns of intergenerational and intragenerational mobility from the standpoint of social class, socioeconomic status and symbolic capital by focusing upon the educational opportunities. A special emphasis is placed on education as one of the mechanisms of transmission of economic privilege from one generation to the next generation. The study evaluates the degree of success of the students as not only

a mechanism but also an indicator of the future position of the young generation of low income groups in the social hierarchy.

The thesis argues that state policies in such areas, at least in the field of education, strengthen and reproduce rather than weaken the social and educational inequalities and spatial entrapment of people. The findings of the thesis show that in the lack of any effective and radical intervention by the state such low-income neighbourhoods will continue to be the areas of concentration of poverty and educational failures. It is inevitable that such failures will be more striking in the future compared to current circumstances.

Key Words: Social Mobility, Poverty, Education, Family, Spatial Entrapment

ÖZ

MEKANSAL SIKIŞMA, TOPLUMSAL HAREKETLİLİK VE EĞİTİM: ANKARA- DEMETEVLER ÖRNEĞİ

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Bugün toplumun ekonomik ve toplumsal olarak parçalanmasına eşlik eden mekansal yapıdaki önemli dönüşümler insanların toplumsal hiyerarşideki konumunu tanımlayan anahtar araçlardan biri olan eğitim ve toplumsal hareketliliğin dinamiklerini de yeniden tanımlamaktadır.

Bu tezin ana amacı, Ankara'nın düşük gelir gruplarının yaşadığı semtlerinden biri olan, ekonomik ve toplumsal dönüşüm bağlamında da çeşitli değişim dinamiklerine sahip Demetevler'de yürütülen alan çalışmasına yoğunlaşarak sosyo-mekansal hareketlilik ve eğitim arasındaki ilişkileri değerlendirmektir.

Çalışmada, eğitim olanaklarına toplumsal sınıf, sosyo-ekonomik statü ve sahip olunan sembolik sermaye bağlamında odaklanılarak, semt nesiller arası ve nesil içi hareketlilik ile ilişkilendirilerek analiz edilmektedir. Eğitime olan özel vurgu ekonomik ayrıcalıkların bir nesilden diğerine geçişini sağlayan bir mekanizma olmasından kaynaklanmaktadır. Çalışma, öğrencilerin başarı derecelerini, sadece düşük gelir gruplarının genç nesillerinin toplumsal hiyerarşideki gelecek konumlarını

etkileyecek bir mekanizma olarak deęil, aynı zamanda bu durumun göstergesi olarak deęerlendirmektedir.

Tez, bu yoksulluk mekanlarında eęitim alanında günümüzde izlenen devlet politikalarının toplum ve eęitimdeki eşitsizlikleri azaltmadığını, bu alanlarda yaşayan insanların mekansal kapana sıkışma durumu azaltmak bir yana, güçlendirerek yeniden ürettiğini öne sürmektedir. Tezin bulguları, devletin etkili ve radikal bir müdahalesinin yokluęunda bu tür düşük gelir grubu semtlerinde yoksulluğun yoğunlaştığını ve eęitim başarısızlıkları ile anılan mekanlar olmaya devam edeceğini göstermektedir. Bu koşullar altında söz konusu başarısızlığın önümüzdeki dönemde daha da çarpıcı hale gelmesi kaçınılmazdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Toplumsal Hareketlilik, Yoksulluk, Eęitim, Aile, Mekansal Sıkışma

To Rousseau who said “No citizen should be rich enough to
be able to buy another, and none so poor as to be
constrained to sell himself “

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Today the significance of social mobility or immobility and the political processes effecting them go beyond the personal concerns of particular individuals or families as such issues are shaped by larger economic and political dynamics of society. Mobility or immobility has outcomes for both the individual and family, or social, economic, cultural and political structure positively or negatively (Matras, 1975). Because, lack of social mobility may imply inequality of opportunity, and become the evidence of social exclusion (Somerville, 1998:763). Growing inequality makes mobility harder for the offspring of the people left behind by today's prosperity (Hout, 2003:205).

Even in a perfectly fluid society in which everyone is thought to have an exactly equal chance of reaching the highest positions, only a small minority can do so. The socioeconomic order at the top is shaped like a pyramid, with only relatively few positions of power, status or wealth (Aldridge, 2001:2). A common distinction within social stratification is between inequality of opportunity and inequality of condition. The former has its origin in the liberal goal that a person's chances to get ahead (attain an education, get a good job) should be unrelated to ascribed characteristics such as race, sex, or class (or socioeconomic) origin (Breen and Jonsson, 2005:223). The latter, inequality of condition, is concerned with the distribution of differential rewards and living conditions, either in the simple form of distributions of scarce goods or in relation to different inputs (such as effort and time) or rights (such as citizenship or employment). Of course, the distinction between inequality of opportunity and of condition is not clear cut, but it is a useful tool for organizing a review of the literature (Breen and Jonsson, 2005:223).

The traditional measure of a social mobility is the degree to which attainments of educational qualifications and social positions (occupations, social class, etc.) and how these attainments are associated with ascribed characteristics like social origin

(Breen and Jonsson, 2005:224). For a long time, one crucial issue in mobility research was the need to separate structural effects on mobility which are forced by changes in the social structure from a more pure form of mobility (Torche and Ribeiro, 2011:292). During the 1980s, the dominating research tradition turned to log-linear analysis to solve this issue. The studies of social mobility now usually distinguish between the analysis of absolute rates of mobility as a description of flows between social origins and destinations and the analysis of relative rates between the two (Aldridge, 2001:3). This association, often termed social fluidity, was conceptualized as a measure of inequality of opportunity (Breen and Jonsson, 2005:229). There is a convergent trend among countries in the absolute mobility rates but differences in the level of social fluidity today (Torche and Ribeiro, 2011:292).

It can be stated that structure of class relations from one generation to the next remains largely unchanged (Macleod, 1995:4). Several decades of quantitative social research have demonstrated that ascribed status has influence on where one will end up (Macleod, 1995:4). For example, Blau and Duncan state that achievement variables which consist of individual's merits, educational attainment and early occupational experience show the strength of the ascribed factors. If allocation of social position is determined by social origin, there will be no mobility between generations (Ishida, 1993:1). Thus, despite meritocratic equality of opportunity is extremely valuable as a means to efficient production, but not a guide to distribution (Swift, 2003:208).

Low social mobility may imply that some individuals' talents are wasted, and this constrains individuals' choices in such a way that the allocation of talent is not optimal. This issue is important for economic growth, which depends on full utilisation of individuals' talents and for a fair distribution of costs and benefits within and between generations (D'Addio, 2007:13). Downward mobility can cause serious economic problems. The downwardly mobile person or group must reduce consumption, investment and savings. Such cuts by a substantial segment of the population could dampen future economic growth. Even those not downwardly mobile could feel more at risk, possibly depressing consumer confidence. An increase in the number of downwardly mobile people could also contribute to income

inequality. For example, if more persons experience very large drops in income while fewer maintain their income level or enjoy income gains, income inequality increases (Smith, 1994:4). So, it can be stated that social divisions and social mobility go hand in hand (Payne, 1992:212).

It is important to state that many studies point out the concept of social mobility and expectation of social mobility seem to help to keep existing system stable (Leventoğlu, 2005:465). It may be used a tool to weaken the class solidarity, and social ties, or individualise the class struggle. It may be a safety valve which can reduce the chance of radical collective action (Heath, 1981:35). Central place given to social mobility devalues other more basic problems like stratification, class conflict and exploitation (Goldthorpe, 1987:1). However, the concept of social mobility is still used by both liberal and radical theorists in their studies of poverty, education, unemployment etc. as a framework or a factor.

It is traditionally argued that there is a strong association between education and social mobility. Education is seen as an essential (maybe the unique) tool to prevent the inequality in societies and the relations of employment, income and educational attainments of people with the socio economic background of them. Education is thought to weaken the association between class origins and class destinations by reducing economic inequality, increasing opportunity, raising the qualifications and the skills of the people and indirectly promoting social justice in terms of occupational achievement for general claim.

However, (It would not be wrong to argue that) the only legal way to attain occupational achievement, that is education, cannot play the same role for different people today. There is considerable evidence that the increasing rates of schooling have not led to increasing levels of occupation and income in Turkey. Statistical data show that the chances and outcomes from education are not equal for different backgrounds. In existing social hierarchy, the strong association between students' educational outcomes and their family background is very clear. This intergenerational inheritance also contributes to growth in poverty. Then, chronically poors are largely excluded from effective access to education. It is well known from many studies that especially children from socially deprived areas have lower

educational attainment than do their counterparts from more advantaged areas especially in recent years. Conditions of poverty in these areas reinforce less educational opportunities, high unemployment rates and little access to land or capital for people. They are spatially entrapped in their neighbourhoods. Moreover, the educational unsucces in these areas is not only related with their conditions. The state, with its policies, also seems to deepen and strenghten the negative conditions of some people and reproduct the situation where the next generations of being stayed at the same or lower positions with their parents.

The quality of education and the structure of the schools in low income neighbourhoods show differences with other neighbourhoods because of the factors inside and outside the schools. First of all, concentrated poverty in these neighbourhoods affects the school climate considerably. For example, there is also high residential mobility in these neighbourhoods that affects the continuity and stability of the education process. Moreover, poor housing, environment, overcrowding and peer effects negatively affect children's educational attainment.

Wealthier parents in high income neighbourhoods have a range of strategies to support their children. They can provide extra resources such as private courses, special teachers and different after school programs. However, the first priority (or necessity) for people in the deprived neighbourhoods is the family budget. In lower income families not received a sufficient education in the past that have fewer resources for education, people have to enter the job market and get money at an early age urgently, rather than study and spend pocket money. In any case, nearly all lower class urban families' children already accept their limited career prospects even if they study longer. While most of them still depend on unskilled work in informal sector, some may choose and continue technical and vocational training to improve employability.

Schools are not only for education. They are also a living, learning and experiencing places. However, in this type of areas, schools have different priorities. They only grade and certificate the children. They cannot ensure the must conditions for an effective education. For example, discipline, rigidity and respect for authority are more important than the academic success. The best for these schools is to have no

observable problems. These schools naturally have less flexible methods. This reflects the school-parents-students-teachers relations. Then, the quality of communication between these actors decreases. Every actor in the school blames another for educational failure. This causes the rising the already existing socio economic and cultural blanks between the school and the environment. School cannot create an inclusive education atmosphere. Thus, positive expectations from the school decline day by day.

Children in these schools are naturally affected by the factors above. Moreover, they are more pessimistic about their education prospects than their families and teachers. They are oppressed by the authority and pressure coming from their families, school and neighbourhood. Then, most of them often challenge to their teachers, their parents and the school standards that evaluate them. They show aggression, violence, struggle and non-respect for school property. They have alternative hair, make-up or dress. Smoking rate is also high among them. Decreasing expectations and hopes from the future seems they only enjoy today and have short-term plans.

At the light of the facts above, the thesis shows the changing role of education in the transmission of economic privilege from one generation to the next generation. The study also shows the degree of success of the students as not only a mechanism but also an indicator of the future position of the young generation of low income groups in the social hierarchy. Another emphasis is the state with its their contributions to this process by reproducing the socioeconomic inequalities and spatial entrapment of people. Then, these low-income neighbourhoods will continue to be the areas of concentration of poverty and educational failures. In these circumstances, it is impossible to break the vicious circle in their life for the next generations.

Direct observation from a teacher (the author of this study) who worked in many types of schools that having different socioeconomic and cultural characteristics will be useful at this point. It is absolutely true that material resources for the schools by the state (especially in peer neighbourhoods) are low and insufficient. They are deprived of sufficient rooms, course materials and physical equipments. Then, schools have to ask the donation from the parents. While this is not problem in high income neighbourhood schools, parents in the schools of low income neighbourhood

cannot give anything. Another difference is the number of students per a classroom. The maximum number of students in classrooms is 25-30 in high income neighbourhoods, by contrast this number is sometimes more than 40 in low income neighbourhoods. In these regions, the number of teacher is usually insufficient because of continuous appointments. The huge differences showing the unequal conditions between the schools of different regions can also be observed from their canteens, social, cultural and sportive activities, school buses, behaviours of school staff, gardens, walls, corridors and many other things in a few minutes.

For this reason, this study uses a different school, their students and their parents to test the hypothesis of the thesis. The schools are the institutions that represent the socioeconomic characteristics of the people in the neighbourhood where they are located. Thus, the study tries to find out the reasons of spatial entrapment of the people from Karşıyaka by looking the similarities and differences between two schools and thus their regions. This school is only 250 meters far from the main group's school of the case study, however, there are lots of differences which will help the focus of thesis' examination.

Different forms of capital play out in the field to occupy the dominant positions within it. Then, some capital owners can dominate the field of interactions, the others cannot. The reasons of educational or any other disability of "others" in this peer neighbourhood are tried to be learned by the comparison between the schools, their teachers, students and their parents. For this reason, this study looks at both the relations of the social space and the structures of the field and social agents' dispositions in examining sociospatial mobility. Thus, a method which focuses on the interconnections between human agency, social activities and social structure has been adopted. Bourdieu's conceptualization which attempt to reconcile structure and agency, where external structures are internalized into the habitus, the actions of the agents externalize interactions between actors into the social relationships in the field is used as a basic framework in the thesis. Almost all the studies on social mobility and education have been preferred to use the structure or the agency dimension in general. This study tries to look at both the structure and the agency differently in terms of the interconnection between them because of the subject of the thesis necessitates.

1.1. Problematic of the Thesis

The most important theme of the thesis is the effects of education and family on social mobility. Because, today's state policies, which strengthen and deepen socioeconomic contrasts and growing spaces of poverty, have effects on the access to education of some groups. Another problem of the study is that what are the other factors affecting the educational failure and spatial entrapment of some people in urban areas? For example, whether structural adjustment policies of neoliberalism create a possible downward social mobility for young generations and cause them staying as unskilled and poor labor force without educational attainment in peer neighbourhoods in urban areas?

Both intragenerational and intergenerational mobility can tell something about the degree of openness in the stratification system. Thus, this study will examine flows (movements between origin and destination positions in the social structure) and relationships (dependencies of the destination positions on positions of origin). It will focus on patterns of flows and relationships from different standpoints. Because, the inheritance of occupational status from parents to offspring is considered a key indicator of ascription versus achievement. In the study of social mobility, the effect of ascribed forces and status (factors determined at birth or kinship, age, sex, race or ethnicity, territorial location) are compared with the effect of opportunities and achieved status (factors which are achieved throughout the life-course) on the allocation of individuals in the socioeconomic hierarchy (Smelser and Lipset, 1964:8; Ishida, 1993:4). Dependence of the young generations' social mobility to their parents should be tried to be evaluated by examining the factors above. What are the increasing effects of social origin on social destination and how do they affect the educational and occupational attainment of the next generations will be other problems of this study.

1.2. Aim of the Thesis

Main objective of this thesis is to investigate the educational attainment of primary education children who live in poverty ridden neighbourhoods by focusing on such a neighbourhood in Ankara. Point of departure of the study is the assumption that

given the fact that channels of social mobility have been ever increasingly blocked in recent years for the new generations growing up in the poor neighbourhoods. So, the school system does not contribute to mobility. To show the validity of this assumption, the thesis has focused on the educational processes and asked the question whether school achievements in poverty concentrated neighbourhoods are low in line with the previous generation, i.e. parents etc.

Today, increasing social and economic fragmentation of the society causes more different and tragical mobility stories than the past. Therefore, the study also aims at searching the effects of these transformation processes on intragenerational and intergenerational social mobility. It examines patterns of mobilities within the framework of social class, symbolic capital and socioeconomic status. Moreover, the thesis aims at showing the clear-cut decline in the positive attributes of education in terms of social mobility in recent years.

Other objective is to show the continuously increasing negative effects of social background of a person on social mobility in peer neighbourhoods. Moreover, the thesis will study how individuals perceive, explain and assess their social trajectories and how they frame their experiences of social mobility. Because, the feelings of people sometimes become more accurate markers than self-reported class identity.

1.3. Hypothesis of the Thesis

Geographic concentration of poverty in the cities in recent years due to structural adjustment policies is an important evidence of polarization and fragmentation between spaces and classes in urban areas. The main hypothesis of the thesis is that socioeconomic isolation of urban poors from other segments of urban society, and their spatial entrapment in their living areas are blocking the channels of social mobility possibilities of their next generations.

Second hypothesis is a definite dependence of the children's social mobility to their family structure, education and the capitals (financial, cultural and social) relating to them. Because of the effects of social origin on social destination, children may be

deprived of the educational possibilities which will provide them occupational chances in the future.

Third hypothesis of the study states that although education has been traditionally accepted as an important means of social mobility, this claim does not realize equally especially in poor neighbourhoods today. There are also some urban limits to mobility effect of education in these areas in addition to existing negative conditions. Because of the precedence of exchange value in the cities today, these neighbourhoods faced with a dense spatial mobility. It is important to state that the places where they go have similar or the same characteristics. This brings instability, insecurity and then spatial entrapment for their residents again. State discriminative policies, as another limit, also strengthen and deepen the conditions of these people, reproduce the existing system and cause the poor to remain at the same position with, or lower than their parents. In these circumstances, nor the breaking the vicious circle neither the protection of their existing situation will be possible for these people. Thus, it cannot be said that existing education system prevents the inequality and the association between class origins and class destinations.

1.4. Method of the Thesis

This study generally concentrates on a lower income neighbourhood case study in which interviews were conducted with 33 school children who are in the seventh class, their parents and teachers of Oğuzlar Primary School whose students consist of the population between the 12th Street of Demetevler and 5th Street of Karşıyaka in 2011 October- 2013 January. Reason of this choice is this region being one of the last areas which have been faced with physical transformation in Demetevler especially in recent years, and accepted as the last point of the neighbourhood with Yahyalar. It is also a neighbourhood where a dense residential movement has been observed. Today, the neighbourhood of Demetevler is generally characterized by its density of squatter settlements or unlicensed buildings which are in the situation of physical deterioration and where the extremely heterogeneous and disadvantageous people live in.

The main interviewed group in the study is the students and their parents, and beside the structured surveys, they are studied by the means of participant observation and informal interviews in classroom, at home, around the school and in the places where they spend their leisure times. Moreover, conversations with the teachers have been also conducted. This study also aims at exploring the social mobility process with a special focus on subjective factors with migration histories, work, education, housing and income experiences, consumption patterns, social values and future expectations of households' individuals. For this reason, they are analysed by different methods like semi-structured in-depth interviews and informal group discussions.

Up to now, survey method has been mostly preferred in the studies of mobility. However, it should be stated that it is never sufficient alone. There can be statistical data but no information about how and why as Thompson (2004), Duru-Bellat and Kieffer (2008) defend. Thus, qualitative techniques such as life stories, family case studies, or conversations on individual feelings, assessments and perceptions should be used together with quantitative techniques. For this regard, the thesis tries to search the dynamics of social mobility by the interaction between qualitative and quantitative data. The study looks at both the stage of research (the relations of the social space and the structures of the field) and the subjective analysis of social agents' dispositions (their actions, perception and understanding on the field). Moreover, social mobility is a complex and multi-faceted concept. Thus, a method which focuses on the interconnections between human agency, social activities and social structure in analysing the social mobility should be used.

Other subjects, who are used as another group in the study to test the assumptions of the thesis, are the 30 students and their families of Abdi İpekçi Primary School in the same region, but in different neighbourhood. This school is 250 meters far from Oğuzlar Primary School. The features of the schools are very similar to each other in terms of academic success and student profile. Moreover, they differ in lots of respects. The study tries to find out the reasons of spatial entrapment of the people from Karşıyaka by looking both schools and their neighbourhoods.

1.5. Content of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into five chapters. The introductory chapter of the thesis exposes the problematic, aim, hypothesis, method and content of the thesis. Second chapter contains the basic concepts related to the study, and develops a theoretical framework. In developing the theoretical framework, Bourdieu's cultural reproduction model and critical pedagogy literature are drawn upon by the study.

The next two chapters look at the relations of the social space and the structures of the field. In the third chapter, aspects and dimensions of urbanization, social and economic structures and the history of Turkey, Ankara, Yenimahalle and Demetevler are examined. Fourth chapter focuses on the educational structure of Turkey, and the recent developments in Turkish education system. It generally discusses the educational dimension of social mobility.

The other chapter examines the case of Demetevler. It will be a subjective analysis of social agents' dispositions to act and their categories of perception and understanding that result from their inhabiting the field. For this purpose, some interviews and other methods that have been conducted to understand the social mobility processes in the neighbourhood are evaluated. Last chapter which includes the final evaluation of the study includes the presentation of findings of the study and some tentative policy implications.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND BASIC CONCEPTS

2.1. The Concept of Social Mobility

Social mobility describes the movements of individuals, families or social groups between different socioeconomic positions in society (Lipset and Bendix, 1963:1; Giddens, 1997:263; Canzler et al., 2008:38), and the advantages or disadvantages which go with these movements in terms of income, class (or occupational group), security of employment, opportunities for advancement etc. (Açıklım, 2008:8; Aldridge, 2001:2).

Intragenerational mobility is the relation between the starting point (social inheritance) of a person's career and the point the person has reached (Lipset and Bendix, 1963:5; Coxon and Jones, 1975:23; Aldridge, 2001:10). Moreover, studies of social mobility tend to show that there are strong relationships between the social positions of parents and those that their children subsequently occupy (Blanden et al, 2005). As such, intergenerational social mobility is also an important concern and refers to the difference between the social position of individuals at a particular point in their adult life (destination) with that of their origin (parents) (Nunn et al, 2007:16). That is, it is a comparison of achieved socioeconomic position with that of one's parents (Nunn et al., 2007:1). It says how far the opportunities open to children are determined by the social class or income of their parents. This is often seen as being the most salient indicator of social mobility, because it reflects the aspiration that individuals (usually understood as children) should rise as far as their talents take them and not be held back by their family background or other entrenched injustice or unfair disadvantage (Leigh, 2007:7).

2.2. Factors Concerning Social Mobility

When studying social mobility in urban areas, many factors should be taken into consideration. Because, mobility cannot be evaluated with a simple cause-effect relationship. It is a complex and multi-faceted concept (Nunn et al., 2007:2). Some of the conditions that have been generally accepted as affecting the type and volume of mobility in the theories of social mobility are; urbanization, migration, income, poverty and unemployment, social isolation, residential segregation, education, family conditions, demographic factors, state policies, structural developments, religion, gender, ethnicity, age and other biological, psychological or environmental factors (Aldridge, 2001; Swift, 2003; Khattab, 2009; Borjas, 2006 and 1992; Kerbo, 2006; Musterd, 2005; Platt, 2005a; Loury et al., 2004). However, it is traditionally argued that there is a strong association between education, family and social mobility, and education has long been seen as the most powerful force with the potential to increase opportunity and promote social mobility especially in urban areas (Karaca, 2012; Schutz et al, 2008; Machin and Vignoles, 2004; Alexiadou, 2002; Ergün, 1994). Thus, the education will be the main framework of this thesis.

It should be strongly emphasized that the problem examined in this thesis may not be peculiar to urban areas. All of them can be observed in rural areas, too. Bourdieu's spatial conceptualization will be useful at this point. For Bourdieu, the modern social world is divided into what he calls fields (structured social spaces) with its own rules, schemes of domination and legitimate opinions around particular species of capital. Bourdieu states that each individual occupies a position in a multidimensional social space. The social fields may become more complex and autonomous by being put into practice through the agency of the individuals, while the individual develops a certain habitus (class and spatial) that is typical of his position in the social space (Bourdieu, 1986; 1984). In this context, geographical mobility is a factor to bring changes in social position (status) beside social location (locus). There is already a substantial body of literature on the mutual relationships between spatial and social mobilities.

Another important point is that while social mobility is seen as peculiar to urban areas where it is easier for the people to take decent education and employment

possibilities, immobility and stability as peculiar to rural areas where agricultural economy, patriarchal family structure and traditional family enterprises are dominant. People in rural areas continue to do their father's job and immobility continues throughout the generations. However, most people in urban areas face with similar situation today.

The effects of restructuring of the economy in recent years to spatial context can be easily observed. Because, it has resulted the people from some neighbourhoods have been more affected than the other parts of the cities. New developments have restricted their employment and education opportunities. They are spatially entrapped in their neighborhood of residence. This also caused the transformations in urban space in terms of transition from the use value of the space to exchange value of them.

The precedence of the exchange value in urban areas cause highly residentially mobile families in peer neighbourhoods cannot build ties to place in terms of belonging. Because they have difficulties to access health, employment, education services, and adequate housing. Their low levels of home ownership also increase the degree of residential mobility and the job mobility rates again. Thus, their perception on space affect the reproduction of their spatial habitus negatively. As Bourdieu states, the fields are where social class is materialized. Different forms of capital are played out in the fields as the central of social relations to social analysis. Then, they are treated on a hierarchical basis where in the dynamics of fields arises out of the struggle of social actors trying to occupy the dominant positions within the field. Some can dominate the field of interactions, the others cannot. Thus, the position of the people from peer neighbourhoods who cannot dominate the space is determined by their low level of class habitus and the high levels of the others.

2.2.1. Relation between Geographical Mobility and Social Mobility

Geographical mobility (also called lateral, spatial or residential) which refers to a long distance geographical movement between neighbourhoods, towns or regions in order to change the type of living accomodation (Savage, 1988:557) is often combined with vertical as well as horizontal mobility. For instance, an individual

working in a company in one city might be promoted to a higher position in a branch of the firm located in another town, or even in a different country (Giddens, 1997:263).

Social mobility is generally evaluated by the criteria of geographical positions (Erkal, 1996:226). There is a substantial body of literature on the mutual relationships between geographical location and social mobility. In many studies, it has been defended that increase in geographical mobility reflects the social mobility (Canzler et al., 2008:38). In the modern dream of mobility, high quality life means move up socially, while move up socially means move out physically for better place to live (Berman, 1982:326).

Bell (1968) concludes that social mobility is not just an occupational or status mobility, the concept should be widened by including geographical mobility. Crossing geographical space is accompanied by crossing social space (Canzler et al., 2008:4). Thus, any valid theory of social mobility must include notions of both geographical and occupational mobility for him (Bell, 1968:164).

However, all movements in the geographical space (for example daily movements) cannot be evaluated as mobility. One can move without being mobile or one can be mobile without moving (Canzler et al., 2008:5). Bell differentiates the mobility of persons. While established people in a place are the *locals* which are neither socially nor geographically mobile, *outsiders* are geographically but not socially mobile, and *non-locals* who are geographically and socially mobile (Bell, 1968:168).

When social changes brought about residential mobility, many people changed their jobs, residences and friendship networks, the basis of self-definition shifted from collective attributes to individual attributes. Residential mobility also increased centrality of the personal self (Oishi et al, 2007:2). That is, mobility may be responsible for changing socioeconomic structure of neighbourhood (Cadwallader, 1992).

It should be also stated that levels of residential mobility may have significant costs for communities, individuals and families (Simpson and Fowler, 1994). Highly

mobile families attenuate ties to place and may find it difficult to access health and education services, to find adequate housing and to remain in employment. There is some evidence that high residential mobility can be detrimental to children's school attendance and learning (James, 2008:95). Because of these facts, the close relationship which was defined and accepted between social and geographical mobility that always leads positive results has broken up after 1980s (Canzler et al., 2008:83).

Particular migration histories are important, not only in contributing to the class position of the first generation, but they may also have effects that continue into the second generation with higher than anticipated levels of upward mobility from the depressed initial position (Coates, 2007). Backgrounds count, and the different aspects of background class, parental education, economic assets and the fact of migration all count independently for future generations (Platt, 2005a:718).

There is also a considerable amount of literature regarding the relationship between housing and social mobility (Nunn et al, 2007:65). It has been suggested that housing affects the causes of social mobility. Much of the evidence shows positive associations between housing and the other determinants of social mobility (Rérat and Lees, 2011:126). Some studies highlight the importance of housing as a factor in the intergenerational transmission of socioeconomic advantage. For example, poor housing and overcrowding negatively affect children's health and educational attainment. Moreover, in many studies, residential mobility has been tried to be defined in housing market, and the effects of this sector on mobility (Özcan, 2006:83). According to Pickvance, household features and the ownership are important in the mobility. Mobility between houses or neighbourhoods is common (Urry, 1999:120). A study shows that the rate of neighbourhood change in a city may be more than 50 % (Şengül and Ersoy, 1999:257).

Homeownership has been seen significant in affecting educational attainment of children too. Ownership and tenure of housing has role on stating the expected and the desired mobility (Pickvance, 1973:21). High levels of home ownership are expected to reduce the degree of residential mobility and the job mobility rates (Leigh and Andrews, 2007:2). Moreover, housing and neighbourhood satisfaction may affect

strongly the mobility of household. Likewise, mobility rates have implications for the social stability of neighbourhoods (Pawson and Bramley, 2000:1231). Generally, mobility is seen as a product of housing opportunities, urban transformation, suburb etc., housing needs and expectations of households, which are themselves a product of income, family size and lifestyle (Knox and Pinch, 2000:331). The role and meaning of housing and residence in social mobility processes affects the choices on mobility destinies (Scheiner and Kasper, 2003; Ahn and Blázquez, 2007). While house and neighbourhood choices depend on the economic and social features of household (Görgülü and Koca, 2007), the main reason of residential mobility is the possibility of homeownership (Şenyapılı, 2006:221).

2.3. Studies on Social Mobility

Social mobility has started to be conceptualized at the beginning of industrialization process. The first studies of social mobility which appeared at the beginning of the century, were small scale, focusing on the recruitment to particular occupations. But, economists and sociologists have long been interested in cross-national comparisons of social mobility as a major indicator of equality of opportunity (Hirvonen, 2008:779). Marx and Engels, for example, argued that organized labour failed to take hold in the United States because social mobility was higher there than anywhere else in the world. Similarly, Tocqueville claimed that the United States stood out among other advanced nations for its high levels of social mobility. But these and similar assumptions had to wait a long time to be formally tested. Only very recently have researchers had access to the data required to compare the extent of social mobility across nations. And even today, very little is known about the extent of mobility in developing countries (Behrman et al, 2001:7).

Several empirical and theoretical studies also analyze income, wealth and occupation mobility. Some empirical studies document intergenerational mobility, while others concentrate on the mobility of the same individual (Quadrini, 1999:3). However, two approaches have more significant merits for the study of social mobility (Nunn et al, 2007:2).

The sociological tradition is based on an understanding of the structure of society defined by an occupational hierarchy within the social class mobility paradigm (Beller and Hout, 2006a; D'Addio, 2007; Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992; Hirvonen, 2008). Sociologists prefer to measure social mobility in terms or categories of social class rather than income, because income is only one dimension of social position. For example, Erikson-Goldthorpe class schema is derived from measuring an occupation according to three criteria; market situation (wage, pension, benefits), status situation (status of job), and working situation (level of autonomy/control) (Aldridge, 2001:14). Tradition of studying social mobility from the perspective of class structure and class formation is interested in social relations of production, control over the means of production and control over labor (Goldthorpe, 1987; Breiger, 1990; Wright, 1978; Ishida, 1993).

Economic tradition tends to focus on income groups, and socioeconomic status within the status attainment paradigm (Blau and Duncan, 1967). The status attainment model seeks the mechanism through which ascription conditions a person's successive occupational status, to what extent this occurs, and how this status early in the life cycle affects further opportunities for subsequent change (Morgan et al., 2006:4). Occupational status is represented as a hierarchical continuum, and it is operationalized through prestige scales or socioeconomic indexes method that is used to assess the extent to which opportunities become more (un)equal over time is to examine the distributional characteristics of fathers' and sons' status (Dubrow, 2006:49).

There have been two types of mobility studies; historical and comparative studies. First one compares the mobility rates with those in earlier periods, the second compares the mobility rates with those in other countries (Van Leeuwen and Maas, 2010). For past 15-20 years, the focus in mobility studies has shifted towards an emphasis on internationally comparative studies (Breen, 2004:1). In cross-national variation theories of mobility (culturalism), significant differentiating forces like natural culture and politics may operate on social structures and processes, and particular nation displays an exceptional degree of mobility and openness (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992:371). For example, traditional ideology for American exceptionalism claims that the US is the country of opportunity (Kerbo, 2006:392).

Achievement ideology sees American society as open and fair and full of opportunity. In this view, success is based on merit and economic inequality is due to differences in ambition and ability. Individuals do not inherit their social status; they attain it on their own. Education provides equality of opportunity (Macleod, 1995:3).

Liberal theories became prominent in the 1950s and 1960s, argued that all nations tend to evolve towards liberal industrial democracies as showing resemblance to the post-war USA (Savage, 1994:71). Liberals defend that in industrial or advanced societies where industrialism brings greater openness, equality and fluidity by more educational and communicational opportunities, increasing urbanization and geographical mobility (Ishida, 1993:17), rates of social mobility are high and upward mobility predominates over downward mobility than pre-industrial, less or non-advanced ones. Mobility opportunities are more equal (open) in terms of competence for attaining particular destinations of people from different social origins, and tend to increase (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992:5). The contention is that mobility increases with industrialization, even after controls are introduced for changes in class or occupation distributions. Proponents of the thesis of industrialism argue that economic development entails a process of rationalization that weakens ascriptive allocation of roles (Grusky and Hauser, 1984:20). Since the constant development of new and the eradication of out-of-date occupations force individuals to move between jobs. They also argue that social ties binding people to fixed social roles in pre-industrial society give way to a social order in which individuals readily move up and down the social scale on the basis of merit (Savage, 1994:72). Theories of industrial society (Uniformity-convergence thesis) said that there are cross-national similarities between industrial nations in the long run (Ishida, 1993:1). The neoliberal strand of the New Right has argued that rigidity of the class structure reflects a refusal to recognize the dynamics of an enterprise culture (Payne, 1992:212).

If the most important names in social mobility studies are examined, Sorokin (1959) will be the first as a pioneering figure. He believes the fundamental inequality of man and the impossibility of egalitarianism. While certain barriers (religious) to mobility have been largely removed, other barriers (systems of educational selection, occupational qualification) have become more severe or have been newly introduced for him (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992:20). Another important theorist is Marx.

Social mobility was not a central concern for him and for contemporary Marxism. It is seen as a bourgeoisie problematic by Marxists in general (Heath, 1981:14; Western, 1994:101). It could be dismissed empirically as a phenomenon of little actual importance (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992:10; Mach and Wesolowski, 1986:3; Goldthorpe, 1987:3). For Marx, possibility of upward mobility will focus more on individual achievement; it individualizes collective resistance, success and failure, and weakens the bonds of class solidarity (Heath, 1981:15). Thus, upward mobility will strengthen the hold of the ruling class and thus serve as a stabilizing, anti-revolutionary process (Heath, 1981:13). For later Marxist perspective, mobility and mobility studies are still undesirable, because of focusing on the individual rather than on social structure, and creating false consciousness (Payne, 1989:480).

Wright's neo Marxist conception of class structure develops a theoretical account of intergenerational class mobility in capitalist societies. Wright claims that class plays a central role in explaining income inequality in labour market (Sørensen, 1991) and has a stronger predictive power than occupational status in determining income attainment (Ishida, 1993:18). Class differences in mobility continue. There is no much great openness in the countries (Savage, 1994:74). For Wright, there are three primary dimensions of class are important-capitalist property ownership, bureaucratic authority position, and occupational ranking. The studies in the US were mostly interested in occupational ranking (Kerbo, 2006:378). Government policies affect the mobility rates. Wright attempts to reconstruct class theory to take into account the rise of new post-industrial strata (Esping-Andersen, 1993:226).

The first major nationally-representative study on social mobility was that of Glass in Britain after the Second World War. Glass' work "Social Mobility in Britain (1967)" is important for modern mobility paradigm in terms of methodology, data-collection and technical analysis, and it has empirical evidence which establishes connection between mobility research and class analysis (Payne, 1992:215). The sub-divisions of Glass's occupation index are neither class nor functional groups (Bell, 1968:163). He uses social status scale (Heath, 1981:50).

In Glass's study of social mobility, he uses survey, biographical and life history information about the respondents from England, Scotland and Wales. He states that

Britain had a short-range mobility with the rigid class structure, not open (Şengönül, 2008:1; Savage, 1994:70). The data also suggest that there had been some net downward mobility. But, Glass and his associates expect mobility to increase in the second half of the century, due to increasing equality of opportunity (Heath and Payne, 1999:3).

Glass analyses intergenerational mobility for a longish period up to the 1950s. His findings correspond to those noted above in respect of international data (around 30 per cent mobility from blue-collar to white-collar jobs). Glass's research was in fact widely drawn on by those making international comparisons. While a good deal of mobility occurred, most of this was short range. Upward mobility was much more common than downward mobility, and was mostly concentrated at the middle levels of the class structure. People right at the bottom tended to stay there, almost 50 per cent of sons of workers in professional and managerial jobs were themselves in similar occupations (Giddens, 1997:267).

Other early mobility researches focus on movements of people from one social category to another, where categories are conceptualized in terms of social classes or occupational groups. The work of Lipset and Bendix (1963) is classic in this sense. Lipset and Bendix imply that pre-industrial societies were characterized by lower rates of mobility (Heath, 1981:78). Lipset and Bendix conclude that the overall pattern of social mobility appears to be much the same in the industrial societies like the USA, Western Europe and Japan (Dubrow, 2006:48; Matras, 1975:309). They state that this situation due to similar technological and economic developments, great expansion of non-manual jobs and fall in the employment of farming in these countries (Matras, 1975:310). This led to an upward surge of mobility of comparable dimension in all of them (Giddens, 1997:264). Their study on mobility is important because of it opens the door to intensive comparative analysis and attempts to decompose observed mobility into structural components, produced by changes in the social structure, and circulation components involving exchanges (Dubrow, 2006:48).

Blau and Duncan's (1967) work on occupational structure is one of the landmark studies of social mobility (Heath, 1981:51). They collected mobility data along with

the US Bureau of the Census in 1962 and used family backgrounds, educational experience, and occupational history of over 20000 males in the labour force. Blau and Duncan are concerned with the process through which individuals attain educational and socioeconomic status throughout their life-course. They understand social mobility as a movement of individuals along a continuum of status hierarchy, and the central aim of the study is the modeling of the causal influence determining the individual's present positions in the social hierarchy (Ishida, 1993:3). They conclude that there is much vertical mobility in the US, but nearly all of this is between occupational positions quite close to one another (Şengönül, 2008:4). Long-range mobility is rare. Although downward movement does occur, both within the careers of individuals and intergenerationally, it is much less common than upward mobility. The reason for this is that white-collar and professional jobs have grown much more rapidly than blue-collar ones, a shift that has created openings for sons of blue-collar workers to move into white-collar positions (Giddens, 1997:264).

Blau and Duncan inspired a series of other studies addressing the same issues. Their study was updated by the scholars like Featherman, Jones and Hauser in 1970s (they state that no significant differences between the industrial nations), and Hout in the late 1980s (Kerbo, 2006: 378). Featherman, Jones and Hauser (FJH) thesis states the similarity in the patterns of social mobility across industrial societies (Ishida, 1993:16). In Great Britain, Halsey (1977) reported similar results to the ones presented by Blau and Duncan. These results induced Halsey to conclude that ascriptive forces find ways of expressing themselves as achievement. More recently, some studies have explored how educational attainment mediates the relationship between social class of origin and social class of destination. They found that, even when controlling for the effect of education, class differences in the chances of gaining higher occupational status persist. Moreover, over time, class effects had been increasingly mediated by educational attainment (Iannelli and Paterson, 2007:220).

Other recent research in the sociological tradition suggests that the evidence in relation to relative social mobility is complex. For instance, Heath and Payne (2000) note the changing social position of specific occupations within the six class categories they use. Nonetheless, they identify the highest patterns of stability (or

lack of mobility) being for higher grade professionals (Class I) at the top and among the working classes at the bottom of their schema. By contrast, men originating from the classes in the middle of the schema, particularly routine white collar occupations, were much less likely to stay in the same class as their fathers. Their findings also show that short-range mobility is more common than long-range movement (Nunn et al, 2007:18).

Erikson and Goldthorpe's analysis of social mobility is from class formation perspective. They accept the significance of class as a structural force which affects people's destinies (Savage, 1994:70). Erikson and Goldthorpe emphasize that the theories of social mobility "Liberal or Marxist" cannot do justice to the complexity of variation in patterns and processes of social mobility. But, their system of classification is derived eclectically from Marxist and Weberian theories (Savage, 1994:70-72). Erikson and Goldthorpe start their book "The Constant Flux" with a discussion of the motivation for undertaking cross-national research in social stratification (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992). The basic model of social stratification addresses the relationship between a social structure (related to a specific division of labour) and the mobility of individuals between positions within this structure. Social mobility (or lack of mobility) can be expected to have an impact on people's identities and attitudes, and, in turn, to determine where, and with what degree of sharpness, lines of cultural, social, and political, as well as economic division are drawn (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 2002; 1992).

Erikson and Goldthorpe seek to portray both the absolute and relative rates of mobility using data, mainly from the late 1960s and early to mid-1970s, from 12 European countries and the United States, Australia, and Japan (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992). They show how, despite substantial changes in the class structure of the countries, the relative chance of social mobility remains remarkably constant (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992). The US has no higher rates of mobility than the other countries. They found that there was no long-term tendency for mobility rates to increase. Total mobility rates move in what would appear to be an essentially directionless fashion (Giddens, 1997:265). Erikson and Goldthorpe also found cross-national variation in the patterns of observed gross (absolute) mobility which was primarily accounted for by historically-determined differences in the shape of class

structures, and they found similarities in the patterns of mobility net of structural changes (relative mobility-class fluidity) (Ishida, 1993:16).

Erikson and Goldthorpe criticize the studies which defend industrial societies tend towards high levels of social mobility which tend to undermine the significance of class divisions (Strauss, 1971:12). They reject the hypothesis of all industrial countries are moving toward a common rate of social mobility and there is a trend in all industrial countries of increasing rates of social mobility, the factors outside of the economy (like political intervention) do not affect rates of social mobility (Kerbo, 2006:396). They conclude that there were small differences between nations in their pattern and degree of fluidity-deviations that were better explained in terms of national peculiarities than in macro sociological regularities such as industrialization or modernization. They show that there is no evidence of steadily increasing total intergenerational mobility. They examine fluidity by using independent variables like industrial development, economic inequality, and educational equality and found that evidence related with higher fluidity does not come from these variables basically (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992:381). The values of variables do not prove the direct relation with mobility. Erikson and Goldthorpe point out that the results relating to absolute mobility do not tell us much about changes in social-class inequalities, because relative differences may be preserved even though upward mobility is widespread (Şengönül, 2008:6). The studies of relative mobility, in fact, show that the relative advantage of belonging to a middle-class family compared with a working-class family has not changed over time (Iannelli and Paterson, 2006:2). Thus, their study of mobility has demonstrated that the level of economic development or industrialization is not positively related to the degree of societal openness (Park, 2004).

2.4. Problems in Mobility Studies

Mobility studies were generally seen as being limited by vertical, male and occupational mobility for years (Coxon and Jones, 1975:9; Payne and Abbott, 1990:13). Existing theories were criticized for being too restricted in cope and topic and downward mobility is given less importance than upward in the studies (Strauss,

1971:171). Moreover, mobility studies about upper classes are too restricted (Kerbo, 2006:393).

Another problem with many mobility studies is that they are articulated within programs of 'class analysis' which have little bearing on the issue of social exclusion as such (Goldthorpe, 1987). In these studies, social mobility has been understood as a change in the class position and orientation of individuals (from origins to destinations), not in terms of processes of transition of social groups into and out of key social networks and institutions. Payne (1992), for example, points out that the boundaries between the social divisions of the three classes (service class, intermediate class, and working class) have weakened, in the sense that it has become more likely for individuals to move from one class to another. This does not tell, however, whether the class structure as a whole has become more or less open to any given social grouping. It is also far from clear why the upward moving column of material mobility to which Payne refers should present a problem for a class-based perspective, because increased material prosperity for all is not incompatible with a growing gap between rich and poor. There is also no contradiction between aggregate ascents in upward mobility (whether absolute or relative) for certain social groups (Somerville, 1998:763).

2.5. Social Mobility and Education

Education has long been seen as a powerful force with its potential to increase opportunity and promote social mobility achieved by societies (Karaca, 2012; Schutz et al, 2008; Machin and Vignoles, 2004; Alexiadou, 2002; Ergün, 1994). Educational attainment has a substantial impact on occupational outcomes in terms of intragenerational mobility (Açıklım, 2008; D'Addio, 2007; Blanden et al, 2005; Alvarez and Ortiz, 2004; Behrman et al, 2001; Erkal, 1996; Ishida, 1993; Manski, 1992; Carnoy, 1982). It appears to be especially important for long range upward social mobility, for example from a manual working class background to the professional class (Burgess and Briggs, 2006:2). That is, higher rates of educational mobility directly produce higher rates of occupational mobility (Beller and Hout, 2006b:362). While education raises the qualifications and the skills of the people, it provides those finding good jobs and good money in terms of occupational

achievement (Lipset and Bendix, 1963:91; Öztürk, 2005:11). Moreover, education is also one of the most important variables influencing intergenerational social mobility (Nunn et al, 2007:3). Because schooling plays a crucial role in explaining social outcomes by weakening the association between class origins and class destination (Öztürk, 2005:1; Aldridge, 2001:91).

General structure of education system is the primary determinant of educational opportunity (Manski, 1992:352) and may also affect the extent of income mobility. Increase in social fluidity due to declining class inequality in educational participation is important (Breen, 2004:84). For example, public provision of education and reforms in the educational system are accepted as increasing mobility by reducing the cost of education (D'Addio, 2007:71). Goldthorpe, in his concept of education-based meritocracy, explains that a merit-based higher education system can offset the role of social class in determining economic outcomes. (Haveman and Smeeding, 2006:127). However, there is considerable evidence that the introduction and expansion of universal education systems have not led to increasing levels of income and life chances in terms of relative social mobility (Nunn et al, 2007:3). Outcomes from education might not be equal every time. They may differ due to circumstances beyond the control of persons rather than their different efforts. The chances of people from different backgrounds have different attaining ways to different social positions (Ishida, 1993:16). It is associated with an individual's opportunities within the existing social hierarchy (Nunn et al., 2007:1).

Strong associations between school or non-school factors and low levels of educational attainment have long been recognized in the sociological and educational literature. Some of these factors are pupils' personal characteristics, gender, health, school environment, housing and family size (Sparkes, 1999). Economists tend to emphasize the parental economic resources that are available to be invested in the human capital of their children (Becker, 1988). However, the factors determined about the educational attainment and social mobility really cannot define or change nothing. Social fluidity is constant and unchangeable (Marshall, 1997:57). Existing situation is where the ascriptive forces present themselves as the success stories (Şengönül, 2008).

The strong association between students' educational outcomes and their family background is very clear in previous studies (Schutz et al, 2008; Şengönül, 2008; Marshall, 1997; Ergün, 1994, Halsey, 1977). Family structure (parental income, occupation and education) or social class have become an increasingly important marker for educational achievement and socioeconomic well-being of a person especially during this period (Nandy, 2012; Hassler et al 2007; Musick and Mare, 2004; Machin and Vignoles, 2004; Breen, 2004; Kao-Thompson, 2003). Musick and Mare (2004) state that recent patterns of intergenerational inheritance are also contributing to growth in poverty. The labour market success or failure of individuals became more closely connected to their parents' income than was the case in the past, revealing a fall in the extent of intergenerational mobility (Machin and Vignoles, 2004:108). There is a substantial body of research about the interdependence of poverty and family structure from one generation to the next (Carneiro and Heckman, 2003; Cameron and Heckman, 2001). Moreover, there is a vicious circle between poverty and education. When the poverty increases, access to education decreases. When the education level decreases, the poverty rates rise (Yılmaz and Altinkurt, 2011). One of the study about the relation between the poverty and education defends that it is not that families are poor, because they have no education, it is rather that they have no education, because they are poor (Stromquist, 2001:658).

Researches have highlighted a range of factors which might limit the mediating role played by education like their parents' capitals (Jæger and Holm, 2007:719). They suggest that while educated parents have higher levels of capitals that have a positive impact on their children's attainment (Sparkes, 1999; Lareau, 1987), by contrast, families closer to the bottom of status hierarchies and those embedded in weaker networks of social relationships, have fewer resources for parenting (Farkas, 2006:4). The wealthiest people spend to education twenty-one times higher than the poorest ones. Moreover, while the rate of access to higher education is 28 % in upper income children, this rate is 0.4 % in lower income children (Yılmaz and Altinkurt, 2011). Similarly, according to the CEPAL (2002) report, "the probability that children of families in the lowest income groups will leave school early is 2,64 times higher than it is for the children of the highest income groups"(cited in Bonal, 2004).

There are some factors which constrain the ability of the poorest people to actively choose, construct or benefit from financial and social capital through association and public representation (Cleaver, 2005:896; Nandy, 2012:577). Detachment from the labour force or the discrimination in the labour market, high unemployment rates, and little access to land or capital have significant effects on their poverty incidence (Levin, 2005:57; Khawaja, 2003:33). Chronically poor are also largely excluded from effective access to education (Cleaver, 2005:902). There is a clear process of exclusion in terms of long term non-participation in the other economic, civic, and social structures (Burchardt et al., 1998). This social exclusion is conceptually differentiated from poverty and deprivation, primarily by having a focus on the process of disengagement (Sparkes, 1999; Room, 1995). Other factors may be weak compared to the inheritance of deep poverty and social isolation (Musick and Mare, 2004; Wilson 1987). The factors linked to social exclusion (poverty, unemployment, ethnicity, race, gender etc.) are seen as part of a complicated circle of deprivation, whereby conditions of poverty reinforce processes of social exclusion. All of them lead to more poverty and less educational opportunities (Alexiadou, 2002:79).

While high-quality school services are provided to children from wealthy homes, poor-quality ones are provided to children from poor homes (Carlson, 1972:455). School systems in urban areas tend to cluster together children from similar class backgrounds. Since individuals cannot use their human capital as collateral to borrow the costs of their education, children from less well-off families invest in less education (Machin and Vignoles, 2004).

The quality of life, income, neighbourhood, housing quality and cost, physical environment, easiness of transportation, access to work space, better school district, shopping, family, friends, public services and residence ownership shape the residential change decision-making in general (Schafft, 2005:1; Şenyapılı, 2006:230; Kocatürk and Bölen, 2005:18). Thus, geographical movements are recognized as influential life course events (Schachter, 2001; Hunter and Reid, 1961). Migration histories are important, especially after the cities have entered a new restructuring process by the migrations in recent years, not only in contributing to the class position of the first generation, but they may also have effects that continue into the second generation (Coates, 2007; Platt, 2005a).

There is also a considerable amount of literature regarding the relationship between housing, environment and educational attainment (Özcan, 2006:83). Homeownership has been seen significant in affecting educational attainment of children too. (Rérat and Lees, 2011; Ahn and Blázquez, 2007; Görgülü and Koca, 2007; Leigh and Andrews, 2007; Nunn et al, 2007; Şenyapılı, 2006; Scheiner and Kasper, 2003; Knox and Pinch, 2000; Pawson and Bramley, 2000; Urry, 1999; Erkal, 1996; Eserpek, 1976; Pickvance, 1973).

It is well known from many studies that especially pupils from socially deprived areas have lower educational attainment than do their counterparts from more advantaged areas (Aksoy et al, 2011; Garner and Raudenbush, 1991). There are important differentiations in different schools and regions in terms of quality of education (Alpaydın, 2008). There is evidence of neighbourhood or locality's direct or indirect effects on educational attainment (Garner and Raudenbush, 1991). Movement of middle-class to the suburban areas resulted in the concentration of a much poorer segment of the population in inner city deprived neighbourhoods (Khawaja, 2003; Massey et al., 1994; Wilson, 1987). These areas are characterized by poverty and deprivation of basic services (Crowder and South, 2003; Ainsworth, 2002; Newman and Small 2001; Wilson, 1987). The concentration of poverty affects increasing the likelihood of being unemployed, dropping out of school, and limits the capability of individuals and families in terms of better educational attainments (Small and Newman, 2001; South and Crowder, 1999; Brooks-Gunn et al, 1997). All of these factors result in the isolation of the poor from the middle class and worsen the quality of education and lower the expectations of the students who live in these areas (Kaya, 2008).

Moreover, schools in disadvantaged neighbourhoods do not/ cannot provide a good quality education. The school in a neighbourhood is old and falling apart and that the students who attend that school generally do not achieve academically what students in the newer suburban schools achieve (Yılmaz, 2003; Yılmaz and Altinkurt, 2011). Freire, for example, asks the question of “What political, socioeconomic, racial, and cultural factors contribute to the deterioration of city schools, while suburban schools are more technologically advanced, more structurally sound, and much more amply provided with teachers and support staff?” (Yılmaz and Altinkurt, 2011). There are

some factors causing this situation (Nunn et al, 2007:3). The difference between the priorities of the families and the school, the unsuccess of the school in decreasing the effects of social environment causing inequalities between the children (Ergün, 1994:100). Thus, concentrated poverty in these neighbourhoods also affects the school climate considerably. For children, it means the continuation at school of the cultural environment within which they were raised. The school may be different but the faces, the language and behaviour are the same. In so far as children learn from children, their relationships with other pupils will not challenge but will probably reinforce previous influences.

Because, these areas are the places that are reconstructed and shaped by individuals' perception as well as their interaction with the place (Henderson, 2007). With disadvantageous conditions at home and in the neighbourhood, it would be fair to say that schooling does not make a positive difference for students since the school's characteristics are shaped by the neighbourhood (Kaya, 2008:48). People need to enter the job market at an early age urgently instead of staying in school coming from pressure to leave school early (Garner and Raudenbush, 1991:260). Research suggests that individuals who leave school with low levels of educational attainment are at a higher risk of experiencing social exclusion as adults (Becker, 1988). Weak family control and negligent parents are also strongly associated with low educational achievement. Then, education is not considered as important (Kaya, 2008:79). A study by Haymes shows that relationships of power and domination are inscribed in material spaces places are social constructions filled with ideologies, and the experience of places, such as the black inner city or the white suburbs, shapes cultural identities (Gruenewald, 2003).

Inequality in educational attainment can be regarded as one of the main sources of most social problems. Obviously, youth unemployment, child labor and gender inequality are largely associated with the lack of equity and quality of education (Kaya, 2008). Thus, equality of access to education has been a central plank of many policies to advance children from less well-off backgrounds, to break generational cycles of deprivation and to encourage economic growth (Machin and Vignoles, 2004:108). Thus, the question of declines of socioeconomic inequalities in education is an important issue to both sociologists and policy makers (Marks, 2004).

However, the literature is predominantly focused on the role of education in relation to production defined in terms of labour market participation and the necessity to develop the skills of individuals (Sparkes, 1999), and is simply reduced to a means of competition among members of society, such as getting higher scores in classroom that will help the individual earn more in the future (Kaya, 2008). This approach states that persons who are lacking in human capital are more likely than others to be poor. Levels of poverty are high among persons with low education, those who are out of the labour force, those in low-status, unskilled occupations (Khawaja, 2003:47). Attention is focused on an individual's investment and the capabilities which restrict the ability to invest (Sparkes, 1999:36). In this approach, the social is reduced to the economic and more specifically to labour market activity (Alexiadou, 2002:76). Using such 'behavioral indicators' as explanatory factors for social exclusion reflects individualistic approaches to life choices. For example, unemployment as a choice places the emphasis on the individual. The unemployed can find a way into work by demonstrating a willingness to accept lower wages and less attractive working conditions (MacKay, 1998). Not being 'employable' is then a question of individual deficiency.

Another similar discourse can be seen in culture of poverty thesis. The advocates of this thesis like Oscar Lewis try to define poverty as the behavioral pathologies (Özügurlu, 2005; Sparkes, 1999). These discourses tend to ignore or marginalize the effects of governance structures on the production and distribution of educational and employment opportunities (Alexiadou, 2002:76), and dismiss the evidence that links social deprivation and underachievement (Lee, 1989). This type of studies on poverty continues to find legitimization on the basis of the failure of poor pupils. Thus, poverty is continually reduced to a problem of specific geographical areas and truancy is seen as the deficit outcome of break-up families. In this perspective, the individual, but also the family, are responsible for their full inclusion and integration in society, and education is used as the vehicle to achieve it (Alexiadou, 2002:76).

While conservative and liberal analyses defend the education decreases the inequalities and increases the intergenerational mobility, they leave unexplored the experiences, ideologies, and aspects of school policy in education (McLaren, 1993, 2003; Ersoy, 1985). The problem of exclusion then becomes a condition that results

from bad individual choices, that is the pathology of individuals or groups of individuals (Alexiadou, 2002:76). However, the role of education in breaking or strengthening the cycle of poverty is not solely based upon competition among individuals as the individualistic approaches argue. The sources of educational disadvantage are not singular. They are multi-varieties and multi-level (Garner and Raudenbush, 1991:261).

2.6. Theories of Education

The relationship between education and society has been examined by social scientists and educational theorists throughout the decades (Collins, 1971). However, the individualistic approaches stated above cannot answer the question of inequality in educational attainment. It should be stated that any approach to this problem should recognize the centrality of structural issues like the governance of education, social distribution of income, spatial differentiation and the significance of global and national economic forces in producing social exclusion (Alexiadou, 2002:79). Then, the most enduring theoretical models purporting to explain social class related inequalities in education is structuralism.

Within the structuralist paradigm, there are two main dominant traditions which try to explain the relationship between social change and education (Eskicumalı, 2003:29). These are Conflict (Critical) theories and Functionalist theories where it is possible to see that pedagogy today has various aspects ranging from class analyses to Mertonian and postmodernist approaches (Lynch and O'riordan, 1998).

2.6.1. Functionalist Theories

The functionalist perspective generally sees the education as one of the most important socialization and integration institutions which ensure the social balance (Ergün, 1994:93; İnal, 1993:820). According to functionalists, education creates new social order depending on freedom, justice and equality due to social, cultural, technological and economic transformation. It represents a form of investment in economic and sociopolitical development (Demir and Paykoç, 2006:641) as an answer for new specialized jobs in the industrialization age (Ulusoy, 1996:62).

Because, the development of formal education is conditional for economic development and a meritocratic society.

Functional paradigm states that high status is achieved based on merit rather than passed on from parents to their children (Collins, 1971). Schooling represents an efficient and rational way of selecting talented people so that most able and motivated people attain the highest status position (Hassan and Ismail, 2005:70). The schools are primary agents for planning and directing social change, or reconstructing society (Collins, 1971). While education is understood by many as a means for overcoming handicaps, helps achieving greater social equality, and acquiring wealth and status, it also provides everybody enters the labour market and becomes equal by equalizing the skills of them (Ulusoy, 1996:61), and meets the demand for equality and equality of opportunity by minimizing the disadvantages of lower class. It generally creates paths for mobility (Hassan and Ismail, 2005:72). Differences of success between the social classes come from the factors like childhood and intelligence which are non-school, not from social background (Tezcan, 2003:32). Thus, it can be said that functionalist paradigm explains and legitimizes the existence of educational institutions.

There are three different perspectives among functionalists. First perspective, for example like Jensen's, examines the relationship between heritability of intelligence and educational or economic attainment (Tan, 1989:561). Second perspective (Durkheim, Parsons, Turner, Blau and Duncan) studies the role of education in the transformation from particularism to universalism and from ascription to achievement (Ergün, 1994). According to this perspective, education selects the most talented and ambitious, gives values to effort and talent, rather than family origin (Tan, 1989:560). For Durkheim, education is a social fact which produces a good society (Tezcan, 1993:11). Education, as one of the basic social institutions, develops and protects social harmony and unity by socializing the young generations. Parsons who follows Durkheim gives also importance to the functional ties between educational and other social institutions (Tezcan, 2003:16).

Blau and Duncan from functionalist school defend that educational attainment process is important in mobility (Morgan et al., 2006:167). They are concerned with

the process through which individuals attain educational and socioeconomic status throughout their life-course (Ishida, 1993:3). Their analysis shows the direct and indirect effects of a number of interrelated independent variables (Kerbo, 2006:400). They study and measure the effects of some ascriptive variables on occupational attainment independently from the educational attainment (Matras, 1975:281). Blau and Duncan are interested in the effects of the educational attainment (achieved status) and the level of social origins (parental socioeconomic situation and education (ascribed status) on son's education and first job (Kerbo, 2006:400; Breiger, 1990:2). They found that sons' status attainment was more effected by his education than his father's education and occupation (Carnoy, 1982:489). Blau and Duncan state that achievement variables which consist of individual's merits, educational attainment and early occupational experience show the strength of the ascribed factors. If allocation of social position is determined by social origin, there will be no mobility between generations (Ishida, 1993:1).

Third group functionalists like Merton and Coleman defend that the mobility chance is not equal for every class (Ulusoy, 1996:66). These scholars focus on the negative functions of schools like the reproduction of inequalities (Collins, 1971). For example, the concept of performance in schools contains ideological acceptances. All the elements about education neglect the other conditions and elevate individualistic success. It justifies privilege and attributing poverty to personal failure (Rao, 2010:139). Because, education is the part of political-ideological superstructure (Tezcan, 2003:10). Merton states that when the cultural and sociological structures show big differences, there will be anomy situation. In this situation, social problems are inevitable (Ergün, 1994:11).

Coleman does not verify the argument of functional structuralism which defends industrialization of a society diminishes the effects of family on educational success and raises the effects of school. On the contrary, effects of familial variables on students' academic achievement grow (Tezcan, 2003:105). Socioeconomic level of the family determines the success level of students (Coleman, 1988). Coleman also argues that social capital, as another family resource, plays a role in the transmission of human and financial capital from one generation to the next (Aksoy et al, 2011:71; (Özüğurlu, 2005: 29; Tezcan, 2003:104).

According to the research about the equality of opportunity in education by him, the qualitative and quantitative features of school have no important effects on child's academic achievement (Tatar, 2006:157). Coleman concludes that material resources in schools have no influence on educational performance as the family background and other social factors which are outside schools (Kaya, 2008; Köse, 2007; Aslanargun, 2007; Tatar, 2006). Inequalities imposed on children by their home, the social, economic and cultural powers of the neighbourhood and peer environment are carried along to become the inequalities with which they confront in adult life at the end of school life (Giddens, 1997:420; Tomul and Çelik, 2009:1199).

Despite the functionalists working out of a Durkheimian model of educational choice have contributions in solving the problems in education like inequality of opportunity, they interpret class outcomes in education in a highly deterministic manner (Gruenewald, 2003:472). Functionalists have long asserted that parental background and income, and child's economic success or failure are weakly linked, and education is the key to social mobility. This view conforms to modern ideals of a meritocratic, democratic society and is supported by earlier research by functionalists. But, in class based theories also called Conflict or "Critical" paradigm, whether they adhere to Weberian or Marxist tradition, the unit of analysis obviously differs from those in functionalism. These theories see society as fundamentally divided by relations of unequal power (Burbules and Berk, 1999). They state that there is an unequal social stratification in our society based upon class, race and gender. Conflict scholars accept the educational institutions as the main actors in education, but criticize the functional paradigm in terms of the role of educational institutions (Tan, 1989:557; Demir and Paykoç, 2006:641). They argue that association between education and status attainment is largely the result of measurement error and statistical artifacts. They also defend that functionalist explanations were inadequate to the task of explaining the dynamism of social systems. Thus, conflict theories reject the functionalist perspective argument of educational expansion increases meritocratic selection and ensures social order, school is the great equalizer by ensuring a field where children compete on an equal basis without social inequalities base. They claim that social order and integration are realized by ideological and repressive state apparatus. They defend that

socioeconomic background greatly determines or impacts an individual's status attainment.

2.6.2. Conflict (Critical) Theories

Conflict or Critical theorists mainly defend that state interference to education was one of the result of some developments (Bowles and Gintis, 1976:174-75). At the end of nineteenth century, the schools were like the agents of new industrial economies. The role of the schools was production of obedient servants for state and the factories. While the governments were demanding loyal citizens, industry was intending to have educated, easy and problem-free workers (Lott, 1987). Spatial spread of school aimed at get hold of children's conscious, thus children started to be educated in the direction of obedience to authority. At the same time, students were thought by the view that economic and political systems were equitable (Bowles and Gintis, 1975). Then, education has been seen as an allocative system which gives success to some and failure the others, and a legitimization instrument (Meyer, 1977:55; Tezcan, 2003:31).

Critical educators have given the inequality a central place in developing a critique of liberal views of schooling, the rhetoric of meritocracy, and the false myths of opportunity (Bowles & Gintis 1976; Apple 1990; Popkewitz, 1991; Giroux, 1983). Contrary to the claims of liberal theorists and historians that public education offers possibilities for individual development, social mobility, and political and economic power to the disadvantaged, radical educators have argued that the main functions of the school are the reproduction of the dominant ideology, its forms of knowledge, and the distribution of skills needed to reproduce the social division of labor. In the radical perspective, schools as institutions could only be understood through an analysis of their relationship to the state and the economy (Giroux, 1983:258). Instead of blaming students for educational failure, radical educators blamed the dominant society. Instead of abstracting schools from the dynamics of inequality and class-race-gender modes of discrimination, schools were considered central agencies in the politics and processes of domination (Giroux, 1983:258).

Conflict paradigm has two branches; while the first one examines the curriculum in terms of class, ideology and politics in Marxist understanding, another branch is more interested in cultural factors rather than economic by Weberian understanding (Tezcan, 2003:22).

2.6.2.1. Weberian Conflict Theories

The main contribution of Weberian analysis here is that it disagrees with education helps the poor climb the social ladder and the mobility of poor people with educational attainment. These theories, similar to conflict theories, accept the schools are institutions that perpetuate the inequality in a society and convince the lower class groups of their lower position in the society. People from more advantaged social classes have higher chances of embarking on a long educational career and gaining higher level qualifications than those from less advantaged classes (Lannelli and Paterson, 2007:3). For example, if middle class pupils are not able to access higher education, other available resources such as their social network and family incomes help maintain their class position, whereas if poor people drop out school, they are faced with an immense lack of opportunity to expand their class position.

2.6.2.1.1. Collins

Collins who is one of the leading theorists of Weberian understanding, in his *The Credential Society* (1979), argues that the expansion of formal education during the twentieth century has not been accompanied by a change in the form a strong model of economic determinism in which education is represented largely as a highly dependent system within capitalist societies (Gruenewald, 2003:472). He states that technocracy myth of the modern society which defends the complexities of jobs and necessities for education causes education length is more important than what learned in schools. He defends that the distribution of education is overstated (Tezcan, 2003:23). Starting a job should not depend on diplomas and certificates. Diploma society causes loss of time (İnal, 1993:817). Collins states that most jobs which do not need complex and long education can be learned in job (Hassan and Ismail, 2005:72; Tan, 1989:568). A research in the US in 1980s, which supports

Collins, shows that 56 per cent of existing jobs (mostly in service sector) can be performed by only 6 months or a year education process (Dağlı, 2007).

2.6.2.1.2. Illich

The meritocratic ideology which defends the modern economy requires a highly hierarchical workplace where technical skills and abilities determine one's place in the hierarchy, alienates the individuals. Illich accepts the connection between the development of education and economic requirements for discipline and hierarchy (Giddens, 1997:416). He states that hidden curriculum teaches children that their role in life is to know their social positions and alienates them (İnal, 1993:802-814). Despite he is not opposite to all educational system, he defends de-schooling society (Giddens, 1997:416). Because, compulsory schooling does not promote equality or the development of individual creative abilities. While it protects the wealthiest, it excludes the poors and then causes the conflict. It is only the inducer of endless consumption myth. Thus, recent developments in this sector are another indicator of neoliberalism's interest on education (Illich, 1970).

2.6.2.2. Marxist Conflict Theories

The idea of Marxist Critical Pedagogy begins with the neo-Marxian literature on Critical Theory (Stanley 1992). The term critical theory and the ideas behind it can be traced to the Frankfurt school such as Adorno, Arendt, Fromm, Horkheimer Marcuse and Habermas, who gave more importance to the ideological reproduction of subjectivities in education and culture. These concepts are based in part on Marx's theories and played a significant role in shaping the critical pedagogy (İnal, 2010; Gruenewald, 2003). However, the early Critical theorists believed that Marxism had underemphasized the importance of cultural and media influences for the persistence of capitalism; that maintaining conditions of ideological hegemony were important for the legitimacy and smooth working of capitalist economic relations (Burbules and Berk, 1999).

The most important theme in Critical Pedagogy is the belief that education systems are political and education is very deeply rooted in politics (Giroux, 2008;

Kincheloe, 2004; Freire, 1970; Freire and Macedo, 1987; Shor, 1992) since they diffuse political ideas such as justice, liberty, equality etc. and have a class signification (Aliakbari and Faraji, 2011:77-79. As McLaren (1989) asserts, the major concern of Critical Pedagogy is the centrality of power and the antagonistic relationships between working class and state (Kincheloe, 2004; McLaren, 1993; Freire, 2000; Whitty, 2001). Critical educators give special attention to power because of the unequal structure of current education and how it is distributed and engaged in educational world and schools. They defend that schools not only reflect social stratification but also extend it (Kincheloe, 2004:6).

The conflict theories argue that education is determined completely by social, economic and political power structures and therefore it cannot play any role in social change. Schools serve a little opportunity for social mobility (Duncan-Andrade and Morrell, 2008:38). It is impossible to escape poverty with education (Iannelli and Paterson, 2007:3). Critical theorists are pessimistic about the possibilities of education in our society. Education and occupational attainment are governed mainly by family background and non-school factors (Giddens, 1997:421). Socioeconomic status is transmitted from family background to individuals (Tatar, 2006:157). Education is firstly the means of carrying the wealth of upper classes to the next generations. It provides two important services for higher class members; it is a means of class inheritance and a means of selecting responsible new recruits for higher occupational positions (Kerbo, 2006:408). Secondly, because of all schools, like the other social institutions, are under the pressure of upper class (Ulusoy, 1996:64), educational institutions protect and reproduce existing system and relations. While schools reinforce social inequality, they also legitimize the entire process (Macleod, 1995:11).

They see existing education primarily as a means for continuing suppression (Wardekker and Miedema, 1997:50; Ergün, 1994:77). Schools are actively involved in establishing the conditions for capital accumulation (Giroux, 1983:279). Education is a vehicle for imposing the values and ideas of capitalist elites behind the mask of equality of opportunity (Tan, 1989:558). The group located at the top of the social pyramid (thus having the most economic and cultural capital) normally has the means to legitimize their lifestyle as the most desirable. The major ways to achieve

this legitimization are through some apparatus like the media. Educational system and schools as a part of the state apparatus play a major role in furthering the economic interests of the dominant classes and the continuity of sociopolitic and cultural structure (Aka, 2009:329-330). School does not change people, rather it is a social machinery that labels, certificates and grades children for the labour market (Heath, 1981:25) and sends back to the society (Giddens, 1997:421). Children of worker class have lower chance of education (İnal, 1993:807). Moreover, because of formed distorted reality and the illusion of lower class by identifying its interests with dominant class (Crehan, 2006), lower class helps the continuity of status quo rather than opposes (Aka, 2009:330). The immediate consequence of this symbolic domination from the ruling class is that the lower classes accept this lifestyle as the ideal way to be; therefore they want to be like those at the top of the social space (Valenzuela, 2010:8). People attach their success and failure to their patience, ambition, destiny, chance etc., but not the capitalist system (Yılmaz, 2003). They continue to internalize the mechanics of the capitalist society and their own role inside it with a chain of segregation. Working class failure was a relational outcome of middle class power to define what counts as knowledge and achievement (Aksoy et al, 2011:62). Schools effectively marginalize poor and working class students by ignoring the ways that bourgeois class biases shape educational norms, bourgeois class values in schools create a barrier blocking the possibility of confrontation and conflict (Duncan-Andrade and Morrell, 2008:35). The male is segregated at the work, the female is segregated at home, and the children are segregated at the school. All of them suffer from unequal access to goods, public services and education (Pino, 1997:12).

The class based approach perceives public schools simply as ghetto for deprived places. There is a well-known agreement among scholars for this approach in that education of poor children in public schools is colonized by the power of middle class (Whitty, 2001:287). Class was more than just a question of money; it is shaped with values, attitudes and social relations. Thus, schooling is seen a means of reproducing and legitimizing certain class differentiations. Hidden or formal curriculum reinforces and normalizes the dominant culture (McLaren, 1993). In addition to advancing consent through curriculum, discipline and ideological content, schools also reproduce the established social order by omitting certain forms of

knowledge including serious analyses of inequality, oppression, exploitation, imperialism, revolution, class struggle, and labor movements that might raise critical questions about capitalism (Apple, 1990; Bowles and Gintis, 1976). That is, the system does not intervene in inequalities, but tries to change their meanings and perception on them (Aksoy et al, 2011:85). In sum, repressive modes of education produce social hierarchies and legitimate inequality (Giroux, 2001; Duncan-Andrade and Morrell, 2008) and it reproduces exploitative capitalist system continuously (Apple 1990; Mayo 1999; McLaren 2003; Ersoy, 1985).

Next parts of this chapter will continue with the evaluation of Brazilian educator and social activist Paulo Freire. Among the critical pedagogues, Freire is very important as being one of the pioneering figures in this movement with his contributions to critical pedagogy.

Freire adopts the concept of Marx “alienation” thesis (İnal, 1993:797). His pedagogy revolved around an anti-authoritarian and interactive approach aimed to examine issues of relational power for students and workers. Freire states that there is no such thing as a neutral and apolitical educational process as the traditional perspectives of education claim (Freire 1991; 1998). Education is an instrument that is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation in to the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it. He states that the dominant class does not intend for there to be equality between the classes, rather, it wants to maintain the differences and distance between groups and to use political systems such as schools to identify and emphasize the inferiority of the dominated classes while at the same time confirming its own superiority (Gruenewald, 2003:472).

Freire’s pedagogy is based on a social and educational vision of justice and equality. It understands education as part of larger set of human services and community development. So it is interested not only in questions of schooling, curriculum, and educational policy but also in social justice and human possibility (İnal, 2010). According to his writings, his proposal begins with the recognition of a system of oppressive relations, and one’s own place in that system (Burbules and Berk, 1999).

Education system is concreted with social system (Tezcan, 2003:24). In this system, there is a silence culture which is the product of illiteracy. To be illiterate, for Freire, was not only to lack the skills of reading and writing, it was to feel powerless and dependent in a much more general way as well. In his new metaphor, he defends that education is an act of depositing and criticizes it for its view of learners as objects of learning, rather than subjects (Demir and Paykoç, 2006:641). Freire refers to this as a “banking model” of education (Freire, 1985). This model is used to prepare the oppressed to adapt to their situation as the oppressed rather than to challenge the situation that oppresses them (Duncan-Andrade and Morrell, 2008:24).

According to Freire (1972, 1985), critical pedagogy is primarily concerned with critiquing existing educational institutions and practices, and subsequently transforming both education and society. Education should lead to transforming action and should be a political praxis which constantly serves to liberate human (Aliakbari and Faraji, 2011:79-81). In his propose of alternative action, Freire states that people should develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world with which and in which they find themselves, they come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation (Duncan-Andrade and Morrell, 2008:24).

The main characteristic of alternative education is to develop the *concientizacao* of oppressed groups usually translated as "critical consciousness" (Freire 1970:48). The term *conscientizacao* involves “praxis” (both reflection and action, both interpretation and change) based upon its definition of fostering literacy combined the development of basic skills in reading and writing, the development of a sense of confidence and efficacy, the learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions especially in collective thought and action, and the desire to take action against the oppressive elements of reality (Gruenewald, 2003; Leeman, 1999). Freire’s praxis required implementation of a range of educational practices and processes with the goal of creating not only a better learning environment, but also a better world. Freire himself maintained that this was not merely an educational technique but a way of living in our educative practice (Spring, 2010:47; Freire and Macedo, 1998:86). Knowledge is not just a bank of facts to be transmitted from the

teacher to the student, but instead should become a cognitive process where new forms of culture and knowledge become possible.

The aim of critical pedagogy, according to Freire (1970), is to return to marginalized groups their lost voices and identities. When students gain their lost voices and resist unjust reproduction, they become active agents for social change (Aliakbari and Faraji, 2011:81). Freire heavily endorses students' ability to think critically about their education situation. This way of thinking allows them to recognize connections between their individual problems and experiences and the social contexts in which they are embedded (Burbules and Berk, 1999). When students begin to understand the reasons behind their problems, they begin to understand their world and what they need to do to change it (Yılmaz, 2009; Yılmaz and Altinkurt, 2011).

Another characteristic of alternative education is based upon rejecting all kinds of authority both in the classroom and curriculum. In traditional classrooms, the teacher is the holder of the knowledge, and the students, who are perceived as ignorant, are the receptacles for this knowledge. In dialogic communication, on the other hand, students and teachers share their experiences in a non-hierarchical manner. Freire (1998) refers to the importance of dialogic communication between teachers and learners as one means of actively involving students in their own education. Freire (1993) writes: "Only dialogue, which requires critical thinking, is also capable of generating critical thinking. Without dialogue, there is no communication, and without communication, there can be no true education" (Freire, 1981:81). Dialogue seeks not only to increase active student participation in the classroom but also to develop a critical social consciousness among students (Sağiroğlu, 2008:54). Students need to move beyond their initial naive consciousness of the world. Freire believes that students have the right to know better what they already know (Horton and Freire, 1990:157).

According to the classification of Marxist Critical Theory by Giroux, there are two sub-branches in this approach; one of them is reproduction theories and the other one is resistance theories. Moreover, Giroux also divides reproduction theories by three models as; Economic reproductive model, Cultural reproductive model and Hegemonic state reproductive model (Giroux, 1983).

2.6.2.2.1. Reproduction Theories

Marx theorized that dominant ideologies work to justify a society's social and economic hierarchies. In a capitalist society, for example, Marx would say that all major institutions like educational, religious, government, business promote ideologies that allow certain people to prosper while others remain marginalized. He states that every social process of production is, at the same time, a process of reproduction. Capitalist production produces not only commodities not only surplus value, but it also produces and reproduces the capitalist relation (Giroux, 1983:257).

2.6.2.2.1.1. Economic Reproductive Model

A group of social reproduction theories known as correspondence theories have attempted to show how schools reflect wider equalities (McLaren, 2007:215). These theories posit that the hierarchically structured patterns of values, norms and skills that characterize both the workforce and the dynamics of class interaction under capitalism are mirrored in the social dynamics of the daily classroom encounter (Giroux, 1983:262). Power is defined and examined primarily in terms of its function to mediate and legitimate the relations of dominance and subordination in the economic sphere. In this perspective, power becomes the property of dominant groups and operates to reproduce class, gender and racial inequalities that function in the interests of the accumulation and expansion of capital (Giroux, 1983:262).

2.6.2.2.1.1.1. Althusser

Althusser, who also examines the education, sees the education as the ideological state apparatus in which the culture and life style of the dominant classes are adopted by the other parts of the society (Aksoy et al, 2011:83; Öztürk, 2005:7). Education system as a part of superstructure is formed by infrastructure (Althusser, 1989). Education is the most serious reproductive institution of dominant class. Then, it reflects to mode of production and serves the interests of capitalist dominant class. Althusser states that education controlled by upper class selects and socializes the lower class children as good workers (Yıldız, 2008:22). He argues that the school carries out two fundamental forms of reproduction; the reproduction of the skills and

rules of labor power, and the reproduction of the relations of production (Giroux, 1983:263). People are educated as appropriate to their class position and given social and economic roles belong to their class (Eskicumalı, 2003:29). That is education, as the mirror of the class divisions, transmits the ideological side of capitalist social organization to the generations (Tan, 1989:566). It conveys the ideology of dominant class which legitimizes the capitalist system and reproduces necessary behaviours for the division of labour in capitalist production. School provides obedience to dominant ideology (İnal, 1993:801). Individuals internalize capitalist social mechanism by education and the existing mode of production is reproduced (Tezcan, 2003:19).

2.6.2.2.1.1.2. Bowles and Gintis

Bowles and Gintis, in their famous study “Schooling in Capitalist America” argue in deterministic terms that there is a relatively simple correspondence between schooling, class, and social inequalities (Ersoy, 1985). Bowles and Gintis support the idea that explaining the education depends on the knowledge on capitalist system (Carnoy, 1982:496). The educational system, like all major institutions in our society, reflects, supports and reproduces the basic hierarchical and authoritarian social relationships that are fundamental to the capitalist workplace and necessary for profit (Giddens, 1997:415). While the importance of well educated labour increases as parallel to stratification in the employment structure, inequalities in educational system reproduce existing social structure to next generations (Aksoy et al, 2011:83).

Bowles and Gintis reject the argument which claims the compensation power of education in the inequalities of capitalism. They attack the notion that school is important on social mobility and they defend that the whole meritocracy is a lie. In their recent study (Bowles and Gintis, 2002), they also show that social mobility in America is a myth. School system could not give what enlightenment philosophers hope (Giddens, 1997:415). Bowles and Gintis state that education has no influence on economic inequality. It was just a response to the economic needs of industrial capitalism and reflects the social production relations (İnal, 1993:799). It became a selecting mechanism (Ulusoy, 1996:63). The fundamental structure of the schools as a social institution is not meritocratic, rather entitled the inequalities as meritocracy

and reproduces and legitimizes existing inequalities (İnal, 1993:800). Children of parents with upper socioeconomic standing most often achieve upper socioeconomic status while children of lower socioeconomic parents acquire a correspondingly lower socioeconomic standing (McLaren, 2007:215). The perpetuation across generations of a family's social class, their position in the distribution of income, and the superior education enjoyed by the children of higher status families contribute to this process of economic inheritance (Bowles and Gintis, 2002:3).

Curriculum of the education system cannot be understood without power relations (Lott, 1987). It is an official control mechanism which reproduces legal standards. Besides formal and open curriculum, there is a hidden curriculum which is more effective than the open curriculum (Tezcan, 2003:1; İnal, 1993:41). Schools mirror not only the social division of labor, social and cultural order but also the wider society's class structure especially in the school's hidden curriculum (Apple, 1981:15). Bowles and Gintis argue that this differential hidden curriculum can be seen in lower class students being taught punctuality, neatness, respect for authority, submission, dependability and other elements of habit formation. However, the students of more advanced classes are taught problem solving, independence and flexibility (Ulusoy, 1996). Bowles and Gintis (1976) assert that creativity and critical imaginations are central elements of pedagogy in middle class schools, while recitation and obedience are prevalent elements of working class schools. As Bowles and Gintis state, the schools which address the lower class occupations have less flexible methods. Families from worker class also want their children educated with rigid methods, while families from upper class choose schooling which encourages entrepreneurship and independence (İnal, 1993:800).

Bowles and Gintis show that merit of education (years of schooling, degrees and credentials) are not the central variable which explain this rising up. They state that people who have risen up in relation to where their parents were. Bowles and Gintis (2002) state that the inheritance of inequality is a prevalent phenomenon and it is often very difficult to distinguish the returns to innate abilities and family backgrounds. Parental income and wealth are strong predictors of the likely economic status of the next generation (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; 2002). People differ with respect to their family backgrounds, some are raised in richer families that

may tend to receive more and better schooling and benefit from material, cultural, and genetic inheritances (Bowles and Gintis, 2002:3), while others are born into poorer families with only limited means (Duman, 2008:370). These limitations may be direct or indirect. For example, public expenditures are low in lower income neighbourhoods (Ersoy, 1985). These naturally prevent the lower class' mobility (Hassan and Ismail, 2005:72; Tezcan, 2003:3).

Social relationships in the schools encourage certain traits, appropriate to one's expected economic position, while discouraging others. Relations in school are parallel to ones in the workplace (Ulusoy, 1996:64). They also argue that different social classes attend different neighbourhood schools which have different financial structure and different values. The programs of different educational institutions reflect both the values of different classes and occupations (Tan, 1989:565). Students are directed towards the suitable occupations to their social class (income, occupational and educational level (Carnoy, 1982:494). For example, lower class children mostly go to vocational training (Hassan and Ismail, 2005:71).

Schools have a function not to teach content, but rather to shape the mind of the student for capitalist purposes. Schools provide a reserve army as central institution which legitimizes the myth of a technocratic-meritocratic society. Bowles and Gintis defend that schools teach the inevitability of social order and socialize people to accept the limited roles to which they are allocated as legitimate (Meyer, 1977:59). Repeated contact with the educational system, which seems impersonal and based on reliable criteria, convinces students (and their parents) that they are ending up in an appropriate place in society based on their skills and abilities (Rosenberg, 2004:25). For example, the poor are convinced that they are poor due to their own fault (Hassan and Ismail, 2005:73). Education parts the individuals to their roles, and makes them adopting the values of social class that they belong to (Carnoy, 1982:494; Tezcan, 2003:21). Thus, education has a role in reinforcing the inequalities in contemporary society, locating the children to class position and legitimizing the class structure (Bowles, 1999; Hassan and Ismail, 2005).

According to Bowles and Gintis, if educational opportunities are limited by individuals' economic or social background, education can in fact worsen the

differences in initial conditions rather than reduce them. On the other hand, if high quality education was freely available to all children, family background would play a less significant role in determining the incomes (Duman, 2008:370). However, education reform cannot respond all the problems. Capitalist economy must be completely transformed (İnal, 1993:801). Bowles and Gintis think that if we wish to work towards making society more just, equal, and fair, we must do so outside education and academic workings by working to fundamentally dismantle and restructure our economic system (Rosenberg, 2004:26).

Recently, Bowles and Gintis seek to investigate the determinants of intergenerational transmission of economic success by looking at variables like race, wealth and IQ (Bowles and Gintis, 2002). They reject the assumption that cognitive ability is becoming an increasingly important factor for determining incomes in the technologically advancing work place (Rosenberg, 2004:24).

2.6.2.2.1.2. Hegemonic State Reproductive Model

These theories are heavily affected by Antonio Gramsci's ideas on hegemony and defend that state agencies are reflected in schooling through curriculum, routines and social relationships. Schools reflect the ideologies advocated by state agencies to create hegemony (Giroux, 1983:276).

2.6.2.2.1.2.1. Gramsci

The major theorist in this model is Gramsci, who used the term hegemony, the domination of one group over another, to describe how societal institutions maintain their power. According to Gramsci, modern capitalist society is characterized by hegemonic system, rather than general agreement (Tezcan, 2003:3). Hegemony refers to the dual use of force or (pressure-coercion) and consent or (ideology) to reproduce societal relations between dominant classes and subordinate groups (Winkler, 1984). Hegemony is a mode of ideological control, whether it takes place in the schools, the mass media or the trade unions. Gramsci strongly emphasizes the role of ideology as an active force used by dominant classes to shape and incorporate the commonsense views, needs, and interests of subordinate groups (Giroux, 1983:275-276). State

attempts to win the consent of the working class for its policies by making an appeal to three types of specific outcomes-economic (social mobility), ideological (democratic rights) and psychological (happiness) (Giroux, 1983:278).

2.6.2.2.1.3. Cultural Reproductive Model

Cultural analysts of class focus on class processes and practices, the everyday workings of social class, developing conceptualisations that move beyond the economic. They are heavily influenced by Bourdieu's ideas of the reproduction of social capital (Cleaver, 2005:894; Reay, 2006:289).

In developing the theoretical framework, Bourdieu's cultural reproduction model and critical pedagogy literature are drawn upon by the study.

2.6.2.2.1.3.1. Bourdieu

Bourdieu's ideas are mainly depend on the reproduction of social capital through the structures of class relations (Cleaver, 2005:894). He asks that how capitalist societies are able to reproduce themselves (Giroux, 1983:266). Bourdieu argues against the notion that schools simply mirror the dominant society (Gruenewald, 2003:454). Instead, he claims that schools are relatively autonomous institutions that are influenced only indirectly by more powerful economic and political institutions. Moreover, cultural factors much more important than economic dimensions and mode of production. Schools do not overtly impose oppression, but reproduce existing power relations across the generations more subtly through the production and distribution of a dominant ideology (Bourdieu, 1986:35).

Schools adopt the cultural capital of dominant class and select the children according to their cultural capital. They tend to legitimize certain forms of knowledge, ways of speaking, and ways of relating to the world that capitalize on the type of familiarity and skills that only certain students have received from their family background and class relations (Giroux, 1983:268). Thus, education recognizes the existing social structure, continues and reproduces the existing inequalities (Yıldız, 2008:23; Aksoy et al, 2011:84). The concept of equality of opportunity in education is just the

legitimization of social inequalities (Tezcan, 2003:28). The privileged position of upper class is legitimized by educational success, while the non-privileged position of lower class by educational insuccess (Tezcan, 2003:29-30). Schools legitimize the dominant cultural capital through the hierarchically arranged bodies of school knowledge in the hegemonic curriculum, and by rewarding students who use the linguistic style of the ruling class (Giroux, 1983:269). In addition to curriculum, hidden curriculum influences the learning of values, attitudes and habits, and helps this process (Giddens, 1997:417; Lareau, 1987:73). Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) holds that the school system uses middle class standards to evaluate children, disadvantaging those from working class and poor families who do not have the opportunity to learn these behaviors and styles at home (Bourdieu, 1986). Moreover, poor and working class children may come to evaluate themselves and their origins according to the standards of middle class culture, experiencing symbolic violence (Kaya, 2008:75).

According to Bourdieu, the social space is reflected in our preferences and taste (internalized schemas of perception and judgment), which he refers to as disposition or habitus (Bourdieu, 2005; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; McIntosh and Munk, 2009). Habitus is the internalizing of social structure itself in the constitutions of people. Social origin of people and their experiences shape out their perceptions and their behaviours. Thus, habitus is both the product of social structure and total productive social practices which reproduce social structure. It can be said that habitus reproduce and renew itself in new circumstances (Bourdieu, 2005). Our habitus is determined mostly by our position in the social space, but the position itself depends on symbolic capital which is like the aggregated capital of “human capital” (development level of human himself), “cultural capital” (cultural background), “economic capital” (monetary income and financial assets) and “social capital” (social networks) perceived through socially inculcated classificatory schemes (Valenzuela, 2010:7; Rérat and Lees, 2011:127). These different forms of capital are played out in the ‘field’, a kind of social arena in which Bourdieu recognizes the centrality of social relations to social analysis. Bourdieu's work attempts to reconcile structure and agency, as external structures are internalized into the habitus while the actions of the agent externalize interactions between actors into the social relationships in the field (Valenzuela, 2010:7). Moreover, there is a process

in which one form of capital can be transformed into another. For example, economic capital can be converted into cultural capital, while cultural capital can be readily translated into social capital (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977).

People in a society with similar symbolic capital are expected to have the same lifestyle and they may belong to the same type of organizations, have similar types of jobs, attend the same schools and universities, etc. Men and women with similar levels of education are much more likely to marry. However, while some people have more economic capital and more cultural capital like businessmen, others may have less economic capital and less cultural capital like peasants. On the contrary, some people have more economic capital and less cultural capital like small entrepreneurs, others may have less economic capital and more cultural capital like intellectuals (Valenzuela, 2010).

Before the examination of Bourdieu's cultural reproduction theory, it is important to look at these different types of capital that he uses in his texts. The concept of *human capital* entered mainstream academic inquiry in the early 1960s through the works of Theodore Schultz and Gary Becker (1986, 1964). It includes the knowledge, experience and talents (i.e. education and learning processes, but also physical health) that contributes to one's productivity, and enhances the ability to perform specific tasks. It is measured by years of schooling and educational qualifications. Human capital may be purchased (through education as one of many investment alternatives) and maintained (through training and education again) (Reed and Wolniak, 2005:3). It rewards its owner through returns in the form of increasing productivity (and thus wages) and higher physical well-being. Labor market earnings increase for individuals with more education. Because schools increase the productive skills of students. In the household context, human capital includes the collection of parental skills acquired in both formal and informal ways which affect children's outcomes (D'Addio, 2007:16).

Economic or financial capital comprises wages or property ownership (Bourdieu, 1984:114). Economic capital may promote children's educational outcomes either through direct investment (e.g., payment of tuition fees, registration for prestigious

educational institutions) or indirect investment (e.g., financial assistance of children) (Rérat and Lees, 2011:127).

Cultural capital is the process of distinguishing between the economic aspects of class and powerful cultural assets, and is used to describe cultural background, knowledge, disposition and skills that are passed from one generation to the next (Macleod, 1995:13). It is also an experience which gives power or status in the social hierarchy (Canzler et al., 2008:52) as an embodied disposition that reflects the habitus (Rérat and Lees, 2011:127). Cultural capital, which Bourdieu sees as essential in the development of the child's habitus, is transmitted through parental attitudes, aspirations and tastes. It comprises not only accumulation of education and knowledge, but also parents' tastes, preferences and general "know-how" of the education system (Bourdieu, 1984:115).

Social capital is defined as the total extent and quality of shared norms, values understandings and connections which facilitate cooperation within or among groups with social networks Putnam (1993: 167), and which pass onto the children from their parents in relation to social mobility (Jæger and Holm, 2007:723; Kan, 2007:436). It is mobilized through social networks and relations and it is more than just a set of social contacts (Bolt et al., 2010:131). (Coleman, 1988) argues that social capital plays a role in the transmission of human and financial capital from one generation to the next. It may also appear to be more important for accessing jobs than educational credentials (Rao, 2010:139). Bourdieu claims that social capital attracts other kinds of capital like human and cultural capital (Özuğurlu, 2005:29).

For Bourdieu, individuals were not defined by social class but by the differing amounts of capital they possessed (Rérat and Lees, 2011:127). The location of an individual in the social space is determined by the total amount of capital he or she has possesses (Valenzuela, 2010:8) and these various forms of capital tend to transfer from one generation to the next. At this point, the family is very important. Because, while school provides organized education, family is the institution of disorganized education (Kiray, 2003:142). Moreover, a large number of empirical studies have examined the relationship between an individual's school performance and educational attainment and his or her family background (Breen and Jonsson,

2005:228). In general, almost all studies have found a positive and significant relationship (Thompson, 2004). There is evidence on the powerful interaction between socioeconomic status of the family and the students' academic achievement to a great extent (Tomul and Çelik, 2009; Platt, 2005b; Heath, 1981; Calvo-Armengol and Jackson, 2008; Barnett and Belfield, 2006; Waldfogel, 2004; Nunn et al, 2007; McIntosh and Munk, 2009).

Families may affect educational attainment of their children through a number of ways. Because, the family is an important institution in the distribution of material support, intergenerational transfers within the family are essential to the reproduction of social positions (Hassan and Ismail, 2005:77). The material resources possessed by a family affect the opportunities and life chances available to its members through both education and assistance with entry to various occupations (Fors and Lennartsson, 2008:255; Biblarz et al., 1996:189; Devine, 2004:18). The effects of family on their members' future can be seen in the difference between the classes. For example, middle class parents are highly ambitious for their children and adopt a range of strategies to support them. They have high and stable incomes and use them in education for their children (Devine, 2004:18; Şengönül, 2008:19).

However, for Bourdieu, family structure goes beyond income and is likely to be related to some family background characteristics like culture or social networks which are also transmitted to the children. Bourdieu sees social and cultural capitals as the tools of reproduction for the dominant class. Bourdieu defends that those who hold positions of wealth and power have many openings available to them to perpetuate their advantages and to pass them on to their children (Giddens, 1997:267). Thus, the children of parents in higher social classes are more likely to end up in higher social classes themselves (Platt, 2005b). On the contrary, working class parents may lack the means to be as supportive, even if they are equally ambitious for their children (Aldridge, 2001:32). Because cultural capital and social conventions that they do not possess may serve as a powerful barrier to their mobility (Aldridge, 2001:31). They hope that their children would not repeat their miserable experience (Wong, 2011:2), but they cannot help them. Then, Bourdieu states that

while ability and effort play a part, the effect of class origins on class destinations is in fact much stronger because of the cultural reproduction.

Cultural capital can facilitate families to confer social advantages on their children, increase their potential to move upwards and protect them from downwards movement in the social hierarchy (Nunn et al, 2007:3). Families may transmit tastes, values and beliefs through the combined effect of multiple social resources. Moreover, people with cultural capital are likely to have more extensive and wide ranging social networks that give them outposts in new places. Middle class families dominate the field of interactions with their high quality cultural capital such as a more intellectual home environment and dense to a wider range of social networks that are more advantageous (Nandy, 2012; Nunn et al, 2007; Dika and Singht, 2002).

Parent involvement is one of the most significant determinants that affect the students' success in school (Jeremy, 1998; Kaya, 2008). In a study, the most important factor in the failure of students has been accepted as deprivation of family support and involvement in education processes (Çelenk, 2003:28). Bourdieu states that class-related cultural factors shape parental participation in schooling (Sparkes, 1999). Middle class families have more organized relations with the school and are more capable of dealing with problems in their children's education (Lareau and Horvat, 1999). Low level of education causes low information, interest, support and expectations about the education. This situation also affects the relations with the school (Gümüşeli, 2004:16).

One of the other important cultural reproduction theorists Lareau supports Bourdieu and stresses the significance of cultural capital, draws attention to the importance of middle class parents' social networks as a source that parents utilized to build a family-school relationship (Lareau, 1987:74). Lareau describes the processes by which middle class parents pass on cultural capital advantages to their children. In contrast, poor and working class who grows up in low-income households seems to affect children's future life-chances negatively (Willis, 1981). In fact, parental poverty is also related to lower levels of environment and housing. Furthermore, the home and social environment as the places where parental beliefs, attitudes and values are shaped may also affect family and education or work outcomes of children

when they are adults (D'Addio, 2007:14). While children from these families learn self-reliance and social skills, but middle class children learn cultural skills that are more valued by the educational system and in the labor market. Moreover, their parents are self confident in the relations with the school (Lareau, 1987).

2.6.2.2.1.3.2. Apple

Apple states that some institutions, the school among them, perform vital functions in the recreation of the conditions necessary for ideological hegemony to be reproduced and maintained (Apple, 1995:16). But, hegemony in education cannot be only from the top and outside of the schools (Aksoy et al, 2011:84; İnal; 2010:21). Rather, hegemony can be reproduced by our everyday practices in education. With the rise in importance of cultural capital, there is a relative movement away from the direct reproduction of class privilege (where power is transmitted largely within families through economic property) to school-mediated forms of class privilege. It is the result of a long chain of relatively autonomous connections between differentially accumulated economic, social, and cultural capital operating at the level of daily events as we make our respective ways in the world (Apple, 2009).

Middle class parents have become quite skilled, in general, in exploiting market mechanisms in education and in bringing their social, economic, and cultural capital to bear on them. Middle class parents are more likely to have the knowledge, skills and contacts to decode and manipulate what are increasingly complex and deregulated systems of choice and recruitment. The middle class also, on the whole are more able to move their children around the system (Ball, 2007). The match between the historically grounded habitus expected in schools and in its actors and those of more affluent parents, combined with the material resources available to more affluent parents, usually leads to a successful conversion of economic and social capital into cultural capital (Apple, 2001). Economic and social capital can be converted into cultural capital in various ways. They have cars and can afford driving their children across town to attend a better school. They can as well provide the hidden cultural resources such as camps and after school programs (dance, music, computer classes, etc.) More affluent parents are more likely to have the informal knowledge and skill (Ball, 2007). They may even alter the rules of competition in

education in light of the increased insecurities their children face (Apple, 2001:419). This is, of course, also part of a larger process in which dominant economic groups shift the blame for the massive and unequal effects of their own misguided decisions from themselves on to the state. The state is then faced with a very real crisis in legitimacy. Given this, we should not be at all surprised that the state will then seek to export this crisis outside itself (Apple, 1995). This can be possible with the cultural reproduction of existing system again but by alternative ways. The result is always the oppressed blame themselves for their failure (McLaren, 2007:203).

2.6.2.2.1.3.3. Skeggs

Beverly Skeggs is another important scholar in the theory of class and the reproduction of class relations. She re-interprets Bourdieu by analyzing his model of how social class is comprised of capitals. Bourdieu states that social space is affected by the volumes of different forms of capital (cultural, economic, social and symbolic). People are distributed in social space according to the capital they possess, its composition and the evolution of the volume according to their trajectory. For Bourdieu, it is not just volume and composition of capital but also how one accumulates capital makes an important difference to its capacity to be converted (Skeggs, 2009:629; 2004a:21). Bourdieu and his notion of habitus show how most formulations are premised upon the accrual of property and value. This self-accrual process conceives of culture as an exchangeable value in which some activities practice and dispositions can enhance the overall value of personhood. For example, the cultural education of the middle-class child who is taken to galleries, museums, ballet, music lessons etc. which will also have an exchange value in later life such as the cultural capital necessary for employability and social networking (Skeggs, 2004b:75). Then, some groups can increase their capital because of the access they have to social space (Skeggs, 1999:214).

Skeggs agrees with Bourdieu about the body is where social class is materialized. Moreover, she asks how class is made and given value through culture. According to her, respectability is one of the most important signifiers of class. It informs how we speak, who we speak to, how we classify others, what we study and how (Olsson, 2008:75). Skeggs focuses on how particular discourses and technologies make

classed selves through both productive constitution and processes of exclusion (Skeggs, 2004c:6). A respectable body is traditionally white, desexualized, hetero-feminine and usually middle-class for her (Skeggs, 1997:82).

Skeggs argues that the last decades have seen a restructuring of class relations where class is constructed in the realm of culture rather than in the economic sphere. That is, she defends the increasing importance of culture in class formation (le Grand, 2008:23). Value attribution takes place within different systems of exchange (economic, moral, cultural, and symbolic) today. She states that an analysis of class cannot be limited to economic exchange (production or labour market relations), one also needs to focus on the moral, cultural and symbolic systems of exchange within which it is constructed (le Grand, 2008:22). Skeggs tries to show that different classes become attributed with value, enabling culture to be deployed as a resource and as a form of property, which has both use-value to the person and exchange-value in systems of symbolic and economic exchange (Skeggs, 2004c).

Property becomes no longer a thing, a relationship between a person and a thing, or a network of relationships between persons with respect to things, or even a bundle of rights. Instead, property is determined as a set of entitlements, which are exclusive to an owner, or to the holder of the proprietary interest. Then, only some can utilize culture as a form of property in them, and only some have an exchange-value in later life such as the cultural capital necessary for employability, respectability and social networking (Skeggs, 2005:972). Middle class makes investments in their cultural characteristics, which can then be used to realize value in social life. Middle class education is all based on children learning more and more, being more and more skilled, and playing more and more instruments. They have to keep on equipping themselves with value. All those forms of culture have an exchange value in the future and can be used or exchanged. The possessive individual developed from the perspective of a small elite group, with access to circuits of symbolic distribution who were able to legitimate their own perspectives, interests and authority by defining themselves against the mass (Skeggs, 2004b:76-91). The game is established to middle-class advantage.

On the contrary, the working class women-men have to and do not have any alternatives that can hold value within their local space (Skeggs, 2004a:24). Because, the working class is not allowed access to the resources and technologies required for self-production. Middle class draws boundaries against the working class, resulting in a devaluation of the culture of the latter. Working-class culture is represented as, among other things, excessive, vulgar, hedonistic, unmodern, escapist, dangerous, unruly, and without shame. Middle-class taste culture is read back onto the working-class as an individualized moral fault or lack, pathology, a problem of bad-choice, bad culture, a failure to be enterprising or to be reflexive. Moreover, the middle class which is very much based on propertizing, exploits working-class culture by creating exchange value (cultural and economic resources) from what is use value (Skeggs, 2005:963; 2004c:104). Class relations of cultural exploitation are presented as a failure of the self to know, play, do, think and/or repeat itself in the proper way (Skeggs, 2005:977). This is like the repetition of the seventeenth century possessive individual where the powerful and privileged with access to knowledge and law, define themselves as a self against the mass who only present the immoral constitutive limit; the immoral cannot inhabit a proper personhood and therefore cannot accrue value to them. The working-class are not allowed access to the resources and technologies required for self-production. This is why self making is class-making (Skeggs, 2004b:90).

Especially in recent years, neoliberalism that relies on the notion of the individual creating its own value, also creates much more images of those that lack value in the capitalist system as the illegitimate subjects of the nation. Neoliberal globalisation recasts definitions of who counts as a valuable citizen. Those failing to so define themselves and act accordingly are conceived of as moral, social and political problems to be devalued, punished, and kept regimented. Working class people are more being systematically denied the resources and opportunity to cultivate the requisite social, aesthetic and knowledge distinctions so jealously guarded by the middle classes. New forms of neoliberal governance in which the use of culture is seen as a form of personal responsibility by which new race relations are formed, new ways of investing in one's self as a way of generating exchange-value via affects and display; and the shift to compulsory individuality are reshaping class relations via the making of the self (Skeggs, 2005:965).

In these circumstances, working class people do not want to be identified as working class since this was perceived to be a highly stigmatized position (le Grand, 2008:24). Moreover, they also definitely do not want to be middle class and they do not want to be what they are expected to be, but they want to have value (Skeggs, 1997:102). It is a no-win situation for them unless the shifting of perspective from exchange value to use value (Skeggs, 2005:965).

2.6.2.2.2. Resistance Theories

Resistance theory states that working class students are not merely the product of capital (Giroux, 1983:260). It challenges the school role as a democratic institution that functions to improve the social position of all students as reproduction theory, it questions the processes by which the school system reflects and sustains the logic of capital as well as dominant social practices and structures that are found a class, race and gender divided society (McLaren, 2007:215). Resistance theorists draw upon an understanding of the complexities of culture to define the relationship between the schools and the dominant society. They pay more attention to the partial autonomy of the school culture and to the role of conflict and contradiction within the reproductive process itself (Giroux, 1983:260).

2.6.2.2.2.1. Willis

Willis's work presents a considerable advance in understanding social and cultural reproduction in the context of student resistance (McLaren, 2007:215). Willis defends that education's main purpose is the social integration of a class society and it could be achieved only by preparing most kids for an unequal future, and by insuring their personal underdevelopment (Giroux, 1983:258). That is, he accepts the reproduction of dominant culture by the education system, but he denies a corresponding relation between socioeconomic or political systems and the education system.

Willis, in his study of "the lads" (a group of working class school boys in an English secondary school), he emphasizes that lower class children "the lads" (sometimes) do not adopt the dominant ideology of upper classes, oppose and deny the authority and build up a counter-culture by alternative dress, smoking, racism etc. (Willis,

1981). They challenge to the role of the school. Because, the school overrates upper class, depresses the lower ones. School, as opposite to formal ideology, may have a role in this process by tolerating them. But the result is the reproduction of the children as rebel, uneducated and unskilled worker (Eskicumali, 2003:29). Much of their opposition to the labels, meanings, and values of the official and hidden curriculum is informed by an ideology of resistance, the roots of which are in the shop floor cultures occupied by their family members and other members of their class. The most powerful example of this mode of resistance against the class based oppression of the school is exhibited by the lads in their rejection of the primacy of mental over manual labor. Not only do the lads reject the alleged superiority of mental labour, they also reject its underlying ideology that respect and obedience will be exchanged for knowledge and success (Willis, 1981). The lads oppose this ideology because the counter logic embodied in the families, workplaces and street life that make up their culture points to a different and more convincing reality (Giroux, 1983:285).

Willis states that children from lower class also think they are not clever enough for the success in their future life. They accept their limited career prospects that cannot be enough for highly paid or high status job by schooling (Giddens, 1997:418). Equality of opportunity ideology is a lie. Resistance of the students is the result of this unequal situation by the school ideology which protects class inequalities which apply the norms and values of upper class (Yüksel, 2003:239). These norms and values of dominant class are not consistent with the lives of worker class children, thus they show resistance. These children are afraid of their future because of deep and routine occupations wait for them, and they do not have hopes (Willis, 1981).

2.6.2.2.2. Cohen

Cohen who has developed the notion of status frustration had a research on delinquent boys and the sub-cultures of gang in Chicago whose actions do not adopt the ideology of dominant middle class which discriminates against them (Cohen, 1955). According to Cohen, formation of delinquent sub-cultures primarily within deprived inner city areas related with lower class strove to embrace the norms and values of mainstream society but lacked the means to achieve to success. In his work,

he sees American society as characterized by a dominant set of middle class values including ambition, individual responsibility, cultivation and possession of skills, readiness and ability to postpone gratification, personableness, control of the physical aggression or violence, and respect for property. But lower class children, especially boys, cannot always meet these values and standards. They do not have verbal and social skills to measure up to the criterion of middle-class values. Therefore, they feel that the rest of the society looks down upon them and they are denied status. Their response is to adopt their own set of values or sub-culture (Cohen, 1955).

2.6.2.2.3. Recent Critical Pedagogy

Neoliberal restructuring in the capitalist system in recent years naturally has influenced the educational system. Education is a product for national economies and international competition, rather than a public service (Ercan, 1998: 22-23). Educational institutions have started to transform to companies in globally competitive economy through the education system, while the students have become active consumers-passive learners (Aksoy et al, 2011; Ball, 2007; Alexiadou, 2002; Sağıroğlu, 2008). Education has been much more described as a cost for a few decades (Ercan, 1998:25). It has been reduced to a zone of free capital investment (Barton, 2001:850). Education is still seen as an opportunity, rather than a right in a neo-liberal manner, it still legitimates the reproduction of social, political and economic privileges (Özsoy, 2004:59). In this educational system, which is more subordinate to transnational capital, can only be detrimental to any attempts to bring about social justice through education (Barton, 2001). Because, struggle- whether for power, knowledge or identity- in schools has started to take place within the context of global power relations. Thus, new approaches have emerged in critical theory too. Contemporary critical educators discuss in their criticisms the influence of many varied concerns, institutions, and social structures including globalization, the mass media etc. Next part of this chapter studies them.

2.6.2.2.3.1. Giroux

Giroux's earlier work during the 1970s and 1980s focused on educational reform, pedagogy, and the transformation of education to promote radical democracy.

Moreover, in *Border Crossings* (1992), he called for a transformation of education and pedagogy in the light of the new paradigms, discourses, and practices that were circulating by the 1990s. One of the key new discourses and practices that Giroux was to take up and develop the discipline of cultural studies. Giroux's concern is with how children and youth are exploited and socialized by commercial consumer culture and the lack of public spaces and sites for the young to develop agency and learn democratic and cooperative social relations and values in an increasingly commoditized and privatized culture and society.

He is mainly interested in how power resistance and human agency can become central elements in the struggle for social justice in schools and in society (Giroux, 1983:257). For Giroux, schools are more than instructional sites, they are also cultural sites and arenas of contestation and struggle among differently empowered cultural and economic groups (Winkler, 1984:74).

Giroux states that hidden curriculum keeps educators in the service of the dominant political and economic system despite their good intentions (Giroux, 2001, 1988). Schools provided different classes and social groups with the knowledge and skills they needed to occupy their respective places in a labour force stratified by class, race and gender. They are also reproductive in the cultural sense, functioning in part to distribute and legitimate forms of knowledge, values, language, and modes of style that constitute the dominant culture and its interests. Schools, as part of a state apparatus, produce the economic and ideological imperatives that underlie the state's political power (Giroux, 1983:258). They also legitimate capitalist rationality and sustained dominant social practices (Giroux, 1983:258).

Giroux has linked his attempts to transform pedagogy and education with the project of promoting radical democracy (Sağiroğlu 2008:57). Cultural studies provides the critical tools to provide competencies that enable teachers, students, and citizens to develop the ability to analyze and criticize cultural representations that promote domination students are able to understand the factors that have helped to create an unequal society that has a political, socioeconomic, and educational impact on their lives every day (Gruenewald, 2003). This project provides marginal and excluded voices with a chance to participate and creates the democratic institutions in

schooling, media, cultural forms, and public spaces that make possible a genuine participatory democracy. It directs critical pedagogy and cultural studies to struggle for democratization and against injustice.

Giroux stresses the importance of developing a language of possibility as part of what makes a person critical. As he puts it, the aim of the critical educator should be to raise ambitions, desires, and real hope for those who wish to take seriously the issue of educational struggle and social justice (Burbules and Berk, 1999). Critical pedagogy for Giroux reveals repressive ideologies and reconstructs more emancipating relationships (Giroux, 2001, 237). For Giroux, the primary function of critical education should be emancipation and for him, the main objective of it is the commitment to create some conditions for students in learning skills, knowledge, and modes of inquiry that will allow them to examine critically the role that society has played in their self-formation (İnal, 2010).

2.6.2.2.3.2. McLaren

McLaren states that while the relationship between capitalism and urban education has led to schooling practices that favor economic control by elite classes, the relationship between capitalism and science has led to a science whose purposes and goals are about profitability rather than the betterment of the global condition (Barton, 2001:847). Schooling plays a role in joining knowledge and power to capitalist social relations of production (McLaren, 2003). McLaren states that educational system reflects only or primarily the interests of those of high power and status who are at the top of society and control the rest of society. By doing so, the unequal conditions can be maintained; in other words, the status quo remains.

McLaren examines schools both in their historical context and as part of the existing social and political fabric that characterizes the class-driven dominant society (McLaren, 2007:185). He also sees schooling as a form of cultural politics (McLaren, 2007:186). Schools reproduce the structures of social life through the colonization (socialization) of student subjectives and by establishing social practices characteristic of the wider capitalist society (McLaren, 2007:215). Schools have always functioned in ways that rationalize the knowledge industry into class-divided

tiers that reproduce inequality (McLaren, 2007:187). Schools serve the interests of the wealthy and powerful, while disconfirming the values and abilities of the disadvantaged (McLaren, 2007:189). He argues that schools generally affirm and reward students who exhibit the elaborately coded middle class speech while disconfirming and devaluing students who use restricted working class coded speech (McLaren, 2007). However, it can be stated that he accepts the relative autonomy of schools because of ensuring some resistance forms (McLaren, 2003:83). Because schools are the arenas of conflicts and struggles, and also both the domination and liberation (McLaren, 2003: 85).

2.6.2.3. What Does Critical Pedagogy Propose?

Critical pedagogy advocates the construction of a counter hegemony in opposition to a bourgeois hegemony by collective efforts at social transformation. Thus, critical theories firstly should challenge the role that school play in our political and cultural life (McLaren, 2007:186). For Giroux, critical pedagogy is the philosophy of education as an educational movement, guided by passion and principle that education is always political, and that educators and students should become transformative intellectuals (Gruenewald, 2003). As Horton and Freire states education must be tied to larger social movements (Heaney,2006:4).

If we will transform the existing uneven and unequal structure, it is important to form a progressive educational setting. Such a setting, in Apple's words, sets limits on and enables students to develop within their own day to day lives in school an array of by working-class themes and attitudes which give them strength and can act against the ideological values represented by the school (Inal, 2010).

Part of developing a critical consciousness, as noted above, is critiquing the social relations, social institutions, and social traditions that create and maintain conditions of oppression (Burbules and Berk, 1999). Marginalized students should come to realize through dialogic communication that they have learned many things in their relations with the world and with others. A critical literacy, for example, is about much more than learning how to read words on a page, students must come to an understanding of the cultural, political, and social practices that constitute their world

and their reality before they can begin to make sense of the written words that describe that reality. Freire and Macedo (1998) explain that when marginalized people begin to realize that they are capable of reading and naming their world, they start to question the culture that has been imposed on them and start seeing themselves as the makers of their own culture. They become politically literate and begin to see how reading and writing will benefit them as they begin to challenge the status quo.

Critical theorists believe that critical pedagogy has some responsibilities in being a modern emancipatory approach to and in education. Firstly, critical pedagogy is the only and unique, alternative approach to dominant educational system since it includes emancipatory characteristics (Sağiroğlu, 2008:57). Freire explains this as the democratization of the content and method of teaching (Hendriks, 1998:3). Critical theorists think that one of the most important things educators, curriculum designers, and policy makers can do is to learn about the culture, everyday experiences, language, and community that make up the reality of subordinated students (Freire, 2000; Giroux, 1988; Shor, 1992). Giroux identifies and elaborates on themes like restructuring the classroom as a democratic public sphere, a critique of the instrumental rationality at the root of banking theories of education and the need to connect classroom activities to the everyday lives of marginalized students. Dewey (1963) theorized that only students who were actively involved in their learning could become informed participants in a democracy. He believed that existing learning contributed to the passive acceptance of one's place in society, whereas learning through problem solving and practical application would lead students to take a more active role in determining their experiences and positions within society.

Peter McLaren explains that Critical Pedagogy is an approach adopted by progressive teachers attempting to eliminate inequalities on the basis of social class, and that it has also sparked a wide array of anti-sexist, anti-racist, and anti-homophobic classroom-based curriculum and policy initiatives. After he asks the question of "How can teachers enable students to become critical thinkers who will promote true democracy and freedom?" he answers: "Teachers should teach the students to question the prevailing values, attitudes and social practices of the

dominant society” (McLaren, 2003:160). McLaren states that critical pedagogy must depend on our belief that working class has an ability to change the society for equality and freedom (cited in Inal, 2010).

Critical theorists should empower the powerless and transform existing social inequalities and injustices (McLaren, 2007:186). Students are encouraged to become social agents, developing their capacity to confront real-world problems that face them and their community (Duncan-Andrade and Morrell, 2008:25). Giroux (1988) suggests that education should make the students critically thinking citizens who can take their place in the conduct of democratic life, help students develop consciousness of freedom, recognize authoritarian tendencies, and connect knowledge to power and the ability to take constructive action. So, it should occur in an environment connected to everyday life encouraging discussions conducted within the language and knowledge of the students.

When the theories of education are evaluated generally, it can be stated that the individualistic approaches cannot answer the question of inequality in educational attainment. It should be stated that any approach to this problem should recognize the centrality of structural issues. Discussed critical perspectives above which use the structure as an important element, have various aspects ranging from class analyses to postmodernist approaches. However, all of them agree about evaluating the education as an important institution in producing and reflecting the social structure. Educational attainment is a key in the transmission of human and financial capital from one generation to the next. The difference comes from the interpreting and explaining the dynamism of social systems. For example, while functionalists assert that parental background and income, and child’s economic success or failure are weakly linked, class based theories see society as fundamentally divided by relations of unequal power. They defend that socioeconomic background greatly determines or impacts an individual’s status attainment. Education is an allocative system which gives success to some and failure the others, and a legitimization and reproduction instrument of the dominant classes.

Critical paradigm has some different branches in terms of investigating the education with class, ideology and politics or cultural factors rather than economic. Although

they share the opinion of “children of lower class have lower chance of education”, and they accept that education recognizes the existing social structure, continues and reproduces the existing inequalities, this reproduction is interpreted differently. An analysis of class cannot be limited to economic exchange (production or labour market relations), one also needs to focus on the moral, cultural and symbolic systems of exchange within which it is constructed. Thus, new conceptualisations should move beyond the economic dimensions and mode of production. Because, schools reproduce the structures of social life through the colonization (socialization) of student subjectives and by establishing social practices. Subjectivities are important in how class is made and given value through culture. Even if in understanding the social and cultural reproduction in the context of student resistance, there should be drawing upon an understanding of the complexities of capitals to define the relationship between the schools and the dominant society.

Different forms of capital play out in the field to occupy the dominant positions within it. Then, some capital owners can dominate the field of interactions, the others cannot. The reasons of educational or any other disability of “others” in this peer neighbourhood are tried to be learned by the comparison between the schools, their teachers, students and their parents. For this reason, this study looks at both the relations of the social space and the structures of the field and social agents' dispositions in examining sociospatial mobility. Thus, a method which focuses on the interconnections between human agency, social activities and social structure has been adopted. Bourdieu's conceptualization which attempt to reconcile structure and agency, where external structures are internalized into the habitus, the actions of the agents externalize interactions between actors into the social relationships in the field is used as a basic framework in the thesis. Almost all the studies on social mobility and education have been preferred to use the structure or the agency dimension in general. This study tries to look at both the structure and the agency differently in terms of the interconnection between them because of the subject of the thesis necessitates.

After the drawing of theoretical framework and the investigation of basic concepts and factors concerning the study, next chapters of the thesis will study the socioeconomic, spatial and educational dimensions of social mobility in Turkey.

CHAPTER 3

SOCIOECONOMIC AND SPATIAL DIMENSIONS OF MOBILITY IN TURKISH CONTEXT

Turkey's urbanization experience represents a peculiar type of capitalist urbanization (Şengül, 2001b) because of its aspects of urbanization show some structural differences from the cities of developed countries. In Turkey, urbanization as one of the basic elements that forms the social and economic structure of the country is not a single result of changes in agriculture or industrialization, but also an indicator of social transformation process. It has some effects on social, political and economic structure peculiar to itself (Kongar, 1999).

Migration is the basic source of urbanization in Turkey together with natural population growth. After the end of the Second World War, in addition to structural transformation in rural areas especially coming from the developments in the agricultural cultivation technology with Marshall Plan Aid, distribution of land ownership, limited social mobility, market economy, unemployment in agriculture and newly developing highway network led to unprecedented large scale migration rural to urban areas (Erdoğan, 1991). People left their living areas in search of better employment and income, housing opportunities, educational and cultural resources, and desire for urban life. As well as rural environment has acted as a push factor on immigrants, cities have also pulled migrated people by the possibility of providing better living conditions stated above. In large cities like Ankara, urban population has increased dramatically in a relatively short time because of the people who agglomerated to big cities for the possibility of trickle-down (Keyder, 1999:21), and migration influx to big cities has never been stopped. On the contrary, it has continued throughout the years (Sezen, 1999).

Rapid urbanization resulting from a massive population wave from rural areas has caused cities composed of labour pools (Şengül, 2003). Population growth in urban areas between 1950s and the early 1980s was the indicators of spatial mobility, and

has represented the most important characteristics of the period of urbanization of labour power (Şengül, 2001a). In early migration process, support mechanisms like ethnic or class solidarity, citizenship networks, religious communities etc. prevented growing poverty (Kıray, 1999:92; Kıray, 2003:181; Etöz, 2006:29). Legitimization modes of modernity and capitalist accumulation of Turkey were not appropriate to immigrants (Tekeli, 2008:49). Urban areas and institutions usually could not respond socioeconomic and cultural needs of immigrants (Kıray, 2003; Görmez, 1997). Urbanization due to huge migration rate was also much more than industrialization and employment possibilities (Önen, 2004:74). Thus, immigrants who were unable to find affordable housing in the cities, they have built illegal settlements as their own solution (Akan and Arslan, 2008:37; Bayraktar, 2006; Görmez, 2004:86; Keyder, 1999:35). Moreover, the rate of migration was higher than employment level, thus economic and industrial development of the urban areas were incapable of absorbing more than a small part of immigrant population. Because of these factors, labour source could not find job and went to the marginal sector (Ataay, 2004:19). Therefore, informal and marginal structures and institutions have emerged. People found various channels to survive like peddling, dolmuş etc. (Tekeli, 2008:55; Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2003:112). Especially in recent years, as many as two-thirds of all lower class urban families depend on non-industrial, unskilled work for their livelihood in informal sector (Ataay, 2001). One of the most important problems of the cities is these marginal themes in Turkey (Görmez, 1997).

It was impossible for the governments to provide enough alternative housing as a response to the problem. Therefore, they have been proposed to accept the squatter areas as apart from housing supply and to upgrade their infrastructure and social services (Ultav and Sahil, 2004). Moreover, it is a fact that the existence of gecekondu has occupied to reproduction of labour power with a minimum cost (Tekeli, 1982). Thus, it can be said that dual structure in the cities has been accepted by governments in terms of squatter settlement (Kaygalak, 2001). 60 per cent of the urban population live in these areas (Keleş, 2000). After this time, the most important issue in the urbanization process became squatter settlement oriented urbanization (Şengül, 2002). Cities developed by the two different process, first is the process which is appropriate to the modernism, second one emerged

spontaneously. Existence of the squatter settlements shows the presence of two different social system in the city (Tekeli, 1982).

At the beginning, squatter settlement have been constructed temporarily (Kıray, 2003:23), but then, the slowness of industrial development and scarcity of salaried jobs have caused them becoming developed into extensive and permanent neighbourhoods (Görmez, 2004; Kıray, 2003). They became an investment and consumption object and exchange value (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2003:164; Tekeli, 2008:57). State has left the housing problem. Housing production started to be realised by private sector. Squatter settlements were given to contractors with the methods like build and sell (Yenimahalle, Keçiören, Mamak, Altındağ) (Uzun, 2006:204). After 1960s, unions and cooperatives participated the housing production in the neighbourhoods of Ankara like Aydınlıkevler, Batıkent and Balgat. Squatter settlements could not answer the future migrations any more (Ataay, 2004:40). State which did not intervene to the cities until 1980s, has started to support the urban development sector for recent years (Adıgüzel, 2004:163). Housing Development Administration (TOKİ) has been established in 1984 and built the housing areas in Sincan, Fatih and Eryaman (Şenyapılı, 2006:217). Local governments also realized some transformation projects like Dikmen Valley (Uzun, 2006:206). All of these developments naturally caused geographical and economic mobility in the city.

1980s is the starting point of the different term in the world and characterized by a new phase of economic and social restructuring process which had profound effects on urban social structures (Doğan, 2001; Silver, 1993; Bauman, 1997). The effects of the new era have been emerged in the cities by a new urbanization type called urbanization of capital (Şengül, 2001b). But, this phase highly creates social chaos and displacement, and it does not favor social cohesiveness, it generates tensions and reinforces social and economic polarization, spatial segregation and other discriminatory practices in the cities (Gendrot, 2000).

It is commonly accepted that since 1970s, influential global processes have shaped the ways in which national economic and social policies are made in important ways. Over this period, nations have faced increasing pressures of competitiveness which have resulted in processes of increased adjustment to, and engagement with the

global economy (Nunn et al, 2007:8). Most researches on poverty and inequality suggest that the period from 1970s to 1980s witnessed a large increase in inequalities on a variety of measures, particularly in terms of income (Nunn et al, 2007:9). Naturally, because of the relationship between countries's level of inequality and the degree of intergenerational mobility (Leigh and Andrews, 2007:2), the socioeconomic and political environment have altered the social mobility patterns of flows and relationships negatively (Dubrow, 2006). There has been a fall in the degree of social mobility over recent years (Blanden et al, 2005).

After 1980s, neoliberal economy policies which have caused corrosion of state protectionism and social state policies, in addition to a new international competition brought important transformations in the labour market. Developments in labour market created negative effects in non-developed and developing countries and their unskilled work force (Açıklan, 2008:37). Fordist and post-industrial hierarchies are fundamentally different. There are new trends in the occupational structure today. The post-industrial labour market is heavily social service biased. Emerging service economy which is heterogeneous having both high and low level with low-wage and low-skill positions (Esping-Andersen, 1993:225). Labour market inequality in many industrialized societies has increased in the past thirty years (Morgan et al., 2006:3). There has been a fall in the degree of social mobility over recent years (Blanden et al, 2005). Because increased job insecurity in the labour market made the reproduction of advantage harder. The result was the decrease in the social and economic rights. This process is naturally effective on mobility too. Upward career mobility from manual occupations to higher status professional and technical occupations has declined, with entry to the latter higher status occupations taking place (increasingly) direct from the education system rather than through mid-career flows from lower status occupations (Aldridge, 2001:3).

Over the past twenty years, decline in the real wages has widened significantly (Boratav, 1991:39; Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2003:125). For example, earnings mobility in Britain has declined over the past 20-25 years (Aldridge, 2001:2). After 1980s there was a general downturn in the average real earnings of people in middle-level white-collar jobs in the USA (Giddens, 1997:265). Other example can be given from the Russia. Social mobility in communist Russia in the past was primarily upward

because of the state's security net and system of transfer. During the transition to market capitalism, opportunities create new avenues for social mobility and market incentives will reward individual effort (Wegren et al, 2006). In similar, payments generally precluded low rate of mobility in the labour market in EU countries (Choi et al., 2004:427). But, there has been a large increase in the number of people experiencing persistent and pervasive poverty today. This has naturally contributed to strengthen existing inequalities (Mingione, 1996). In recent years, it is indirectly accepted that poverty cannot be removed by neoliberal practices and macro policies. The concept of "struggle against poverty" has been replaced by "poverty alleviation" (Çulhaoğlu, 2004:4).

Another persistent problem is unemployment (Chiricos and Kleck, 2002; Akan and Arslan, 2008) and nowadays it is a loss of status, rather than income (Erdoğan, 1991). Moreover, as the payments for positive social forces by the state (school, family, and neighbourhood) have tended to decline, the conditions of some groups have become worse. Income inequality is another big problem. Upper income group which constitutes the 16 per cent of the world population gets more than 80 per cent of the gross domestic product today (www.worldbank.org). The 1979 data of Turkish Statistical Institute about the income groups distribution (Ultav and Sahil, 2004) states that income distribution shows unequal share relations. Upper income groups take almost 50 % of total income. In 2005 data, this can be observed again. The rate of upper class' income share to lower one is 7,3 (<http://www.tuik.gov.tr>). Social mobility and income inequality together describe the "fairness" of an income distribution. If income is very unevenly distributed and social mobility is low, then there is a large gap between rich and poor and there is little chance of crossing that gap (Beller and Hout, 2006b).

The structural transformations of the recent decades have caused an increase in poverty and the unequal distribution of income all over the world. In Turkey, the implementation of neoliberal policies during 1980s, the effects of financial crises and the process of globalization have caused new prospects in social stratification, residential patterns and cultural dynamics. As a result of these economic and social processes, traditional support mechanisms have declined and a new type of poverty has been formed (Gürses, 2007:65).

There is a process of pauperisation of labour under global accumulation movements of capital (Özüğurlu, 2005:29). Economic liberalization process, which is directly linked to global reconfiguration of capitalism, did not only created new poor, but also led to more social exclusion (Buğra, 2001). Worsening conditions of formal and informal employment, dissolving of traditional solidarity networks etc. helped the appearance of a marginalised social stratum, namely a new poverty (Buğra and Keyder, 2003:23; Ersoy and Balaban, 2005:21). Then, class inequalities and exploitation sharply increase.

Socioeconomic re-structuring in the world economy has negative effects on Ankara like the other cities. In recent years, Ankara has also become an arena of polarisation and fragmentation between the spaces and the groups. Neoliberal policies have more affected the lower classes than the middle and upper classes. While upper classes have greater access to the legitimate opportunity structure, members of lower classes have not, and they have been continued to be excluded from labour markets and social networks. Therefore, life conditions of these people have become worst and they are mostly concentrated in specific areas of the cities. Geographic concentration of poverty has directly caused uneducated, unskilled and poor people of the cities found themselves spatially isolated. They have been also excluded from the general power mechanisms and occupational system, and are regarded as inferior.

Generally, decentralization or tensions between the classes affect the sociospatial structure of the cities (Şengül, 2001b:119). Increased income inequality and social division result in the social inclusion of one part of society and the social exclusion of another part today (Gough and Franch, 2005). This concentration of poverty has been intimately connected to rising concentrations of some groups in narrowly defined specific areas of the cities (Musterd and Ostendorf, 1998). There is a spatial separation in the cities in terms of housing, social division of labour and life styles (Tarhan, 2006:127). Especially the discrimination in the housing market has led to concentration of uneducated and unskilled people in inner city or squatter settlements areas who found themselves geographically isolated and left with little chance for social mobility (Yılmaz, 2003). This fact naturally polarizes societies and marginalizes the poor (Mingione, 1996), and isolates such areas from the more affluent parts of the community (Ladanyi, 1993; Morris, 1993; Rex, 1988).

In time, squatter settlement process constituted its own hierarchical structure where some parts of the society transfer their poverty to others (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2003). Işık and Pınarcıoğlu have evaluated the urban poor in two groups; urban poor who is abandoned and isolated population and has no power to change their life conditions, and the urban poor who has the power to change their life conditions by the possibilities of informal sector, the ties of kinship etc. The main difference between groups is that while one of these groups has power and hopes to find opportunities to change and improve their life conditions, the other has no chance to create opportunity for themselves (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2003:39). Massey verifies this situation and defends that spatial mobility is a map of power relations. In her “power geometry thesis”, she states that some people use the possibilities of time-space compression, others are affected negatively (Karakurt, 2004). Thus, the mobility of some groups may debilitate the others’ (Dursun, 2000:208). But, the economic restructuring after 1980s changed this situation, permanent poverty cannot be transferred any more (Önder and Şenses, 2005). First generation in the migration could find housing and job possibilities or “be upwardly mobile” in the past, but the second generation has no possibility of education, job, and upward mobility. People have some strategies of living (Boratav, 1991:117). One of them is using the children as a labour force and this makes poverty as a starting point of reproduce poverty for next generation in advance, which maintains the vicious circle of it (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2003:49). This fact also produces loser individuals who will be unskilled workers can not find a proper jobs in labour force market even from the starting point on the one hand, those individuals will be deprived of education and healthy socialization and personality development process in addition to subjecting emotional and psychical exploitation because of the necessary conditions on the other. To the extent, the structural adjustment politics of neoliberalism has been started to adopt after 1980s have accelerated the above poverty process and created a new urban poor who become unprotected and weak as regard to social rights, wages and working conditions determined by this flexible economy. In this process, those unskilled workers already work in informal sector without having an upward social mobility, which results disadvantaged positions (Açıklım, 2008:36).

Spatial differences between individuals or groups in the city cause increasing segregation level (Witte, 1996), then the segregation pushes the people to live and

work in different places because of poverty, illiteracy, ethnical or religious origin of them. Poors are excluded from labour markets, political processes and the social relation networks in cities (Tekeli, 1982). Exclusion is related to isolation from social and economic networks, disaffection from mainstream society, and also associated with social issues (such as educational achievement, family structure, culture etc.), the lack of participation in economically or socially valued activities, and the lack of involvement in local or national decision-making processes (Saunders, 2003). This is a new formation of the poor for whom the primary means of social organization in mainstream society are inaccessible and the stratification of the society has translated into an increasing spatial separation (Gendrot, 2000; Treiman, 1981).

Three dimensions of this neighbourhood stratification are concentrated disadvantage, immigration and residential stability. Disadvantage and deprivation are associated primarily with economic conditions. However, segregation of the poor does not strictly adhere to socioeconomic status, but to patterns of social relations based on a combination of factors coming from capitalist mode of production. Today, poverty is identical with economic, social, political and cultural exclusion. It is clear that structural understanding of society and modes of production is relevant in understanding the production and reproduction of segregation in classed societies. Urban spatial segregation no longer simply expresses socioeconomic differences but has become the spatial evidence of societal fragmentation and incompatible inequality. Spatial segregation, by dividing the city into zones of inclusion and exclusion, can easily reinforce disadvantage and exclusion by restricting the geographic and social mobility of people. These people may also be denied the full benefits of the city life. Process of impoverishment by creating segregation and reproducing inequality, also produces further processes like marginalization, disintegration, and invalidation in some groups and stigmatization of them (Caldeira, 1999).

Social mobility rates which have increased in Welfare State period show that some of the mobility were legal, others were illegal (Eserpek, 1976:392). While physical mobility has been realised by urban regeneration, improvement of economic conditions, utilization of second and third generations from education and job possibilities, using urban institutions and the changes in the traditional gender roles

are the determinants of social mobility (Görmez, 2004:17-96). However, upward mobility started to fall after 1970s (Heath, 1981:117). In this era, mobility of capital has been seen more important than mobility of people (Savage, 1988:555). Before capitalism mobility was disorganized and individual. In organized capitalism, it was organized and social. In disorganized capitalism, it is disorganized and individualistic again. For example, dominant philosophy in the US is swim or sink (Çelik, 2004:87).

Social structure was static in the past. Social status of a person was known when he was born. This situation changed by the emergence of bourgeoisie who always tries to increase the wealth and improve its position to survive (Yırtıcı, 2009:31). For Ayata, traditional middle class is composed of farmers, craftsmen and artisans replaced by new middle class is composed of white-collar people who become upwardly mobile by education. Middle class between the capitalist and salaried classes gained importance by increasing average income, rising third sector in modern capitalist societies. Growing new capital class after the Second World War and the migration to cities by lower classes caused a fall of traditional urban middle class (Kıray, 2003:178). Horizontally stratified middle class (from upper-middle to lower-middle) within itself were replaced by two different middle classes. There continues to be the old middle class who occupied in the production and distribution of material goods and services, but then there is a new middle class consisting of people whose occupations deal with the production and distribution of symbolic knowledge (Wong, 2004). Furthermore, skyrocketing housing and land prices proved too expensive for the 'middle class' in the 1970s, a new kind of inequality based on home and land ownership appears to have emerged in the late 1970s and 1980s, and the barriers to class mobility seem to have increased (Ishida, 2001:582). Globalization has destabilized the mobility of the old middle class much more than that of the new middle class (Sato and Arita, 2004:51).

These parts of the middle class could not reproduce economic and culturally himself (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2003:335) and this caused a fall in the social ladder (Newman, 1988). Increase in the consumption goods and media led to old middle class has lost its privileged position (Öncü, 2005:103). Therefore, middle class has tried to develop some strategies like living in enclaves as a way of protection of his middle class'

identity and reproduction of itself. Moreover, excessive human flow increased the “unknown” and people especially middle and upper income groups withdrawn from the public space by losing their functional ties with the city (Kıray, 2003:13; Sennett, 1996:176; Urry, 1999:120). These changes in urban space caused people from different social classes separate their dwelling areas in the urban space and the walls between them are becoming higher and higher (Urry, 1999:27). Due to these walls the communication among the social classes becoming less and the division in dwellings influences the division in society (Karakurt, 2004:59). There have been inequalities between and in the cities (Karakurt, 2004:62).

After 1980s, classes have been re-defined (Tarhan, 2006:124). If a half-spontaneous class ideology which is blurred and eclectic in Turkey, this ideology contains all the classes from lower to the top due to similarity and sameness in the ideological formation processes (Çulhaoğlu, 2004:6). New upward mobility and new accumulation areas emerged in the cities after 1980s (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2003:139). Old status symbols were replaced by new ones, for example the importance of education decreased (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2003:141). Government officials whose wages have been eroded in recent years are condemned to the life styles and consumption norms of the proletariat (Boratav, 1991:18). There is no longer any fundamental difference in living standards, life-styles and attitudes between the classes. People do this by abandoning some of their basic expenditures. They are not socially mobile, but they try to imitate the socially mobile people by their increasing consumption (Boratav, 1991:111). Turkey is transformed into a market society, and faces with dramatic social mobility which will never be stable. Being one of the remarkable customers for global brands, Turkey maintains the consumption attitudes by getting into debt, despite imbalances in income distribution and gradually declining standard of life (Bıçakçı, 2008:2). Other problem is the non-attainability of consumer mode of life and Meta fetishism which is presented by the city. Nowadays, consumption is equivalent of being individual. Neoliberal policies have made homo oeconomicus people homo consumerus. Social structure designated some values as absolute valuable and cannot limit or define well the targets to reach them and it did not insist about the ways, so every way become legal. These have naturally caused increasing incongruities among communities (Baumann, 2000).

People who evaluate themselves as the owner of the city do not migrate (Yalçın, 2004:25). However, the people who are prevented by especially class related barriers to mobility “such as nepotism or class prejudices, financial disadvantages, good school-bad school” (Swift, 2003:210), are obliged to desire for mobility and be always ready to move (Karpat, 2003:52). But, they face with just a space shifting. Unfortunately, they do not see the contradictions of the mobility (Kıray, 2003:104). Moving out or finding an unskilled job are accepted an upward mobility for them. This comes from the relative well being by the door that is left open by the system or various channels (Kıray, 2005:26). While people compare themselves with the people in lower positions (Kıray, 2003:24), changing consumption patterns in housing, dress, other daily activities etc. helped this process (Tarhan, 2006:129; Kıray, 2005:21; Kıray, 2003:180). Status anxiety is also another important factor. It is the fear of being at the low, or going down the lower ladder in the social stratum. Because perception of self is much related with perception of others (De Botton, 2008:4). Therefore, the way of individuals’ social mobility are both prevented by class structure and helping the reproduction of class structure (Şengönül, 2008:13). The ability for an individual to become wealthy out of poverty does not necessarily indicate that there is social mobility in his or her society. Some societies with low or non-existent social mobility afford free individuals opportunities to initiate enterprise and a mass wealth, but wealth fails to "buy" entry into a higher social class.

Person may be excluded from employment, from residential and educational opportunity, because of the ascriptive factors (background variables) like sex, age, place of birth, marital status, residential status, property ownership, community background, family name, size, educational and occupational position, psychological features, race, religion or ethnic origin where social positions are determined. Social and economic changes in the 20th century have affected family transmission of socioeconomic and cultural resources (Scherger and Savage, 2010; Biblarz et al., 1996). Separation from the family led families cannot control their children. Family disruption affects occupational mobility by weakening the association between dimensions of men's occupational origins and destinations (Biblarz and Raftery, 1993:97). These are negative ascriptions which are sometimes institutionalized (Matras, 1975:261-281). Equality of opportunity is manipulated to maintain acceptance for a certain type of social stratification and inequality by

sociopsychological process. Moreover, inequality legitimized by educational system, mass media, opinion-influencing organizations in macro process (Kerbo, 2006:446). Therefore, social divisions and social mobility go hand in hand (Payne, 1992:212).

There are new phenomenons related with the human circulation of the globalization age outside the classical migration theories (Öncü and Weyland, 2005:19). Increase in human flows, globalization and information society made the concept of migration useless (Tekeli, 2007:471). Because, in the concept of migration, identicalness of the people with a life point in the space is accepted (Tekeli, 2008:63). Migration is static permanence dependence to place (Tekeli, 2008:174). People will change their locations in the logic of redistribution of capital in space. They will move more in information society (space of flows) than industrial society (space of places). This means that people move in routes, rather than the dependence on a place (Tekeli, 2007:472). Then, places will be replaced by routes and the modes of route (Tekeli, 2008:64). People whose routes cross in a time and space will constitute a settlement and a community.

Fair income and better distribution of higher social positions is an illusion (Alvarez and Ortiz, 2004:121). Occupations persist across generations and this persistence depends on factors such as education and also race or migrant status. Wealth also persists heavily across generations: as they are larger at the top of the income distribution, wealth transfers may deepen inequality. Finally, personality traits also tend to persist across generations and affect both labour market outcomes and decisions about family formation (D'Addio, 2007:5). Mobility and urban integration is not possible existing income, employment and educational system (Kiray, 2003:99). Mobility is not in the agenda of people who cannot protect their existing position. Then, in addition to their socioeconomic conditions, their feelings which are generated by class inequality may play a part in the reproduction of class inequality, social stratification and a lack of social recognition again. Thus, disadvantaged, in addition to being deprived in material and social terms, may be also affected in the context of emotional terms (Wong, 2011:2).

Ankara the capital of Turkey, as the study area of this thesis, is the second big province in terms of population in the country. The functions of this city caused it

has absorbed population along years. Therefore, it can be said that urbanization of Ankara has been realized by political and administrative decisions (Görmez, 1997) especially in the phase of urbanization of the state (Şengül, 2003).

Emergence of state bureaucracy and service sector in the city started to pull population, and this caused a huge housing need and speculative mobility. When Ankara became the capital, old residents like farmers had been replaced by new rich people and government officials. But, there were problems between the new comers and old residents (Kıray, 2005:76). Thus, housing policy were firstly directed towards housing needs of government officials. In Jansen plan, a housing area of government officials in the west of Bakanlıklar and Bahçelievler, worker neighbourhood in Akköprü, middle and lower-middle neighbourhood in Sıhhiye and Cebeci were recommended, but these proposals could not be realised in following years. In addition to old neighbourhoods, Bahçelievler, Güvenevler and Kavaklıdere were opened to settlement especially for government officials (Uzun, 2006:203).

Ankara was a public project, but, speculation of land and building was institutionalized like the many cities of Turkey (Bilgin, 2002). It has become highly immigrant rather than industrial city where population has picked up sharply by the phase of structural change in the economy, and the support for private sector in early 1980s which cause new migration wave from surroundings and rural parts of Ankara. Thus, heterogeneous structure of Ankara has become more intense throughout the years. While 80 per cent of Ankara population has been composed of people who were born in Ankara forty years ago, this percentage is about 50 per cent after 2000s. Biggest shares in the people living in Ankara who were born outside Ankara belong to Yozgat, Çorum, Çankırı, Kayseri and Kırşehir (www.tuik.gov.tr). This situation has naturally caused rapid changes in Ankara in terms of social and cultural structure.

The most important two problems of Ankara are in the areas of employment and housing today. Sufficient employment areas which can absorb the people coming with migration could not be improved, thus marginal institutions have inevitably emerged in the city. Other important problem of Ankara is housing. Up today, lack of intervention by the state has caused housing deficiency which has been tried to

closed with squatter settlements, called gecekondu (landed overnight in Turkish) (Görmez, 1997).

Table 3.1: Urban and Rural Population in Ankara and Turkey

Year	Ankara	Urban	Rate %	Rural	Rate %
1950	819.693	288.537	35.2	531.156	64.8
1960	1.321.380	651.241	49.2	670.139	50.8
1970	2.041.658	1.467.304	71.8	574.354	28.2
1980	2.854.689	2.238.967	78.4	615.722	21.6
1990	3.236.378	2.836.802	87.6	399.576	12.4
2000	4.007.860	3.540.522	88.3	467.338	11.7
2011	4.890.893	4.762.116	97.4	128.777	2.6
2012	4.965.542	4.842.136	97.5	123.406	2.5

Table 3.1: (continued)

Year	Turkey	Urban	Rate %	Rural	Rate %
1950	20.947.188	5.244.337	25.0	15.702.851	75.0
1960	27.754.820	8.859.731	33.6	18.895.089	67.0
1970	35.605.176	13.691.101	38.5	21.914.075	61.6
1980	44.736.957	19.645.007	43.9	25.091.950	56.1
1990	56.473.035	33.656.275	59.6	22.816.760	40.4
2000	67.803.927	44.006.274	64.9	23.797.693	35.1
2011	74.724.269	57.385.706	76.8	17.338.563	23.2
2012	75.627.383	58.448.431	77.3	17.178.953	22.7

Source: www.tuik.gov.tr

According to table above, the population of Ankara is 4.965.542 today, and more than 97 per cent of this number live in urban areas. Data show that Ankara's rate of urban population is very higher than Turkey's rate of urban population (77.3) (www.tuik.gov.tr). Thus, it can be defended that Ankara is more urbanized than

Turkey and most of the cities today. The reason of this situation absolutely due to being the capital of Turkey where most of the institutions of central government are placed there. Ankara's population growth rate is 25.7 ‰ while in Turkey is 15.8 ‰ in 2010. While the population density is about 100 in Turkey, it is more than 200 in Ankara (www.tuik.gov.tr).

Table 3.2: Urban and Rural Population in Different Cities

	2000		2012	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Turkey	44.109.336 64.9%	23.735.567 35.1%	58.448.431 77.3 %	17.178.953 22.7 %
Ankara	3.540.522 88.3%	467.338 11.7%	4.842.136 97.5 %	123.40 2.5 %
İstanbul	9.085.599 90.7%	933.136 9.3%	13.710.512 98.9 %	144.228 1.1 %
İzmir	2.732.669 81.0%	638.197 19.0%	3.661.930 91.4 %	343.529 8.6 %

Source: www.tuik.gov.tr

The table above shows the decreasing population in rural areas of Turkey, Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir in recent years.

Majority of the population in Ankara is placed mostly in trade, manufacturing and service sectors. If it is compared with Turkey, the rate of employment in the social services and public sector have much more place than Turkey's and all the cities. This naturally comes from being the centre of government of the country. Moreover, industry sector which can provide employment possibilities to immigrants has not very improved in Ankara.

Table 3.3: Distribution of GDP Among Sectors in Ankara and Turkey

Sectors	Turkey	Ankara
Farming	14.6	5.1
Industry	27.8	17.6
Construction	5.9	8.4
Trade	21.5	26.5
Communication	13.8	12.3
Finance	7.4	14.8
Public	9.0	15.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: www.tuik.gov.tr; www.dpt.gov.tr

There is a physical and economic duality of north and south in Ankara (Güvenç, 2006:191) and this duality still continues (Şenyapılı, 2006:229). While blue-collar lives in the north, white-collar lives in the south of Ankara. That is, middle and lower income groups are located in the north, upper in the south. At the beginning of the Republic, Ulus was the center of Ankara, then Kızılay, next Kavaklıdere, now Eskişehir Road has carried this function (Özcan, 2006). Geographical mobility in the city can be seen as “from center south to Eskişehir axle” (Görmez, 2004:43) and “from center north to İstanbul axle” (Şenyapılı, 2006:222). For example, most of the residents of Sincan and Fatih are the people who have come from Yenimahalle and Altındağ.

When the neighbourhoods are examined, the density of income groups in some geographical locations can be seen: Upper and upper-middle class: center south “Bahçelievler-traditional middle class (Etöz, 2006:29), Emek, Ayrancı, Kavaklıdere, Gaziosmanpaşa, Çankaya” and Eskişehir axle “Ümitköy, Bilkent, Beysukent, Çayyolu, Konutkent, Koru Sitesi (Tarhan, 2006:128)”, middle and lower-middle class: İstanbul axle “Batıkent, Eryaman, Sincan, Etimesgut, Elvankent, Fatih (Şenyapılı, 2006:217)” and periphery south “Mamak, Hüseyin Gazi, Dikmen, Balgat, Öveçler” and center north “Altındağ, Keçiören, Yenimahalle (Şenyapılı, 2006:222)”. The research area of this thesis “Demetevler” is in this region.

According to the National Adress Database (UAVT), when the rate of populations of the biggest districts of Ankara to the numbers of housing and working areas in these districts are examined, Keçiören and Yenimahalle have more housing areas than Altındağ and Çankaya. On the contrary, they have less working area than Altındağ and Çankaya. Demetevler, as parallel to Yenimahalle, can be thought as a housing area rather than working one (www.tuik.gov.tr).

Demetevler which is one of the first informally appeared neighbourhood where low and lower-middle income people live is important in terms of its demographic and spatial features and transformations that being faced. Like the other gecekondu neighbourhood areas of the city and the country, it has been naturally affected by the process of neo liberal restructuring under the global accumulation of the capital. Class differentiations that showing themselves in the space affected it much more than the past (Ersoy, 1985:154). These places are dynamic to this day because old migrants move out when they improve their life standards as new migrants move in (Pınarcıoğlu and Işık, 2008).

In the first years of the gecekondu neighbourhoods, extended family support and social networks based on kinship and hemsehri (people with the same geographic origin) as a survival strategy could provide and security in neighbourhood life (Beşpınar Ekici, 2001; Ayata, 1996; Erder, 2002; Kalaycıoğlu, 2005; Kaya, 2008; Ersoy, 1985). People could get help from their neighbours or relatives in finding jobs by strong community ties. When the living duration in the city increased, the rate of having high educational level, qualified jobs and income was increasing (Ersoy, 1985:32; Ersoy and Balaban, 2005:21). It can be stated that early migrant families had higher living standards, had regular income and jobs and lived in their own houses. Thus, they provided integration with the city, and cannot be evaluated as marginal (Ersoy, 1985:49). Moreover, their ties with their hometowns were continuing. Even their second generation had found opportunities in employment and education system (Ersoy, 1985:73).

As Buğra and Keyder (2003) state, people who migrated to big cities in a few decades are at risk for the intergenerational transmission of poverty. The rate of unemployment with the structural conditions after 1980s has increased (Ersoy and

Balaban, 2005:21). Over the last fifty years, spaces have been transformed through local politics, migration patterns, and urban renewal projects. Gecekondu neighbourhoods like Demetevler in Ankara have been also reshaped with the spatial formation of districts (Kaya, 2008:42). Social distance among the social classes has increased. Some social groups in gecekondu neighbourhoods are experiencing worse experiences, and breaking the cycle of poverty is much more difficult for newer migrants than it was for early migrants (Buğra and Keyder, 2003). They cannot improve their living standards. Although, the rate of neighbourhood change may be more than 50 % for example in Ankara as Şengül and Ersoy (1999) states, these spatial movements stay horizontal in terms of housing and employment possibilities. Then, many newcomer families are generally renters who work in casual jobs with lower educational level and incomes (Kaya, 2008).

In this chapter, the socioeconomic and spatial dimensions of social mobility have been tried to be examined. Because of the socioeconomic re-structuring in the world economy which have caused corrosion of state protectionism and social state policies, the conditions of some groups have become worse. This new phase highly creates social chaos and displacement, and reinforces socioeconomic polarization, spatial segregation and other discriminatory practices in urban areas. Poores are mostly concentrated in specific areas of the cities by finding themselves excluded from labour markets, spatially isolated from the other parts of the city and left with little chance for social mobility especially for themselves and their next generations.

Education in Turkey has been naturally affected by these processes. People cannot easily find opportunities in education sytem. Then, the attitudes of people coming from low income families living in neighbourhoods towards education and their valuation have been dramatically influenced by educational deprivation (Kaya, 2008:81). According to World Bank and UNDP, one third of the young people drop out of school because of the necessity of earning money to contribute to household income. Fathers are almost always absent because of difficult working conditions such as irregular working hours and extra jobs. Then, their children are socializing outside of the home. Peer pressure in the educational attainment of the children is greater because of the family's low involvement in the children's lives. Thus, next chapter of the thesis will study the educational dimension of mobility.

CHAPTER 4

EDUCATIONAL DIMENSION OF MOBILITY IN TURKISH CONTEXT

Education is generally the transmission of knowledge from one generation to another by means of direct instruction (Giddens, 1997:582). It is the process of transferring the traditions, customs and culture of the society to the individuals (Ulusoy, 1996:59). It is defended that it improves the mental and moral learning of the children by a systematic teaching. It also formates the expected and desired behaviours. While Durkheim states that education, which socializes the young generations, provides agreement and integration in the society, Weber defends every educational system prepares children for a certain habit (Tezcan, 1993).

Although education processes exist in all societies, it is only in the modern period that mass education takes the form of schooling (Giddens, 1997:582). At the end of the eighteenth century, the importance of schooling increased especially because of the specialization that industrial economies need. Human skills which provide economic development were essential in the new system (Ulusoy, 1996:60). For Robertson, education was used as the main instrument to implement nation state building projects (Özgür, 2006:9). Collective consumption, including education, started to be provided mainly by the states especially after the Second World War (Doğan, 2002 quoted by Kurul, 2009). Education has highly expanded in all over the world since 1950s (Hassan and Ismail, 2005:69). In this term, education was also seen as an investment to human capital (Carnoy, 1982:486). Because, complex jobs in modern society desired a level of education. Moreover, industrialization and urbanization weakened the tradition of passing on occupations from parents to children by new occupations that could not be taught by parents (Hassan and Ismail, 2005:71). Thus, education was accepted as one of the headstones of the social welfare state (Altınışık and Peker, 2008:108).

Education is accepted serving to break the links from the transmission of economic privilege from one generation to the next. That belief lead the creation of free public

schools as the great equalizer. Education was seen as the first policy area of providing social fluidity and diminishing the inequalities of capitalism (Altınışık and Peker, 2008:108). The values of universal education included equality of opportunity, the right of all children to a high-quality education, rejection of discrimination and respect for ethnic and religious differences (Wilkinson, 2004:1). Then, education expanded to all parts of the society in terms of the transformation from ascription to achievement. This expansion was also suitable to capitalist mode of production formed in the nation state building. The market required working, consuming and moving individuals or citizens. Thus, national education system which had a common language and shape was necessary. This education system would ensure the education of citizen, labour and consumers that economic system need.

In most developing countries, education is largely publicly provided today. Investing in education is widely recognized as a key component of a country's development strategy. Governments all over the world devote substantial resources to their education sector (Bedi and Garg, 2000:464). It is also argued that universal education tends to have an equalizing effect on income distribution and may even compensate for differences in family background. The table below shows the yearly public expenditures for a student in some OECD countries.

Table 4.1: Yearly Public Expenditures for a Student in OECD Countries

Country	Expenditure (\$)
Germany	7.925
Estonia	4.126
Russia	2.761
Denmark	10.395
Slovenia	7.869
Greece	4.588
Portugal	6.624
Czech Republic	5.174
OECD Average	7.840

Source: OECD, 2009:202

Equality in education, like other public goods, has been accepted predominantly. The main objective of the education is the redistribution of income equally. However, this redistribution requires state intervention. Because, state has been the main obligor in the permanence of the educational rights like the other basic human rights. Free and accessible education to all levels has been one of the principles of social state. Education is firstly a public right and service. This right affects the civil, social, economic and political rights in terms of citizenship. Thus, state has produced and distributed the educational services publicly (Yıldız, 2008:27). Next table shows the rate of public expenditures on education to GDP in OECD countries.

Table 4.2: The Rate of Public Expenditures on Education to GDP in OECD Countries

Country	Rate %
Germany	4,8
Spain	4,7
Estonia	4,9
Russia	3,9
Denmark	7,3
Slovenia	6,1
Greece	5,6
Portugal	4,3
Czech Republic	4,8
OECD Average	5,7

Source: OECD, 2009:241

Some studies show that countries with greater public expenditure on education have lower income inequality in their cross country analysis. Public spending on education decreases income inequality over time and promotes growth by enhancing the stock of human capital (Duman, 2008:371). Following table shows the rate of public expenditures on educational institutions to GDP in OECD countries.

Table 4.3: The Rate of Public Expenditures on Educational Institutions to GDP in OECD Countries

Country	Rate %
Germany	2,8
Spain	2,8
Estonia	3,5
Russia	2,0
Denmark	4,8
Slovenia	4,0
Greece	3,4
Portugal	3,7
Czech Republic	2,8
OECD Average	3,5

Source: OECD, 2009:219

Universal principle of education right has been accepted in international treaties or declarations and national laws. According to Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 26:

“Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.”
 (<http://www.belgenet.com/arsiv/sozlesme/iheb.html>)

According to the principles above, compulsory education has spread in all over the world. The table below shows the compulsory education ending age for some OECD countries.

Table 4.4: Compulsory Education Ending Age in OECD Countries

Country	Age
Germany	18
Spain	16
Estonia	16
Russia	15
Denmark	15
Greece	15
Portugal	15
Czech Republic	14
OECD Average	14

Source: OECD, 2009:301

However, while globalised capitalism differentiates the capital accumulation processes, it also detaches the states from their social character (Kurul, 2009). Education is also negatively affected by this process and the reforms directing towards restructuring the role of this public service in social mobility and the egalitarian political function (Sayılan, 2006; Kurul, 2009). Education, as a part of service sector which contains the biggest part in national economies, is valued within neoliberalism and continuing liberalization process on a global scale (Christie, 2007:2445). The reason of this interest firstly comes from the profitability and commercial capacity of the sector. Neoliberal interest cannot exclude the education sector that is considered as a field of capital accumulation (Yıldız, 2008:13). Thus, globalization has brought competition, commercialization and privatization to education. Restructuring discourse, which is commonly used in the education sector, is the part of neoliberal economic policies making the education as a part of market mechanism (Dinçer, 2007:325). Like the other public services, education has been commercialised as an enterprise (Yılmaz and Altınkurt, 2011; Yıldız, 2008). In this

understanding, state sees its citizens as consumers; even democracy simply becomes the consumption choice (Apple, 2009).

Governance which is one of the fundamental concepts of globalization process foresees public power is transferred to private sector, NGO's, associations or foundations (Güler, 2005, 25). Other reflections of the governance in educational sector are commercialization and competition in education, performance criteria for teachers, classifying the classes and the students (Kurul, 2009). These liberal policies focus on the reforms about decentralization in educational institutions, and aim at the elimination of public schools by private entrepreneurship. After the education and curriculum have been restructured in accordance with the demands of the market, the concepts like education right, equality of opportunity, citizenship and democracy have been replaced by competition, individualism and entrepreneurship culture (Sayılan, 2006; Özgür, 2006; İnal, 2010).

Neoliberalism negates the state intervention to equality of opportunity in education publicly. Public services are expensive, poor quality and have no competitive pressures. The defenders of private sector question the public expenditures on education because of the differences of educational quality between private and public education (Lott, 1987). Lack of quality, lack of care and inadequate teaching are the main arguments that are used by the defenders of privatization (Yıldız, 2008:17). Thus, state should be withdrawn from the sectors like education, health, social security etc. and transfer them to private sector for high quality, efficiency, and low prices (Aktan and Vural, 2002). Increasingly powerful discourses and policies of neo-liberalism concerning privatisation, marketisation, performativity, and the enterprising individual have international effects (Apple, 2001:421). The result for education is the raising numbers of private schools in all levels of education throughout the world.

Competitive and individualistic market model education has pervaded in all over the world. Competitive education system, where people have been educated as appropriate to their social status and financial capacity, has been created (Dağlı, 2007). Being privatized educational sector caused education right not to available

for all citizens. Education of the people who have not enough opportunities have been left to rich businessmen and civilian social organizations (Yıldız, 2008:13).

Another axis which has been affected by neoliberal economy is the education of labour force as an input. Education programs are consistent with the functions and the demands of neoliberalism (Yıldız, 2008:24). Moreover, capitalist accumulation requires the rationalization of the private education. Because dominant class has to control intellectual means of productions like education. The main objective of education is to provide capitalist reproduction, to increase the profits, to circulate the ideology of dominant class and to provide the adaptation of legitimacy of existing system (Yıldız, 2008:16). Schools are also the institutions of producing consumers of neoliberalism. As Illich states, the school is the inducer of endless consumption myth. Thus, recent developments in this sector are another indicator of neoliberalism's interest on education.

Expensive fees in education sector show the gap between upper and lower classes has deepened, and the exclusion of latter one. In developed and developing countries, primary education grew up, but the right of secondary and third education is in the upper classes. Thus, education became a privilege only used by high socioeconomic status people, rather than a social right (http://www.sendika.org/yazi.php?yazi_no=1101). Beck states that modern school system which abolished the old status gaining channels before modernization, became a social status distribution mechanism today which is mainly determined by age, gender, ethnicity and socioeconomic factors again. Then, while education may decrease the inequalities in wages, it increases the welfare inequalities (Lott, 1987). In these circumstances, polarization is increasing day by day (Yıldız, 2008:20). Equality of opportunity and accessibility in education cannot be defended (Ertürk, 2006:12). Because of the education teaches the citizens of the states, the individuals who have not education right will be also deprived of citizenship rights (Yıldız, 2008:28).

If Turkey is examined in terms of the institutional structure of education; according to Turkish Constitution, in the Chapter of Social and Economic Rights, in the Part of Right and Duty of Training and Education, in Article 42:

“No one shall be deprived of the right of learning and education. The scope of the right to education shall be defined and regulated by law. Training and education shall be conducted along the lines of the principles and reforms of Atatürk, on the basis of contemporary science and educational methods, under the supervision and control of the state. Institutions of training and education contravening these provisions shall not be established. The freedom of training and education does not relieve the individual from loyalty to the Constitution. Primary education is compulsory for all citizens of both sexes and is free of charge in state schools. The principles governing the functioning of private primary and secondary schools shall be regulated by law in keeping with the standards set for state schools. The state shall provide scholarships and other means of assistance to enable students of merit lacking financial means to continue their education. The state shall take necessary measures to rehabilitate those in need of special training so as to render such people useful to society. Training, education, research, and study are the only activities that shall be pursued at institutions of training and education. These activities shall not be obstructed in any way.”
(<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/anayasa.htm>).

Article 62 states that:

“The State shall take the necessary measures to ensure the family unity, the education of the children, the cultural needs, and the social security of Turkish nationals working abroad, and shall take the necessary measures to

safeguard their ties with their homelands and to help them when they are backing home”. In Article 130, "For the purpose of training manpower under a system of contemporary education and training principles and meeting the needs of the nation and the country, universities are established by the State and by law..." (<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/anayasa.htm>).

In the National Education Basic Act, general objective of Turkish National Education is defined as to raise all members of the Turkish Nation, as citizens loyal to Atatürk's reforms and principles and Atatürk nationalism manifesting itself in the Constitution; adopting, preserving and furthering the national, moral, mortal, spiritual and cultural values of Turkish nation; loving and forever striving to uphold their family, their land and their nation; aware of their responsibilities and having rendered such awareness a form of behavior for the Republic of Türkiye, a democratic, secular, and social state of rights, founded on human rights and the fundamental principles stated in the Preamble to the Constitution, as constructive, creative and productive individuals with a physically, mentally, morally and emotionally well balanced and healthy personality and character, equipped with the capacity for free and scientific reasoning as well as an encompassing view of the world, respectful to human rights, valuing the individual and the enterprise, feeling responsible to the society, as professionals prepared for life with competencies to contribute to their own happiness and that of the society, by having them gain the necessary knowledge, skills, attitudes and team work habits through developing their interests and aptitudes.

In the same Law, basic principles of Turkish National Education are listed as:

I- Universality and equality

II- Needs of individuals and the society

III- Orientation of individuals to suitable educational programs and schools

IV- Education right

V- Equality of opportunity

VI- Principles and reforms of Atatürk and Atatürk nationalism

VII- Democracy education

VIII- Secularism

IX- Scientific reasoning

X- Planning

XI- Coeducation

XII- Family and school cooperation

XIII- All over education (<http://mevzuat.meb.gov.tr/html/88.html>).

In Turkey, education was firstly institutionalized in the Ottoman period. The Ministry of National Education of Turkish education system was founded in 1857 during the Ottoman Empire under the Council of Ministers. This was the first education organization at the level of Ministry (Kollu, 2006:4). After the Republic, state control over education has continued until today. The dominant provider and financier of education in Turkey have been the governments until now.

The National Education System, determined by National Education Basic Act No.1739, consists of two main parts, namely formal and non-formal education. Formal education is the regular education conducted within a school for individuals in a certain age group, under programs developed in accordance with the purpose. Formal education includes pre-primary, primary, secondary and higher education institutions. Informal education covers citizens who have never entered the formal education system or are at any level of it or have left at that level, and which may accompany formal education or be independent of it are. It teaches citizens to read and write and to provide them with the possibility of continuous education so that they may complete their deficient education, provides them with the opportunity of education that shall help them in adjusting to scientific, technological, economic, social and cultural developments, and in protecting, developing, promoting and assimilating the values of our national culture (<http://mevzuat.meb.gov.tr/>).

Although some studies claim that schooling rates have no significant impacts on income distribution (Duman, 2008:371), the schooling is still accepted as one of the key variables of education, as the average educational attainment (average years of schooling) and the dispersion of schooling in the population. When the schooling rates of Turkey are examined, following table shows low rates especially for secondary education. Schooling which is one of the most important indicators of the education's role on equality of opportunity is especially low in the lower class people in Turkey. Therefore, contribution of education to equality of opportunity cannot be argued. Inequality in terms of years of schooling remained almost constant at low levels in the OECD countries, despite the increase in the average educational attainment (Eğitim Sen, 2009:4; Checchi, 2001 and 1997). Inequalities between the countries in terms of period of education, literacy rate, schooling and participation in education also continue (Tomul, 2002).

Table 4.5: Schooling Rates in Turkey and Ankara

	Primary Education			Secondary Education		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Turkey	98,41	98,59	98,22	69,33	72,35	66,14
Ankara	99,94	100,00	99,84	82,78	82,48	83,10

Source: MEB, 2011

If the schooling and educational attainment are looked at in terms of quintiles, Turkey has a wide gap between the levels of schooling among the top and bottom quintiles. Poores do not benefit from especially university education even if it is fully free of charge (Duman, 2008:382).

Table 4.6: Educational Attainment of the Richest and the Poorest Quintile in Turkey

Years	1987		1994		2005	
	Poorest 20%	Richest 20%	Poorest 20%	Richest 20%	Poorest 20%	Richest 20%
Below Primary	34.50	6.01	32.50	6.12	31.22	4.89
Primary	53.01	39.03	54.93	37.88	56.24	34.76
Secondary	8.24	9.89	7.99	9.21	8.11	8.52
High	3.50	26.71	3.87	25.63	3.93	24.10
University	0.75	18.36	0.71	21.16	0.50	27.73
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Duman, 2008:376

The Turkey's educational system is divided into primary, secondary and higher education levels. Primary education is the only level of education that became compulsory in 1970s and it has included five years of education until 1997. Today it consists of 12 years of uninterrupted education and involves the education and training of children until the age of 17. Primary education is supposed to start at the age of 5-6 and consists of 4 years followed by 4 years of junior secondary, and 4 years of general or vocational higher secondary education. Secondary education paves the way for higher education, which is imparted through a variety of academies, polytechnics and universities.

Primary education is compulsory for all male and female citizens and is free at state schools. In the Regulation of Primary Educational Institutions of the Ministry of Education, main objective of the Primary Education is defined as, the objective of primary education is to ensure that every Turkish child acquires the necessary knowledge, skills, behavior and habits to become a good citizen and is raised in accordance with the concept of national morals and that he/she is prepared for life and for the next level of education in accordance with his/her interests, talents and capabilities.

Today almost 90 % of students at all levels of education attend public educational institutions, while 97 % of primary school enrollment is in public schools. The table below shows the general situation of Turkish educational institutions.

Table 4.7: Educational Institutions in Turkey (2011-2012)

Type of Institution	School	Student	Teacher	Classroom
1.Non-formal Education	13.738	8.524.527	105.769	91.672
2.Formal Education*	46.427	16.905.143	774.602	515.426
2.1.Formal Public Education	41.761	14.821.197	710.082	475.269
2.1.1. Public Primary	31.177	10.692.329	484.161	407.563
2.1.2. Public Secondary**	8.786	3.677.854	215.739	111.795
2.2.Formal Private Education	4.664	535.788	64.520	40.157
2.2.1.Private Primary***	931	286.972	31.691	19.450
2.2.2.Private Secondary	840	133.816	19.386	9.715
Total	60.165	25.429.670	880.371	607.098

Source: www.tuik.gov.tr

*Not including pre-primary schools and classes

**Including vocational and technical education

***Including special education

According to table, it can be observed that primary education is the biggest part of the Turkish Educational system in terms of school, student and teacher numbers, and it is mainly public. The share of private schools in primary level is about 2,9 %, while 8,7 % in secondary level.

Today, private schools attract the families and students by their promotions, scholarships and high rates of success in the high school and university exams. Supporters of private school explain the success of private schools with their education quality (Arisoy, 2007). Thus, they think they are also state schools, but managed by private sector, and thus the state should substantiate them. According to them, every student who goes to private school alleviates the burden of state schools and helps the quality of education increases in public schools. Because an increase in the size of the private sector would lead public schools to compete as private schools present better standards and achieve high success. For example, public schools would eventually respond to the changes in the sector and intend to increase quality in order to catch up with private schools. On the other hand, as private sector grows, high quality teachers and successful students would be valued by all schools (Kollu, 2006:1).

Table 4.8: The Number of Students per a Classroom in Public Schools in Turkey and OECD

Country	Average Number
Turkey	27.5
OECD Average	21.4

Source: OECD, 2009:382

From the government side, General Director of Private Education defends the private schools will decrease the number of crowded classrooms in public schools (<http://www.egitimportali.com/haber.php?hid=1138-19.10.2005>). The data from the table above show verify the overcrowding in public schools in Turkey. The number of students per a classroom in public schools is higher than all of the OECD countries and the OECD average.

Turkish government who also defends privatization in education sector uses the argument of the scarcity of public funds, investments to education and recent evidences of public school inefficiency, and call for an examination of the dominant role of the state like the other defenders of private education (Bedi and Garg, 2000:463; Şahin, 2002:226). Encouraging private sector will reduce the burden of the

public sector by decreasing the amount of the students in financing public education (Kollu, 2006:18). For example, government declares that state spends 1600 \$ for every public school student in a year. According to the government, state may spend this amount of money to support the students in private school. Thus, privatization will not increase the burden of the state.

The table below states that expenditures for one student's education in Turkey is about one-five of the OECD average. Moreover, the share of the state is 55 % of the total educational expenditures in Turkey. This shows that the parents are the main actors responsible in education of their children (Eğitim Sen, 2009:11-12).

Table 4.9: Yearly Public Expenditures for a Student in Turkey and OECD

Country	Expenditure (\$)
Turkey	1.614
OECD Average	7.840

Source: OECD, 2009:202

The defenders of private sector question the public expenditures on education because of the differences of educational quality between private and public education. Lott (1987) states that if private sector is more successful than public one, why does state still provide the education?

Previous Minister of National Education states that private schools have many contributions to education sector by their new educational approaches. According to her, private education is an important part and a partner of national education, rather than its alternative. She accepts the success of private schools in the exams, science and sports contests, and she promises enhancing the share of private schools in the education system from 2,9 per cent to 5 per cent (<http://www.meb.gov.tr/haberler/haberayrinti.asp?ID=7536-28.01.2010>).

It should be stated that government support to private education comes from the pressures from the private sector itself because of the demand for private school is not sufficient. Especially most of the middle class families could not send their

children to private schools (Uygun, 2003:116). For a few years, private education centers (Dersaneler) have increased rapidly (Arısoy, 2007). Because, private education center is low-cost, low number of physical equipment and employee when compared with private school, thus lots of this type of institutions emerge day by day as the table shows. According to the study by Turkish Education Association shows higher rates about private education (TED, 2010). The data below from the General Directorate of Private Educational Institutions verify these numbers.

Table 4.10: Private Education Centers (Dersaneler) in Turkey

Years	Private Education Centers	Number of Teachers	Number of Students
2002-2003	2.122	19.881	606.522
2003-2004	2.568	23.730	668.673
2004-2005	2.984	30.537	784.565
2005-2006	3.928	41.031	925.299
2006-2007	3.986	47.621	1.071.827
2007-2008	4.031	48.855	1.122.861
2008-2009	4.190	49.956	1.169.047
2009-2010	4.193	50.432	1.174.860
2010-2011	4.099	50.209	1.234.738
2011-2012	3.961	50.163	1.219.472

Source: <http://ookgm.meb.gov.tr>; www.tuik.gov.tr

The government considers the education as a burden for the state today (http://www.sendika.org/yazi.php?yazi_no=1101). It has been stated in the rationale of a recent law: “Rapid developments in education technology diversify the presentation of education and teaching services. While the functions and the costs of education are increasing, managing the education only with the general budget cannot meet the expectations of individuals and society”. One of the old ministers of National Education, in one of his speech, stated that encouraging private schools is more profitable than building new schools (www.egitimsen.org.tr/index.php?yazi=196-2006-04-28). Therefore, government has

legitimized its policies of subsidizing private schools as a way of increasing demand for them.

Legal regulations by the Ministry of National Education about the replacement of school buildings in the city centers, selling the school estates, or renting the schools to private sector have become usual for a few years in Turkey (<http://www.personelmeb.net/sendika>; <http://www.e-okulsistemi.com/haberler/okul-satisfarlari-basladi>; http://www.kecioren.gov.tr/default_B0.aspx?id=184).

The data also proves the intention of withdrawal of the state from education sector. The rate of public expenditures on education to GDP in Turkey is too much low when compared with the OECD countries. The rate of 2,7 is lower even than the half of the OECD average.

Table 4.11: The Rate of Public Expenditures on Education to GDP in Turkey and OECD

Country	Rate %
Turkey	2,7
OECD Average	5,7

Source: OECD, 2009:241

The rate of public expenditures on educational institutions to GDP in Turkey gives parallel numbers as the table below displays. Expenditures on educational institutions is only 1,9 per cent of GDP.

Table 4.12: The Rate of Public Expenditures on Educational Institutions to GDP in Turkey and OECD

Country	Rate %
Turkey	1,9
OECD Average	3,5

Source: OECD, 2009:219

In Turkey, investment to education is only 5,85 % of the budget of Ministry of National Education (Dağlı, 2007). The share of education budget in the consolidated budget is 10,91 %. Budget for education is only 2,66 % of the GNP. Moreover, 71 % of this budget is already the personnel wages (Eğitim Sen, 2009:9).

Table 4.13: The Budget of the Ministry of National Education in Turkey

Years	The Rate of MNE Budget to the Consolidated Budget (%)	The Rate of MNE Budget to the Gross Domestic Product (%)	The Share of Investment in the MNE Budget (%)
2002	7,60	2,71	17,18
2003	6,91	2,85	14,53
2004	8,53	3,00	9,68
2005	9,53	3,06	8,27
2006	9,47	2,88	7,49
2007	10,42	3,30	6,98
2008	10,30	3,20	5,66
2009	10,64	2,51	4,58
2010	9,84	2,56	6,32
2011	10,91	2,66	5,85

Source: MEB, 2010

Education was seen as an instrument of social, economic and cultural development in Turkey between 1960s and 1980s. It was also evaluated as a sub-system of public planning which educates the human power and provides equality of opportunity. Despite educational right might be different because of different cultural capital accumulation at home, it can be stated that public schools served equal educational services in terms of social mobility in these years (Kurul, 2009).

However, social welfare state policies, which were effective on the abatement of income inequality, faced with neoliberal invasion after 1970s (Kurul, 2009). While public expenditures have decreased, the rate of indirect tax which is more than 70 % contributes income inequality by oppressing especially lower classes (Çelik, 2004:83). Then, while the state is not investing to education sector despite collecting taxes from the citizens, private educational institutions are filling in the blanks that the state opens with the incentives and tax allowances of the state itself (<http://www.egitimsen.org.tr/index.php?yazi=196-2006-04-28>). State puts forward the budget deficiency and does not grant an allowance for public schools. It sells even the lands and buildings of schools. It employs waged and contract teachers rather than permanent status (Dağlı, 2007). Most of the electricity, water, telephone, natural gas bills of the schools is paid by the families' contributions (Arısoy, 2007). All of these prove the charges tuition education, rather than free of charge (Yıldız, 2008:18).

The intense privatization in education sector in Turkey started in 1980s by the extensive changes in legislations on private education. According to these changes, development plans comprised private sector encouragement in education, public lands started to be rented to private schools, low-interest credits were given to private educational institutions etc. The effects of the changes can be seen in the privatization rates in education sector which increased from 6 % to 14 %. Private sector also benefited from the variation in the school types like General, Vocational, Technical, Anatolian, Science, Super, Foreign Language weighted High Schools. This means more privatizable areas in terms of divide and rule principle (<http://e-kutuphane.egitimsen.org.tr/pdf/4146.pdf>).

The recent law on private education, the Law No.5580 in 2007, brought some legal decisions on the subject. For example, the school permissions were taken out from the Ministry and given to provincial governments. Some financial requirements and restrictive matters for private schools were abolished. The condition of 200 meters distance from schools to places like cafes, prisons, bars etc. was reduced to 100 meters distance. In touristic places, while the decisions about the distance at holiday time belonged to public administration in old law, new law abolished the distance condition in holidays.

Before 5580, only private nursery schools, kindergarten, technical and vocational schools which are in the cities that development plans gave precedence, were exempted from the corporate and income taxes. Current law has expanded the exceptions. For example, value added tax rebate has been started to implement. Moreover, the Law No.4842 has provided deduction of educational expenditures from the income. 5580 released advertisement for private schools without permission (<http://www.egitimportali.com/haber.php?hid=1138-19.10.2005>).

The law also allowed public school teachers work in private schools (<http://www.egitimsen.org.tr/index.php?yazi=196-2006-04-28>). Another important issue on public schools is school-family association. By the law which changed the some articles of National Education Basic Act, school-family association have been allowed to collect contributions from the families, to organize social and cultural activities, to run the canteens, gyms, car parks etc. (<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/kanunlar/k5257.html>). Low-interest credits, money supports to private school students who come from lower income families, the increasing rate of foreign students in private schools and purchasing educational services from private sector are the other changes relating to private schooling (<http://www.tumgazeteler.com/?a=1090343>).

Purchasing educational services from private sector “Voucher System” means that state pays the all or part of the cost of educating children in private schools, rather than public schools (Levin, 2000; Coulson, 2001). In this system, education by the private sector is financed by the state. For example, few countries subsidize private schools that enroll low-income students, as part of a strategy to meet its commitment to universal access to primary schooling (Uribe et al., 2005:1).

Especially in the last decade, charter schools, as a new implementation in the education policy, spread across the United States and discussed as one of the most significant educational and political reform movements with the familiar hopes of increasing the efficiency of schools and creating competition in public education. As charter schools continue to proliferate, their impact on the public education system is becoming an increasingly important public policy question (Ertas, 2007:111). Policymakers tried to enhance educational outcomes have adopted numerous choice

policies. Charter schools are one of the most recent education reform movements designed to increase innovation, accountability and competition in education.

Charter school legislation as a state-level policy innovation, accept that they are still public schools, but the policy allows them to be free of allowed people legitimately to form public schools outside the bureaucratic and traditional constraints of local school boards in the USA. They are exempt from many regulations and restrictions that affect public schools, which make them much more flexible and attracting parents and students. Unlike traditional schools, charter schools are independent public schools established under a charter contract with a designated charter school authorizer such as the specific charter authorization institution (Ertas, 2007:6). They are developed and managed by individuals or groups of parents, community members, teachers, education management organizations, or local and state government agencies (Renzulli and Roscigno, 2005:345).

Charter schools can design and implement their own staffing, and financial decisions, and develop curriculum, and use innovative teaching techniques or management practices. The schools are accountable to achieve the performance goals listed in their charter at the end of the contract period to get a renewal of their contract (Ertas, 2007:5). Charter schools are presented as laboratories that can test and find new ideas and better approaches to education that may help transform the larger public education system. It should be also stated that if a charter school fails to satisfy parents, it risks losing students and funding. Moreover, public schools have an extra incentive to adopt better programs and increase performance.

Charter school defenders argue that combined pressures of consumer choice and market competition will induce traditional public schools to respond by providing higher quality education and by promoting innovation and equity. They also state that that charter schools might actually reduce existing stratification, particularly in locations where conventional public schools are highly segregated, by either reducing middle class parents' willingness to move to the suburbs or to send their children to private schools or by empowering disadvantaged parents to choose schools without residential limitations (Ertas, 2007:44). However, it has been

observed that charter schools help segregating students by race and economic level, and reducing resources available to traditional public schools, rather than increasing.

Turkish government also tried to introduce this system under the name of “private school for 10.000 poor students” in 2003. The Council of State decided the stay of execution, because this regulation would transfer resources from general budget to private institutions and was inconsistent with public benefit. It should be stated that current law accepts the rate of 3 % to 10 % for free of charge education in private schools.

The last important document on private sector in education is the five year plan of the Ministry of National Education. This plan aims at increasing the rate of the private schools to 9 % until 2014. Then, it has got an objective about the transformation of private education centers (dersaneler) to private schools. It proposes new supports like land allocations and tax exemptions for this transformation (<http://egitimcihaber.net/haber/gundem/turkiye/dershaneler-ozel->; <http://www.trt.net.tr/haber/HaberDetay.aspx?HaberKodu=f5a5c94c-4391-472a-a894-f5669e0a2c89>). This is certainly the abolition of social state approach and public character of education and state schooling, which is contradictory to the principle of social state, human rights and the Constitution (<http://www.egitimsen.org.tr/index.php?yazi=196-2006-04-28>), and it is especially inconsistent with Teaching Unity Law (Uygun, 2003:116).

Table 4.14: Income Inequality in Turkey per Quintile

Year	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	Gini Coefficient
1963	4.5	8.5	11.5	18.5	57.0	0.55
1968	3.0	7.0	10.0	20.0	60.0	0.56
1973	3.5	8.0	12.5	19.5	56.5	0.51
1978	2.9	7.4	13.0	22.1	54.7	0.51
1983	2.7	7.0	12.6	21.9	55.8	0.52
1986	3.9	8.4	12.6	19.2	55.9	0.50
1987	5.2	9.6	14.1	21.2	49.9	0.43
1994	4.9	8.6	12.6	19.0	54.9	0.49
2002	5.3	9.8	14.0	20.8	50.1	0.44
2003	6.0	10.4	14.5	20.9	48.3	0.42
2004	6.0	10.7	15.2	21.9	46.2	0.40
2005	6.1	11.1	15.8	22.6	44.4	0.40

Source: www.tuik.gov.tr

Despite the improvements in income distribution, Turkey is still a relatively unequal country compared to OECD countries and most of the developing economies. Turkey's income inequality comes from the higher shares the richest quintile receives. For example, during the 2000s, in developed countries, the wealthiest quintile got less than 40 % of the per capita income while this was 50 % in Turkey. In Turkey, the middle-income group (2nd and 3rd quintiles) gets a lower share, 34,8 %, as compared with 41,8 % in developed countries. The income share of the bottom 40 % is quite close, 18,4 % in developed countries versus 15,1 % in Turkey (Duman, 2008:374). The increasing number of special courses and private universities in Turkey “despite there can be no gain from the transferring of the responsibilities about education to private sector” (<http://www.unesco.org/en/efareport/>) shows that neoliberal educational policies deepen the gap between upper and lower classes (Yıldız, 2008:24).

Especially the structural interventions by the government in the last decade have also deepened the inequalities in education (Yılmaz and Altınkurt, 2011). The empirical evidence suggests that extending the school day into the afternoon, lowering the starting age of compulsory education etc. (Unfortunately, Turkish Government have followed these policies) do not appear to be significantly related to equality of educational opportunity (Schutz et al, 2008:283. Turkish educational system faces a weak association between schooling and the labor market, a high percentage of illiterate adults, regional disparities in quality of education, and low level of public expenditures in education (Kaya, 2008). From early childhood education to university education, there are large inequalities in society. School dropouts, child labor and unemployment are common among poor families as emphasized in many studies (Metek, 2004:6).

When the budget reduction is added on this structure, schools direct towards looking extra budgetary resources like canteens, school services, publishers etc. This naturally increases the inequalities between the schools. Cultural capital differentiation can be observed especially in the schools where upper or upper-middle classes' children attend. High donations from the families develop the physical possibilities in schools, increase the quantity and the quality of educational materials and the teachers (Tural, 2006). The result is the high differences between the public schools as well (TED, 2010). Segregated neighbourhoods and students have no choice but to attend low-performing and failing traditional public schools (IRP, 2008:1). Some privileged public and private schools cause unfair competition atmosphere where free and high quality education cannot be defended (Kurul, 2009). A similar distinction can also be observed between the classes in the same school (Tural, 2006; Sayılan, 2006).

In brief, social class plays a crucial role in social reproduction by sorting the students and the schools into categories like poor-rich, problematic-problem free, successful-unsuccessful, hopeful-hopeless etc. Thus opportunities by the education for lower classes are very limited today. Distinguished schools where they can enter after the exams like Science and Anatolia High Schools (which are seen as the best schools in Turkey), have turned into the schools where upper class children attend without paying because of the gaining cost in the education process. Because, upper and

middle class families can meet the expenditures of private courses or lessons, books and other materials. Nearly 40 per cent of Anatolia High Schools' students are the graduates of private primary schools today (TED, 2010). To defend selecting the students with this exam system is one of the instruments that limit the educational opportunities of the disadvantaged will not be wrong (Ersoy, 1985).

Vocational schools which were the main hope of lower class families traditionally lost their functions unfortunately. The result is high but unrealistic expectation of parents, social and psychological problems in families, financial difficulties, frustration and despair in the educational process of their children inevitably. Existing social and economic inequalities that shape the lives of parents thus directly shape their school choices and the set of schools they consider for their children, further reproducing these inequalities (IRP, 2008:48).

There is a dominant understanding which focuses on test scores, thus social, sportive and cultural activities and lessons are not taken into consideration in schools (TED, 2010). Students do not attend to their schools to go to private courses because of the educational system whose exams and curriculums are different (TED, 2010). Turkey's primary and secondary education mainly focus on the high quality education of 2-3 per cent of the students. There is a huge gulf between the regions, the cities and the schools (PISA, 2006). According to the PISA results, the difference among the quality of schools is greater in Turkey than in other OECD countries (Kaya, 2008). Both the national evaluation results like ÖSS and SBS and the international researches like PISA, TIMMS and PIRLS show a few numbers of students can have high quality education which provides basic cognitive development (TED, 2010).

Access to education is open to all parts of the society theoretically, but because of the existing inequality, education cannot be an effective factor in upward mobility. Despite education is an important tool in diminishing income inequality, policies could not be successful (Altınışık and Peker, 2008:108). Thus, even in open class societies, where the equality of opportunity exists in educational system, movements between the social layers are still limited (Eserpek, 1977:1-2). The rapid expansion of the education system in recent years has not narrowed the socioeconomic gap; on

the contrary it has disproportionately benefited the most privileged students (Machin and Vignoles, 2004:108). Education has not increased the chances of all students gaining a good qualification, but rather that it has increased the chances of the wealthiest by more.

The factor which prevents the effectiveness of education in social mobility is the strong positive association between a person's education, his or her subsequent socioeconomic status and that of his or her children (Manski, 1992:351). Lack of educational attainment correlates with mobility (Aldridge, 2001:191). For example, lower chance of poor children attending a good school is essentially unaffected by the degree of choice (Burgess and Briggs, 2006:2). Desire for education is not independent from class position of the individuals. Income-related gaps both in access to and in success in higher education are large and growing in the top-tier colleges and universities, almost three-quarters of the entering class is from the highest socioeconomic quartile. Private schools appear to have been highly in improving the standards of educational attainment of their students and prepare them for higher education (Aldridge, 2001:27). Thus, young people from affluent families progress farther in school and go to university in greater proportion than young people from lower classes (Hout, 2003:205). Students in poor and minority neighbourhoods are less well prepared academically for higher education (Haveman and Smeeding, 2006:125). As long as social stratification exists, equality of opportunity in education may provide social mobility, but it cannot be the main determinant of social and economic equality (Ulusoy, 1996:74). Thus, as Giddens states, education will neither mobilise everybody nor abolish the differences between the jobs (Ulusoy, 1996:71).

Table 4.15: Public Primary Schools in Turkey

Years	School	Student	Teacher	Classroom
2003-2004	35.501	10.318.650	367.895	376.042
2004-2005	34.937	10.393.474	383.331	369.517
2005-2006	34.262	10.484.845	370.316	371.486
2006-2007	33.899	10.633.859	381.354	375.554
2007-2008	33.227	10.644.383	422.264	379.541
2008-2009	32.862	10.469.932	428.429	394.733
2009-2010	32.431	10.664.676	458.046	402.770
2010-2011	31.899	10.713.806	473.904	403.988
2011-2012	31.177	10.692.329	484.161	407.563

Source: MEB, 2011; www.tuik.gov.tr

The table above presents the decreasing tendency for public primary schools and increasing numbers of students, classrooms and teachers after 2003-2004 educational year. Despite the fact that the reason of decreasing number of schools and increasing numbers of other variables comes from the transition to dual education (morning classes-afternoon classes) in Turkey, directing towards privatization in education sector by the governments is another possible reason. Because, the system does not wish for new investments on education for recent years in spite of negative statistics on education.

The number of students per a teacher, pre-school, classroom and higher level school which are accepted as indicators of the education quality (Kamalak, 2004) supports the problems of education sector in Turkey. While the number of students per a teacher is 23, the number of students per a classroom is 32 in Turkey as an average of all levels (Eğitim Sen, 2009:5). The numbers which can be seen in the table below, are substantially high when they are compared with OECD average.

Table 4.16: The Number of Students per a Teacher in Public Schools in Turkey

Country	Pre-school	Primary School	Secondary School
Turkey	26	26	17
OECD Average	15	16	13

Source: OECD, 2009:383

While public education has lots of problems today, private schools are presented as an alternative to public one in terms of classroom size, cost-benefit analysis, educational quality, physical and social facilities etc. (Braun et al., 2006). Private schools have a considerable history in Turkish education system (Taşdemirci, 2001; Kollu, 2006; Duman, 1987). Especially after 1980s, the numbers of private schools started to increase from kindergarten to university (Yılmazlar, 2007:120). Today, the popularity of these schools is getting higher despite their numbers show fluctuations (Uygun, 2003:107). The rate of private sector is nearly 14 % in Turkey's education system today. In this study, main pursuit is primary schools because of being compulsory and free of charge for all citizens. For this reason, the other levels of Turkish education are not examined excessively. Secondly, especially general view of Ankara's educational sector constitutes the main content of the study.

Table 4.17: Private Primary Schools in Turkey

Years	School	Teacher	Student	Classroom
2003-2004	613	16.275	160.888	10.837
2004-2005	674	17.957	171.915	10.609
2005-2006	728	19.543	189.090	10.575
2006-2007	757	21.475	213.071	11.797
2007-2008	866	23.188	226.187	12.980
2008-2009	907	24.889	239.988	13.488
2009-2010	879	27.631	251.967	14.160
2010-2011	898	29.424	267.294	14.346
2011-2012	931	31.691	286.972	15.188

Source: MEB, 2011; www.tuik.gov.tr

Today, there are 931 private primary schools in Turkey (together with special education schools in primary level) (Table above). It should be stated that more than thirty schools have started to give education in Turkey at the beginning of 2011-2012 educational year. The distribution of private primary institutions in Turkey can be seen in the table below. It can be observed that the intension is mostly in metropolitan cities. More than half of the private primary schools are in 10 big provinces of Turkey.

The share of private schools in Turkish education system has been continuously increasing especially after the extension of compulsory primary education to uninterrupted eight years in 1997. While new regulations were being considered by the government regarding encouraging private schooling, the share of private schools increased (Kollu, 2006:1). For example, in 1992, while the number of private primary schools were 426 in Turkey and 17 in Ankara, in 2011, this number 931 in Turkey and 74 in Ankara (<http://ookgm.meb.gov.tr/>).

Existing system about the private educational institutions mainly depends on the Turkish Constitution and the Private Educational Institutions Law. Today, legal framework was drawn by this Law No.5580 in 2007. Other legal regulations on the private education can be seen in the table below. It is interesting that most of these regulations were realized after 2000s.

Table 4.18: The Legal Framework of Private Primary Schools in Turkey

Name of the Legal Document	Number	Date
Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu	430	03.03.1924
Millî Eğitim Temel Kanunu	1739	14.06.1973
Özel Öğretim Kurumları Kanunu	5580	08.02.2007
Doğrudan Yabancı Yatırımlar Kanunu	4875	05.06.2003
Özel Öğretim Kurumları Yönetmeliği	26810	08.03.2008
Özel Okullar Çerçeve Yönetmeliği	25883	22.07.2005
İlköğretim Kurumları Yönetmeliği	25212	27.08.2003
Ortaöğretim Kurumları Yönetmeliği	27305	31.07.2009
Okul Öncesi Eğitim Kurumları Yönetmeliği	25486	08.06.2004
Özel Öğretim Kurumlarında Ücretsiz veya Burslu Okutulacaklar Hakkında Yönetmelik	27138	11.02.2009
Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Okul-Aile Birliği Yönetmeliği	19832	04.06.1988
Özel Öğretim Kurumlarında Görevlendirilen Eğitim Personelinin Adaylık Sicil ve Disiplin Hakkında Yönerge	2443	20.11.1995
Umuma Açık Yer Uzaklıkları Yönetmeliği	25422	03.04.2004

Source: <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/>

Primary education is the most important level of national education system because of both its functions and compulsory and free of charge character. Before the evaluation of private schools, primary education in Turkey and Ankara is examined. When the numbers of primary schools in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir are examined from the table below, it can be stated that more than 10 per cent of the public primary schools in Turkey is in these three cities, while nearly 26 per cent of the students, 22 per cent of teachers, and 16 per cent of classrooms of Turkey are in these biggest provinces.

Table 4.19: Primary Education in Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir and Turkey (2011-2012)

	Primary Education			
	School	Student	Teacher	Classroom
Ankara	1.007	616.259	31.736	17.302
İstanbul	1.694	1.900.536	67.316	39.353
İzmir	963	462.486	24.386	14.058
Turkey	32.108	10.979.301	515.852	344.710

Source: www.tuik.gov.tr

When the numbers of secondary schools in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir are examined, it can be observed that secondary educational institutions are more adequate than primary schools in terms of school, teacher and classroom numbers in these cities.

Table 4.20: Secondary Education in Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir and Turkey (2011-2012)

	Secondary Education			
	School	Student	Teacher	Classroom
Ankara	590	318.677	18.746	7.901
İstanbul	1.179	905.967	33.954	17.553
İzmir	459	233.576	12.686	5.702
Turkey	9.672	4.756.286	235.814	121.914

Source: www.tuik.gov.tr; MEB, 2012

The following table demonstrates the number of students per a teacher and per a classroom for primary and secondary education in three cities. Despite the number of students per a teacher in Ankara is lower than Turkey's average, the number of students per a classroom is quite high in primary level. The numbers of secondary education are close to primary one. However, Ankara is in the same situation with İzmir in both levels.

Table 4.21: Primary and Secondary Education in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir

	Primary Education		Secondary Education	
	Number of Students per a Teacher	Number of Students per a Classroom	Number of Students per a Teacher	Number of Students per a Classroom
Ankara	20	36	18	42
İstanbul	29	48	28	52
İzmir	19	33	20	43
Turkey	23	27	21	40

Source: www.tuik.gov.tr;

The distribution of public educational institutions in Ankara declares the negative educational conditions of the capital city. Almost one million students study in only 1.597 public schools with 50.482 teachers and 25.203 classrooms. It can be seen that the level which has more problems is the primary education in terms of the numbers of student, teacher and classroom.

Table 4.22: Public Educational Institutions in Ankara

School or InstitutionType	Number of Institutions	Number of Students	Number of Teachers	Number of Classrooms
a) Public Formal Education	2.393	968.669	49.969	26.236
Public Pre-School	65	43.367	1.993	1.649
Public Primary School	988	598.701	29.996	16.732
Public Secondary School	575	326.601	17.980	7.855
b) Public Informal Education	41	119.953	822	277

Source: www.tuik.gov.tr; MEB, 2012

If the provinces having more than ten private primary schools are examined, it can be told that privatization in education sector is highly dense in Turkey. When İstanbul which has 41 private minority and foreign primary schools, and Antalya where a big number of foreigners live are kept out, Ankara with 74 private primary schools is a profitable area for private sector as the state center of Turkey.

According to the table below which displays the numbers of private educational institutions in Ankara, except for various private courses that give short-term educations, there are 282.349 students, 15.322 teachers and 10.420 classrooms in Ankara. These numbers declare the physical advantages of private schools. Next table also proves these statistical data.

Table 4.23: The Private Educational Institutions in Ankara

School or InstitutionType	Number of Institutions	Number of Students	Number of Teachers	Number of Classrooms
Private Pre-School	116	3.342	511	303
Private Primary School	66	25.681	2.634	1.676
Private Secondary School	72	13.509	1.943	1.029
Various Private Courses	1.140	240.048	10.376	7.755
Total	1.394	282.349	15.322	10.420

Source: <http://ookgm.meb.gov.tr>; www.tuik.gov.tr

The table below demonstrates the number of students per a teacher is 23 in pre-school, 22 in primary school, 17 in secondary school in public schooling. The averages are 7, 10, and 7 in private sector. The number of students per a classroom is 19 in pre-school, 39 in primary school and 39 again in secondary school in public sector. The related averages are 11, 15 and 13 in private sector.

Table 4.24: Comparison of Public and Private Educational Institutions in Ankara

School or InstitutionType	Public		Private	
	Number of Students per a Teacher	Number of Students per a Classroom	Number of Students per a Teacher	Number of Students per a Classroom
Pre-School	23	19	7	11
Primary School	22	39	10	15
Secondary School	17	39	7	13

Source: www.tuik.gov.tr; MEB, 2010

While private schools in Ankara are concentrated in Keçiören, Çankaya and Yenimahalle, Gölbaşı follows them. This situation is the same in primary level schools too. The share of private schools in the total numbers of schools in the districts themselves is 28 % in Çankaya, 21 % in Gölbaşı, 19,2 in Yenimahalle, and 18,3 in Keçiören. While 35 of the metropolitan area's private primary schools are in the south of Ankara, 24 of them are in the north of the city.

According to table below, at most private schools in proportion to their populations are in Gölbaşı and Çankaya. The population and the number of private schools are inversely proportional in Altındağ and Mamak.

Table 4.25: The Distribution of Private Primary Schools in Ankara

District	Population	Number of Private Primary Schools
Keçiören	817.262	10
Çankaya	797.109	27
Yenimahalle	648.160	9
Altındağ	365.920	1
Mamak	549.585	-
Sincan	456.420	3
Etimesgut	386.879	2
Polatlı	117.473	2
Pursaklar	108.211	2
Gölbaşı	95.109	5
Çubuk	81.847	2
Beypazarı	46.493	1
Elmadağ	43.311	-
Kazan	39.537	1
Şereflikoçhisar	35.989	1
Haymana	33.886	-
Nallıhan	30.571	-
Akyurt	26.006	-
Kızılcahamam	25.203	-
Bala	19.426	-
Kalecik	14.517	-
Ayaş	13.291	-
Güdül	8.971	-
Çamlıdere	7.297	-
Evren	3.343	-

Source: <http://ookgm.meb.gov.tr>; www.tuik.gov.tr

The highest numbers of private primary students are in Çankaya, Keçiören, Gölbaşı and Yenimahalle. It can be stated that the same districts have also the biggest numbers of teachers. It is interesting that the most popular public schools that are seen as the most successful and chosen by the parents are in Çankaya and Yenimahalle again.

Table 4.26: The Private Primary Educational Institutions in the Districts of Ankara

District	Number of Institutions	Number of Students	Number of Teachers	Number of Classrooms
Altındağ	1	296	29	53
Çankaya	27*	10.814	1.161	797
Etimesgut	2	385	44	28
Gölbaşı	5	4.057	464	258
Keçiören	10	4.220	448	251
Pursaklar	2	614	54	35
Sincan	3	1.204	86	71
Yenimahalle	9**	2.345	193	120
Beypazarı	1	233	19	27
Çubuk	2	755	67	47
Kazan	1***	-	-	-
Polatlı	2	579	49	30
Ş.Koçhisar	1	179	20	9
Total	66	25.681	2.634	1.676

Source: <http://ookgm.meb.gov.tr>

* Two of them opened in 2010

** Two of them opened in 2011

*** Opened in 2010

Next table states that the districts are close to each other in terms of the number of students per a teacher and the number of students per a classroom. Çankaya and Altındağ are the most advantageous districts.

Table 4.27: The Number of Students per a Classroom and a Teacher in the Private Primary Educational Institutions in the Districts of Ankara

District	Number of Students per a Teacher	Number of Students per a Classroom
Altındağ	10	6
Çankaya	9	13
Etimesgut	9	14
Gölbaşı	9	16
Keçiören	9	17
Pursaklar	12	18
Sincan	12	17
Yenimahalle	12	20
Beypazarı	12	9
Çubuk	11	16
Polatlı	12	19
Ş.Koçhisar	9	20
Total	10	15

Source: <http://ookgm.meb.gov.tr>

It should be stated that this study does not look at the comparison of public and private school performances. However, some statistics give evidence that while private schools are always top in the results of SBS or ÖSS in Turkey in recent years, some public schools may perform better than private schools (<http://www.ogretmenportali.net/haberdetay.asp?ID=2036>). Moreover, the comparison of public and private schools will not be useful because of the differences that exist between and within the public and private school. The objective of examining the private schools for this study is to show the inequalities in the education system in Turkey. Existence of private schools is both the advantage for better-off families who will not be affected by negative transformations in education system and the state's approach towards the education. In general, private schools are supposed to be better than free public schools (Bertola et al., 2007:2). Although there is no officially clear-cut hierarchy between the schools, however, the popular claim is

that, in addition to private schools, Anatolia and Science High Schools are the best schools in Turkey. This is usual, because, they already select their students with the exams at the beginning. According to the findings of another study, the majority of graduates of Anatolia and Science High Schools and Private Schools and Colleges have been located to the best universities and faculties in Turkey. The rate of located students from State High Schools, Vocational and Technical High Schools to higher educational institutions is low (Uygun, 2003:116).

Positive expectations from public education are declining today (Açıklım, 2008:36). According to survey by a teacher's union states that half of the parents see education as insufficient and unpractical. 76,1 % of them prefers private schools and thinks private schools give better education than public ones (www.be-sen.org.tr). Children in government schools perform much less well than children in private schools in all subjects (Tooley and Dixon, 2005:26). It can be seen in a study that shows 7 of the best 10 schools are private according to parents' evaluation, 8 of the best 10 schools are private according to students' evaluation, 9 of the best 10 schools are private in terms of sports facilities, 7 of the best 10 schools are private in terms of student selection exam, 8 of the best 10 schools are private in terms of laboratory facilities (Uygun, 2003:116).

Nowadays, public schools are accepted as having worse school atmosphere and facilities, crowded classes, low teaching or teacher quality compared with those private schools (Bertola et al., 2007:13). Private schools attract attention of the parents because of the factors like quality of teachers, physical equipments, secure environment, location, academic reputation and success, social and cultural facilities, behaviours, beliefs and approaches of teachers, nonstop communication with the parents, lower student/teacher ratios, smaller class sizes, language weighted teaching etc. (Arisoy, 2007; Tezcan, 1993; Selod and Zenou, 2003). Moreover, private sector are thought teaching better values like prestige, tradition, religion, values and discipline (Wilkinson, 2004:8). As Bowles and Gintis state, for example prominent families ask for schooling which encourages entrepreneurship and independence (İnal, 1993:800).

Higher household income and higher level of parental education are accepted as effective on private school choice (Betts and Fairlie, 2003:987; Lubienski and Lubienski, 2006:11). Higher-income parents will normally purchase more education for their children especially in this term where education is viewed as a normal good (Bedi and Garg, 2000:464). Thus, private education is often assumed to be concerned only with serving the more advantaged populations of elite or middle classes (cream skimming), not the poor (Tooley and Dixon, 2005:26). Studies show that market-oriented schools are also the least likely to serve high-need populations (Lacireno-Paquet et al., 2002:155). (Stigler, 1970) states that most of the rich families' members go to private schools, while most of the poor go to public schools. Upper income groups are more benefited from the education than lower income groups (Lott, 1987). Families always had school choice; they had the financial resources to either send their children to private schools or to move to better neighbourhoods with higher quality public schools (IRP, 2008:1). Private school students are disproportionately high-income, high socioeconomic status and high-ability, as well as disproportionately white (Figlio and Stone, 2001:23). Poor families are significantly less likely to go to good schools. This lower chance of poor children attending a good school is essentially unaffected by the degree of choice (Burgess and Briggs, 2006:1). Private schools are attracting richer families (and talented poor students for promotion and advertisement) today (Epple et al., 2004). The distribution of private schools in Ankara verifies these studies. However, it should be stated that even poor parents sacrifice immediate consumption and personal expenses to send their children to fee-paying private schools that are socially valued today (Rao, 2010:139).

Another factor in choosing private sector is the living in metropolitan areas. Moreover, private schools are matter more in urban areas than elsewhere (Betts, 2001:28). This relation may be sometimes observed in the impact of school performance on housing prices (Fack and Grenet, 2010:59). Another dimension of relation between place and school is how private schools make location decisions. A reasonable starting point is to hypothesize that private schools generally choose to locate where there is demand for private schooling. Most obviously, one would expect to see more private schools in areas with a larger school-aged population because greater population, all else equal, is likely to be associated with greater

numbers of students (Barrow, 2006:636). Some scholars examine the relationship between counts of private and public school and population characteristics of the location (Barrow, 2006:635). Location decisions of private school depend most on the characteristics of the community like racial, ethnic and religious composition (beside the factors of educational status and income level examined above) in which school locates, not only the characteristics of the neighbourhood (Downes and Greenstein, 1996:365). (Betts, 2001) examines the underlying causes of ethnic, racial, and immigrant differences in private school attendance and states that, except for income, ethnic, racial, and immigrant differences may contribute to differences in private school rates (Betts, 2001:33).

Studies show that in the US, white better-off parents may choose to send their children to private schools in response to the local concentration of minority school children, commonly referred to as “white flight” (Li, 2009:382; Sander, 2006:2; Betts and Fairlie, 2003:987). The authors of these studies speculate that ‘white flight’ comes from a distaste of white families for their children being in the same schools with blacks or minorities, and due to families using the racial composition of the school as a signal of academic quality in response to lack of other measures of quality. The reasons are irrational prejudice, characteristics of poor black children which white parents fear or dislike, and poor management of schools with poor black students, either because of the attitudes of administrators, or greater political passivity of low-income parents (Betts and Fairlie, 2003:988). Families, who control private schools, protect themselves from negative human capital externalities (Selod and Zenou, 2003:384). The very same problem has been observed in Turkey too especially in recent years.

The development of private schools in the upper class neighbourhoods in Turkey can explain the situation from a different point. In the past five decades, Turkey has also experienced a huge migration, and major changes in their population. These immigrants have had a profound impact on the ethnic, racial and immigrant composition of public schools in many cities. Empirical findings suggest that parents are more sensitive to student peer quality than to the quantity of school resources (Fack and Grenet, 2010:60). Thus, they send their children to private schools whose high prices limit “the others” attendance at the private school. Upper class children

have also advantages like school service if their house is far from their school. While public school students must go to school which are the closest to their home by both the legislation and the financial possibilities of them, private schools students may have a right to choose their school (Yılmaz and Altinkurt, 2011). Moreover, high income parents form a strong majority in the governing bodies of schools like school-family associations and may affect the decisions in favor of themselves. They may have more financial (or more) resources than different school neighbourhoods (Hassan and Ismail, 2005:77).

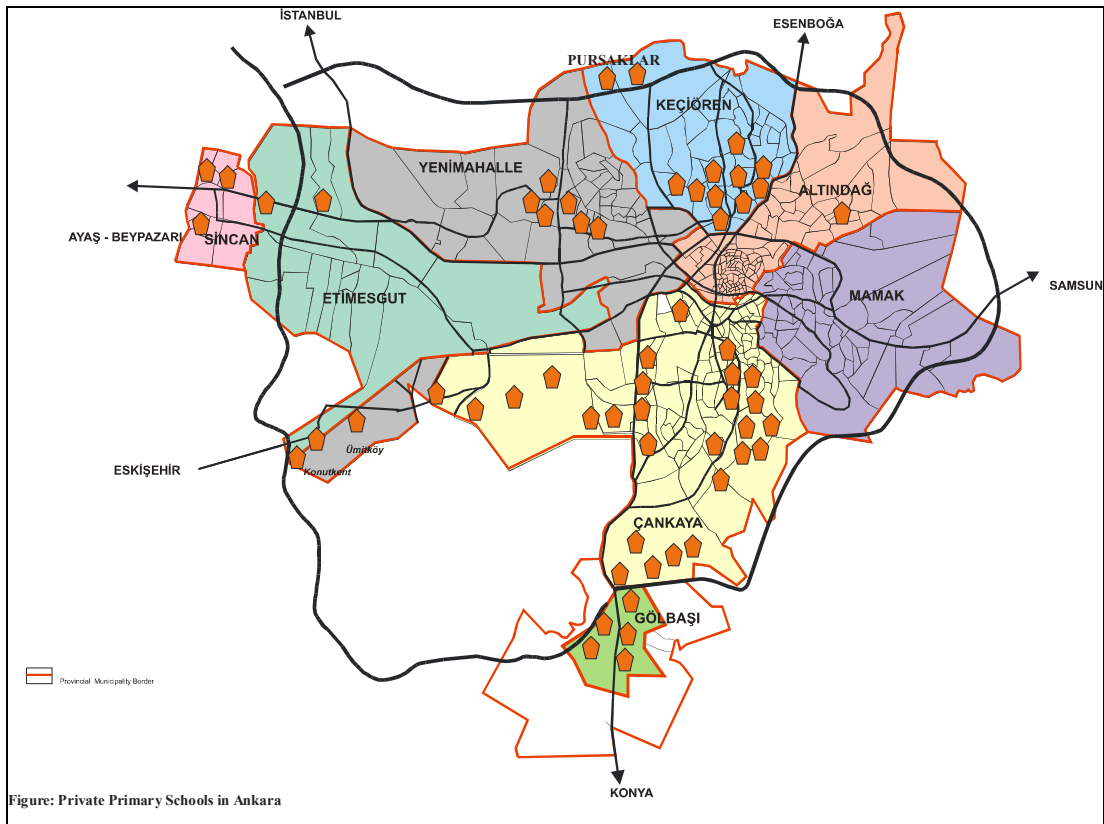


Figure 4.1. Distribution of Private Primary Schools in Ankara

In the metropolitan area of Ankara, 35 private primary schools are in the south of Ankara where mostly upper and upper-middle classes live, 24 of them are in the north of the city where middle and lower classes live (Figure 4.1). Moreover, it should be stated that more than half of the private primary schools in the north belongs to Islamic communities and foundations which are generally non-profit organizations giving scholarships to lower class children largely.

Religion factor is another reason of choosing private school. (Zada and Sander, 2008) find that both religion and religiosity have important effects on the demand for private schools. For example, in the US or UK, private education is predominantly religious and managed by mostly religious communities and churches (Fack and Grenet, 2010:62). Religious communities and foundations have been effectual in private education of Turkey too (Yavuz, 2008; İpekeşen, 2007; Konuralp, 2006). Prime Ministry Prosecution Council Report about the schools of Islamic sects and communities which was submitted to NSC in 1999 stated that there were 276 private schools which belong to Islamic communities and foundations like Milli Görüş, Güleñciler, Işıkçılar, Kadiriler, Erenköy and İskenderpaşa communities, Nakşibendiler etc. in Turkey (Demirdöğen, 1999; Dinçer, 2003; Kaygısız, 1997).

In Ankara, about one third of private schools are managed by Islamic communities and foundations. Their schools are mostly active in the north parts of Ankara where mainly lower and middle income groups live. Families send their children to these schools. Because, they think that these schools give extra religious or moral norms and values to their children. Another reason is the more scholarships rates than the other private schools in Ankara. It can be stated that they generally serve the more disadvantaged populations, rather than upper classes. Physical and economic duality of north and south in Ankara which is shown by (Şenyapılı, 2006; Güvenç, 2006; Etöz, 2006; Tarhan, 2006) supports this reality (Figure 4.1).

This type of schools were tried to be closed and transferred to Ministry of National Education by the NSC Decision in 1997, February 28th (Yavuz, 2008:168). But, this decision could not be realized. Today, these communities and foundations continue their educational service in Turkey (Peköz, 2009; Sharon-Krespin, 2009, Özdağla, 2000).

In this chapter, the education dimension of social mobility has been tried to be examined. Education was accepted serving to break the links from the transmission of economic privilege from one generation to the next, and was seen as the first policy area of providing social fluidity and diminishing the inequalities of capitalism in the past. However, neoliberal educational policies in recent years have deepened the gap between upper and lower classes. Today, there is a clear-cut hierarchy in

Turkish educational system. Poors are mostly excluded from the opportunities of education in this system and have little chance for social mobility especially for their next generations. Thus, the next chapter will try to evaluate the question of social mobility and education by concentrating on Demetevler which is an informally appeared neighbourhood where low and lower-middle income people live.

CHAPTER 5

CASE STUDY: DEMETEVLER-KARŞIYAKA

5.1. Method of the Field Research

Up to now, survey method has been mostly preferred in the studies of social mobility. However, it should be stated that it is never sufficient alone. There can be statistical data but no information about how and why as Thompson (2004), Duru-Bellat and Kieffer (2008) defend. Thus, qualitative techniques such as life stories, family case studies, or conversations on individual feelings, assessments and perceptions should be used together with quantitative techniques. For this regard, the thesis tries to search the dynamics of social mobility by the interaction between qualitative and quantitative data. The field research looks at both the stage of research (the relations of the social space and the structures of the field) and the subjective analysis of social agents' dispositions (their actions, perceptions and understandings on the field). Moreover, social mobility is a complex and multi-faceted concept. Thus, a method which focuses on the interconnections between human agency, social activities and social structure in analysing the social mobility should be used.

According to Layder (1993), society should be studied and understood within four interconnected analytical domains which have distinctive features. Layder's layered framework of human action and social organization includes four levels (The table below). First level, *context* focuses macro social forms and contextual resources relating to power, domination, discourses and practices, *settings* focuses immediate environment of social activity where situated activities take place. Third level called *situated activity* is characterized by communication situations between people. The last level, *self* focuses personal attitudes, values, and understandings of identity and behavior and their relations to social environment. It is related with how an individual is affected by and responds to social situations and faced with social experience.

Table 5.1: Research Map of the Study- Adapted from Layder (1993)

Level	Focus
Context	Class Structure Neo Liberal Policies Education System Employment System Urban and Housing Structure
Settings	Yenimahalle-Demetevler-Karşıyaka The School
Situated Activity	Interaction Between the School-Teachers-Family-Children
Self	Children Parents Teachers

This thesis tries to analyse the social mobility by using the research map developed by Layder. The first focus is the context. Class structure in the world system and Turkey is absolutely important for the social mobility. Structural adjustment policies of neoliberalism in recent years are another factor that affects the issue. Because, economic, political and social transformation processes have led to corrosion of state protectionism and social state policies, have increased social and economic fragmentation of the society, and then caused more different and tragical mobility stories than the past. Moreover, the factors like urban transformation, high residential mobility, housing, education system and unemployment as affecting the social mobility, are considered in the context level. Education is especially analysed for having a substantial impact on mobility. Because, inequalities in educational system reproduce existing social structure to next generations today. The factors above have been studied in the previous two chapters.

In settings level, the focus is the district of Yenimahalle and the neighbourhoods of Demetevler and Karşıyaka. Yenimahalle has been one of the most cosmopolitan districts of city of Ankara with a population around 700.000, and Demetevler neighbourhood is one of the peculiar areas in Yenimahalle. Demetevler is highly cosmopolitan in the sense that it has got a highly heterogeneous population, and

unevenly developed neighbourhood in terms of income, class background and life styles.

In situated activity level, focus of the study will be the interaction between people. The level of the self, as the last focus, will be examined by looking at how individuals perceive, explain and assess their social life, economic and occupational position, their class or status, housing and education history.

The main interviewed group in the study is the students and their parents, and beside the structured surveys, they are studied by the means of participant observation and informal interviews in class, at home, around the school and in the places where they spend their leisure times. Moreover, conversations with the teachers have been also conducted. This study also aims at exploring the social mobility process with a special focus on subjective factors with migration histories, work, education, housing and income experiences, consumption patterns, social values and future expectations of households' individuals. For this reason, they are analysed by different methods like semi-structured in-depth interviews and informal group discussions.

Other subjects, who are also used in the study to test the qualitative and quantitative data, are the 30 students and their families of Abdi İpekçi Primary School which is the closest school to Oğuzlar Primary School in a different neighbourhood. This school is only 250 meters far from the main group's school of the case study. The features of the schools are very similar to each other in terms of academic success and student profile. However, it can be said that Abdi İpekçi Primary School is nearer to the central part of Yenimahalle. Socioeconomic and cultural structures of the families can be evaluated as high when it is compared with the families whose children go to Oğuzlar Primary School.

The study uses the other three levels in following part. This framework will help to understand the social mobility in terms of human action and social organization. The layers will be the neighbourhood and the school as settings, the home as situated activity and the children, their parents and the teachers as the self.

5.2. The Neighbourhood

Before the story of Demetevler, Yenimahalle district should be examined firstly. Yenimahalle, which is located in the north-west of Ankara, had been established after the law 5218 in 1948 which tried to solve housing problem especially of government officials (Küçük, 1995). Ragıp Tüzün (one of the old mayors of Ankara) had an important role in the establishment of this district. Beside the supports of state and local governments by giving credits with low interest rate and suitable pay back conditions, building societies also started to be involved in the process. Emergence of Yenimahalle had an importance in terms of its laboratory role in the housing and urban development of the Republic (<http://www.yenimahalle.bel.tr/web/Icerik/>). Because, it was one of the first two (other one is Bahçelievler) planned housing area in Ankara (Cantek, 2006:45-6). While it was a suburb (it was a farm land called “Pamuklar” in the past, then “cheap lands” after the rising buildings in early 1950s, and it became a district in 1957 (Tekeli, 2009:160).

Yenimahalle is one of the three districts which constitute more than a half of the urban population in Ankara today. When the settlement structure is examined, it can be observed that upper and upper-middle income groups live in Eskişehir axle (Ümitköy, Çayyolu etc.), middle income groups live in İstanbul axle, Batıkent and Yenimahalle center, lower-middle and some parts of middle income groups live in Demetevler, Şentepe, Karşıyaka and Yahyalar (<http://www.yenimahalle.gov.tr/>).



Figure 5.1: A View from Demetevler-1 (Taken by the Author)

The neighbourhood of Demetevler, in the district of Yenimahalle, which has been chosen for this study, is one of the oldest and the most concentrated informal settlement areas in Ankara because of being set out free from the urban development plans. Today, it is accepted as being one of the most affected neighbourhoods of Ankara in a probable disaster by the authorities (<http://www.mimars.com>).



Figure 5.2: A View from Demetevler-2 (Taken by the Author)

Moreover, some indicators like population heterogeneity, low educational success and increasing bad image of the neighbourhood are interesting when it is compared with the other neighbourhoods of the city and the district of Yenimahalle. High residential mobility coming from the low rate of homeownership and urban transformation projects in recent years were the other important factors.



Figure 5.3: A View from Demetevler-3 (Taken by the Author)

While settlement and infrastructure condition is planned and organized in Yenimahalle, works on improvements still continue in Demetevler. While it is accepted as a squatter settlement area with almost 100.000 populations, apartment blocks with 9-10 storeys are accepted as squatter settlements. Most of the buildings are known as field in the official records. Some state that there is no example like Demetevler in the world.

The history of Demetevler started together with a big population growth and illegally physical development in 1950s. Like many other neighbourhoods in Ankara, Demetevler's population size exploded after these years. According to the information gained from the old inhabitants of Demetevler; the place of a neighbourhood belongs to Yuvaköy (a village in the north of Yenimahalle) people before 1960s.

Contractors, who received the areas, built apartments illegally without licence, then, gave flats for landownership or sold other people with land share certificates. The lands were not the public property. So, it was not called as squatter settlement area like the other illegally built neighbourhoods of Yenimahalle like Şentepe, Karşıyaka and Yahyalar. Moreover, it was also condoned like the others. First apartments were 3 or 4 storey. After then, numbers of floors increased step by step by amnesty laws and other urban policies. Contractors were mostly come from Kayseri and Gümüşhane, so most of the first inhabitants were from these cities as well as the old owners of the lands.

Other parts of the first inhabitants were middle income families, government officials or tradesmen who were mostly tenants in the other districts of Ankara until that time. When Yenimahalle could not meet the housing supply, most people directed towards Demetevler. Demetevler was different from the squatter settlement areas of Ankara. Because, it was mostly built as multiple storey. Demetevler was deprived of infrastructure at the beginning. In addition, transportation was ensured only from Ulus by dolmuş (a kind of public transportation).

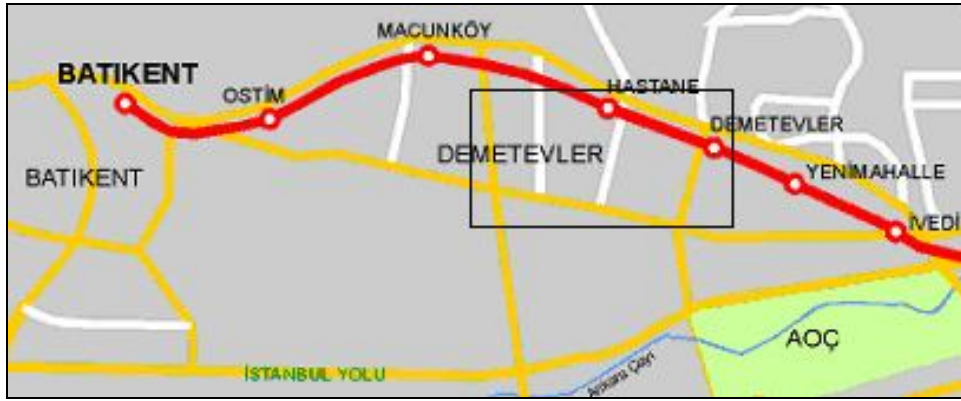


Figure 5.4: The Place of Demetevler

Source: <http://www.ego.gov.tr/>

Today, Demetevler is like a small city bigger than most of the province centers of Turkey. Despite other neighbourhoods of Ankara is in the same situation, the difference of Demetevler is coming from being as big as also in 1970s. After 1980s, important parts of the population in Demetevler left the neighbourhood because of the physical transformation of the neighbourhood and socioeconomic transformation of the inhabitants. They sold or rent their houses. Demetevler was used as jumping point or station by them. The feature of the population has greatly changed. Demetevler met a new population group after the old population moved to other middle class living areas of Ankara like Keçiören, Eryaman, Sincan and Fatih (Şenyapılı, 2006:222), and homogeneous population has been transformed to heterogeneous one.

Demetevler is generally a neighbourhood where a heterogeneous population live today, but still mostly consists of population from Central Anatolian and Black Sea regions. However, the population coming from the East and South Eastern Anatolian regions has increased last years. It can be stated that most of the migrated people to this neighbourhood had come from different neighbourhoods of Ankara or other cities before they have come here.

Today, Demetevler is still accepted as an employees and workers' neighbourhood in spite of changing population profile. The majority of the dwellers in Demetevler pay rent to the flats where they live. Image of Demetevler is not positive. It can be said that this neighbourhood is seen as dangerous and insecure by police, mass media and

public. However, according to the interviewed persons, Demetevler has a distinctive identity. It is defined by the words like “mosaic”, “cosmopolitan”, “small Turkey” or “small İstanbul”. Political election rates in the neighbourhood support these arguments. It is interesting that election results of Demetevler usually reflect the general election results of the country (www.ysk.gov.tr).

Today, most of the apartments of Demetevler are still seen as the ground or field in the official records. Apartment flats, which have land registry up today, are given housing registry by Yenimahalle Municipality (<http://www.yenimahalle.bel.tr/>). However, this is just the legitimization process of squatter settlements. Demetevler is still generally characterized by high density of apartment shanties (apartmankondu) peculiar to itself.

School region (Karşıyaka) is another focus for the thesis for more micro analysis in terms of social mobility. The region where the study were conducted is one of the last areas which have been faced with physical transformation in Demetevler, and accepted as the last point of the neighbourhood. It is also a neighbourhood where a dense residential movement has been observed. It is generally characterized by its density of squatter settlements or unlicensed buildings which are in the situation of physical deterioration and where the extremely heterogeneous and disadvantageous people live in.

The special interest on Karşıyaka also comes from the some indicators which may be useful in the analysis of social mobility like lower educational, occupational and socioeconomic level of Karşıyaka’s residents. Moreover, the other variables about the neighbourhood in the official data (for example the rates of divorce, moving, household size or other familial issues) show that social mobility rates in the region was being or will be affected by all of the factors stated above.

Before the analysing Karşıyaka, it is necessary to give some indicators to learn the situation of the neighbourhood in Ankara, Yenimahalle and Demetevler. According to data gained from the Metropolitan Municipality, the neighbourhood of Karşıyaka shows low educational level when it is compared with the bigger levels in the city. While the rates of people who are illiterate, non-graduated from any school and

graduated from primary school are higher than Demetevler, Yenimahalle and Ankara, the rates of people who are graduated from high school and university in Karşıyaka are too lower than the other areas. Educational level of the parents examined in this study verifies these data.

Table 5.2: Educational Level in Ankara, Yenimahalle, Demetevler and Karşıyaka

	Ankara	Y.Mahalle	Demetevler	Karşıyaka
Illiterate	170.646 5,9 %	23.378 4,8 %	3.968 5,4 %	689 5,8 %
Non-Graduate From School	504.707 17,4 %	80.189 16,4 %	12.621 17,1 %	2.278 19,4 %
Primary School	1.201.591 41,4 %	186.378 38,2 %	31.314 42,5 %	5.792 49,0 %
High School	652.372 22,5 %	121.120 24,8 %	18.075 24,5 %	2.272 19,2 %
University	376.014 12,8 %	77.305 15,8 %	7.754 10,5 %	772 6,6 %
Total	2.905.330 100 %	488.370 100 %	73.732 100 %	11.803 100 %

Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality

Average number of household is 4,7 in the sample of the study. It can be stated that the size of household in Karşıyaka is parallel to the size of household in Ankara, Yenimahalle and Demetevler according to data from Ankara Metropolitan Municipality.

The rate of homeownership in the focus group of the study is less than 30 %. It is interesting that 20 of the families live in their relatives' houses. Moreover, the coming date to Demetevler seldomly goes back to 15 years ago. When the homeownership situation in Ankara, Yenimahalle district, Demetevler neighbourhood and Karşıyaka is compared, it can be stated that the rate of homeownership is 56,2 % in Ankara, 57,9 % in Yenimahalle, 58,9 % in Demetevler and 47,7 % in Karşıyaka. It is interesting that the rate of being tenant is highest in Demetevler and especially in

Karşıyaka. Another important matter is the number of people who has not got a house and does not give rent (they live in the houses of relatives) in Karşıyaka is much more than Ankara, Yenimahalle and Demetevler. The rates can be seen detailed in the table below.

Table 5.3: Housing Situation in Ankara, Yenimahalle, Demetevler and Karşıyaka

	Ankara	Y.Mahalle	Demetevler	Karşıyaka
Owner	472.656	83.741	12.827	1.736
	56,2 %	57,9 %	58,9 %	47,7 %
Tenant	282.534	47.512	7.604	1.649
	33,5 %	32,8 %	34,9 %	45,2 %
Non-Owner Without Paying	47.916	7.164	1.179	239
	5,6 %	5,0 %	5,4 %	6,6 %
Other (Lodgement etc.)	38.382	6.290	156	17
	4,7 %	4,3 %	0,8 %	0,5 %
Total	841.488	144.707	21.766	3.641
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality

The rate of employed people in Karşıyaka is lower than Ankara and Yenimahalle, but higher than Demetevler. However, unemployment rate is high in Karşıyaka when it is compared with the other areas. The table below shows the employment structure of Karşıyaka, Demetevler, Yenimahalle and Ankara.

Table 5.4: Employment Structure in Ankara, Yenimahalle, Demetevler and Karşıyaka

	Ankara	Y.Mahalle	Demetevler	Karşıyaka
Employed	1.008.333 38,9 %	173.182 39,5 %	23.973 36,3 %	3.844 37,0 %
Unemployed	148.226 5,8 %	25.471 5,8 %	4.227 6,4 %	697 6,7 %
Not In Labour Force	1.432.368 55,2 %	240.228 54,6 %	37.821 57,3	5.842 56,3 %
Unknown	123 0,1 %	5 0,1 %	-	-
Total	2.589.050 100 %	438.886 100 %	66.021 100 %	10.383 100 %

Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality

When the reasons of not being in the employment system are examined, it can be stated that while the rate of students in Karşıyaka is low when it is compared with Demetevler, Yenimahalle and Ankara, the rate of housewives in Karşıyaka is higher than all of them. According to the official data, it should be added that the number of people who have not searched a job for three months is too high in the neighbourhood.

Economic activities that held by the population of Karşıyaka are generally in manufacture, trade and social services as similar to Ankara, Yenimahalle and Demetevler. When the data from the Metropolitan Municipality is studied, the difference in the economic activities can be seen in the sectors of construction and finance. While the rate of people in the finance sector is high in Ankara, Yenimahalle and Demetevler, the number of the people who live in Karşıyaka in the construction sector is considerable. The findings of this study support these data.

Table 5.5: Working Situation in Ankara, Yenimahalle, Demetevler and Karşıyaka

	Ankara	Y.Mahalle	Demetevler	Karşıyaka
Employee or Worker	860.962 85,4 %	147.128 85,0 %	19.519 81,4 %	3.247 84,5 %
Tradesman	48.210 4,7 %	8.783 5,1 %	1.154 4,8 %	130 3,4 %
Self-Employed	77.330 7,7 %	13.548 7,7 %	2.585 10,7 %	371 9,7 %
Family Worker	21.377 2,1 %	3.694 2,1 %	711 3,0 %	96 2,4 %
Unknown	454 0,1 %	29 0,1 %	4 0,1 %	-
Total	1.008.333 100 %	173.182 100 %	23.973 100 %	3.844 100 %

Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality



Figure 5.5: A View from School Region-1 (Taken by the Author)

When the working situation of the population of Karşıyaka, Demetevler, Yenimahalle and Ankara is studied, while the rate of employee and worker in private and public sector, self-employed and unpaid family worker is high in Karşıyaka, the rate of tradesman is too low there when it is compared with other areas as shown in the table above.



Figure 5.6: A View from School Region-2 (Taken by the Author)

5.3. The School

When the school that is the subject area of the research is examined briefly, it can be stated that it is highly composed of low and lower-middle class' children (It is shown by a red arrow in the figure above). The place of school is a neighbourhood which has been ignored by the local and central governments. It is the last point (Karşıyaka) of Demetevler. It is close to Yenimahalle, but is very different economically, socially and culturally. It is known as having less academic success, sportive and cultural activities when it is compared with the other schools in Yenimahalle.

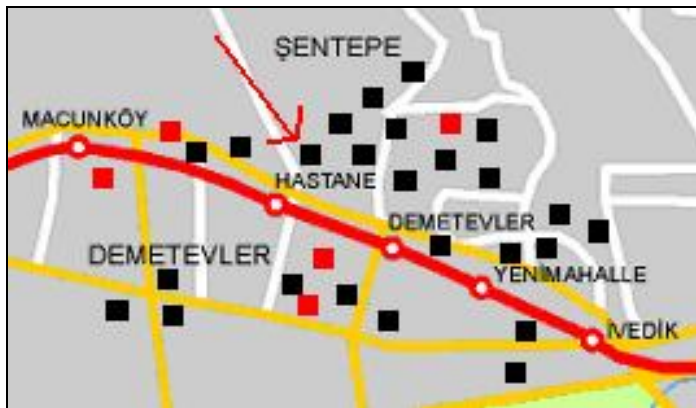


Figure 5.7: Distribution of Primary Schools in Demetevler and Its Environment

*Public schools are shown by black squares, private schools are shown by red squares.

Source: <http://www.ego.gov.tr/>

While the number of students per a teacher is 21 in the school (this number is 24 in Yenimahalle and 22 in Ankara), the number of students per a classroom is 35 in the school (39 in Yenimahalle and 39 in Ankara) (<http://yenimahalle.meb.gov.tr/>). The school can be evaluated as successful when it is compared with the other schools of its own educational region, but not Yenimahalle completely. The school has been teaching nearly 50 years in the same area, and has been accepted as having a low place in the school hierarchy in Ankara (It seldomly takes the duties on the central and local exams). It can be stated that all agents relating to education evaluate the school as unsuccessful officially and unofficially. The evidence is the low points of the school determined by the school success in central exams, demand from the employees etc. which are used in appointments of teachers and managers. In 2010 OKS exam, only 17 of 140 eighth class students won OKS Exam and entered Anatolia and Science High Schools (14), Police College (2) and Military High School (1). Unfortunately, the number of students who won the OKS exam was 14 according the results in 2011–2012 educational year. Generally, it can be stated that the success rate is about 10 % of total graduates. It cannot be stated that all of the graduates from the school in the past continue their education. Attendance in higher education rate after graduation is 30–40 per cent. Graduates usually work in service sector and unskilled jobs.



Figure 5.8: Main Group's School Building (Taken by the Author)

In spite of negative developments in the education system and crowded classes, new technologies, materials and the internet have created new opportunities for the teachers and the students of the school for a few years. In this sense, many of the

lessons are done with these new materials in the school. However, there is a wide gap between the success levels of the students. According to the teachers of the school, the biggest problem in the school is generally the huge differences between the students' academic level. Almost all of them defend that differences between the students is very related with the socioeconomic level of their parents and the neighbourhoods. This naturally affects the instruction performance of the school negatively. Another problem is the transfers of the students. Every year, almost 10 per cent of the students abandon the school and move to other schools because of the reasons coming from themselves (e.g. undisciplined behaviours) or from their families. Some families may see the school as underperforming and take their children from this school as (Hastings et al., 2005) show in their study. The big residential mobility in Demetevler may be another barrier in front of the educational stability of the students.



Figure 5.9: Main Group's School Garden-1 (Taken by the Author)

According to the results of "Problem Scanning Test" done by the school guidance service, the most important problems that are mentioned by the students are; exam anxiety, absence of studying atmosphere at home, their family's income, too much pressure, or lack of interest and insensitivity by their parents. In another test "Survey on the Reasons of the Academic Failure", most of the students see the disquiet in the family especially due to economic problems as a reason of their unsuccess.



Figure 5.10: Main Group's School Garden-2 (Taken by the Author)

If the students of Oğuzlar Primary School who won the SBS exam last year (17 students) have been examined to look at the school's institutional success in general, it can be seen that, 14 of them were born in Ankara. Mothers of students (except two) are housewives, 4 of them graduated from secondary school, other from primary. 4 of the fathers of students graduated from primary school, 3 of them graduated from secondary school, 6 persons graduated from high school, 4 persons are from the university. It can be stated that the educational level of fathers is higher than the mothers. When the occupation of the fathers is studied, it can be observed that 7 of them are employees, 5 of them are tradesmen, and the rest of them are skilled and unskilled workers. Their income levels are middle and upper-middle. Another important point is the high rate of attendance to private courses' of these students.

5.4. The Home

As the part of situated activity, the family, as an important institution in the distribution of different capitals, is effective the reproduction of social positions. Its interaction with the other actors and other social relationships in the school are also examined in the thesis.

Before the evaluation of the focus group's socioeconomic profile, it is important to show the general information about the school neighbourhood and its population. According to the data gained from the 150 randomly selected parents among the school custodians (more than 10 % of the school population), it can be stated that the

most of parents are generally from Ankara and Central Anatolian Region. The table below shows the distribution of the parents according to their hometowns. Another majority consists of the people from Black Sea Region. They are mostly come from Gümüşhane. Nearly all the people whose hometown is Eastern Anatolian Region is from Kars.

Table 5.6: Hometown of the Parents in the Case Study

Hometown	Father	Mother
Ankara	61	63
Central Anatolian Region	46	43
Black Sea Region	27	30
Eastern Anatolian Region	10	9
S.Eastern Anatolian Region	4	2
Aegean Region	2	2
Mediterranean Region	-	1
Total	150	150

When the educational level of the parents is examined, low levels in education especially for mothers can be observed from the following table. There are only 8 persons who graduated from the university (all of them are graduated from the open education faculty). While 47 people finished the high school, the rest of them graduated from primary school. There is not any woman who is graduated from the the university.

Table 5.7. Educational Level of the Parents in the Study

Educational Level	Father	Mother
Primary School (First Level)	94	115
Primary School (Second Level)	19	17
High School	29	18
University	8	-
Total	150	150

When the educational level of parents' other children who are older than the subjects of the study is studied, only 20 of 138 children are graduated from the university or being students at the university. There are 22 children who are graduated from the high school. It is interesting that almost all of the daughters' educational levels are higher than their mothers.

Table 5.8: Educational Level of Parents' Elder Children

Educational Level	Elder Brother	Elder Sister	Total
Graduate From the University	2	4	6
Student at the University	6	8	14
Graduate From the High School	12	10	22
Student at the High School	28	24	42
Graduate From Primary School or Left High School	20	24	44
Total	68	70	138

When the occupational structure of the region is examined, it can be said that most of the heads of household are skilled and unskilled workers whose wage situations are casual or continual. Their income level is low and lower-middle. When the mothers of the students are examined, it can be stated that most of them are housewives, only 10 mothers work (Two of them work with his husband in their shops).

In this study, in order to measure the class positions, Erikson and Goldthorpe's class schema has been tried to be used (Erikson et al., 1982).

Table 5.9: The Class Schema of Erikson and Goldthorpe

I. Higher salariat	Professionals, managers and administrators in large enterprises
II. Lower salariat	Semi-professionals, managers and administrators in small enterprises
III. Routine white-collar workers	
IV. Petty bourgeoisie	Farmers, small employers and own account workers
V/VI. Higher working class	Manual foremen, technicians and skilled manual workers
VII. Lower working class	Semi and unskilled manual workers including agricultural workers

Source: Erikson et al., 1982

According to Erikson and Goldthorpe's class schema, 15 respondents are in Class III (routine white-collar workers), 62 respondents and their wives are in Class IV (farmers, small employers and own account), and other 83 respondents and their wives are in Class V/VI/VII (higher and lower working class).

Table 5.10: Occupation of the Parents in the Case Study

Occupation	Father	Mother
Worker In Public And Private Sectors	75	8
Tradesman	19	2
Self-Employed (Own-Account Worker)	41	-
Employee	15	-
Housewife	-	140
Total	150	150

When the occupation and educational levels of fathers and fathers-in-law of the respondents have been examined, it can be observed that there are not big differences between the families' socioeconomic status. Parents, especially fathers, have higher educational status than their own parents. But, it can be defended that they are almost in the same, even worse level in terms of occupation than their families. When the

schema of Erikson and Goldthorpe is studied, 41 respondents' fathers and fathers-in-law were from Class III (routine white-collar workers), 210 respondents' fathers and fathers-in-law were in Class IV (Farmers, small employers and own account), and 49 respondents' fathers and fathers-in-law were in Class V/VI/VII (higher and lower working class). The big decrease in the Class IV comes from the migration from rural to urban areas and the decline in the farming.

Table 5.11: Occupation of the Fathers and Mothers' Parents

Occupation	Fathers' Father	Mothers' Father	Total
Worker	25	24	49
Tradesman	22	23	45
Self-Employed	36	27	63
Employee	21	20	41
Farmer	46	56	102
Total	150	150	300

The brothers of the parents who are the subjects of this study have obviously higher occupation status than their brothers and sisters. More than 250 lives in different cities or different neighbourhoods of Ankara today. According to Erikson and Goldthorpe's class schema, 59 of them are in Class III (routine white-collar workers), 155 people are in Class IV (farmers, small employers and own account), and other 72 are in Class V/VI/VII (higher and lower working class).

Table 5.12: Occupation of the Parents' Brothers

Occupation	Number
Worker	72
Tradesman	41
Self-Employed	114
Employee	59
Student at the University	16
Total	302

If the occupational situation of parents, their fathers, their fathers-in-law, their brothers and their brothers-in-law is compared to each other, it cannot be stated the parents have higher occupational situation than the others. While the rate of employees and tradesmen is low in parents, the rate of workers is high. The tables below shows the limited mobility numbers in terms of generations.

Table 5.13: Comparison Between the Occupations of Two Generations

Occupation	Parents	Fathers	Brothers
Worker in Public and Private Sectors	75 50,0 %	49 24,8 %	72 25,2 %
Tradesmen	19 12,6 %	45 22,7 %	41 14,3 %
Self-Employed (Own-Account Worker)	41 27,4 %	63 31,8 %	114 39,9 %
Employee	15 10,0 %	41 20,7 %	59 20,6 %
Total	150 100 %	198* 100 %	286** 100 %

* Except farmers

** Except students

If the numbers are evaluated within the Erikson and Goldthorpe's class schema in the following table, the number of parents in Class III (routine white-collar workers) is

especially lower than their brothers and brothers-in-law. The situation is the same in Class IV (farmers, small employers and own account). In Class V/VI/VII (higher and lower working class), the biggest rate is in the parents.

Table 5.14: Comparison Between the Occupations According to EG Class Schema

Class	Parents	Fathers	Brothers
I. Higher salariat	-	-	-
II. Lower salariat	-	-	-
III. Routine white-collar workers	15 10,0 %	41 13,7 %	59 20,6 %
IV. Petty bourgeoisie	60 40,0 %	210 70,0 %	155 54,2 %
V/VI/VII. Working class	75 50,0 %	49 16,3 %	72 25,2 %
Total	150 100 %	300 100 %	286* 100 %

* Except students

When the occupations of the parents' elder children (because younger brothers and sisters are already primary and pre-school students or under the school age) are examined, there are only 11 employees, others are skilled-unskilled worker, student or housewife except students.

Table 5.15: Occupation of the Parents' Elder Children

Occupation	Elder Brother	Elder Sister	Total
Worker	18	11	29
Tradesman	-	-	-
Self-Employed	8	-	8
Employee	3	8	11
Housewife	-	19	19
Unemployed	5	-	5
Student	34	32	66
Total	68	70	138

When it is looked at the detailed description of the profile of the main focus group, it can be stated that the majority of the study's subjects (parents of the children which are called as custodian in terms of their role in the children's school life) is generally between the ages of 35 and 44. For this reason, it can be seen that half of the children who are the sample of this study is the first child of their family.

Table 5.16: Age of the Respondents

Age Group	Number
30-34	1
35-39	9
40-44	13
45-49	6
Over 50	4
Total	33

The majority of parents are generally from low and lower-middle income groups as seen in the table below. Nearly half of them has income level between 750 and 1000 TL.

Table 5.17: Total Income of the Respondents (TL)

Income	Number
Less Than 750	3
751-1000	16
1001-1500	5
1501-2000	6
More Than 2000	3
Total	33

Except 7 tradesmen and 3 employees, all of the heads of household are skilled and unskilled workers whose incomes are low. They are mostly working in construction and transportation sectors and this density shows similarities with the occupational distribution of Demetevler's dwellers. When the mothers of the students are examined, it can be stated that most of them are housewives, only 5 mothers work

(Two of them work with his husband in their shops). According to Erikson and Goldthorpe's class schema, 3 respondents are in Class III (routine white-collar workers), 24 respondents and their wives are in Class IV (farmers, small employers and own account), and other 11 respondents and their wives are in Class V/VI/VII (higher and lower working class).

Table 5.18: Occupation of the Respondents

Occupation	Father	Mother
Worker In Public and Private Sectors	8	3
Self-Employed (Own-Account Worker)*	15	-
Tradesman	7	2
Employee	3	-
Housewife	-	28
Total	33	33

* This group includes the people who mostly work in casual (seasonal) jobs informally. Six of them are in the construction sector as mason, turner or carpenter, three of them are drivers, two of them are baker and cook, one person is a scrap dealer, the others are cleaners.

Most of the parents are from Ankara and Central Anatolian region. When the spouses have been studied, only 8 women's hometowns are different from their husbands.

Table 5.19: Hometown of the Respondents

Hometown	Father	Mother
Ankara	17	12
Central Anatolian Region	6	9
Black Sea Region	4	6
Eastern Anatolian Region	3	4
S.Eastern Anatolian Region	3	2
Total	33	33

When the total number of parents' children is examined, it can be said that majority of the parents has 2 and 3 children.

Table 5.20: Total Number of Children

Having 1 Child	1
Having 2 Children	13
Having 3 Children	14
Having 4 and More Children	5
Total	33

The parents mostly have low educational level. When the fathers are thought, there are only 3 persons who graduated from the university. While 6 people finished the high school, the rest of them graduated from primary school. Educational levels of the mothers are lower than the levels of their husbands. There is no woman who graduated from the high school and the university. There are only 4 maternal parents who studied secondary level of the primary school.

Table 5.21: Educational Level of the Respondents

Educational Level	Father	Mother
Primary School (First Level)	17	29
Primary School (Second Level)	7	4
High School	6	-
University	3	-
Total	33	33

5.5. The Individuals

The study, in this phase, examines attitudes, values, perceptions, expectations and assessments of people and their relations to social environment. It asks how these people have been affected by and responds to social situations. The role of people in any social process is important. As Sparkes (1999) states, how do people's decisions, policies and practices affect educational attainment and the transmission of low educational attainment into poor adult outcomes should be also evaluated in the thesis.

5.5.1. The Students and the Parents

It should be stated that the respondents generally accuse themselves or their families about their education histories. More than half of them talk about their own ignorance and insensitivity in their childhood about their low educational attainment. The rest of them defend that their families were not (because of the family itself) or could not (because of the conditions outside the family) be interested in them. They state that some of their parents wanted them to work or marry instead of studying because of economic reasons; some of them did not allow them to study because of not being conscious about the importance of education adequately. Some of the respondents told about their educational story like:

“My father was sending me to the school unwillingly. When my marks were low in the first year of high school, he alleged and removed me from the school, then I married.” (Family 31)

“My father had no intention and plan about my education. He just wanted me to work in the field.” (Family 11)

“Economic conditions did not let me to take education, I could not say –I will study- in that times. I wish I were educated, everything might be different now.” (Family 8)

“I had a big desire to continue my education. But, there was nobody who studied after primary school in our environment.” (Family 28)

“Nobody told me not to study, but I could not, It is my fault.”
(Family 1)

The parents’ educational levels are not very different from each other. However, there is no woman whose educational level is higher than his husband. The marriages had been generally between the relatives (mostly cousins) or the people from the same

city or neighbourhood. There is only one couple to marry after the meeting with each other by themselves. The most of the respondents were married between the ages of 20 and 25. Two examples from the respondents show the big role of the family on the marriage:

“After I left the school, my family forced me to marry; the son of my aunt was wishing me to marry. My father and my aunt agreed. What else can I say?” (Family 2)

“My father had a friend and wanted to be relative of him. Then, I married with his friend’s daughter, I won the university, but my father did not allow me to study. He said – Work and look after your family-” (Family 3)

It is interesting that when the question of “If you have a chance to continue your education from the level you left, what will you do?” are asked to the respondents, nearly all of them state that they want to continue their education if they have a sufficient time now. It is observed that these people have a desire about education. This situation shows a proof about the positive approach of them and the various conditions which really prevented them in their past life.

When the educational level of parents’ other children who are older than the subjects of the study is examined, only 5 of 37 children are graduated from the university or being students at the university. There are 11 children who graduated from the high school. Daughters’ educational levels are higher than their brothers’.

Table 5.22: Educational Level of Parents' Elder Children

Educational Level	Elder Brother	Elder Sister
Graduate From the University	1	2
Student at the University	-	2
Graduate From the High School	6	5
Student at the High School	5	6
Graduate From Primary School or Left High School	7	3
Total	19	18

All families seem to evaluate education as having a big role in success and as being an effective vehicle for social mobility. They think there is a clear connection between higher education degrees, access to better jobs and upward social mobility. They believe that their children have no chance rather than studying because of the channels for social mobility are closed today. They also accept that the diploma is important for social mobility and school prepares the child for the future. For high proportion, good education means firstly better job, more money, better living standards, being more respectful and wider point of view. This has influenced their vision in this regard. Their main strategy is to educate their children to move up in the social scale. However, at least 25 persons are not hopeful when they see the unemployed people who graduated from the university. Thus, some families also value technical training as a way to improve their employability.

According to the big part of the informants, today, education has been given more importance than the past in Turkey. These sentences of one of the informants below show the general tendency of the respondents:

“Education was already important. Moreover, compulsory education enhanced its importance very much. The interest and the conscious about children at schools increased when it is compared with the past.” (Family 29)

People absolutely think that they try to make an huge effort for the education of their children. But, at the same time, they are aware of their income is not sufficient. Thus, their economic status affects the expenditures on education negatively. However, as one parent say, they will support their children as they are strong enough. Most of the respondents think that school is not enough to be successful. Extra educational facilities should be added to the process. But, they cannot buy extra materials or they cannot send their children to private lessons, courses etc. It should be stated that only 7 of the 33 students go to private courses. 13 of the students's parents want but cannot welcome the expenses of the private course. The rest of the informants evaluate the private courses as unnecessary. Because, they think school meets all educational and cultural requirements of their children.

Nearly total number of people defends that their children's educational and socioeconomic level will be absolutely higher than theirs like the difference between their own parents and them. However, at least 20 persons accept that their children will have disadvantages like economic crisis, inflation and unemployment in Turkey. One of the informants says:

“People who attended the school are also unemployed today; to have a good job is very hard in these circumstances. But there is no way else. They should study. We cannot look after them until our death.” (Family 23)

It can be defended that the respondents of the case study generally express realistic expectations rather than high from their child's success and future.

Education system of Turkey is not egalitarian according to most of them. Only people who have money can be benefit from the education. One of the parents states: “There is no equality in education, the system is the guilty, not the school”. The sociocultural structure of Demetevler is another big problem in front of their children. Majority of parents are complainant about the friend of their children and the internet cafes that are very widespread in Demetevler. Sentences below show their opinions generally:

“When I see the classmates of my child, I am very surprised, worried and disappointed, I think the youth is dead spiritually, unfortunately there is no hope, but we are careful about our children, we always follow them.”
(Family 30)

According to all informants, state schools have lots of problems. Unfortunately, this structure did not or will not change in the course of time. Thus, more than half of the respondents state that they want to send their children to private school if they have enough money. Because, education in private schools has better quality than the state schools. However, people who defend the state schooling find the private schools and courses as unnecessary, and they think that almost all of the students at the private school are snob, know-all, spoiled children, and they may demolish their children’s behaviour. Private school may cause impertinence, or the child may be oppressed because of the dress or entertainment styles of other children at private school. Thus, 15 parents, if they have even more money, they state that they do not want their children to study at private schools.

Small number of parents evaluates their children as successful. Others state that the causes of their children’s unsuccess are indolence, unconcern and insensitivity about their education and the future. They complain their children having no aims. Unfortunately, most of them have no expectations from their children. It is interesting that a few parents know about the jobs that their children want to do. They actually do not believe in their children very much in terms of their future success in education and occupation.

Although they mostly defend they are interested in their children in terms of education, the number of families that cannot be underestimated, are not much aware of the importance of the family. To say “study” is sufficient for them. They think the most important factors in the success of the children are mainly school and teacher. They cannot be defended that they share the responsibility in the education processes. The fathers claim that their communication with their children is good. But, they agree that assistance about the lessons at home generally belongs to the mothers. In any case, going to school meetings, ceremonies etc. are the duties of the

mothers. Even the pursuit of attendance is done by them. However, the educational and cultural level of these mothers which are too lower than their husbands cannot provide a sufficient home support in the children's lessons.

Parents, in a high proportion, think they encourage their children adequately. They defend they create a home environment that encourages learning, they also express that they meet all of the needs of their children as convenient to their time and income. Pressure is not useful according to them. Thus, most of them use reward system for their children. They defend their family is more democratic when it is compared with the past. Everybody at home has freedom of speech. One of the respondents says:

“Nobody (our parents) asked us when we were children, they still do not ask now, but we do not behave like this, we are like a friend of our children.” (Family 2)

Majority of the people state that everybody at home helps the housework, even the fathers. According to them, spending time together has decreased, but it is still continuing. The question of “How often do you take your children to the museums, theatres, cinemas etc.?” is mainly answered by the words of never or seldom. The reasons of these low frequencies are presented as low income and limited spare times.

It can be mentioned that the families are not well-informed about the developments in the education system. Process is too complex for them. They cannot follow new information technologies, widespread computer using, internet and exam systems which have changed frequently in recent years.

While half of them are glad about the school of their children, the other half does not see the school is sufficient and suitable. More than 20 people want their children to study in a different school, but they cannot because of the obligation of studying in the residence region of the students. Most of the fathers state they go to school once a year. Mothers are more interested in school affairs and activities. More than 20

parents claim that they cannot give material support the school, but they defend that they participate to some voluntary works at the school.

Parents generally want their children to be employee, banker, scientist, doctor, judge, police, soldier that they see as high status, guaranteed and secure jobs. They want them studying firstly in a good high school (Anatolia, Science, Police or Military School etc.), then the faculties like engineering, law, medicine and dentistry as parallel to preceding question. Almost all the parents do not want their child will do their job because of low wages, being tiring or being insecure. They claim they do not intervent their children's choice about the job. They want their children will do the job what they want and be happy. But, big part of them thinks that their children firstly should be beneficial for the country. For them, high wage, comfort and the social security rights of their children are enough for any job. The question of "If he or she will not study, what can you say about his or her future?" is usually replied by hopeless answers. Nearly all of them state that they employ their children (boys), or marry off them (girls) if they do not study. The table below verifies these claims. When the occupations of the parents' elder children are examined, there are only 2 women employees; others are housewives or skilled-unskilled workers.

Table 5.23: Occupation of the Parents' Elder Children

Occupation	Elder Brother	Elder Sister
Worker	5	2
Tradesman	-	-
Self-Employed	6	-
Employee	-	2
Housewife	-	6
Unemployed	3	-
Total	14	10

The fathers of the parents who are the subjects of this study are generally from the same socioeconomic level. When the occupation and educational levels of fathers and fathers-in-law of the respondents have been examined, it can be observed that there is not a big difference between the families' socioeconomic status. The same thing

can be also observed in the educational and occupational level of informants' brothers and sisters except a few. Parents, especially fathers, have higher educational status than their own parents. But, it can be defended that they are almost in the same or worse level in terms of occupation than their families. When the schema of Erikson and Goldthorpe is examined, 5 respondents' fathers and fathers-in-law were from Class III (routine white-collar workers), 50 respondents' fathers and fathers-in-law were in Class IV (Farmers, small employers and own account), and 11 respondents' fathers and fathers-in-law were in Class V/VI/VII (higher and lower working class). Thus, people may experience some level of intragenerational mobility, but a widespread intergenerational mobility cannot be defended in the subjects of this study.

Table 5.24: Occupation of the Fathers and Mothers' Parents

Occupation	Fathers' Father	Mothers' Father
Worker	5	6
Tradesman	8	7
Self-Employed	6	10
Employee	4	1
Farmer	10	9
Total	33	33

The brothers of the parents have somewhat higher occupation status than their brothers and sisters. According to Erikson and Goldthorpe's class schema, 7 of them are in Class III (routine white-collar workers), 30 people are in Class IV (farmers, small employers and own account), and other 15 are in Class V/VI/VII (higher and lower working class).

Table 5.25: Occupation of the Parents' Brothers

Occupation	Number
Worker	15
Tradesman	8
Self-Employed	22
Employee	7
Student	3
Total	55

Nearly all of the subjects of this study work in Demetevler, GİMAT (A wholesaling estate near Demetevler) and OSTİM (An industrial estate near Demetevler). There is only one person who works outside the district of Yenimahalle. Big part of the respondents state that they are glad from their current job today. It is interesting that the satisfaction rates are higher than the results of Life Satisfaction Survey by TÜİK (2009). Their gladness generally comes from becoming addicted to their job. People who are not pleased from their job defend their salaries or wages are low and their personnel rights are very limited. Only two persons talk about the fatigue about their job. More than ten informants seem happy to choose or to get these jobs. But, when the question of “if it is possible, which job did you prefer?” is asked them, 28 of them mention different jobs, especially government service. The most important reason of this answer comes from their thought about the guaranteed feature, social security and the continuity of this type of jobs. Another reason is determined working hours of being employee.

Respondents mostly see themselves successful in their jobs. However, this success is not relevant to the wage or status according to them. They think that they are good at their jobs in spite of low wages and low security. Except two employees and tradesmen, they do not evaluate their job as satisfying in terms of income. Majority of people who are the subjects of this study declare that they had been working at the lower status jobs until the job that they have today, while a few says that they had been at the same type of jobs from the beginning of their careers. People had changed their job positions towards higher levels, but this change remained very limited.

According to 19 respondents, the most important thing in job is the peace at work (job conditions, job environment), the second important factor is income for 8 people. Social rights, security and friendship atmosphere in the office that are mentioned by 6 people follow them. The informants attach the success and unsuccess in life to the reasons of because of him and uneducation. It is interesting that nobody talks about the fortune, luck or the life conditions. They see the people as a main responsible for their own success and unsuccess. According to the more than 70 per cent of people, education is the first condition of the success in life. While 6 of them defend the importance of self-confidence, diligence and talent, 3 people identify nepotism as the most important part of success in the future. The question of “Is there anybody in your family whom you see as successful” is answered generally as “No”. They similarly state that the economic and social situation of their relatives is similar to theirs. Only two persons say that their relatives (one of them is his cousin, another is his brother) are more successful than themselves. According to them, their relatives’ success is coming from graduating from the university and getting good jobs and comfort. According to nearly all of the respondents, the life of a man depends on his own effort rather than conditions. This answer verifies their preceding claim about the success or unsuccess in the life above.

When the answers of the question of “How do you evaluate your situation when you compare yourself with your parents” are studied, 5 of the respondents feel that they are at the bottom of the social scale and they are in a worse situation than their parents. 16 persons think their social position is almost as high as their father’s. This reality creates pressure on the families to move them up in the social scale. But, they have no expectations about a positive change in their position. Conversely, 12 of the population think of themselves as upwardly mobile. The question of “How do you evaluate your family situation when you compare you and your family with other families and persons in Demetevler?” is answered mostly by the resembling sentences. 25 of them think they are in the same socioeconomic level with the environment. While 5 persons evaluate their situation as higher than the other residents of Demetevler, 3 informants state that their situation is worse than the majority in Demetevler.

Despite the informants of the study usually accept themselves as middle class; a big part of them rejects the existence of the class structure. They absolutely accept the social injustice. However, they do not connect these injustices to the concept of class. According to them, the God creates us as unique, all human beings are the same and equal. People, who believe in the class differences, show their understandings on class by the sentences like these:

“Rich people look down on other people; there is an occupational class structure like being judge, soldier, police etc.; there is a difference between educated and uneducated people.” (Family 25)

Respondents are generally hopeful about the future. More than half of them look at the future positively. Conversely, six people think that life in the future will be worse and defend that they cannot plan the tomorrow; they have no hope for the future, However, nearly all of them thanks God because of their situation. Their fatalist understanding can be easily observed from the answers.

Table 5.26: Life in the Future

Situation	Number
Better	14
The Same	8
Worse	6
Do Not Know	5
Total	33

Except for a few examples, the people deny the contribution of their families, relatives and the neighbours to their positions today. Moreover, they do not imagine they will help their children about their mobility. One of the persons state that: “We could do nothing for ourselves, what can we do for our children?”. Another person say: “Only thing that we can do for my child is to educate him/her”. However, there is a big percentage that cannot be underestimated who thinks education is not enough today. One of the respondents tells: “In this period, having an acquaintance is more

important than education to find a job". They see a carrier highly depends on social networks.

As stated above, the respondents' income level is middle or low. Almost all of the respondents determine that they cannot save money or invest. Their main subsisting strategies are debt or decreasing their spendings. While 15 of them defend that 2000 TL is enough for a comfortable life today, 10 persons emphasize 3000 TL, the rest of them see 4000 TL is sufficient for a family in terms of the best living standards nowadays. Their priorities in their consumption are mostly rent and food. Unfortunately, there is nobody who talks about the expenditures on entertainment or furniture. Other priorities in expenditures are clothing, education and cleaning. They answer the question of "What is the economic status of your family?" as opposite to the answers about the pleasure of their jobs. Nobody defines his position as very good, only 5 persons see their economic status as good. While 9 of informants define their situation as average, others see their economic status as bad and too bad. All respondents state that they appeal to their relatives, then neighbours and friends when they face with economic or other difficulties. However, they think that kinship, friendship and neighbouring relations have corrupted last years.

The most important problem of Turkey is inflation and unemployment for the respondents of the study. The third and fourth considerable problem is education for 16 people and moral depression for 11. When the question of "What is the most important merit in the life" is asked them, all of them answer this question with the concept of being honest and hardworking. For people, the reasons of being poor and rich are; destiny or luck (12), to work or not to work (8), not to study (7), being (dis)honest (5), being (un)talented (1). It is interesting that there was nobody who emphasizes the role of destiny and nepotism in another question about the reasons of success above.

Another question that is directed towards informants is about the socioeconomic structure of Demetevler neighbourhood. According to the most of the persons, people who live in Demetevler are highly composed of middle and low income people. Therefore, they agree about the heterogeneity of the population. For people, poverty level is very high in this neighbourhood especially in the last years. Other question

was “Which words do you use to describe Demetevler?”. People answered this question with the words of crowded, noisy, conservative, dense traffic and heterogeneous. These answers show that Demetevler is generally characterized with some problems by the residents of this neighbourhood. One person says: “Apartments are very close to each other. They are like sticking together. Most of the flats do not see the sun. Streets are dark even in the middle of the day”. Another informant states that Demetevler is the most crowded district of Turkey with more than 100.000 population.

According to the respondents, a metropolitan city, for example Ankara, generally means educated and cultured people, modernity, order, traffic, shopping, noise, education, work and health possibilities, crowd, movement, expensiveness, crime. As seen above, it can be stated that the people’s perceptions about the metropolitan city are both positive and negative. For them, Demetevler reminds vagrants, garbage, disorder, crowd, uncultured, lack of respect and love. When it is compared with the metropolitan city, almost everybody has more negative opinions on Demetevler. Most of the people whom are interviewed accept the bad fame and the image of Demetevler. More than half of them claimed that the bad fame of Demetevler comes from being a highly heterogeneous area. When interviews are examined generally, despite people who live in the region have not too much negative viewpoints about Demetevler as the media and non-residents have, it can be said that they also follow the same perception of neighbourhood and its dwellers. However, it is interesting that 30 per cent of the respondents also state that Demetevler is one of the most modern neighbourhoods of Ankara.

12 residents are the people who have been to Demetevler for 1 and 10 years. While two of them came Demetevler because of the appointment, six people moved here after the physical transformation in their old districts. Four people have different reasons. There are 7 people who came Demetevler between 1990 and 2000. The number of the residents who have lived in Demetevler for 21-30 years is 5. Nine of the people have been to Demetevler for more than 30 years. It can be stated that most of the migrated people to this neighbourhood had come from different neighbourhoods of Ankara especially the squatter settlement areas of Altındağ and Yenimahalle and their hometowns before they have come here.

Table 5.27: Year in the Neighbourhood

Year	Number
1-10	12
11-20	7
21-30	5
More Than 30	9
Total	33
Average	18

Respondents said that they had lived in the village, the squatter settlements or the same type of districts in Ankara or in other cities before coming Demetevler. There is nobody who had a downward residential mobility experience.

When the reason of moving to Ankara is examined, it can be stated that twenty-four people were born in Ankara or came here with his family when they were young. Two of them came Ankara by appointment. One people escaped from his village because of hostility there. While two persons said that they came Ankara after marriage because of being close to their relatives, four persons came firstly to this city after their military services to find a job.

When the question of “Why do you live in Demetevler” is examined, three of the people talk about having a house here. Four of them state that they wanted here because of their work place were near. Five persons moved here because of their houses were destroyed for physical transformation in Altındağ, Yakacık, Şentepe, Ulus-Aktaş and Mehmet Akif regions of Ankara. Demetevler was very suitable for them with its cheapness. Eleven people show the existence of relatives in Demetevler as a reason of living here. Two persons live in Demetevler, because of the lodgement provided to them by their office. One person came Demetevler to be far from her old husband and his environment. The rest of the interviewed persons show the cheapness of Demetevler as a moving reason. In any case, the common point for choosing Demetevler is the cheapness of this district and the relatives who live here.

“Are you happy to live in Demetevler?” was the other question that has been asked to the informants. Five of them have emphasized that they are happy to live here. Other 28 persons told that they are not happy to live here. The reason of unhappiness is generally identified as the low socioeconomic and cultural level of the neighbourhood. When the question of “Why do not you leave here?” is directed towards the inhabitants, all of the persons who are not happy to be in Demetevler said that their income level is not enough to live in different neighbourhoods of Ankara. The most popular neighbourhoods where people want to move if their income is convenient are Serhat, Kardelen, Batıkent (These areas can be evaluated as having higher living standards and addressing to people who have better income). However, they defend they will be very happy for being an inhabitant of this neighbourhood if they have a sufficient infrastructure, security, municipal and social services in Demetevler.

Most of the dwellers of the neighbourhood do not see Demetevler as suitable and secure to bring up children. According to nearly all of the residents whom are interviewed, there are lots of factors pushing the youth to the wrong behaviours. For example children are affected by wrong friends who live in the neighbourhood. People say that they cannot prevent their children interacting with them. One of the informants states that media also diffuses gang culture to the children.

All respondents defend that the neighbouring in Demetevler has weakened for a few years. Nobody knows each other as in the past. People are very complainant about the struggles and noise in Demetevler. The inhabitants whom are interviewed say that there is also break in the relationship with the relatives. Despite the existence of relatives was the basic coming reason of people to Demetevler in the past, there is a minimum relation between the relatives today. The cause of these negative changes in the relationships with the neighbours and the relatives is seen as economic by the residents. Because everybody pursues their own problems. Another reason is the spoiling the population structure in Demetevler. The numbers of people who cannot be underestimated think that Demetevler lost its taste (positive characteristics) from day to day. Opinions from two respondents can be seen below:

“Demetevler has become a crowded and a noisy place from day to day.” (Family 21)

“We were glad from here in the past. We were used to live here. Demetevler was the typical middle class neighbourhood. But, the human profile has changed; new comers from the squatter settlements disturbed the old inhabitants.” (Family 16)

The same situation can be observed in the relationship with the hometown too. There are not close relationships between the respondents and the hometown when it is compared with the past. The question of “How often do you visit your hometown?” is answered by the words of rarely, seldom or sometimes. There has been no help from the hometown for a few years. The very small number of respondents thinks to return to their hometown. None of the persons participate to hometown meetings. They explain this unconcern with the sentence of “There is no time”. Nearly all of the respondents state that they go to Kızılay rarely. Because Demetevler has lots of shopping, health and education possibilities. However, because of the lack of entertainment possibilities in Demetevler, more than half of the respondents state they go to nearby shopping malls four or five times in a year. When their friends whom they often meet asked, respondents replied that the best friends of them are mostly from the work, friends from hometown, or neighbours.

It can be strongly emphasized that people in Demetevler live, work and spend time in same places. Their friends are composed of people who appreciate each other as in the same educational, economic and sociocultural status. Thus, the social environment and geographical place where they live stayed the same. They are like to sticking to the space, and thus they cannot escape from their conditions easily.

The houses of the subjects of the study are completely living in the apartment flats. But, most of these flats had no land registry until recent years when the Yenimahalle Municipality realized their registries. There are only 6 people who have their own house. Two of the respondents live in the lodgements given by the state. The rest of the informants are tenants or the people who live in the houses of their relatives

(there are four people who live in their fathers or brothers' houses without paying). Majority of respondents are glad from their houses. People who are not happy state that their houses are old and unkempt. There are more than 10 persons who do not like their homes because of the neighbours. They want to move another house in Demetevler, but they accept that the houses that are suitable to their income are already occupied by the same type of people whom they dislike. Average number of households in the subjects of study is 4,6. This number is the same with Demetevler and Ankara, but higher than Yenimahalle. The last questions that are directed towards them are about being urban citizen. The question of "What is the most important characteristic of being urban people?" is completely answered by the words of being modern, being educated and being cultured. Another question "Do you feel yourself as urban citizen? is mostly replied by yes. Only 5 persons state that if to live in a city means being urban citizen, they feel themselves as urban citizen.

When the other part of the sample (33 students) of this study is examined, 8 of total students are evaluated as successful by the official records, school teachers and managers. The common features of these eight students are; parents of all are very involved in their children's education, these children are the students who read much more than the others in the reading lessons in the school, none of them are seen as troublemakers at school, they never have behavioural problems, their parents usually participate to school affairs, their communication level with the school is high. Other common point is their family income. Their income level is middle or better than the other students' families. When unsuccessful students (16) are examined, it can be said that most of their parents are irrelevant. There are only two parents who are connected with their children's education. The common features of the unsuccessful students are; majority of their parents are not involved in their children's education, these students's reading points in the lessons are very low, more than half of them are identified as troublemakers by the teachers, nearly all of them have behavioural problems. When the income level of their families is examined, it can be stated that parents of ten of them are very poor. They are unwilling in terms of participating to school affairs, there are 5 parents who did not come school for three years. Families of 6 unsuccessful students have middle or high income. But, they cannot be defended as relevant. The families have also problems like domestic violence and lack of interest and harmony in the family. 9 students, who are identified as having middle

level success, come from every level of income families. Most of their parents are concerned and participatory to education of their children. These students's reading points are high when it is compared with unsuccessful students'. Their behaviours are close to successful students rather than unsuccessful ones.

When the parents' viewpoint about their children's achievement level and the factors influencing the level are asked, they firstly talk about school as a reason of the unsuccess. The fundamental responsible of the academic failure is the school for them. Physical conditions and the teacher's quality at school are very important. Second factor is seen as media and internet. The last one is the bad friends who affect their children negatively. The number of families who takes families and the parents as a factor is too low.

When the children's perception about the education is examined, the advantages of education for them are generally having a job, finding a job easily, being successful, having a status and the necessary qualifications for the life. They are aware of the importance of the education, but they have not self-confidence as it can be seen in the sentences below:

“I have no chance. There are too many hardworking students. They will be successful, not me.” (Family 23)

“I am not clever enough for the good job in my future life. OSTİM waits for me.” (Family 30)

“I am always thrilled in school. I think I am little shy. I have not self-confidence. If I overcome this, nobody can catch me.” (Family 29)

“My objective is to be hardworking like X. She is always successful. I am sure she will be an important person.” (Family 4)

Children firstly have been asked about imagining and describing how their lives will be twenty years later from now on. Despite there are only a few students who believe their life being better than their parents, all of them answer that they will have a family and kids, be married and have better jobs. The priority of children in terms of aim is going to university. But before the university, all of them want to study in a good quality schools. The question of “Do you believe you will go to school that you want?” is answered by generally no. They are not very hopeful. Majority of them want to go to private school, but private school means rich and snob children for the rest of them. Here are some examples from their statements:

“I cannot see my future. If my parents do not let me study, I cannot go to higher school.” (Family 4)

“I will be a big footballer. I will get big money. Thus, I will not go to high school.” (Family 13)

“I have not decided yet. I have too much time for thinking my future.” (Family 6)

“I will become a teacher, but how? There will be always exams. If I get good points, maybe.” (Family 19)

To learn what are the youth’s concepts of good and ideal jobs, the question of “What is the most important or the best occupation for you?” is directed towards the children. According to the answers of the students, the best jobs are banker, computer engineer, civil engineer, doctor, police, teacher, scientist, military officer and judge. While 12 students want to be a teacher, 11 of them police, 5 of them doctor, and 5 of them want to be an engineer. These answers show that students, like their parents, see the being employee as more advantageous. Because, being employee means continuity, guaranteed money and comfort. Children do not want to do their father’s job. Because, they do not see these jobs as important, high status and well moneyed. The priority of getting money (short-term or long-term) can be observed from the sentences below:

“If I gain sufficient money, I do not need to study. The aim is to get money, isn’t it?” (Family 22)

“I will find a job. I cannot study after this time. I will do career.” (Family 3)

“I will find a job and help my family. This is the only thing that I want.” (Family 14)

“I do not want to do my father’s job. He is always tired and nervous, he also get little money.” (Family 27)

The question of “What is the reason of success and unsuccess in the life?” is replied by the answers of “because of him, uneducation, self-confidence and destiny”. It is interesting that the number of respondents who says destiny is higher than their parents. “Does someone’s life depend on his own effort or conditions?” question is answered by majority of the children as the life depending on his effort rather than conditions. The question of “What is the most important thing in the life?” is mostly answered by the word of peace, family, friendship. Success and money follow these things. The following sentences are important in terms of their perception on life:

“If the God does not want, I cannot be successful even if I work 24 hours a day.” (Family 7)

“I will go to vocational school and learn occupation. If I cannot, I will work in barber shop or mechanic.” (Family 25)

“The only thing what I want one Doğan (car), I want to drive in Demetevler and show off for my friends.” (Family 11)

“I am aware of studying is my only chance. I will continue if the God will allow me. My parents cannot look after me until I am forty.” (Family 27)

“I have no expectation from the future. I am happy now. Destiny will show.” (Family 2)

“To study is not for children. We should play, surf on internet etc.” (Family 31)

The family can be accepted as the most persuasive (or dissuasive) force in the children’s education process. According to most of them, there is a big pressure by their family. Their parents always force them to study. Their parents involvement to their education is only to say “Study, do not play, do not watch TV etc.”. While some of the students are complainant about too much pressure by the family, the others are disturbed by lack of interest and insensitivity by the parents. They talk about a lack of encouragement by their parents in the areas where they are talented and successful as sport, art, music etc. Most of them see the disquiet in the family (physical and moral) especially due to economic problems as a reason of their unsuccess. The sentences below show the families’ effects on education:

“My family always compares and contrasts me with other children.” (Family 7)

“My father has an intention to employ me if I will not study.” (Family 3)

“Everybody says study, do homework, be smart. I am tired.” (Family 22)

“My father and mother forced me to study, but they do not know that I cannot.” (Family 15)

“I look after my little sister. I have no time to do test, I wash the dishes, I do housework, rather than homework. They are my first jobs at home.” (Family 31)

“Nobody asks me about my school at home. Thus, no need to study.” (Family 10)

“There is too much noise at home. My family is too crowded. I cannot do homework or study.” (Family 5)

“My father is unemployed. He cannot give pocket money. Sometimes, I am hungry at school. I take food from my friend.” (Family 13)

“If I will not study, I will help my father in his truck or I will work in OSTİM.” (Family 26)

“We move from one neighbourhood to another continuously. My school always changes. When I am used to my teachers and friends, then again. New school.” (Family 2)

“My parents are separate. They got divorced three years ago. I am very unhappy. I do not want to study.” (Family 2)

“My marks are low. My father says regularly- Study or you will work. Thus I am bored. What can I do? I try my best.” (Family 7)

“My parents always threat me with taking me from the school.” (Family 28)

“I cannot go to private course. We have no money. I have books, but I want to go to course.” (Family 6)

All the children are happy for living in Ankara and they do not want to live another city. However, their views about Demetevler are highly negative (but not very much as their parents). They want to live and work in a middle or upper class neighbourhoods like Batıkent, Çayyolu and Eryaman and follow their parents in this subject. Their thought about the neighbourhood can be seen below:

“I hate Demetevler, but my father works near here. Moreover, we live in my grandfather’s house. We cannot move.” (Family 27)

“I want to live Serhat (Batıkent), houses are good and shopping centers are big. But, they are expensive. If I will be rich, I will move there.” (Family 12)

“I want to be live in Batıkent. Houses are better. People are nicer.” (Family 30)

Moreover, they are aware of the disadvantages that they have. They know the deficiencies of the school and the environment. The sentences below show the perceptions, expectations and thoughts of the children on education and their schools in general:

“Teachers always are interested in hardworking and intelligent students.” (Family 5)

“School gives us lesson, not the knowledge on life.” (Family 25)

“I hate the school. They always intervent my clothes and my make-up. What is the problem? I cannot understand.” (Family 12)

“There is no class repeat or dismissal, why do I study? Everybody passes the class.” (Family 29)

“We went to competition to one school in Yenimahalle. It was wonderful. Everything is better than our school. If I have chance, I would go there. My children will absolutely go to that school.” (Family 7)

“Our school has too many deficiencies. Every time, at least one teacher is absent. Thus, some lessons are vacant.” (Family 14)

“I want to be like my teachers. They are always concerned us. They are very good. They always want our benefit.” (Family 1)

“Our teachers are the best. But some of our friends are naughty. Because, they know they will not be successful, they are jealous, and then they prevent us to succeed.” (Family 10)

“Lazy students make the teachers nervous and bored. We cannot be motivated because of them. Nobody punishes them.” (Family 22)

5.5.2. The Teachers

Teachers are important in terms of their role and standing in the neighbourhood and the school. Thus, their perceptions and opinions on the school, its environment and the other persons are very important. This neighbourhood is seen as too problematic and hard to work for nearly all the teachers, but a jumping point for low working years teachers to save points to go to better schools. In any case, it is in the borders of the capital city and tolerable for a few years. One of the teachers says:

“I will want appointment. But my point is insufficient to go to another school. So, I wait.”

It is important to state that school and environment limit the teachers’ positive intervention to the life of the students. Teachers in schools serving poor areas have different tasks. That is, the priority in the school is the discipline and peace. Nobody has the priority of the educational success. The first objective is to be unproblematic. Flexibility in education process is low in the school like the surrounding neighbourhoods.

If the reasons of academic unsuccess are investigated from the side of the teachers, all of them, without any exceptions, defend that success of the students depends mostly on socioeconomic and cultural level of their families, support of families for their children, then child’s talent and ambition, environment and adolescence problems. Teachers generally think as parallel to the sentences below:

“Students and families are uncultured, having lack of respect and love. These sicken the teachers. They allow the ropes in the course of time.”

“Educational level of the families is not sufficient to give aims to their children.”

“Students take their families as role-model. The most important problem is this fact.”

They think that recent developments in educational policies also influence the schools and the people in Demetevler more than the neighbourhoods where high income families live in. They think that the families have difficulties in adopting continuously changing educational system easily. The teachers are complainant about the education polices in recent years:

“There are too many factors that demolish their motivation. Moreover, there is no fail and class repeat in the compulsory education.”

“There has been no discipline in schools for a few years. They are like abandoned farms.”

“Education is no more given importance. Social aids from the central and local governments may also cause indolence in people.”

“The lack of emotion of the teachers reflects to the children. There is no idealism in this social corruption. Human centered system will motivate teacher and provide positive approach to the students. Agenda should not designate teacher, teacher should designate agenda. Teacher should be a leader. Everybody accuses teacher today. When the road is out of work, what can a driver do?”

“All education system has no right targets. Thus there is only one guilty; system, not the student, parents, teacher or school.”

“Today the problems in education widen like environmental pollution. One time, they will be unavoidable.”

“Everybody takes diplomas even if all the marks are low.”

“They have targets, but these targets do not belong to themselves, but their families’ compulsion. Thus, they lose their targets by time. They live in a narrow environment. They cannot have targets about the unknown. Moreover, the capitalist systems always says them stop. Today is the

worst period of capitalism. But, it should be stated that there is more hope behind these impossibilities.”

Teachers state that Demetevler, especially 12th Street and Karşıyaka region where the school is located, generally consists of low and lower-middle class people. They defend that socioeconomic and cultural levels of the neighbourhood are quietly low. This naturally reflects to the behaviours and the success level of the students. All the teachers say that coordination and the cooperation between the actors (Child, School and Parents) are very important in education.

However, they accept that there are some barriers in front of the communication between the school and the parents. The most effective obstacles are absolutely low educational and cultural level of the families. When the lack of information about the education process is added to these factors, the expectations and the interests on education decrease naturally. This also leads to shyness and even negative attitudes towards school which prevent their participation to education process of their children. Following sentences may give some evidence on their evaluation:

“Students and families cannot manage the technology. They became the victim of the technology.”

“Parents are always angry and reactive to school. They see the school as the responsible of all problems.”

“Families support and follow their children until 5th class, than give up, thus students should be taught how to be stand up in life by them.”

“First five years of children at school finish, they give up hope of their children. A little unsuccess dissuades them from the school and hope for the future.”

“Big crowded families give the children extra responsibilities, rather than possibilities.”

Families' opinions on education and the school naturally reflect to the general view of their children about their education. Teachers try to show this fact with the sentences like:

“The ways that they choose are always wrong. We try to show the right ways, encourage and motivate in terms of success, but they resist. Families do not help us too.”

“Their creativity, skills and talents are narrow and limited to succeed.”

“The realities of life and work are different from what they dream.”

“Students idealize their teachers when they were little, but then they idealize the TV stars, singers or footballers. Money (easy money) equals to esteem for them.”

“Social consciousness should be realised. The things that they want are only related with themselves. They are selfish. They do not care their family, school or society. Money means the success for them.”

“Extreme protection or non protection from the family gives wrong values to the students. They are spoiled.”

Teachers have also difficulties about the low involvement of families in education process. Parents show their struggle to make a living as a cause of their lack of interest in their children. They defend that there is no time to be involved in their children's education. Nearly all of the teachers state that neither children nor parents have targets. Parents have prejudices about the school and the education. More than twenty-five per cent of the parents do not participate to the education process. They do not believe and trust in their children. When the primary level (First five years of

children at school) finishes, if their children's scores are low, they give up hope of their children. A little failure dissuades them from the educational process.

According to the teachers, the economic level of the families is effective on the students' success. Especially secondary level's parents (last 3 years of the children in the school) do not want to come school because of the possibility of asking money from them. They cannot support their children sufficiently. They cannot purchase school materials, books, etc. They cannot send their children to private courses. Moreover, there is not an available area for children to study at home. Their studying atmosphere is not sufficient. For example, a family has to sit together in a room not to spend too much coal or natural gas to warm up in winters. Separate parents is another problem in Demetevler. There is also a big proportion of divorced couples' children in the school region. The data from the Metropolitan Municipality and TUIK also shows the rate of divorce is higher than Ankara, Yenimahalle and Demetevler. The sentences below show their summarizing the problems:

“The family is very important to form the personality and behaviours of the students. However, the families are in worse socioeconomic situations today. Thus we should help them. Families should be strengthened in terms of economy, culture and consciousness.”

“Socioeconomic structure of the families chooses their children employ rather than study. Money is sweet.”

“Children have neither good nutrition nor social, sportive and cultural activities. Then, physical and mental development of them stays insufficient.”

“They have no long term objectives. They cannot see their foreground. Despite the families support their children, socio economic profile of the parents cannot prevent the negative effects of the neighbourhood. They have no hobbies. They do not know what direction they will go.

They have no foresight. Their life is between school and home. They have no social activity possibilities.”

“Families involvement is too low. We cannot say anything. Because education is not an important worry for them when we compare with the other problems. Struggle to make a living prevents them taking the education as a priority.”

In Giroux’s terms, teachers are transformative intellectuals who have the knowledge and skill to critique and transform existing inequalities in school and society (Sadeghi, 2008). However, teachers in the school only promote behaviours that serve to continue existing structure. There are some reasons behind this situation. Socio economic and cultural structure of the neighbourhood and the institutional structure of the school naturally affect the behaviours, standings, opinions and perceptions of the teachers. For example, they go (rush) home early after school. This may be a kind of resistance as Giroux (1983) defends, or an image created by the public opinion, media, environment or themselves. Only 7 of 62 teachers of the school live in Demetevler. In general, they reside in Batikent and periphery. They do not like Demetevler very much. Most of them want appointment to be close to their homes. They think that continual struggle and disquiet atmosphere in Demetevler prevent children and their families’ motivation about their education. The neighbourhood reflects all of the negative characteristics of a metropolitan city. Noise, dense traffic and crowd have become the words which describe Demetevler. The sentences that they use to describe Demetevler like:

“Demetevler prevents children and their families’ motivation about their education. It demolishes their habits.”

“The neighbourhood reflects all of the negative characteristics of Ankara. Crowd, struggle, noise, crime etc. Suppose that all the badness has come together here.”

“There are too many students at-risk. They will be potential unemployed and maybe criminals of the future.”

Teachers seem to lose their hopes about the system, school, students, families and even themselves and point out some opinions like:

“Children have thoughts like- My father is a worker. What will happen if I will not study? At least I will become like him. They have no long-term plans. They also hear or see the university graduates who are unemployed. This creates terrifying effects on them and they ask themselves like why do I study in vain?”

“The students cannot think even one hour later. They are unworried and irresponsible about their future, the only thing for them is to have a good time. Families measure the success as good marks, not behaviours and morals.”

“Students cannot be noticed by their parents whether they study or not, and choose not to study. They have no self-confidence.”

“If a family has objective, children have too. Becoming parents is not just sending their children to the school.”

“Nobody can do anything without hope. We need hope. The viewpoint of students is narrow. The only place what they see is Demetevler. Both the students and their families have no objective. They say that even if I study, my way is obvious. Thus they do not study.”

“Media presents false role-models, extreme examples. Children establish utopias and they code themselves as appropriate to these utopias.”

“They live in a dream world because of the internet and TV. Their targets are not realist.”

“Parents have prejudices about us. They accuse us in any problem. They do not believe and trust in the school. Even the bad marks come from the teachers. Their children are not responsible. Actually, they are aware of the capacity of their children, but they choose pretending not to see.”

“Their destiny is to be an apprentice in OSTİM without satisfying wages, social rights and security.”

“Parents are unconscious and uninterested. Their children have no ambition and responsibility. They are not aware of every new knowledge is a value. Teachers also have lack of motivation and ambition. They are demoralized because of they cannot get back what they give.”

“Our students’ future is obvious. Almost all of them will work in fast food restaurants, hairdressers etc. after their graduation. Unfortunately this is true.”

“The best thing for the students is going to vocational training to improve their employability. There is no other chance for them.”

“Neither children nor parents have targets.”

“Award-punishment system, social and cultural activities, workings on families and guidance and security services are not sufficient in the school. There are problems in behaviour, attendance, clothing and discipline.”

When the negative evaluation of students by the teachers in the school is added to their social position in the society naturally affect the education process. Because the perception of the teachers on the students may evaluate their students subjectively and this causes being desperate for the only agency that can give hopes to the students and the parents. The only role of the teacher is to reflect the social life where they live. However, there are some exceptions; when a teacher comes to the school; he or she has some optimistic ideas to implement in the school. Unfortunately, they participate in the majority in a short time; they are forced to obey the institutional and cultural structure of the school where there is no communication and interaction. This shows that school system may both accelerate (facilitate) or prevent the students' success. The sentences that belong to the teachers below prove the evaluation above:

“Teachers are tired, bored and unwilling. Nobody cares us.”

“I hate this place. It means the chaos. Students are impolite, their parents are irrelevant. We work hard for them, but they do not care our efforts. Everything is in vain.”

However, teachers have some proposals to defeat the general problems about the school education and the children as the sentences below:

“The only thing that we can do for them is educating the children and their parents in terms of occupation knowledge. As the children have knowledge about their talents, they can make choices and be directed towards suitable jobs that they want.”

“Children have no role-models. We cannot be a model for them. Family is more effective. Thus, we should increase our effectiveness. Teacher's attitude is important. We should firstly change the viewpoint of families.”

“School and teachers file their dream power. System does not give permission them. However, if teachers want, they can overcome the system. Because they have direct relationships with the students.”

“Firstly simple, short-term, small targets should be given them. When they succeed, new complicated and big targets should be shown. Moreover, they should have a thought about reaching their goals. They should believe that they can do.”

“We should show different worlds to the children. We should show targets, we should teach how to reach to these targets. We should introduce successful people. To see is better than to talk about.”

“They have good plans about their futures. But they do not have dreams. Their power of dreaming should be strengthened.”

5.6. Other Group

Other subjects, who are used for comparison in the study, are the 30 students and their families of Abdi İpekçi Primary School in Barış neighbourhood in the same region. This school is only 250 meters far from the main group’s school of the case study. The features of these schools are very similar to each other in terms of academic success and student profile. However, socioeconomic and cultural structures of the families can be evaluated as higher when they are compared with the families whose children go to Oğuzlar Primary School.



Figure 5.11: Other Group's School Building (Taken by the Author)

Before the analyzing this group, it is necessary to give some indicators to learn the situation of their neighbourhood in Ankara and Yenimahalle. According to data gained from the Metropolitan Municipality, the neighbourhood of Barış shows very high educational level when it is compared with the bigger levels in the city. While the rates of people who are illiterate, non-graduated from any school and graduated from primary school are lower than Karşıyaka, Yenimahalle and Ankara, the rates of people who are graduated from high school and university in Barış neighbourhood are higher than the others. Educational level of the parents in this group verifies these data. More than half of the fathers in the second group are graduated from high school and university



Figure 5.12: Other Group's School Garden-1 (Taken by the Author)

Table 5.28: Educational Level in Ankara, Yenimahalle, Karşıyaka and Barış Neighbourhood

	Ankara	Y.Mahalle	Karşıyaka	Barış
Illiterate	170.646 5,9 %	23.378 4,8 %	689 5,8 %	112 3,8 %
Non-Graduate From School	504.707 17,4 %	80.189 16,4 %	2.278 19,4 %	403 13,6 %
Primary School	1.201.591 41,4 %	186.378 38,2 %	5.792 49,0 %	980 33,1 %
High School	652.372 22,5 %	121.120 24,8 %	2.272 19,2 %	804 27,2 %
University	376.014 12,8 %	77.305 15,8 %	772 6,6 %	661 22,3 %
Total	2.905.330 100 %	488.370 100 %	11.803 100 %	2.960 100 %

Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality



Figure 5.13: Other Group's School Garden-2 (Taken by the Author)

The rate of homeownership in the neighbourhood of second group of the study is more than 70 %. The rate is in the same in this group's homeownership. It is interesting that the rate of being tenant in Barış neighbourhood is too low when it is compared with Ankara, Yenimahalle and Karşıyaka. The rates can be seen detailed in the table below.

Table 5.29: Housing Situation in Ankara, Yenimahalle, Karşıyaka and Barış Neighbourhood

	Ankara	Y.Mahalle	Karşıyaka	Barış
Owner	472.656 56,2 %	83.741 57,9 %	1.736 47,7 %	762 73,7 %
Tenant	282.534 33,5 %	47.512 32,8 %	1.649 45,2 %	217 21,0 %
Non-Owner Without Paying	47.916 5,6 %	7.164 5,0 %	239 6,6 %	43 4,2 %
Other (Lodgement etc.)	38.382 4,7 %	6.290 4,3 %	17 0,5 %	6 1,1 %
Total	841.488 100 %	144.707 100 %	3.641 100 %	1.034 100 %

Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality

The rate of employed people in Barış neighbourhood is lower than Ankara and Yenimahalle, but higher than Karşıyaka. However, unemployment rate is low here when it is compared with the other areas. It is interesting that the rate of people not in the labour force in Barış neighbourhood is high when it is compared with Ankara, Yenimahalle and Karşıyaka. The table below shows the employment structure of Barış, Karşıyaka, Yenimahalle and Ankara.

Table 5.30: Employment Structure in Ankara, Yenimahalle, Karşıyaka and Barış Neighbourhood

	Ankara	Y.Mahalle	Karşıyaka	Barış
Employed	1.008.333 38,9 %	173.182 39,5 %	3.844 37,0 %	1.046 38,6 %
Unemployed	148.226 5,8 %	25.471 5,8 %	697 6,7 %	136 5,0 %
Not In Labour Force	1.432.368 55,2 %	240.228 54,6 %	5.842 56,3 %	1.530 56,4
Unknown	123 0,1 %	5 0,1 %	-	-
Total	2.589.050 100 %	438.886 100 %	10.383 100 %	2.712 100 %

Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality

When the reasons of not being in the employment system are examined, it can be stated that the rate of retired person in Barış neighbourhood is high when it is compared with Karşıyaka, Yenimahalle and Ankara. Economic activities that held by the population of Barış are generally in manufacture, trade and social services as similar to Ankara, Yenimahalle and Karşıyaka.

Table 5.31: Working Situation in Ankara, Yenimahalle, Karşıyaka and Barış Neighbourhood

	Ankara	Y.Mahalle	Karşıyaka	Barış
Employee or Worker	860.962 85,4 %	147.128 85,0 %	3.247 84,5 %	905 86,5 %
Tradesman	48.210 4,7 %	8.783 5,1 %	130 3,4 %	76 7,3 %
Self-Employed	77.330 7,7 %	13.548 7,7 %	371 9,7 %	48 4,6 %
Family Worker	21.377 2,1 %	3.694 2,1 %	96 2,4 %	17 1,6 %
Unknown	454 0,1 %	29 0,1 %	-	-
Total	1.008.333 100 %	173.182 100 %	3.844 100 %	1.046 100 %

Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality

When the working situation of the population of Karşıyaka, Barış, Yenimahalle and Ankara is studied, while the rate of tradesman is high in Barış, the rate of self-employed is too low there when it is compared with other areas as shown in the table above.

When it is looked at the general description of the profile of the other group, it can be stated that the average age of the parents is parallel to the main group. The majority of parents are generally from middle and upper middle income groups. Their average income level is about 2000. Except 12 tradesmen and 3 skilled workers, all of the heads of household are employees whose incomes are more than 2000. While their occupational situation and income level show differences with Demetevler's dwellers and the main group, show more similarities with the central parts of Yenimahalle. As different from the main group, the majority of this group works outside Demetevler. When the mothers of the students are examined, it can be stated that despite 19 of them are housewives, 11 of the mothers work as skilled worker and employees. This number is high when it is compared with Demetevler and the main group. According to Erikson and Goldthorpe's class schema, majority of respondents are in Class III

(routine white-collar workers), other respondents and their wives are usually in in Class V/VI (higher working class). It is interesting that there is no one who is in Class VII among the second group.

Most of the parents are from Ankara and Central Anatolian region like the main group. When the spouses have been studied, only 10 women's hometowns are different from their husbands as similar to the main group. When the total number of parents' children is examined, it can be said that more than half of the parents has 2 and 3 children. There are also 5 families who have only one child. Homeownership is high in the second group. All of them live in the apartment flats or the site (with security, high walls, pool, garden, children park etc.) next to the school. Average number of households in the subjects of this group is 3,7. This number is the lower than Demetevler and Ankara, but nearly the same with Yenimahalle.

Their education histories are different from the main group. Their opinions are similar in terms of their family involvement in their educational process in the past. They defend that their families cannot be stated as supportive and conscious. The other group also accuses themselves, their families and economic difficulties about their education histories. However, most of them do not share the idea of the main group's ignorant and insensitive behaviours of themselves in their childhood. More than half of them defends that they were successful and hardworking students in their schools. Then, it can be pointed out that the parents' educational levels are usually higher than the main group. When the fathers are thought, there are 5 persons who graduated from the university. While 8 people finished the high school, 17 of them graduated from primary school. Educational levels of the mothers are lower than the levels of their husbands as similar to the main group. But, educational levels of woman in the second group can be evaluated as high when it is compared with the main group. Their marriage stories are similar to the main group. The marriages have been between the same socioeconomic statuses within the similar environment. They were generally between the people from the same city or neighbourhood. However, the rate of marriages to the relatives is lower than the main group.

The fathers of the parents who are the other group of this study are generally from the same socioeconomic level. When the occupation and educational levels of fathers

and fathers-in-law of the respondents have been examined, it can be observed that there is not a big difference between the families' socioeconomic status again. Parents, especially fathers, have higher educational status than their own parents like the main group. Moreover, it can be said that they are in a better situation in terms of occupation and income than their families. The situation is the same in their brothers and brothers-in-law. That is, all the parts of the group show important developments in their economic and social lives. People have experienced much more intragenerational and intergenerational mobilities when they are compared with the main group.

All families in this group accept the education as an important actor in success and as an effective vehicle for social mobility. They think there is a clear connection between higher education degrees and occupational attainment. They believe that their children have no too many chances rather than studying as similar to the main group. For almost everyone, good education means firstly better job, more money, better living standards and wider point of view. The number of persons who are not hopeful about the future of education is less than the main group. Most of them defend that their children's educational and socioeconomic level will be absolutely higher than theirs like the difference between their own parents and them. It can be defended that the respondents in the second group generally express higher expectations from their child's success and future than the main group. All people in the group think that they will try to help their children about their future. The priorities in the consumption are mostly rent and food like the main group, but the educational investment has a bigger place in their answers. It can be observed from the answers that other group is more interested in their children than the main group, and they are aware of the importance of the family for the future life of their children. Then, to educate the children is the most important objective for the families when it is compared with the main group. As different from the main group, they think the most important factors in the success of the children are family, school and teacher.

More respondents than the main group think that school is not enough to be successful. Extra educational facilities should be added to the process. When the income level and saving situation of the other group is compared with the case

study's main group, it is higher than the focus group. Their educational and career standards are so high that none of them prefer technical or vocational training for their children. Despite they accept their economic status affect the expenditures on education negatively, they are more enthusiastic about the education than the main group. It should be stated that 20 of the students go to private courses while the rest of them go to school's extra courses at the weekends. It is also important that the attendance to private schools is high in the region of Abdi İpekçi Primary School when it is compared with Oğuzlar Primary School.

A high number of parents evaluate their children as successful. Others state that the causes of their children's unsuccess are indolence, unconcern and insensitivity about their education and the future as similar the parents in Demetevler. Moreover, parents, in a high proportion, think they encourage their children adequately. They defend they create a home environment that encourages learning, they also express that they meet all of the needs of their children as convenient to their time and income as the focus group. Both the fathers and mothers often go to school to get information about their children as opposite to the other group. However, mothers are more interested in school affairs and activities like the main group. Educational and cultural level of mothers which can be stated as higher than the mothers of the main group gives them advantages for providing a sufficient home support in the children's lessons.

They seem to share the responsibility with the school in the education processes. They are conscious about the developments in the education system. They can more follow new information technologies, using internet and changing curriculum and exam system than the main group, give material support the school, and participate in school affairs at the school. It is also interesting that the participation of the families in the second group to the social and cultural activities is higher than the main group. According to them, spending time together with their children is very important for the success of their children. The question of "How often do you take your children to the museums, theatres, cinemas etc.?" is mainly answered as usually as opposite to the main group.

When the parents of the students in Abdi İpekçi Primary School are compared with the main subjects of study, it can be easily seen that they have a dense social network. This network provides some advantages like material or non-material supports from local governments, firms, non-governmental organizations etc. They are more conscious and collaborative with each other. They behave like a pressure group in school affairs. They continuously follow their children and their school. These naturally affect the behaviours of school administration towards the parents in favor of them. Moreover, despite the early academic success of Abdi İpekçi Primary School is not higher than Oğuzlar Primary School, the graduates do not give up the studying. Interviews show that even if they cannot be successful in SBS-OKS exams for eighth grades, they continue their education life contrary to most of the Oğuzlar's graduates who give up the high school or start to work. It is clear that when the educational level of parents' other children in the second group who are older than the subjects of the study is examined, the number of children who is graduated from the university or being students at the university is three times more than the main group's.

Parents generally want their children to choose high status and income jobs as the main focus group. They want them studying firstly in a good high school. Most the parents state that they may want their child will do their job because of their own positions. The question of "If he or she will not study, what can you say about his or her future?" is usually replied by private university or open a firm or shop. When the occupations of the parents' elder children are examined, the number of employees and skilled workers is higher than the main group.

When the children of the other group are examined, 19 of total students are evaluated as successful by the official records, school teachers and managers. The common features of these students are; parents of all are very involved in their children's education, none of them are seen as troublemakers at school, they never have behavioural problems, their parents' communication level with the school is high. When unsuccessful students (4) are examined, it can be said they are labeled as troublemakers by the teachers. Their parents' income level and communication with the school are not as high as the parents of successful students, But, they cannot be defended as totally relevant. 7 students, who are identified as having middle level

success, come from similar income families. Most of their parents are concerned and participatory to education of their children. Their behaviours are close to successful students rather than unsuccessful ones.

A big part of this group states that they are glad from their current job today, and they mostly see themselves successful in their jobs. The satisfaction rates are higher than the main group. Nearly all informants seem happy to choose or to get these jobs. People who are not pleased from their job defend their job is tiring. The thought about the guaranteed feature and the continuity and determined working hours of government service jobs is similar to the main group. Occupational stories of them are more successful than the main group's. They had been at the same or higher level jobs from the beginning of their careers. They agree with the main group in terms of the most important thing in the job. The answers are job conditions, job environment and income again. The informants in this group attach their success and unsuccess in their life to the reasons of because of him and uneducation like the main group. According to the almost one hundred per cent of people, education is the first condition of the success in life. They are optimistic about their situation when it is compared with the main group. More than half of the population think themselves as upwardly mobile. Respondents are generally hopeful about the future. More than half of them look at the future positively. Only four people think that life in the future will be the same or worse. A fatalist understanding cannot be observed as high as the main group.

When the answers of the question of "How do you evaluate your situation when you compare yourself with your parents" are studied, half of the respondents feel that they are at the middle of the social scale, but they are in a better situation than their parents. Rest of them thinks their social position is almost as high as their father's. Although the informants generally accept themselves as middle class, most of them like the main group reject the existence of the class structure. They absolutely accept the social injustice as the main group, and they do not connect these injustices to the concept of class like them again. Expectations about a positive change in their position still continue as opposite the main group. 12 of the population think of themselves as upwardly mobile. The question of "How do you evaluate your family situation when you compare you and your family with other families and persons in

Demetevler?” is answered mostly by the resembling sentences. 23 of them think they are in the higher socioeconomic level than Demetevler, but the same with Yenimahalle. While 7 persons evaluate their situation as high as the other residents of Demetevler.

According to the respondents, a metropolitan city, for example Ankara, generally means educated and cultured people, modernity, order, traffic, shopping, noise, education, work and health possibilities, crowd, movement, expensiveness, crime. As the other group, it can be stated that the people’s perceptions about the metropolitan city are both positive and negative again. For them, Demetevler reminds vagrants, garbage, disorder, crowd, uncultured, lack of respect and love. They accept the negative image of Demetevler like the main group. Only a little part of the residents belonging to the second group came from the squatter settlement areas of Ankara. There is a small number of people who has come the neighbourhood recently. There cannot be talked about a big residential mobility in this group. Respondents give parallel answers with the main group, and they say that they had lived in the village, the squatter settlements or the same type of districts in Ankara or in other cities before coming Yenimahalle. Moreover, there is nobody who had a downward residential mobility experience. The common point for choosing here for them is the cheapness of the district and the relatives who live here.

Most of the respondents state that they do not prefer Kızılay, Yenimahalle or Demetevler for shopping. The majority of this group states that they often go to shopping malls. When the friends of the group whom they often see and spend time asked, respondents replied that the best friends of them are mostly from the work, but not the neighbours. This group of people lives, works and spends time in similar places like the main group. Their friends are composed of people having same educational, economic and sociocultural status again.

When the reason of being in Ankara is examined, it can be stated that twenty-four people were born in Ankara or came here with his family when they were young. 4 of them came Ankara by appointment. There is only two persons said that they came Ankara after marriage because of being close to their relatives. 8 residents are the people who have been to Güzelyaka (The school region) for 1 and 10 years. All of

them came Demetevler because of the appointment, cheapness and relatives, there is no person moved here after the physical transformation in their old districts. There are 7 people who came the neighbourhood between 1990 and 2000. The number of the residents who have lived here only 3. Rest of people has been to the places around here as Yenimahalle and Demetevler for more than 30 years. It can be stated that most of the coming people to this neighbourhood are the people who are socially mobile and desired to live here as opposite to majority of the main group who lives in Karşıyaka by obligation.

When the question of “Why do you live in Yenimahalle” is examined, many people talk about having a house here. Four of them state that they wanted here because of its closeness to the city centre. The price of houses and the rents are also low when it is compared with similar neighbourhoods for their opinion. A few people show the existence of relatives in Demetevler as a reason of living here. “Are you happy to live in this neighbourhood?” was the other question that has been asked to the informants. Except 3 of them have emphasized that they are happy to live here. The reason of happiness is generally identified as the appropriate socioeconomic and cultural level and living standards of the neighbourhood to themselves. Many respondents state that “Nobody disturbs you here”. Moreover, they talk about being happy from this neighbourhood. Most of the dwellers of the neighbourhood do not see environment as suitable and secure to bring up children, but thanks God to be close to Yenimahalle. According to nearly all of the residents whom are interviewed, there are lots of factors pushing the youth to the wrong behaviours. For example, they defend that their children are affected by their peers from gecekondur neighbourhoods’ effects.

All respondents defend that the neighbouring has weakened in recent years. Nobody knows each other as in the past. The inhabitants whom are interviewed say that there is also break in the relationship with the relatives. However, they are not very complainant. Despite the existence of relatives was important in the past, there is a minimum relation between the relatives today. The cause of these negative changes in the relationships with the neighbours and the relatives is seen as being busy and having no time. As similar to the main group, the very same situation can be observed in the relationship with the hometown too. There are not close relationships

between the respondents and the hometown when it is compared with the past. The question of “How often do you visit your hometown?” is answered by the words of rarely, seldom or sometimes like the main group. When their friends whom they often meet asked, respondents replied that the best friends of them are mostly from the work, friends from hometown, or neighbours.

When the children’s perception about the education is examined, the advantages of education for them are generally having a job, finding a job easily, being successful, having a status and the necessary qualifications for the life. The children in the other group are aware of the importance of the education, they believe their life being better than their parents, and they are very hopeful. They have self-confidence and their expectations are high. While some of the students are complainant about too much pressure by the family, the others are disturbed by lack of interest and insensitivity by the parents like in the main group.

Children also have been asked about imagining and describing how their lives will be twenty years later from now on. All of them believe their life will be better than their parents. They are sure they will have a family and kids, be married and have good jobs. The priority of children in terms of aim is going to university. But before the university, all of them want to study in a good quality schools like the main group. The question of “Do you believe you will go to school that you want?” is answered by generally yes as opposite to the main group. Majority of them state they can go to private or public school. The negative perception about the private school cannot be observed in this group.

To learn what the youth’s concepts of good and ideal jobs, the question of “What is the most important or the best occupation for you?” is directed towards the children. According to the answers of the students, the best jobs are engineer, doctor, teacher and scientist. These answers show that students, like their parents, have bigger expectations than the main group. The question of “What is the reason of success and unsuccess in the life?” is replied by the answers of “because of him, uneducation, self-confidence and destiny”. It is interesting that the number of respondents who says destiny is lower than the children of the main group. “Does someone’s life

depend on his own effort or conditions?” question is answered by nearly all of them as the life depending on his effort rather than conditions.

According to most of the children, there is a big pressure by their family as similar to the main group. All of the students are complainant about too much pressure by the family, but there is no student who complainant about lack of interest and insensitivity by the parents as different from the main group. They talk about big encouragement by their parents in every situation. All the children are happy for living in this neighbourhood like their parents.

If the interviews that are conducted with the teachers of the children in the second group are evaluated briefly, their perceptions and opinions on the school, neighbourhood and student profile are highly different from the teachers' who work in the school of the main group. Firstly, they are generally happy to work here that they describe as nearly unproblematic. They are glad from the students and their families in terms of academic success and behavior. Teachers state that this region where the school is located generally consists of middle class people except the people from the gecekondu neighbourhood that is close to the school. The students coming from there are problematic, but their number is not very high as affecting the school negatively. It can be stated that socio economic and cultural structure of the neighbourhood also affects the behaviours, standings, opinions and perceptions of the teachers here.

They agree with the other group of teachers about the negative developments in the education in recent years. They are also complainant about the education polices in recent years. The difference is their opinion is that they think the socioeconomic and cultural level of their families which can easily overcome these developments. Their custodians have big expectations and the interests on education of their children for the teachers. They believe and trust in their children. They do not give up hope of their children in a bad situation. They can support their children sufficiently. They can purchase extra school materials, books, etc. They can send their children to private courses. Their positive approach to education and school reflect to their children about their education. They are good, hardworking, respectful (but sometimes spoilt) boys and girls. It is interesting that teachers who are interviewed

are sometimes very disturbed by the extreme involvement and interest of the parents on school affairs.

5.7. General Evaluation

The region (Karşıyaka), where the study was conducted, is one of the last areas which have been faced with physical transformation in Demetevler, and accepted as the last point of the neighbourhood. It is generally characterized by dense residential movement and squatter settlements where the extremely heterogeneous and disadvantageous people live in. After 1980s, important parts of the population left the neighbourhood because of the physical transformation in the city. They sold or rent their houses. Demetevler was used as jumping point or station by them. The feature of the population has greatly changed in recent years. First generations could find housing and job in the past, but changes like urban transformation projects in the old gecekondü neighbourhood in Ankara push the poor people to live and work (temporarily again) in Demetevler. These people are faced worse experiences than the older residents, and breaking the cycle of poverty is much more difficult for them. They are generally renters who work in casual jobs with lower educational level and incomes and have no possibility of education, job, and upward mobility. According to the official statistics, the neighbourhood shows low levels of occupation, income, education, homeownership etc. when it is compared to Ankara, Yenimahalle and Demetevler. The general profile of the main group of this study is completely parallel to the neighbourhood.

The case study shows that the two neighbourhoods which have only 250 meters distance from each other have too many differences. While one of the schools (the second group) is nearer to the central part of Yenimahalle, the other (the main group) is between Demetevler and Şentepe gecekondü neighbourhood. The other group's socioeconomic profile is more similar to Yenimahalle in terms of the variables above. For example, most of them live in a site which has high walls and security isolating them from the gecekondü neighbourhood at the back side. Although, the features of the schools (inputs) which have been established in their regions are very similar to each other in terms of academic success, physical conditions and student academic profile, the outputs are highly different. One of the schools has been accepted as

having a low place in the school hierarchy, the other as having an upper place. It cannot be stated that all of the graduates from the school of main group in the past continued their education. Attendance in higher education rate after graduation is 30-40 per cent. Graduates usually leave the school, work in service sector and unskilled jobs. A recent study about the early school leaving or drop-out in Ankara also verifies this situation (Tamer, 2013: 169). However, the graduates of other school have continued their education for a long time with a few exceptions. The thesis defends that there are a lot of reasons behind this difference between the main and the second groups.

In both group, parents, especially fathers, have higher educational status than their own fathers or their fathers-in-law. They think that they are in a better situation than their parents. But, it can be defended that main group is almost in the same, even worse level in terms of occupation than their families. Moreover, the brothers of the parents have obviously higher occupation status than their brothers in the main group. When this group has experienced much more intragenerational and intergenerational mobility and is being in a better situation in terms of occupation and income than their families, the main group shows limited mobility rates across generations in terms of occupation. The groups generally show similarities to occupational structure of the region where they exist. It can be said that while the rate of employees and tradesmen is low in main group, most of the heads of household are skilled and unskilled workers whose wage situations are casual or continual. Despite some of the subjects in the main group perceive themselves as upwardly mobile, the indicators state that their mobility rates are lower than the second group. The situation of these people is appropriate to the definition of new poor whose conditions of employment, housing and education by neoliberal economy policies after 1980's. As Skeggs points out, neoliberalism creates much more images of those that lack value in the capitalist system as the illegitimate subjects of the nation. Neoliberal globalisation recasts definitions of who counts as a valuable citizen. Those failing to so define themselves and act accordingly are conceived of as moral, social and political problems to be devalued, punished, and kept regimented.

While first generation could find housing and job possibilities in the cities or “be upwardly mobile” in the past, the second and third generations in the main group have no education and job opportunities today. People in Karşıyaka, like two-thirds of all lower class urban families, work in non-industrial, unskilled work in informal sector. The results of the study verify this reality. Important number of people who left Demetevler caused the population has greatly changed. Demetevler met a new population who shows more heterogeneity. The majority of the dwellers in main group are always ready to move due to the high proportion of tenants in the neighbourhood. This naturally prevents the stability of social ties in the neighbourhood. Moreover, including access to social networks may also affect the people’s feelings of self-esteem and self confidence. Their answers verify this claim. Thus, physical mobility does not bring a positive development for the neighbourhood. This is only a static population exchange. Moreover, high residential mobility also causes the transfers of the students and affects the education negatively.

Personal education histories are also different in two groups. It is clear that the parents’ educational levels in the other group are usually higher than the main group. Educational levels of their wives in the other group are also high when it is compared with the main group. As Bourdieu claims, people with similar symbolic capital are expected to have marriages among each other. The respondents of the study in main group generally accuse themselves or their families about their education histories. However, nearly all of them thank God because of their existing situation. Their fatalist understanding can be easily observed from the answers. This group is also complainant about their families about their education histories. But, their approach is not too fatalist as the main group. They defend that they have never give up.

Happiness from the existing job is less in the main group than the other group. More successful occupational stories of the other group prove this situation. They had been at the same or higher level jobs from the beginning of their careers. People in this group evaluate their situations as upwardly mobile when it is compared with the main group. Respondents are generally hopeful about the future. More than half of them look at the future positively. A fatalist understanding on the future cannot be observed as high as the main group again.

While both groups accept the education as the most important factor in occupational attainment, to educate the children seem to having more priority for the families in the other group. Despite the main group also defends that they try to make a huge effort for the education of their children, and they encourage their children adequately, the observations point out different tendencies between the groups. All the people in the case study defend that their children's educational and socioeconomic level will be absolutely higher than theirs like the difference between their own parents and them. However, it can be observed from the answers that other group is more interested and more enthusiastic about the education than the main group. The number of persons who are hopeful about the future of education in the second group is higher than the main group. It can be defended that the respondents in the other group generally express higher expectations from their child's success and future than the main group. Main group do not believe and trust in their children very much in terms of success in education and occupation. Unfortunately, most of them have no expectations from their children. They give up hope of their children in any failure. All of them state that they will employ or marry off their children if they will not continue their studying. Another alternative is the vocational and technical schools to improve children's employability in the future.

Unfortunately, families' situation seems to continue in their children's educational future. As Ginsburg et al. (2011) state, beliefs, attitudes and values imposed on children by the social, economic and cultural features of this overcrowding neighbourhood with poor housing, less educational opportunities, high unemployment rates and little access to land or capital affect children's educational attainment negatively. Children in Karşıyaka have lower educational level than do their counterparts from the other school naturally. Children of the second group continue their education life contrary to most of the Oğuzlar's graduates who give up the high school or start to work. It is clear that when the educational level of parents' other children in the other group who are older than the subjects of the study is examined, the number of children who is graduated from the university or being students at the university is three times more than the main group. The differences between the occupations of the parents' elder children in two groups verify the claims above. When the occupations of the parents' elder children are examined, the number of employees and skilled workers is higher than the main group.

It should be stated that the differences between the families of the main group and the other group do not come from the difference between the ambition and the wish of the people. First of all, when the income level and saving situation of the second group is compared with the case study's main group, it can be stated that it is higher than the focus group. Then, educational investment has naturally a big place in the other group. But, the people in the main group are aware of their income is not sufficient. In the current situation where they reduce consumption, investment and savings as Smith (1994) states, their economic status normally affects the expenditures on education negatively. Then, it can be observed that the attendance to private schools, courses or their school's extra courses is high in the region of Abdi İpekçi Primary School when it is compared with Oğuzlar Primary School.

Mothers and fathers in the main group seldomly go to school to get information about their children as opposite to the other group. They do not seem to share the responsibility and interest desired by the school in the education processes. On the contrary, the second group mostly thinks that the most important factor in the success of their children are family, school and teacher. They have a range of strategies and instruments as well as their high and stable incomes to use in education of their children. They give more material or different supports to the school, and participate in school affairs at the school. It is also interesting that the participation of the families in the other group to the social and cultural activities is higher than the main group. Moreover, educational and cultural level of mothers which can be stated as higher than the mothers of the main group give them advantages for providing a sufficient home support in the children's lessons.

Despite children's psychological abilities, intelligence, talents, attitudes and behaviours are important factors on education, the family, as an important institution in the distribution of different capitals, plays more important role in shaping an individual's educational and occupational attainment. Resources possessed by family mean material and sociocultural support for their children that affect the opportunities and life chances of them. However, there are some barriers in front of the family involvement in education to reproduce their social positions. The most effective factor is low economic level of the families. It should be stated that children's chance to get a good education is essentially unaffected by the degree of

choice today. Educational right might be different because of capital accumulation of families. Class-related economic, social and cultural factors shape family support and involvement in education processes. For example, low level of education causes low information, interest, support and expectations about the education. Then, poor children are socializing more outside than their home. Peer pressure in the educational attainment of the children is greater because of the family's low involvement in the children's lives. Moreover, as Bourdieu holds that because of the match between the historically grounded habitus expected in schools and in its actors and those of more affluent parents, the school uses middle class standards to evaluate children, disadvantaging those from working class and poor families who do not have the opportunity to learn these behaviors and styles at home. The house and social environment as the places where parental beliefs, attitudes and values are shaped also affect the children. While middle class children learn cultural skills that are more valued by the educational system, the others do not as Lareau defends. This also brings alienation to school.

It can be stated that despite educational right might be different because of the factors outside schools, state supporting education that have served relatively equal educational services in terms of social mobility until recent years, is deprived especially by the withdrawal of the state from the education sector today. The rate of people who thinks public school is not enough to be successful is nearly the same in two groups. Respondents of the study are aware of the negative developments in education. Education system of Turkey is not egalitarian for most of them. They think people who have good income can be benefit from the education. According to all informants, state schools have lots of problems and this structure did not or will not change in the course of time. They think education in private or some elite public schools have more quality than the state schools. However, the low income families have no opportunity except the school. Decreased public funds and investments to education negatively affected by globalised capitalism caused worsening their conditions. Globalization has brought competition, commercialization and privatization to education. Big supports like land allocations, credits and tax exemptions for private sector, private educational institutions have increased in Turkey too. As well as the difference between the public and private schools, there

are also important differentiations between public schools and regions in terms of quality of education today.

Despite Coleman (1988) states that qualitative and quantitative features of school have less effects on child's academic achievement than the family background, school has a big role in education attainment in terms of preventing or strengthening the differences between the classes. Because, different social classes attend different neighbourhood schools which have different characteristics. While a school serves as a ghetto for underprivileged groups, another school serves as an important support for families. When the state reduces the budget for schools, schools direct towards looking extra budgetary resources like donations from the families, canteen, school services, publishers etc. These factors develop the physical possibilities in schools, increase the quantity and the quality of educational materials and the teachers as Tural (2006) pointed out. This naturally increases the inequalities between the schools. A similar situation can be also observed even between the classes in the same school. While the school of the other group have incomes from the different resources stated above, the school of the main group cannot be provided with the extra incomes. Data show that the parents are the main actors responsible in education of their children in spite of public education in Turkey. Then, schools cannot be independent from the socioeconomic position of the families. All agents relating to education agree about this factor in educational attainment.

These two different schools in the case study cannot be stated as having the same conditions for an effective education. Concentrated poverty in the neighbourhood of the main group affects the school climate negatively. While the parents and the Ministry blame the school and the teachers for educational failure, school tends to search the guilty at home. Weak family control and negligent parents are strongly associated with low educational achievement by the school. When existing socio economic and cultural blanks between the school and the environment is added to these problems, school cannot create an inclusive education atmosphere. It should be stated that there are also huge differences showing the unequal conditions between the schools can be observed from canteens, social, cultural and sportive activities, behaviours of school staff, gardens, walls, corridors or the number of service buses etc. As Bourdieu argues, schools help reproducing existing power relations across the

generations. They select and classify the children according to their cultural capital as he claims.

Teachers in the school where the main group's children study have also difficulties about the low involvement of families in education process. Nearly all of the teachers state that neither children nor parents have targets. Parents have prejudices about the school and the education. They do not believe and trust in their children. A little failure dissuades them from the educational process. Moreover, socio economic and cultural structure of the neighbourhood and the institutional structure of the school naturally affect the behaviours, standings, opinions and perceptions of the teachers. Teachers try to run away from the school as soon as possible. They, as the most important factor to overcome the inequalities of education in the school, feel tired, hopeless, bored and alone. Teachers accept and reflect the social structure around them. Then, school systems continue to do nothing about the students' success. On the contrary, the teachers in the school where the other group's children study think that high socioeconomic and cultural level of the families affects positively their children's educational process. They are very involved in education process (sometimes too much that may be boring and oppressive for the teachers) and gives them advantages when it is compared with the other schools. The teachers of the second group are also disturbed by the education policies in recent years; however, they think that his students and families know how to do it and have no problem. They have more choices. They have the financial resources to either send their children to private schools or to move to better neighbourhoods with higher quality public schools. As Skeggs shows, middle class education is all based on children learning more and more, being more and more skilled, and playing more and more instruments.

The priorities of the families and the school are different in the school of the main group, but similar in the school of the other group. The most important difference between the schools is the more tolerable and flexible school system in the other group, and more disciplined and less tolerable school system in the main group. This difference comes from both the school and the parents. "His meat is yours, his bone is mine" is more common in the main group. It can be easily stated that this difference can be explained by the different level (or power) of the families. When

the state, the school, the teachers and the family behave differently as appropriate to the socioeconomic structure of the places, the low income families' students cannot save from the vicious circle. The students who have the same features in terms of academic success, are evaluated with different descriptions in these two different schools. Lazy student of the main group is described as inattentiveness in the second group, naughty student of the other group is described as hyperactive in the other group. In sum, the schools in the case study help the continuity of social and economic inequalities across the generations by recognizing the existing social structure. The schools have a mission like as social machinery that labels and grades children, and sends back to the society with the same social position.

Socioeconomic and cultural structures of the families whose children study in Abdi İpekçi Primary School can be evaluated as higher when they are compared with the families whose children go to Oğuzlar Primary School. While opportunities by the education for main group are very limited even if they are ambitious for their children, the second group has also access to a wider range of social networks. Their social and cultural capitals play a role in the transmission of human and financial capital from one generation to the next as Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) show. Their social networks build a strong family-school relationship as Lareau (1987) emphasizes. They have more organized relations with the school and are more capable of dealing with problems in their children's education as a pressure group in school affairs. These naturally affect the behaviours of school administration towards the parents in favor of them. They can also provide extra resources such as private courses, camps and after school programs for their children. While lower income families' children in Karşıyaka must go to school which are the closest to their home by both the legislation and the financial possibilities of them, children of the other group may have a right to choose their school. Because, they can give donations to the school that they want, they can use school service if the school is not close.

As Skeggs points out some people make investments in their cultural characteristics, which can then be used to realize value in social life, then, only some can utilize culture as a form of property in themselves, and only some have an exchange-value in later life such as the cultural capital necessary for employability, respectability and social networking. The game is established to middle-class advantage. On the

contrary, poors have not any alternatives that could hold value within their local space. Middle-class taste culture is read back onto them as an individualized moral fault or lack, pathology, a problem of bad-choice, bad culture, a failure to be enterprising or to be reflexive. They are not allowed access to the resources required for self-production for Skeggs.

The difference between the symbolic capital of the main group and the second group can be seen in the sentences below. When the friends of two groups where the places whom they go in their leisure times and the friends whom they often see and spend time with are asked, respondents' answers are similar. The subjects of the study usually share similar educational, occupational and familial experiences inside their group. As Bourdieu states, people with similar symbolic capital have the same lifestyle, belong to the same type of organizations, have similar types of jobs and attend the same schools. They also share common identities and consumption patterns. The places and the contacts are composed of places and people having same educational, economic and sociocultural level as Valenzuela (2010) points out. Moreover, both groups think they are in the same socioeconomic level with the other residents in their environment. This reality creates pressure on the low income families in the main group to move them up in the social scale. But, they have no positive expectations about the changes in their positions. It can be defended that the respondents in the main group generally complain their children because of having no aims. But, they are not different from their children about their opinions on future. People from the two groups agree about the negative changes in the relationships with the neighbours and the relatives in recent years. However, dense social network that the other group has provides some advantages them in social and economic life when it is compared with the main group again.

While appropriate socioeconomic and cultural level and living standards of the neighbourhoods make the people happy in second group, but unhappy in main group. Most of the dwellers of both groups accept the negative image of Demetevler and do not see Demetevler environment as suitable and secure to bring up children, but Yenimahalle. For example, even the other group's people defend that their children are affected negatively by their peers from gecekondu neighbourhoods which is close to their school. Only a little part of the residents belonging to the other group came

from the squatter settlement areas of Ankara. There is a small number of people who has come the neighbourhood recently. There is no person moved here after the physical transformation in their old districts. It can be stated that most of the coming people to this neighbourhood are the people who are socially mobile and desired to live here as opposite to majority of the main group who lives in Karşıyaka by some obligations. The common point for choosing their neighbourhoods for both groups is the cheapness of the district and the relatives who live here. The main group, although they are not happy to live in this neighbourhood, they cannot move to better neighbourhoods of Ankara (Except in case of forced migration by the authorities) because of their low income level.

When the children's perception about the education is examined in two groups, the advantages of education for them are generally having a job, finding a job easily, being successful, and having a status and the necessary qualifications for the life. However, the children in the second group are more conscious about education, they believe their life being better than their parents, and they are very hopeful. They have self-confidence like their parents, and have bigger expectations than the main group. While some of the students are complainant about too much pressure by the family, the others are disturbed by lack of interest and insensitivity by the parents like in the main group. Children in both groups have similar opinions with their parents about attaching their success and failure to themselves or their families.

All of them believe their life will be better than their parents. They are sure they will have a family and kids, be married and have good jobs. The priority of children in terms of aim is going to university. But before the university, all of them want to study in a good quality schools. However, children in the main group are more pessimistic about their education prospects than their families, teachers and other group. They think they are oppressed by the authority and pressure coming from their families, school and this neighbourhood. It is interesting that the rate of happiness from living in this neighbourhood is higher than their parents.

There are a lot of students (both girls and boys) seriously challenge to their teachers and their parents in the main group. They show aggression, violence, struggle and non-respect for school property. They have different hair styles, make-up or dress.

Smoking rate is high among them. It is obtained from the interviews that they seem accepted the defeat at the beginning of their educational history. They know their limited career prospects that cannot be enough for highly paid or high status job. Decreasing expectations and hopes from the future cause them enjoying today and having short-term plans. The result is the reproduction of them as rebel, hopeless, guilty etc.

In the course of time, like their fathers and mothers, they may change their living spaces or their jobs hardly enough, they may gain property, income or a change in position in occupation, but they will not change their socioeconomic positions in case they will not develop their human, financial, social and cultural capitals. These people cannot also convert their existing capitals to each other which are essential tools in social mobility for Bourdieu. Their limited total “symbolic” capital of “economic, cultural and social” cannot mobilise them. Moreover, their social origin and their experiences shape out their perceptions, judgements and behaviours about their social trajectories negatively. Because, they internalize the social structure in their habitus as in Bourdieu’s statements. People primarily try to keep the amount of capitals inherited from their family and protect their existing social position, rather than increase it. Their location of them in the social space which is determined by the total amount of capital they possess and their habitus which is determined mostly by their position in the social space are reproduced again like Bourdieu defends.

Nearly all informants of the study in both groups attach the success and failure of an individual in life to the reasons of because of himself, uneducation, patience, ambition, destiny or chance. They see effort rather than conditions as a main responsible for the success. However, the main group mostly blame themselves for their failure as McLaren (2007) says. They are not socially mobile, but they prefer comparing themselves with the people in lower positions and thanks God. They generally accept that they are poor due to their own fault. They are convinced about their social and economic roles belong to their class. This is the situation what Freire calls silence culture. They feel powerless to fight against the social system where they believe in their poverty due to their own fault. Therefore, their thoughts help hopelessness and the reproduction of their situation. Their feelings which are generated by class inequality play a part in the reproduction of class inequality again.

When the results of the case study are examined generally, it can be stated that there is a positive association between students' school performance, educational outcomes, their family background and mobility. The low success level of the young generation of low income groups is not only a mechanism but also an indicator of the future position of them in the social hierarchy. Moreover, it cannot be said that education cannot prevent the inequality and the association between the educational success and the background. Today's education policies strengthen the association between class origins and class destinations, rather than weaken today. As Bourdieu states, while ability and effort play a part, the effect of class origins on class destinations is in fact much stronger because of the cultural reproduction.

It can be observed from the previous parts of the study, in or by all levels (Context, Settings, Situated Activity and Self), people's educational and occupational opportunities are highly blocked today. Macro social forms and contextual resources relating to power, domination, discourses and practices (class structure, neo liberal policies, education and employment systems, urban and housing structure in the world and in Turkey), immediate environment of social activity (their neighbourhood and the school), communication situations between people (interaction between the school-teachers-family-children) and personal attitudes, assessments, values, perceptions, responses and understandings of identity and behavior and their relations to social environment prevent the mobility chances for them.

The data verify the claims above and show people from this neighbourhood have absolutely different chances of educational and occupational attainment. The data gained from the case study is presented below (It is necessary to emphasize that none of 33 students who have been the subjects of the study could not enter Anatolian or Science High Schools according to the OKS Exam results announced after the interviews).

Table 5.32: Some Factors and the Success in the Case Study

Factors on Student's Success	The Success (According to School Degree and SBS-OKS Results)	
	Successful Students	Unsuccessful Students
Income of Family	Middle	Low
Homeland of Family	Natives of Ankara and its districts except a few	Mostly Migrated families (2 nd or 3 rd generation)
Homeownership of Family	High	Low
Happiness from the neighbourhood	Low	High
Living Duration in Demetevler	Long	Short
Educational Level of Family	Mostly High	Mostly Low
Educational Level of the Other Children in the Families	High	Low
Difference with their parents	High	Low
Residential Mobility Rates of Family in the City	Low	High
Family Size	Small	Big
The Location of the House of the Students	Demetevler 12 th Street (down from the school where mostly middle income groups live)	Karşıyaka Neighbourhood (up from the school where mostly low income groups live)
Seperate-Divorced Parents	Low	High
Children Room in House	Yes	No
School Unattendance of Students	Low	High
Undisciplined Behaviours	Low	High
Support to Children by Families	High	Low

Table 5.28: Some Factors and the Success in the Case Study (continued)

Involvement of Student to School Activities (Social-Cultural-Sportive)	High	Low
Involvement of Family to School Affairs	High	Low
Participation to Parent-School meetings	High	Low
Rates of Calling from School Guidance Service (Student or Family)	High	Low
The Rate of Going to Private Courses	High	Low

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

It is widely argued that education is a means of social mobility. In the past, it was a common view that education was an important channel of sociospatial mobility for urban poor as having a decent education provided the kids from lower income groups to climb the social mobility ladder.

However in this thesis especially in societies like Turkey where the neoliberalism has been paramount, this claim does not apply especially to poor neighbourhoods. Mobility via educational achievement was perhaps a possibility once upon a time. But the evidences show that education does not play such a role especially in poverty ridden neighbourhoods any more. The success stories in the past cannot be observed too much. Channels of social mobility have been ever increasingly blocked in recent years for the new generations growing up especially in the poor neighbourhoods. Inequalities in educational system reproduce existing social structure to next generations even going down further. The schools cannot be stated as meritocratic, they reflect the social production relations today.

The case study we conducted in one of the poverty marked neighbourhood in Ankara, namely, Demetever has shown that poor people largely live in poverty in such neighbourhood and this has turned to a culture of poverty in the sense that they have internalized the realities of poverty and accepted it as their destiny. Concentration of people in such neighbourhoods like Demetever further strengthens their culture of poverty and turns to be spatial entrapment which does not allow them to change their conditions. Field of education is one of the key area both showing their lack of opportunity to overcome this entrapment and a key mechanisms of reproducing the poverty and immobility along the generations.

The school we focused on in Demetevler is a striking setting of how such process of entrapment and reproduction of poverty intergenerationally. As a matter of fact the

level of success of the students which points to a chronic failure and the labour markets they enter later on have shown that let alone such families fails to achieve an upward mobility, they are following a path of downward mobility.

The case study shows that because of the changing role of the education in recent years and some urban limits in terms of the isolation or segregation of some peer neighbourhoods in urban areas, the mobility effect of education has been dramatically changed. Resources possessed by lower class families for economic, social and cultural support for their children's educational attainment are rather limited today. There are also a lot of barriers in front of the family involvement in education. It should be stated that children's chance to get sufficient education is essentially unaffected by the degree of choice. People in these neighbourhoods have no power to find and create opportunities to change and improve their life conditions and defeat the reproduction of their social class.

When the results of the study are examined generally, it is very clear that there are limits -from structure to agency- in front of people who live in Karşıyaka in all of the macro and micro domains. Each level (Context, Settings, Situated Activity, and Self) includes independent or interconnected barriers for the next generations in this peer neighbourhood. In these conditions, it is inevitable to claim a positive association between students' educational outcomes and their family background. The data gained by this study verify that people from lower income families have lower chances of attaining different social positions and their next generations will be much more affected than their parents in the future. The study evaluates the degree of success of the students as not only a mechanism but also an indicator of the future position of the young generation of low income groups in the social hierarchy. Because of the effects of social origin on social destination, children may be deprived of the educational possibilities which will provide them occupation chances in the future. The structural adjustment policies of neoliberalism which deepen socioeconomic contrasts and growing spaces of poverty create even downward social mobility for young generations and also cause them staying as unskilled and poor labor force without educational attainment. Because of the corrosion of state protectionism and social state policies, state is more uninterested and unwilling about intervening efficiently the concentration of poverty and educational failures in this

type of low-income neighbourhoods. Then, state policies, at least in the field of education, further strengthen even deepen the social and educational inequalities, rather than weaken them.

People could find housing, education and job possibilities or “be upwardly mobile” in urban areas in the past, but the next generations have no possibility of education, job, and upward mobility today. Their detachment from the labour force, dissolving of their traditional solidarity networks, their little access to land or capital and the geographic concentration of poverty made the breaking the cycle of poverty is much more difficult for these people. They have no power and hope to find and create opportunities to change and improve their life conditions. Physical and socioeconomic isolation of them from other segments of urban society close the channels of social mobility possibilities for them.

The schools and the teachers help the continuity of social and economic inequalities across the generations by recognizing the existing social structure around them. Their neighbourhood and the residents have been labelled by the government, the school, media and the public. Living in this neighbourhood is to be ready to accept the low, even negative social capital for its residents because of the spatial entrapment.

Thus, they have difficulties to access health, employment, education services, and adequate housing. Their low levels of home ownership also increase the degree of residential mobility and the job mobility rates again. They cannot build ties to place in terms of belonging. Then, their perception on space affects the reproduction of their spatial habitus negatively. Discriminative policies by the state that reproduce the existing social structure, low quality education in public schools and the spatial entrapment in Demetevler also make harder next generations to have educational opportunities and to protect their existing position in the future. This means even downward mobility for people, more fragmentation in urban space and more unequal social structure.

It is important to state that people’s valuation has been dramatically influenced by educational deprivation. They are convinced about their social and economic roles belong to their class. Because, they internalize the social structure in their habitus.

Their attitudes, values, perceptions, expectations, assessments and decisions on themselves, their children and the life which are shaped out by their social origin and their experiences, play a part in the reproduction of class inequality, social stratification and a lack of social recognition again. Most adults in the families themselves did not receive a sufficient education in the past. Even when they try, it is not easy to support their children on issues about which they do not have that much idea. In this structure, they accept that they are poor due to their own fault.

People in Demetevler with similar symbolic capital have the same lifestyles and they belong to the same type of organizations, have similar types of jobs, attend the same schools and exist in the same type of living circumstances. They are like to sticking to the same types of space. If they decide to move out, the place where they go will not be different from Demetevler. The mobility is only a static population exchange. Thus, both the physical and social transformations of Demetevler in last years do not point to a decisive social mobility. In certain respects they have lost some portion of their accumulated capital including the informational one. Likewise they fail to convert these capitals to each other.

Because their existence and the positions in the field are linked to their habitus, their capacity and potential to act independently from the socioeconomic structure which limits their opportunities, to make their own free choices and to impose those choices on their present and future life are too limited. People primarily try to keep the amount of capitals inherited from their family and protect their existing social position rather than increase it.

Beliefs, attitudes and values imposed on children by the social, economic and cultural features of this neighbourhood also affect children's educational attainment negatively. Field research shows that students have not doing well in the entrance exams of prestigious public schools.

All these information obtained from the field research shows that most families in these poor neighbourhoods have been living in a vicious circle that they can not break with their own resources and strategies. Rather they reproduce the conditions which keep them at the bottom of the societal ladder. Education is a prime example of such

entrapment. Recent evidence shows that rather than improvement, deterioration marks these neighbourhoods in educational field as well.

If these families are far from breaking this vicious circle with their strategies framed by their poor capital accumulation and fatalistic habitus, then there is a need for a strong and decisive intervention from outside. The right address for such an intervention is the state institutions making decisions about these people's life including the education.

Like many other studies international or otherwise our own research shows that family background of students is one of the key determinant of their success. If we hold this fact true, then improvement of education success should not primarily focus on educational reform and improvement. An effective policy, however macro, should target the so-called area of family background. It is obvious that this is a matter of class position of this poverty.

In other words, the problem analysed in the thesis should not be thought and solved only in educational field. The same thing is also valid in the spatial or economic contexts. There should be direct and indirect radical interventions to social field. Moreover, these interventions should also target different policy areas at the same time. For example, while the policies guarantee the production and distribution of educational and employment opportunities equally in the neighbourhood, it should also use the positive discrimination mechanisms for the community. Concrete policy proposals which depend on this framework are presented below.

The case study has shown that there is a dead lock for the poverty ridden neighbourhoods in terms of the progressive role expected to be played by education. Education is far from playing the expected role. It strengthens the inequalities rather than improve it. Families and communities are not well endowed to break this vicious circle with their limited economic, social, cultural as well as symbolic capital. If this is the case then there is only one actor that could break this deadlock; the state. Likewise every kind of change relating to education is a political choice, and thus it should be formed by the political processes.

First of all, in any case, education is a public service and should be produced and distributed publicly. Educational planning should go hand in hand with employment planning. Thus, policies should not be produced in or for local level, they should have a potential to bring positive outcomes for all the country.

Role of education in this process is placed within the context of increasing people's capitals, and contributing to a more equal, social justice based society. However, there should be a social policy framework which will equalize funding across regions and provinces and abolish the inequalities in the society. Because, without providing equality outside the school, equalities in the school will be artificial. Public policy should recognize that deprivations and needs are different for different groups and that, some individuals, families, population groups and regions require immediate and efficient attention, due to their very low income and the large number of deprivations they have. Because, they have differed historically and culturally with regard to actual educational options, access, and change adoption and implementation.

Everything related to education is also related to social one. Because, the relation between education and social institutions, and the problems coming from this relation is essential. Thus, policies on education should be social firstly. Moreover, educational policies should provide a connection between the social, cultural, economic factors and themselves. Because of education is directly affected by the harmful results of poverty, poverty should be an important subject of the education. The question of "How can the students from poor families be successful?" should be replaced by the question of "Why are the students from poor families usually unsuccessful?"

Public policy should not only reduce poverty of people, but also to reduce vulnerability through better economic and social mechanisms which improve the employment opportunities of especially at-risk youth by building their technical skills, work experience and life skills. Policy can affect education in two ways. First, it can focus on the supply side, increasing public expenditures on education or improving the quality of public schools in some other way. Second, it can focus on

the demand side, removing the especially financial constraints that prevent household investments in education.

Public investments and expenditures to education should be increased. The public dimension of education should be strengthened again. Market-oriented structure of the education system should be changed. Schools should serve, with a positive discriminatory approach, especially less privileged students in low-performing neighbourhoods where the most economically disadvantaged families live.

The technical and financial inequalities between the public schools and the private schools should be prevented. First, the quality of public education (not only quantity) needs to be improved so that publicly educated children can compete with privately educated children. It is important that low family income should not prevent a child from getting a decent education. Everyone must start the race equal. Thus, basic education should be completely free. It is social state principle. State should also ensure the equality of opportunity to break the cycle of disadvantage across generations at least in education sector.

Reforms on education should not be abstract, but concrete. They should come from the social structure, rather than the economic one. Then, social and welfare policy which focus on tackling poverty and social exclusion will provide equality of opportunity and equality of condition. All of these will naturally affect social mobility by breaking down the links between parental socioeconomic status and children's status and behaviors. Pax Urbana may only be set up by the education that all people from every class in the city can use it equally and have better life conditions in the future. However, the most important point is that the increasing social mobility level of an individual or a group should not treat or hurt another people.

Policies should be directed towards maintaining inclusion and social cohesion policies where people believe they can improve themselves through their abilities, talents and efforts than in a society where opportunities and quality of life depend on social background. Improving living standards, increasing parental employment in low-income families may increase opportunities for the people as breaking down

barriers to social mobility. Social inclusion and cohesion should not be important just in terms of financial inclusion, but access to employment, good health, decent housing etc. Scholarships, loans, boarding schools, social and health services can be used as essential instruments. These public services should be realized equally whether target people have social security or not. The material support (may be clothes, food, course materials, books, free health services, dental scanning, rent aids, credit for buying house, free kindergarten or babysitting services for working mothers etc.) for students and families from lower income should be the first priority of the school.

Restructuring in organizational and administrative structure of education is necessity. Alternative understandings and institutions should be adopted. It is important to note that “Village Institutes-Köy Enstitüleri” as a successful example at the beginning of Turkish Republic should be also examined. They were not only educational institutions; they were the institutional infrastructure for democracy and culture in young Republic. The fundamentals of these schools were togetherness, participation, power and responsibility. They were the democratic, independent and productive education centers which joined the theory and practice. Issues on life and education were undertaken together. They were giving life skills, vocational, technical, agricultural and artistic practices to the students. Unfortunately, they were short lived. However, this type of restructuring in the educational system has a vital importance and evaluated as soon as possible. Although these schools mainly were the part of rural development in early Republic, existing public education centers, vocational and technical schools in urban areas may be restructured with the understanding in village institutes and give this type of education.

Urban policies are also much related to the problems of Demetevler in terms of social mobility. First of all, housing and job opportunities are essential. It is necessary to explore the mechanisms processes that lead to the prevention of social inequalities, particularly in the fields of education and occupation. Unplanned and rent driven development should be prevented. Housing supply should be increased. Support to cooperatives may be tool for this reason. When Karşıyaka is examined, existing building structures should be improved, then a rational urban transformation process which foresees social, economic and cultural developments

that may accelerate social mobility of people in Karşıyaka, should be realised. Moreover, this process should get its legitimacy by the public participation. Social policies are important in this framework. It is necessary to state that urban transformation should strengthen the existing residents of the neighbourhood, rather than change the population by excluding lower classes and placing the upper classes as in the past experiences. Feeling secure in terms of housing and environment by is the first condition which prevents dense spatial mobility in the neighbourhood, then social immobility. Thus, urban transformation policies should be firstly more democratic and more participatory.

Decisions about the neighbourhood should be made with the local people who usually do not have wide representing channels in political area. Thus, the political effectiveness of public should be strengthened. Because, the existence of individuals who have knowledge about their rights and responsibilities will develop the neighbourhood and its inhabitants. Thus, urban citizens should be informed about the participation to local affairs, fundamental rights and freedoms, and other social, economic and political matters. Neighbourhood and school are the ideal levels for urban participation. Thus, education is also evaluated as being inside the urban program.

Community involvement in decisions, related to the place where they live, can build the dependence and feeling of possession to the neighbourhood. People should be strengthened in terms of interaction with each other and the existence in the urban organizations. Then, they can be informed about the city where they live, social problems, education and urban policies generally. These will encourage residents to participate actively in public neighbourhood life. The social ties in the neighbourhood should be strengthened.

In family level, effect of education should be tried to be greater than the effect of social background on socioeconomic achievement. Thus, parental consciousness and support on education should be provided firstly. Schools may run this process by being close to parents, integrating themselves with the neighbourhood and giving extra importance to the support and cooperation of them. Families should be informed about the developments in education, the adoption process, talents,

interests and the needs of their children by some workings of educational institutions. Because, their involvement in the education process is important for the success of their children. They should come together in certain times with any reasons like picnic, meeting, home visits or school interviews. Schools should be given sufficient resources to arrange this type of social and cultural activities for the families and the children.

Family participation in the decision making process is vital for both the development of the students and the educational institutions. School should attract the families' support, responsibility and effectiveness for the success and continuity of the education process like family support groups. Behaviour, discipline, communication education should be given by the experts in lifelong learning understanding. They should have a regular communication process with the school about the monitoring their children. Another important point is that behaviours, attendance and the marks of the children should be notified to the families weekly or monthly. Demand analyses from the parents, students and teachers should be made continuously. The courses about the domestic issues like childcare, family planning, householding, nutrition, or vocational courses, art courses, seminars, conferences and panels should be organized. The family should be also educated about investment, saving, domestic violence etc.

Family involvement should not only give donation to school or be present in the different ceremonies of the school. Voluntary activities in school may be an effective tool for the education. Families should also have a positive viewpoint about the school. Another important point is to create a home environment that encourages learning of the children. Children should have a suitable studying atmosphere at home. Moreover, families should be supported about allocating more resources to their children by the conscious on education.

On the other side, policies should enable children choosing to attend schools outside their districts rather than predefined school district boundaries. Parents may be asked to submit their choices of schools for their children according to the factors related themselves (test scores of children, demographics, residential location etc) and the school's student composition, academic success and location). Thus, demand-side

pressure may improve the performance of the schools. There may be free school service or transportation aid for lower income families whose houses are far from the school that they want.

In spite of educational policy and practice are largely determined at the state level, schools should have some level of autonomy from the central administrative structure at least in its internal affairs (lessons, physical arrangements, book choice etc.). In addition to the general program and curriculum, there should be different education processes and learning plans. School should be managed by problem focused rather than amendment and adoption to rules. There should be no absolute borders and principles. Every student has different characteristics. Thus, there should be more alternatives. Relations between the teacher and student should be free from the traditional social norms. Teacher has to have only a guidance task. It is important that the child-centered approach of school education does not mean a full individualism of the education. The socialization feature of education should be protected.

Schools are not only for education. They are also a living, learning and experiencing places. The main objective of them is to emphasize the importance of restructuring the society by helping the students in developing consciousness about their life conditions. They should become the institution of growing individuals who have individual autonomy, social responsibility and critical thinking. Thinking and action talents of the students should be put together by the schools. They should also give the skills like problem solving, logical understanding and analytical acting, using spare time etc. which are more important than the information given by the classical curriculums.

Except basic lessons, there should be elective courses in the school that are chosen by the school, teachers, families and the students. Moreover, courses on occupational skills, workshops, summer camps, free and voluntary reinforcement lessons should be organized. Schools have to have organisational capacity to meet the extra needs of students living in difficult circumstances. Provide targeted support to children of disadvantaged families is also essential. If the budget allows, school may give nutrition support to the students. The number of students in the school should not be

too much. Close relationship of the school population will warm up students to school. The dependence to school will increase when they think their development and talents are supported. Students should see the school as a positive environment that increases the self respect. Programs and activities in the school should be formed as attractive to students and teachers.

Alternative measurement and assessment techniques should be adopted. Old award and punishment system should be dismissed by a new system which will be materialized by the broad participation of the school, parents and students. Psychological guidance services, educational clubs, social activities after lessons and vocational education should serve the students. School should benefit from the experts in this type of activities. Deprived school building, garden and other school facilities should be renewed by the municipalities. These duties have been already existed in current laws. The only thing to do for them is to give more attention and precedence to this type of peer neighbourhood. All schools should be assured to attain minimum quality standards. Museums, factories, culture and art halls can be also used as learning areas. Environment may also serve an education area and playing grounds for the children.

Another mission of the school should be to create a supportive environment. It should fill in the cultural blanks between the school and the environment. The support is realized by activating the social and cultural roles of the school. So, organizational and administrative structure of the school should not become traditional. Schools should be firstly evaluated as political and social institution. They cannot solve the problems alone as Levin (2005) points out. However, it is important in terms of being the closest state institution to the public. Then, cooperation of the official and civil institutions in the school area is very essential. To build and maintain network between the local, central institutions are also important. The planning of the annual teaching activities should be arranged in terms of the needs of the school, students, families, staff and the neighbourhood.

Teachers should be given higher standards of living possibilities. The number of teachers should be increased, the unequal distribution of teachers between the regions should be abolished. To formulate an effective policy for teacher selection,

assignment and support, to provide teachers with the appropriate preparation and to develop an integrated program for teacher education and professional development should be the first priority. Public school teachers should be selected by various criterias, rather than one exam. They should be given continual seminars, courses, conferences on the developments in education and human relations. Working in the lower income neighbourhood should be attractive by the state with extra payments. Teachers who will work in these problematic areas should be more taught about the socioeconomic situation of the neighbourhood and the approaches by their residents.

The fundamental subject in this problem is the child. Thus, firstly, children should be encouraged and motivated in terms of success. A singular way should not be imposed to them; they should only be supported in the way they choose. The data from the interviews that children do not want to be part of the same static statements on their future. Unlike the traditional educational approaches which defend the behaviour of a child should be changed according to existing social structure, alternative way that interrogates the social structure and the education system which keep down the children should be adopted. There must be an individual autonomy for the students. Most of the children in this study have complaints about the limitations by the families especially come from living in Demetevler. Children do not have sufficient information on occupations and have no plans. For this problem, they may be educated in terms of occupation knowledge. They can be taken to the visits to universities, companies and institutions, and then they can be directed towards suitable jobs that they know, want, choose and may perform best. Another problem is the self assessment for these children. They do not know about their strengths and weaknesses. If they have knowledge about themselves, they can make choices and they can have a control over their beliefs and actions. They can be aware of the social structure which forms them and they can interrogate this social structure. Thus, they can save from internalized authority and ideological pressure coming from traditional education systems.

Schools have to develop strategies to overcome the problems coming from the political processing of the educational system. They should address to every part of the society and embrace all people as a continual education center. Thus, social stratification should be detached from the school system. The children from lower

class should feel themselves as belonging to schools as upper classes due to inclusive education atmosphere there. Schools should close the starting inequalities between the students, rather than increasing them. Students can go to the schools by their own powers, rather than their background. Their existing as subject depends on this condition. As strengthening associational life and public participation of the students in low income neighbourhoods is unlikely to lead to their greater inclusion. To extend conditional cash transfers, scholarships and loans for disadvantaged to attend secondary schools and higher education is important. Another important point is to prevent early school leaving in this type of neighbourhoods for the sake of education right. To motivate children and families for the participation to sportive, cultural and social activities is important in terms of the development of their different capitals.

No child can form their personality and behaviours himself. The formation of the children are realized by their parents, school and the society. The family level is very important because of being the first educational institution of the children. Today, the families are in worse socioeconomic situations than the past. The family structure has changed comparatively. For example, divorce rates and the number of single parents have increased for recent years. Thus, education should not follow just the traditional models, it should also include the organization of the families especially who live in this peer neighbourhood. Because, a social development can only be realized by supporting the family in different areas. Thus people can convert their economic, social and cultural capitals to each other and develop a habitus which will transfer them a better situation. Moreover, as widely argued by educational experts, there should be a shift from the privilege of exchange value to the privilege of use value in social life. First of all, capacity and belief to make their own free choices about the future of people should be ensured. Because expected social mobility level in individuals and families may sometimes be as important as realised social mobility. People should believe that they can move up the social ladder because of their abilities, talents and efforts rather than to opportunities linked to their socioeconomic background. Only positive expectations about the future will provide various paths for social mobility. Because, there should be a reason to continue to struggle.

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APPENDIX A

SHORT STORY OF THE FAMILIES

(Family 1) TK's Family

Father is 43 years old. He is a cook in the Turkish Petroleum. He has been in food sector for long years. He did not do a different job. He graduated from primary school. He is from Kars. He has got two children. Both of them are primary school students. He lives in their own house in Demetevler. His wife is a housewife, 41 years old from Kars. She is a distant relative. They married 15 years ago. He is the son and the son-in-law of farmer-breeder. They came Ankara 1979 together because of economic and political problems. He has been to Demetevler for 23 years.

(Family 2) ME's Family

Mother is a separate parent. She is divorced. She is 31 years old from Yozgat. She works as a secretary. She started to work after her divorce. Her daughter has no sister or brother. Her old husband is a truck driver like his father. They are cousins. They married in 1995 and divorced 4 years ago. Her father is preacher. She lives with her daughter as a tenant. She had left high school. She was living in Cebeci when she was a child, then Abidinpaşa when she was married. She came Demetevler with her daughter after she separated from his husband in 2006.

(Family 3) TM's Family

Father is 45 years old. He is running two stationery shops with his two brothers. He finished primary school. He is from Bayburt. He has got two children who study at primary school. His father is a farmer, his father-in-law is self-employed. His wife is from Gümüşhane and their fathers are friend. He married when he is 28. He came Ankara, Yeşilevler with his brothers 25 years ago. He has been to Demetevler since 1995. The shops are in Demetevler and Karşıyaka. They live in a rented flat.

(Family 4) LS's Family

Father is 42 years old. He is a shop assistant in a dressing store. He graduated from high school. He is from Erzurum. His father was a teacher. He has got three children. One of them studies at high school; other two are primary school students. He lives in his father's house in Demetevler. His wife is a housewife, from the same city. They married in 1997. They firstly were in İstanbul. But, he states they could not be successful, then and located to Demetevler. Because his father was living here. They are together now.

(Family 5) AB's Family

Father is a 41 years old worker. He is from Ankara. He graduated from high school. His father was policeman, while her wife's father is an electrician. He came Karşıyaka 35 years ago with his family. He married in 1994. His wife is from Trabzon and a housewife. It is interesting that her wife won the university exam, but her father did not allow her before the marriage. He has got two children at primary school. They bought house in 1996 in Demetevler while he was married, and moved here from Karşıyaka.

(Family 6) MTG's Family

Father was from Ankara. He was a worker. He died five years ago when he was 51. Both of the fathers of the parents were workers. The family has been to Demetevler for 35 years as tenant. Mother is from Kastamonu. She has got four children. Two of them graduated from high school. They work as workers. Other children graduated from university and works as an accountant. His son came to school last year, because, they moved (Demetevler again). He transferred from his old school to this school.

(Family 7) TG's Family

Father is 45 years old and a carpenter. He has got a shop. He came Ankara and worked as a carpenter, and then he opened his shop. They are from Erzurum. They have got two children. Their daughter is a single and housewife. Father of the family graduated from primary school. They have lived in Demetevler for 20 years. His wife also graduated from primary school and a housewife. They have a house. Both the fathers of mother and father are farmers.

(Family 8) ESS's Family

Father is a worker. He is 44 years old. He is from Sivas. He finished primary school. His wife also graduated from primary school. She does not work. They have got four daughters. Two of them have not worked after the high school. Other two girls are students in primary and high schools. They have been in Demetevler since last year. He states that they came Ankara from Sivas for their children's education. They live in a rented house. Grandparents are worker and grocer.

(Family 9) BZ's Family

Father has been in Demetevler since he was born in 1970. He is from Gümüşhane. He is a mason. He works when he finds a job. His father has a real estate agency. His father-in-law is a contractor. The house where they live belongs to them. Mother is also from Gümüşhane and primary school graduate like her husband. They have also a daughter who is a primary school student. While father's father is a real estate agent, mother's father is a contractor. The house belongs to them.

(Family 10) YAK's Family

Father died four years ago. He has been in Demetevler since 1995. He was from Artvin. He was a baker. When he dies, his wife started to work as a charwoman. She works if she finds a job. Both of the grandparents were farmers. She lives with her sons in a rented house. While two of them are students, elder brother who graduated from primary school works in a printing office. He is single and looks after his family with his mother. Little children of the family also work in summer times.

(Family 11) ST's Family

He is a worker, 36 years old. He was born in Ankara. His wife is also from this city. Both of them graduated from primary school. Mother is a housewife. They are tenants in the house that they live. One of the grandparents is village headman; another is a breeder in their hometown. Another child is a girl and finished high school. She is single and does not work.

(Family 12) MA's Family

Father is 43 years old. He is a scrap dealer. He continues his father's job in their shop near Demetevler. He is from Ankara. He has been in Demetevler for 30 years. He finished primary school. The house that they live is rented. His father-in-law is a forester in Ankara too. One of his children graduated from primary school and works in an internet cafe. He is doing his military service now. Other children are students. His wife graduated from primary school and is a housewife.

(Family 13) AK's Family

The family has been in Demetevler for 19 years. They came Demetevler after their marriage. Father is 45 years old. He is a self-employed in construction sector. He is from Ankara. His wife is from Gümüşhane. His education level is higher than his wife. He graduated from secondary school. His father is a buffet owner. His wife's father was a worker in a municipality, he is retired now. He has got also a son who is a student at high school. They live in a rented house.

(Family 14) MA's Family

Father's father is an ironmonger; the other grandparent is a carpenter. Father worked in Germany between 1995 and 2005. They returned to Turkey because of their children's education. They have been in Demetevler in a rented house for five years. He is 42 years old from Yozgat and he is working as a turner now. He did not study after primary school. He has got also a daughter studying in primary school. His wife graduated from primary school too, and is a housewife.

(Family 15) MA's Family

Grandparents are farmer and worker. Father is 48 years old from Kayseri and works as a worker in private sector. He has been in Demetevler since 1989. He and his wife graduated from primary school. Their house is rented. One of their other two children is studying at university, the other one graduated from the university. However, he is unemployed now. An only person who works in the house is the father.

(Family 16) İK's Family

Father is 44 years old. He is from Çorum. He has been in Demetevler since he was 14 years old. He is a worker. While his father was a painter, his father-in-law is a farmer in Çorum. His house is rented. He has got 5 children. Two of his sons work with him. The children graduated from the primary school. Other two children are little. While one of these children studies at the primary school, the other is under the school age. He and his wife graduated from primary school. His wife does not work, she is a housewife.

(Family 17) MA's Family

One of the grandparents is a grocer; the other is a worker in railways. They live in a rented house. He is a worker in electronics sector. Two children of the family are turners. One of them graduated from high school, another from primary school. The child who is graduate of high school is unemployed. The family has been in Demetevler for 27 years. Father is 50 years old and his wife works as a cook in private sector. Both of them finished the primary school. Father is from Adana, mother from Niğde.

(Family 18) MD's Family

Father is 42 years old. He is from Kastamonu. He has been in Demetevler since he was born. While his father is a grocer, his father-in-law is a farmer. His wife is from the same city. She is a primary school graduate like her husband. He lives in a house that he has in Demetevler. He has got a clothing store in Demetevler very near the school. His wife works with him. He also has got two children who graduated from high school and unemployed. They sometimes help their parents in the store.

(Family 19) DU's Family

Father is 46 years old from Ankara. His father and father-in-law were working in construction sector. He is a turner. He has been in Demetevler since 1977 as tenants. He and his wife graduated from primary school. His wife is from a housewife. One of his daughters who is graduate from high school is a cashier in a supermarket, other one who graduated from university is working in a private laboratory. Both of them are single.

(Family 20) EÇ's Family

Father is selling curtains. He has a shop in Demetevler. He runs the shop with his brothers. He is from Yozgat. He is 38 years old. He has lived in Demetevler since he was born. He states that sent one of his children to work in the industrial area because he did not study. Grandparents are grocer and carpenter. His father had helped to open the shop. The house that he lives is rented. His wife is housewife and graduated from the primary school, but he graduated from secondary school.

(Family 21) ST's Family

Father is 50 years old. He is an employee graduated from university. He has been to Demetevler for 22 years. They live in his brother's house without paying. His father is a retired watchman. His wife's father is a grocer now in Ankara. They are from Ankara. His wife graduated from primary school and is a housewife. One of his sons is married and unemployed. Two children study at the university. Another is studying at high school.

(Family 22) YA's Family

Father is 40 years old. He is from Ankara. He is a driver graduated from primary school. He has been to Demetevler for 2 years. They live in his elder brother's house. His father is a farmer. His wife's father is a barber. His wife is from Ardahan. While she graduated from primary school, he graduated from secondary school. All of his children are primary school student or under the education age.

(Family 23) YÜ's Family

While father is from Ankara, his wife is from Konya. Their fathers are farmer and truck driver. Father is 38 years old. They came Demetevler with his family when he was two. He has a girl who graduated from high school but does not work. He is a taxi driver. He also does extra works. Their house is rented. Both he and his wife did not study after the primary school. His wife is a housewife.

(Family 24) MT's Family

He is from Ankara and he is 39 years old worker. He has lived in Demetevler for 5 years. The reason of the moving is the cheapness of the rents in Demetevler. One of his children studies at high school after finishing the same primary school. They live in a rented house. While his father is a contractor, his father-in-law is a grocer. Father graduated from high school. His wife graduated from primary school.

(Family 25) OK's Family

Father is from Şanlıurfa; both grandparents are farmers in their hometown. Their house is rented. He is working in a bakery. He is 48 years old and moved to Demetevler 9 years ago. When the girls of his children are married housewives, the boy who did not continue the school works in a restaurant near his father's workplace. He and his wife graduated from primary school and his wife does not work.

(Family 26) EA's Family

Father's own father and father-in-law are farmers in their hometown, Bala, Ankara. He is 38 years old truck driver. He has just come to Demetevler and started to live in his father's house. He is a high school graduate. His wife is secondary school graduate and is a housewife. All of his children study at high or primary schools.

(Family 27) BD's Family

Father is 37 years old. He is a worker in public sector. He has been here for 11 years. His father is a tailor, while his wife's father was a health employee. Their house is rented. He is a secondary school graduate. He has got another child who is a primary school student. While the father graduated from secondary school, his wife graduated from primary school and does not work.

(Family 28) BE's Family

Father is a truck driver. He is 40 years old. He came Demetevler four years ago from their village in Ankara too. His father is a village headman; his father-in-law has a grocery in the same village. They live in a rented house. His elder daughter works as a cashier after she finished the primary school. Other children of him are students. Both him and his wife did not study after the primary school.

(Family 29) EY's Family

He is an engineer graduated from the university. He is from Elazığ. They came Demetevler by the appointment two years ago. They live in a lodgement given by the state. He is 43 years old. His father and father-in-law are farmers. Other children of him are students at primary and high schools. His wife graduated from primary school and she does not work. She is also from Elazığ.

(Family 30) KK's Family

Grandparents were workers in Germany in the past. Father is 35 years old. He has been to Demetevler for 3 years for the work. They live in the lodgement. He is an accountant graduated from university. He is from Ankara. His wife graduated from primary school. She does not work. Their other child is also a student at primary school.

(Family 31) MS's Family

Father is 37 years old from Ankara. They moved to Demetevler three years ago when they opened a dressing store. He works with his wife. When his education level is secondary, his wife's is primary. One of the grandparents is a real estate agent; other is a farmer in the hometown. All of his children are students in the different levels of education. They have their own house.

(Family 32) AT's Family

Father is 37 years old, and has been to Demetevler since he was born. His father was working at the post office, while his father-in-law was a grocer. He works in a hairdresser. He graduated from secondary school, but his wife did not study after the primary school. She is a housewife. Other child also studies at primary school. They are tenants in the house that they live.

(Family 33) YA's Family

Father is 50 years old turner. He has been to Demetevler since 2004 as tenants. He is from Ankara like his wife. His father was a worker, while his wife's father was a driver. He and his wife graduated from primary school. One of his daughters graduated from high school and works for a non-governmental organization. The other one is studying at high school now.

APPENDIX B**PRIVATE PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN ANKARA**

ÖZEL EMRE İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	ÖZEL İLKEM İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL BEYPAZARI SAMANYOLU İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	ÖZEL GÜRÇAĞ İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL AKSOY İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	ÖZEL BİLKENT İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL SEVGİ İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	ÖZEL ANKARA MAYA İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL AHMET YESEVİ İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	ÖZEL ANKARA HAYAT İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL SAMANYOLU ÜLKÜ ULUSOY İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	ÖZEL EVRENSEL İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL YENİMAHALLE PINAR İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	ÖZEL AKASYA SAMANYOLU İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL HÜSNIYE HATUN İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	ÖZEL ALTIN EĞİTİM İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL SAMANYOLU İPEK İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	ANKARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ GELİŞTİRME VAKFI OKULLARI ÖZEL İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL DOKTORLAR İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	ÖZEL FATOŞABLA İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL BENİM KARİYERİM İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	BAŞKENT ÜNİVERSİTESİ ÖZEL AYŞEABLA İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL AYYILDIZ İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	ÖZEL ARI İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL ALPAY TARHAN İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	TED ANKARA KOLEJİ VAKFI ÖZEL İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL HASAN TANIK İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	ÖZEL AYKAN İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL YÜKSELEN İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	ÖZEL AYDIN ANADOLU İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL NESİBE AYDIN İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	ÖZEL SAMANYOLU YUSUF TANIK İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL BİLİŞİM İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	ÖZEL ÇANKAYA ANAFARTALAR İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL LÖSEV İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	İHSAN DOĞRAMACI VAKFI ANKARA ÖZEL BİLKENT LABORATUAR İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU

ÖZEL ÇANKAYA PINAR İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	ÖZEL SAMANYOLU CAHİT ŞANAL İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL ÇANKAYA HAYAT İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	ÖZEL ERKEN BAŞARI İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ODTÜ GELİŞTİRME VAKFI ÖZEL İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	ÖZEL YÜCE İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL BİLİM İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	ÖZEL SAMANYOLU İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL KARDELEN İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	ÖZEL BÜYÜK İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL YÜKSEL SARIKAYA İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	TED POLATLI KOLEJİ VAKFI ÖZEL İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
MEV KOLEJİ ÖZEL ANKARA İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	ÖZEL MELTEM İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL TÜRK YURDU İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	ÖZEL SAMANYOLU İBRAHİM AVCI İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL ÇAĞRI İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	GAZİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ VAKFI ÖZEL İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL JALE TEZER İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	ÖZEL TEVFİK FİKRET İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL KANUNİ İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	ÖZEL CECELİ İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL KUDRET ÜNAL İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	ÖZEL NENE HATUN İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU
ÖZEL FERDA İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU	ÖZEL ANKARA ÖNCÜ İLKÖĞRETİM OKULU

* The number of schools has changed because of new regulations by the law 6287 in 2012. Because schools have been turned to first or second level primary schools after the law.

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MS METU	Urban Policy Planning And Local Governments	2004
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2002-Present	Ministry of Education	English Teacher
1997-2002	Ministry of Interior	Police Officer

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Advanced English, Intermediate French

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Movies, Literature, Art

APPENDIX D

TURKISH SUMMARY

Toplumsal hareketliliğin (ya da hareketsizliğin) birey ve ailenin yanı sıra, bir ülkenin toplumsal, ekonomik, kültürel ve siyasal yapıları üzerinde de etkileri bulunmaktadır. Çünkü, hareketlilik eksikliği fırsat eşitsizliğinin, dolaylı olarak da toplumsal eşitsizlik ve dışlanmanın kanıtı olabilmektedir. Bugün toplumun ekonomik ve toplumsal olarak parçalanmasına eşlik eden mekansal yapıdaki önemli dönüşümler Türkiye’de karmaşık hareketlilik biçimlerine neden olmaktadır. Bu dönemde toplumsal hareketlilik kavramı yeniden önem kazanmaktadır.

Ankara’nın enformel olarak oluşmuş ilk semtlerinden biri olan Demetevler imarsız ve birbirine oldukça yakın inşa edilmiş çok katlı binaların ve gecekonduların yoğun olduğu bir bölgedir. Semt, Ankara’daki tarihsel kuzey-güney ikiliğinin, mekanlar ve insanlar arasındaki ayrışmanın kanıtı gibidir. Geçmişte toplumsal hareketlilik anlamında atlama noktası ve istasyon görevi görmüş, eski nüfusunun çoğunluğu zamanla Ankara’nın diğer orta sınıf konut alanlarına taşınmıştır. Bu dönemden sonra Demetevler her zaman yoğun bir mekansal hareketlilik ve heterojenlik gösteren yeni bir nüfusla karşılaşmıştır. Bugün semtin genel olarak imajı oldukça negatif olup, güvensiz ve tehlikeli bir alan olarak görülmektedir. Bunun yanında Demetevler, yasalara aykırı biçimde ortaya çıkan diğer semtler gibi ekonomik ve toplumsal dönüşüm bağlamında çeşitli değişim dinamiklerine de sahiptir. Şu an semt ve civarında, bölgedeki hareketliliği etkileyebilecek birçok kentsel dönüşüm projesi yürütülmektedir. Çalışma bu dönüşüm süreçlerinin toplumsal hareketlilik üzerindeki etkilerini de araştırmaya çalışmaktadır.

Bu tezin ana amacı, Ankara’nın düşük gelir gruplarının yaşadığı semtlerinden biri olan ve ekonomik ve toplumsal dönüşüm bağlamında çeşitli değişim dinamiklerine sahip Demetevler’de yürütülen alan çalışmasına yoğunlaşarak sosyo-mekansal hareketlilik ve eğitim arasındaki ilişkileri değerlendirmektir. Ayrıca neo-liberal yapılandırma sürecinin eğitim, dolayısıyla kuşak içi ve kuşaklar arası toplumsal

hareketliliğe etkilerini de araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma hareketlilik üzerinde etkili olabilecek iş, gelir, aile ve konut durumu, eğitime erişim ile yetişkin ve çocukların gelecek beklentilerine de özel olarak odaklanmaktadır. Diğer bir amaç ise toplumsal kökenin, bir kişinin ya da ailenin toplumsal yörüngesi üzerindeki etkilerini araştırmaktır. Mekansal hareketliliğin dinamikleri ve Demetevler'deki toplumsal hareketliliğe etkilerini göstermek de çalışmanın başka bir amacıdır.

Bu çalışma kuşaklar arası ve kuşak içi hareketliliği toplumsal sınıf, sosyoekonomik statü ve sahip olunan sembolik sermaye bağlamında incelemektedir. Çalışma objektif toplumsal hareketliliğin yanı sıra, bireylerin kendi toplumsal yörüngelerini nasıl algıladıkları, açıkladıkları ve değerlendirdiklerini de göstermeyi amaçlamaktadır. Ayrıca, bugün ekonomik ayrıcalığın bir kuşaktan diğerine geçmesini engelleme konusunda birçok sorunu olan eğitime de özel olarak odaklanmaktadır.

Yoksulluğun mekansal olarak yoğunlaşması, bazı birey ya da grupların toplumun diğer kesimlerinden fiziksel ve sosyoekonomik olarak ayrışmasına ve kentsel alanlarda toplumsal hareketlilik olanaklarına giden kanalların kapanmasına yol açmaktadır. Bu nedenle tez, son yıllardaki sosyoekonomik ve mekansal dönüşümlerin yukarıdan ziyade aşağı doğru bir hareketlilik yarattığını savunmaktadır. Bir kişinin toplumsal hareketliliği kesin olarak o kişinin aile yapısı, ailenin eğitim durumu ve ailenin sahip olduğu mali, kültürel, toplumsal ve sembolik sermayeye bağlıdır. Bu nedenle toplumsal kökenin toplumsal yörüneye etkileriyle, çocuklar gelecekte onlara dikey hareketlilik olanağı sağlayacak eğitim olanaklarından yoksun olabilmektedir. Günümüzde eğitim de toplumsal köken ve toplumsal yörünge ilişkisini zayıflatmaktan çok güçlendirmektedir.

Şüphesiz mekansal hareketler kentsel alanlardaki toplumsal hareketliliği etkileyen bir çok etmeden biri olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Bu nedenle, çalışma yoğun bir mekansal hareketlilik gözlemlenen Demetevler'deki bu hareketliliğin dinamiklerini de ortaya çıkarmayı hedeflemektedir. Bu tezde mekansal hareketliliğin toplumsal hareketlilik üzerinde kesin bir rolü olmadığı, ayrıca toplumsal kökenin, ulaşılacak toplumsal konuma etkisinden kaynaklanan aşağı doğru bir toplumsal hareketlilik ile ilgili bazı kanıtlar bulunduğu savunulmaktadır.

Çalışmada ana örneklem olarak Demetevler Oğuzlar İlköğretim Okulu öğrencileri ve bu öğrencilerin ebeveynleri seçilmiştir. Bu seçimde bölgenin çeşitli göstergeleriyle toplumsal hareketlilik üzerinde etkili olabileceği noktasından hareket edilmiştir. Alan çalışmasında yapılandırılmış anketler dışında, sınıf, okul ve çevresi ile öğrencilerin boş zamanlarını geçirdikleri yerlerde yapılan katılımcı gözlemi, yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşmeler ve enformel grup tartışmaları gibi yöntemler de kullanılmıştır. Ayrıca okulun öğretmenleriyle de görüşmeler yapılmıştır.

Çalışma bireylerin göç hikayesi, çalışma, gelir, eğitim, konut deneyimleri, tüketim tarzları, toplumsal değerleri ve gelecek beklentileri gibi subjektif faktörlere de özel olarak odaklanmaktadır. Bugüne değin toplumsal hareketlilik çalışmalarında genellikle anket yöntemi ve istatistikler tercih edilmiştir. Ancak bunların tek başına yeterli olmadığı ortadadır. Çalışmalarda istatistiki veriler kullanılabilir, ancak nasıl ve niçin konusunda net bilgiler veremez. Nicel çalışmaların yanında aile hikayesi, bireysel duygular, değerlendirmeler ve algılar gibi nitel çalışmalar da kullanılmalıdır. Tez toplumsal hareketliliğin dinamiklerini nicel ve nitel veriler arasında etkileşim kurarak araştırmaya çalışmaktadır. Alan araştırması hem toplumsal mekan ve yapısı, hem de toplumsal aktörlerin eylemleri, algıları ve mekanı anlamalarıyla ilgili subjektif analizler de yapmaktadır. Bu anlamda Layder'in aşamalı araştırma haritası kullanılmaktadır.

Toplumsal hareketlilik birey aile ya da toplumsal grupların toplumdaki sosyoekonomik pozisyonlar arasındaki hareketleridir. Sınıf pozisyonlarından kaynaklı avantaj ve dezavantajların bir nesilden bir sonraki nesle aktarılması olarak da tanımlanabilir. Birey ya da grupların bir tabakadan başka bir tabakaya geçişine dikey hareketlilik adı verilir. Bu tür bir geçişte, kişilerin statüsü ya artar ya da azalır. Yukarı doğru yapılan hareketlilikte sınıf atlama söz konusu iken, aşağıya doğru yapılan hareketlilikte sınıf düşme söz konusudur. Yatay hareketlilik ise aynı toplumsal düzeyde kalmak şartıyla bir benzer grup ya da durumdan diğerine doğru ileri geri hareketi ifade eder. Örneğin, eşit derecedeki bir meslekten diğerine geçiş yatay hareketliliktir. Bu tip hareketlilikte statü değişmesi söz konusu değildir. Toplumsal sınıflar genellikle bireylerin birbirini statü olarak eşit kabul ettiği toplum katmanları olarak tanımlanır. İnsanlar mesleklerini değiştirerek meslek statülerini

değiştirebilir, fakat toplumsal sınıf pozisyonlarını değiştiremeyebilirler. Dikey hareketlilik, kuşaklar arası olabileceği gibi, aynı kuşakta da meydana gelebilir. Eğer hareketlilik kuşaklar arasında oluyorsa, örneğin, bir çocuk ebeveynlerinin sınıfından yukarı çıkıyor ya da aşağı iniyorsa kuşaklar arası hareketlilik, hareketlilik aynı kuşakta meydana geliyorsa kuşak içi hareketlilik olarak adlandırılır. Mutlak hareketlilik toplumsal köken ve ulaşılan toplumsal konum arasındaki farkı gösterirken, göreceli hareketlilik toplumsal kökenin ulaşılan toplumsal konuma olan etkisini göstermektedir.

Toplumsal hareketlilik çok boyutlu bir kavramdır. Bu kavram üzerinde etkili bir çok etmen olup, bunlardan bazıları toplumsal hareketlilik olanaklarına katkı yaparken, bazıları da engel olabilmektedir. Toplumsal hareketlilik üzerinde etkisi olan etmenler; bireysel etmenler, din ve etnisite, demografik etmenler, toplumsal cinsiyet, yapısal etmenler, devlet politikaları, kentleşme, konut ve çevre, sermaye biçimleri, habitus, aile ve eğitim olarak sıralanabilir. Ancak toplumsal hareketlilik üzerinde en çok etkisi olduğu kabul edilen ve birbiriyle ilgili bazı kavramlar (eğitim, aile, mekansal hareketlilik ve sermaye-habitus) öne çıkmaktadır.

Eğitimin genel olarak insanların yetenek ve hünelerini geliştirerek onlara mesleki başarı sağladığı, böylece toplumsal köken ve toplumsal yörünge arasındaki ilişkiyi zayıflattığı kabul edilir. Sanayileşme dönemi ve ulus devlet inşa sürecinde kolektif tüketimin parçası olarak statü kazanma ve hareketlilik aracı olarak hizmet etmiştir. Eğitim her zaman toplumsal akışkanlıkta ve kapitalizmin eşitsizliklerini azaltmayı sağlamada ilk siyasa alanı olarak görülmüş, evrensel eğitim aile kökenindeki farklılıkları giderme ve gelir dağılımında eşitlik sağlamada temel araç olarak kabul edilmiştir. Türkiye’de de özellikle Cumhuriyetin kuruluşundan sonra eğitime oldukça önem verilmiş, eğitim kamu planlamasının yanında sosyoekonomik ve kültürel kalkınmanın da parçası olarak görülmüştür.

Bugün eğitimin rolünü sınırlayan ve birey ya da ailelerin eğitime erişimini kısıtlayan bir çok etmen bulunmaktadır. Eğitimin, ekonomik ayrıcalıkların bir kuşaktan diğerine aktarılmasını önlemede sorunları vardır. Eğitime erişim teorik olarak toplumun tüm kesimlerine açık olarak görülmekte, ancak varolan fırsat eşitsizliği nedeniyle, eğitim yukarı doğru hareketlilikte etkili bir araç olamamaktadır. Bugün

statü kazanma mekanizması olarak bilinen eğitim statü dağıtım mekanizması haline gelmiştir.

Eğitim ve toplum ilişkisi hem sosyal bilimciler ve eğitim kuramcıları tarafından incellenmiştir. Toplumsal değişim ve eğitim rasındaki ilişkiyi inceleyen iki ana akım bulunmaktadır. İşlevselci kuram (Durkheim, Parsons, Merton, Blau and Duncan, Coleman) eğitimi en yetkin kişileri en iyi statü durumuna ulaştırın ve toplumsal dengeyi sağlayan önemli bir toplumsallaşma aracı olarak görürler. Diğer bir paradigma olan Çatışma kuramı ise biri Marksist (Gramsci, Althusser, Poulantzas, Willis, Bowles, Gintis, Giroux) diğeri ise Weberci (Illich, Collins, Cohen, Freire) olmak üzere ikiye ayrılır ve genel olarak sosyoekonomik kökenin bireyin statü kazanmasında etkili olduğunu savunur. Eğitim hegemonik ilişkilerin oluşturulması ve devamında kullanılmakta olup, böylece ekonomik ve toplumsal yapı yeniden üretilmektedir. Eğitim toplumsal, ekonomik ve politik güç ilişkilerince belirlenir ve bu nedenle toplumsal değişimde her hangi olumlu bir rolü bulunmamaktadır. Eğitim fırsat eşitliği kisvesi altında hakim sınıfların değer yargılarını yansıtır. 19. yüzyıl sonunda okullar yeni sanayi ekonomilerinin bir parçasıydı. Devlet ve fabrikalara itaakar işçi ve vatandaşlar yetiştiriyordu. O dönemden bugüne eğitimin rolünde bir değişim olmamıştır. Eğitim müfredatı bile standartlar getirirken, öncelikle resmi bir kontrol mekanizması görevindedir. Eğitim kapitalizmin eşitsizlikleri için çare olarak sunulurken, aslında bu eşitsizlikleri yeniden üretmektedir.

Eğitim konusunda önemli kuramcılardan olan Willis alt gelir grubuna mensup çocukların okulun normlarına karşı gelmelerini hakim ideolojinin normlarına cevap olarak bir direnç geliştirme ve karşı kültür oluşturma olarak yorumlar. Benzer şekilde Cohen de suçlu çocukların oluşumuna hakim sınıfların bu çocukları dışlaması ve reddetmesinin neden olduğunu savunur. Sonuç olarak, çocuklar kendi alt kültürlerini ve değerlerini oluşturmaktadır.

Eğitim üzerine yapılan çalışmalar, eğitime erişimde ebeveynlerin eğitim ve gelir düzeyi, sosyoekonomik statüsü, aile yapısı, aile büyüklüğü, algılar, davranışlar gibi aile ile ilgili değişkenlerin etkisi olduğunu bulmuştur. Okul örgütlü eğitim sağlarken, aile örgütlü olmayan eğitim kurumudur. Aile toplumsal hareketliliği kaynak dağıtımını, çocukların sermayesine yatırım, eğitim sürecine katılım, kültür, inanç, değerler, ve

toplumsal ağlar gibi özellikleri çocuklarına iletmeleri ile etkilemektedir. Bugün bu etmenlerin önünde ekonomik, toplumsal ve kültürel engeller bulunmaktadır.

Bourdieu'a göre toplumsal olanın tercihlerimize ve davranışlarımıza, algı ve yargı şemalarının içselleştirilmesiyle yansması habitus olarak adlandırılır. Habitus toplumsal yapının ürünüyken, aynı zamanda toplumsal yapıyı yeniden üretir. Habitusumuz toplumsal mekandaki konumumuzdan etkilenirken, konumumuz ise bir kuşaktan diğerine geçen çeşitli sermayelerin bir özeti ya da toplamı olarak nitelendirilebilecek sembolik sermayeye bağlıdır. Bir bireyin toplumsal mekandaki konumu, sahip olduğu toplam sermaye ile belirlenir. Bu sermayeler birbirine dönüştürülebilir. Sermayeler bireyin yukarı doğru hareket potansiyelini artırarak toplumsal hiyerarşide aşağı doğru bir harekete karşı korur. Bunun yanında bu sermayelere sahip olan ve olmayanlar arasında oluşacak eşitsizlikler hareketlilik için güçlü engeller de olabilmektedir.

Kırdan kente, kent içi, kentler arası, ülke içi veya ülkeler arası yer değiştirmeler mekansal hareketlilik örnekleridir. Toplumsal yazında toplumsal hareketlilik ve mekansal hareketlilik arasındaki karşılıklı ilişkiye dair önemli çalışmalar bulunmaktadır. Bu çalışmalarda, coğrafi hareketliliğin toplumsal yerleşim yanında, toplumsal statüde de değişimler getirdiği kabul edilmektedir. Bugün mekansal dönüşümler bu ilişkiyi oldukça değiştirmiştir. Farklı ülkelerdeki çalışmalardan ortaya çıkan sonuç, toplumsal hareketliliğin kentleşme ve göç ile ilişkili bir süreç olduğudur.

Tezin sonraki aşamasında toplumsal hareketlilik ile ilgili yazın taranarak kuramsal çerçeve oluşturulmuştur. Kuramsal çerçevenin sunulduğu bu bölüm hareketlilik kavramını tartışmakta, toplumsal hareketlilik üzerine farklı görüşlere yer vermektedir. Yazında toplumsal hareketlilikle ilgili birçok çalışma bulunmaktadır. Bu kavram üzerine tartışmalar genel olarak sanayileşme döneminden sonra başlamıştır. Toplumsal hareketlilik, Marx'ın çalışmalarında merkezi bir konumda olmamakla birlikte, Marx çalışmalarında hareketlilik konusuna genel olarak değinmiştir. Marx, toplumsal hareketlilik anlayışında bu kavramın başarıyı ve başarısızlığı bireyselleştirip, sınıf dayanışmasını zayıflattığını savunur. Yukarı doğru

sosyoekonomik hareketlilik yönetici sınıfın gücünü pekiştirmekte ve bu da karşı devrimci bir sürecin koşullarını hazırlamaktadır. Sonuç olarak Marx'a göre toplumsal hareketlilik, kapitalist sistem için güvenlik sübabı benzeri bir görev görmektedir. Sorokin de toplumsal hareketliliği incelediği çalışmasında, mesleki gruplar arası farklı toplumsal statüler olduğunu savunur. İnsanları seçen ve toplumsal pozisyonuna karar veren meslek hiyerarşisinde keskin sınırlar görünmemekle birlikte, bu hiyerarşi içinde görüldüğünden daha az bir toplumsal hareketlilik bulunmaktadır. Glass, İngiltere'de yaşam öykülerini kullanarak yaptığı çalışmada toplumsal ve ekonomik hareketliliği el işi ve el işi olmayan işler arasında değerlendirmiş ve toplumsal itibar bağlamında ayırdığı statü kategorileri arasındaki hareketliliği incelemiştir. Glass'a göre, İngiltere'de kısıtlı bir toplumsal hareketlilik bulunmaktadır. Yani sınıflar arası uzun erimli bir hareketlilik nadir olarak görülmekte olup, gerçekleşen hareketlilikler genellikle kısa erimlidir. Lipset ve Bendix de Glass'a benzer biçimde toplumsal hareketlilik üzerine yaptıkları çalışmalarda el işi ve el işi olmayan işler arasında ayırım yapmışlardır. Lipset ve Bendix, orta sınıf ve işçi sınıfı arasındaki hareketliliği tüketim ve politik eğilimler olmak üzere iki temel bağlam üzerinden incelemiştir. Avrupa ve Amerika'yı ayrı ayrı incelemişler ve ikisinde de sınıflar arası hareketlilik önünde bir takım engeller olduğu sonucuna varmışlardır. Ülkeler arası farklılığa karşın bu araştırmacılar modern sanayi toplumunda, sanayi öncesine göre daha açık bir toplumsal hareketlilik olduğunu savunmaktadırlar. Blau ve Duncan toplumsal hareketliliği mesleki başarılar ve sosyoekonomik statünün devamlı olarak gelişimi anlamında incelemiştir. Toplumsal ve ekonomik statü bağlamında keskin ayrımlar bulunmadığını, ancak doğal olarak meslekler arası bir statü hiyerarşisinin olduğunu savunurlar. Blau ve Duncan eski dönemlere oranla, Amerika gibi yeni toplumlarda toplumsal hareketlilik önünde daha az sayıda engeller bulunduğu kanısındadırlar. Ancak, yine de onlara göre mesleki pozisyonlar arasındaki geçiş genellikle kapalı ve dolayısıyla uzun erimli sosyoekonomik hareketliliklerin nadir olarak görüldüğüne dikkat çekerler. Erikson ve Goldthorpe ise çalışmalarında toplumsal sınıfları piyasa ve iş durumuna göre ayırmıştır. Erikson ve Goldthorpe mesleki sistemin şimdiki dönemde daha eşitlikçi olduğunu, bu nedenle de toplumsal sınıfların hareketlilik şansının arttığını savunurlar. Ancak, Erikson ve Goldthorpe'a göre Avrupa ve Amerika'da gerçekleşen toplumsal hareketlilik oranı yine de kısıtlıdır.

Toplumsal hareketlilik alıřmaları, kendilerini kuřaklar arası, sanayi toplumları, erkek, dikey ve mesleki hareketlilik ile sınırlanmaları, var olan kuramların yetersiz oluřu ve ařađı dođru hareketliliđe yukarı dođru hareketlilik kadar nem vermemeleri nedeniyle eleřtirilmiřlerdir.

Refah devleti dneminde, insanlar eđitim ve istihdam olanaklarına eriřimde bařarılı olabiliyordu. 1980'lerden sonra neo liberal politikalarla ulus devletler sosyal devlet olma niteliđinden hızla arındırılırken, sz konusu politikaların bir parası olarak daralan ekonomilerin iřsiz bıraktıđı alıřan sınıflar, eđitim, sađlık, ulařım, iřsizlik yardımı gibi devlet desteklerinden de mahrum bırakılmaktadırlar. Neo liberal politikaların emek piyasasında yarattıđı olumsuzluklar ve refah devletinin alanını giderek daraltması yoksulluk sınırının zerinde yer alan geniř bir kesimi bu sınırın altına dřurırken, hali hazırda yoksulluk sorunuyla yz yze kalan kesimlerin kořullarını daha da ađırlařtırmıř bulunmaktadır. Bu srete, bir yandan kent mekanında sınıflar arası gerilimler kent merkezinin sosyomekansal yapısını derinden etkiliyor grnmektedir. Bylece kentlerin kendi i yapılarında eřsizlikler ve dıřlanmalar gemiře oranla daha da artmaktadır. Kentlerdeki ekonomik ve fiziksel ikilik derinleřirken, yoksulluđın cođrafi yođunlařması bazı grupların mekansal olarak ayrıřmasını getirirken, onların toplumsal hareketlilik olanaklarını da kısıtlamıřtır. Son yıllarda zellikle grelili toplumsal hareketlilik oranlarında dřme sz konusudur. Var olan gelir, istihdam ve kent sisteminde de toplumsal hareketlilik olası grnmemektedir.

Buđun eđitimin birok sorunu bulunmaktadır. Trkiye'nin okullařma oranları incelendiđinde, zellikle orta đretimde ciddi sıkıntılar olduđu grnmektedir. Eđitimin fırsat eřitliđi zerindeki rolnn en nemli gstergelerinden biri olan okullařma oranı zellikle alt sınıflar iin olduka dřktr. Devlet okullarının sayısı yetersiz olup, eřit bir yapısı olduđunu sylemek de olanaklı deđildir. đretmen bařına dřen đrenci sayıları ve sınıf bařına dřen đrenci sayıları OECD lkelerine gre olduka yksektir.

Son yıllarda eđitim konusunda ilk akla gelen kelimeler kt okul atmosferi, kalabalık sınıflar, dřk đretim ve đretmen kalitesi gibi sorunlar, resmi eđitimden olumlu beklentiler gnden gne azalmaktadır. zel okullar ise đretmen kalitesi, sınıf

ortamı, sosyal ve kültürel aktiviteler, fiziksel donanım, güvenli ortam, yerleşim ve akademik başarı gibi savlarla devlet eğitime alternatif olarak sunulmaktadır. Bugün ilköğretimde yüzde 2,7 olan özel okul oranı, orta öğretimde yüzde 7,9'dur.

Öğrenci başına düşen kamu harcaması, eğitime ve eğitim kurumlarına ayrılan bütçe ve yatırımlar düşükken, devlet okullarının elektrik, su, telefon ve doğalgaz faturaları ancak ailelerin katkılarıyla ödenmekteyken, hükümet vergi istisnası, arsa tahsisi ve diğer finansal desteklerle özel sektörü teşvik etmektedir. Bu süreçte özel sektörün eğitime katılımının devlet okullarını rekabete çekeceği, daha iyi standartlar ve daha fazla başarı getireceği varsayımı kullanılmaktadır. Böylece özel okulların payı hızlı biçimde artmaya başlamış, bugün özel sektörün Türk eğitim sistemi içindeki payı genel olarak yüzde 13'ü geçmiştir.

Eğitim sektöründe özelleştiremeyi savunan hükümet kamu fonlarının yetersizliğini, devlet okullarının başarısızlığını ve devlet bütçesine yükünü gerekçe göstererek özel sektörü desteklemektedir. Milli Eğitim Bakanı eğitim sisteminde özel okulların payını artıracaklarını beyan etmektedir. Eğitime yapılan yatırım ve harcamalar devletin eğitimden çekilmesini, sosyal devlet anlayışının ve resmi eğitimin bitişini doğrulamaktadır. Devlet eğitimi sivil toplum kuruluşları ve hayırseverlerin eline bırakılmış durumdadır. Son yıllarda okul binaları satılmaya, kiralanmaya ve başka bölgelere taşınmaya başlamış, bunlar ve bunlar gibi özele destek veren diğer siyasalar eğitimin ticari kapasitesinin kanıtıdır.

Türkiye'de eğitim özellikle ilköğretimden sonra ayrıcalık haline gelmiştir. Okullar bugün ekstra kaynaklar bulmak zorunda olup, bu da doğal olarak okullar arasında eşitsizlik yaratmaktadır. Düşük gelirli ailelerin çocukları kendi bölgelerindeki okullara gitmek zorunda iken, üst gelir grubu ailelerin çocukları kendilerine tanınan kolaylıklarla okullarını seçebilmektedir. Yaptıkları bağışlar ya da okul yönetiminde bulunmaları nedeniyle her durumda güçlü olabilmektedirler. Bugün sınavla öğrenci alan Anadolu ve Fen liselerinde bile öğrencilerin yüzde 40'ının üst gelir grubu ailelerden gelmesi düşündürücüdür.

Özel eğitimle ilgili en son yürürlüğe giren 2007 tarihli ve 5580 sayılı kanun konuyla ilgili bazı düzenlemeler getirmiştir. Örneğin özel okul açma izni bakanlıktan alınıp

yerel yönetimlere bırakılmıştır. Özel okullara getirilen bazı mali şartlar ve kısıtlayıcı hükümler kaldırılmıştır. Kafe, hapishane ve bar gibi mekanlara 200 metre uzaklık şartı 100 metreye düşürülmüştür.

5580 sayılı kanundan önce sadece kalkınmada öncelikli yörelerde açılan özel kreş, anaokulu, teknik ve mesleki okullar kurumlar vergisi ve gelir vergisinden muafken, yeni kanun bu istisnaları genişletmiştir. KDV indirimi yanında, başka bir kanun eğitim harcamalarının gelirden düşürülmesini getirmiştir. Diğer bir değişim de özel okullara izin almadan reklam yapma serbestliği tanınmasıdır.

Yeni getirilen düzenlemeler devlet okullarında çalışan öğretmenlerin özel okullarda çalışabilmesine de olanak sağlamaktadır. Getirilen diğer yenilikler ücretli öğretmenlik, performans sistemi gibi düzenlemelerdir. Diğer önemli düzenleme ise okul aile birliği ile ilgilidir. Milli Eğitim Temel Kanunu’da değişiklik yapan bir kanuna göre, okul aile birliklerine ailelerden bağış ya da aidat toplama, sosyal ve kültürel aktiviteler düzenleme, kantin, spor salonu, halı saha, internet kafe, otopark işletme ve hatta açık hava organizasyonları için mekan olarak kullandırma hakkı vermiştir. Özel okul öğrencileri ve ailelerine düşük faizli krediler ve benzeri destekler, özel sektörden hizmet satın alma gibi yeni uygulamalar getirilmeye çalışılmaktadır. Özel okula giden her öğrenciye 1000 TL. olarak lanse edilen yasal düzenlemeyle ilgili Danıştay tarafından yürütmeyi durdurma kararı alınmasına karşın hükümet bu konuda hala ısrarcıdır. İlginç olan özel sektör ve özel eğitime ait neredeyse tüm yasal mevzuatın 2000’lerden sonra değişmiş olmasıdır. 2000’li yıllardan sonra özel okulların yanısıra dersaneler de önemli ölçüde artmıştır. Bugün eğitim sisteminde açık bir hiyerarşi olduğu gözlemlenmektedir. İller ve ilçeler arası, semt ve mahalleler arası, özel okulların ve kamu okullarının kendi içlerinde ve birbiriyle, aynı okul içindeki sınıflar arası, aileler arası, hatta öğrenciler arasında bile hiyerarşi bulunmaktadır. Bugün Ankara’da 74 özel ilköğretim okulu bulunmaktadır. Türkiye ile kıyaslandığında özel okul sayısı Ankara’da iki kat artmıştır. Anakent belediyesi sınırları içinde bulunan okulların 35’i üst ve üst-orta gelir gruplarının yaşadığı bölgelerde bulunmaktayken, 24’ü ise orta ve alt sınıfların yaşadığı bölgelerde bulunmaktadır. Genellikle Ankara’nın kuzeyinde olan bu okulların yarısından fazlası da İslami vakıf ve derneklere aittir.

Yenimahalle ikamet anlamında farklı sınıfların farklı bölgelerde yaşadığı bir ilçedir. Ümitköy-Çayyolu bölgesinde daha çok üst veya üst-orta gelir grubu aileler, Batıkent ve Yenimahalle merkez bölgesinde orta gelir grubu aileler, Demetevler, Şentepe, Karşıyaka ve Yahyalar bölgelerinde ise genel olarak orta veya alt-orta gelir grubuna ait aileler yaşamaktadır. Bu bölgelerde alt gelir grubuna mensup ailelerin yoğunluğu da fazladır. Yenimahalle yerleşim ve altyapı durumu genel olarak planlı ve düzenliken, Demetevler'in yerleşim ve altyapı durumu tam olarak normal düzeye ulaşmamıştır. Demetevler birçok kaynaktan 100.000 kişilik gecekondu mahallesi olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Bu bölgede şimdiye kadar denetimsizlik sonucunda kaçak olarak yapılan ve apartmankonu olarak adlandırılan 10-15 katlı 50-60 dairelik apartmanlar ortaya çıkmıştır. Bugüne kadar da imar sorunu tam olarak çözümlenemediği için bu yerleşim alanındaki pek çok bina, kayıtlarda hala tarla olarak görülmektedir.

Okulun bulunduğu bölge, merkezi ve yerel yönetimler tarafından göz ardı edildiği söylenebilecek bir bölgedir. Okul Demetevler'in son noktası denebilecek Karşıyaka mahallesindedir. Yenimahalle merkeze yakın olmasına karşın ekonomik, toplumsal ve kültürel olarak farklı özelliklere sahiptir. Öğrenci nakillerinin yoğun olduğu bir bölge olup, her yıl öğrencilerin yüzde 10 kadarı, değişik okullara nakil gitmektedir. Bu bölgede gözlemlenen yoğun mekansal hareketlilik öğrencilerin eğitim başarıları açısından da sorunlar yaratan bir durumdur.

Oğuzlar İlköğretim Okulu başarı anlamında Yenimahalle ilçesinde düşük puanlı olarak nitelendirilen okullardan biridir. Okulun mezunlarından tümünün okul hayatına devam ettiği söylenemez. Mezuniyet sonrası devam oranı yüzde 30-40 civarındadır. Okulun merkezi sınavlarda başarı oranı ise yüzde 5-10 arasındadır. Mezunlar genellikle hizmet sektöründeki niteliksiz işlerde çalışmaktadır.

Çalışmada ana örneklem grubu Oğuzlar İlköğretim Okulu veli ve öğrencileridir. Çalışmada nicel ve nitel verileri karşılaştırma amacıyla Oğuzlar İlköğretim Okulu'na 250 metre uzakta bulunan ve Oğuzlar İlköğretim Okulu'na göre Yenimahalle merkeze daha yakın konumda bulunmakta olan Abdi İpekçi İlköğretim Okulu'nda okuyan 30 öğrenci ve velisiyle de görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Söz konusu iki okul

akademik başarı olarak birbirine oldukça yakın olup, iki okulun aileleri arasında sosyoekonomik düzey farkı bulunmaktadır.

Ana örnekleme bulunan ailelerin eğitim ve gelir düzeyleri kardeşleri ve babalarının eğitim ve gelir düzeylerini çok fazla geçememiş, hatta bir çok örnekte daha düşüktür. Ailelerin diğer çocuklarının eğitim hikayeleri de çok kısadır. Ancak aynı durum diğer grupta görülmemektedir. Ailelerin eğitim ve gelir düzeyleri kardeşleri ve babalarının eğitim ve gelir düzeylerini aşmış olup, ailelerin diğer çocuklarının bir üst öğretime devam etme oranı da yüksektir. Diğer grubun eğitim ve mesleki durumu ile gelir düzeyi Demetevler ve Karşıyaka halkından ve örneklemeden yüksektir. Babaları, eşlerinin babaları, kardeş ve eşlerinin kardeşlerinin gelir ve eğitim durumu da ana örneklemeden yüksektir. Diğer grupta bulunan insanlar önemli bir kuşak içi ve kuşaklar arası toplumsal hareketlilik göstermektedir. Gelecekte daha umutlu olan bu grup oluşturdukları sosyal ağlar ile baskı grubu gibi etkililerken, çocuklarının eğitiminde ise daha bilinçlidir.

Alan çalışmasının sonuçları incelendiğinde, insanlar meslek ve gelir olarak ancak yatay denebilecek ya da aşağı doğru dikey toplumsal hareketlilikler yaşamış olup, kuşaklar arası ve kuşak içi yukarı doğru toplumsal hareketlilik genel olarak sınırlı kalmıştır.

Öğretmenler; okul başarısızlığında ailelerin ilgisizliği, katılım eksikliği, düşük sosyoekonomik ve kültürel düzey, düşük beklentiler, yetersiz ev ortamı, çocuk ve veliler için hedef yoksunluğu ve isteksizliğinin rolüne dikkat çekerken, aileler genel olarak okulu yetersiz bulmakta, bunun yanı sıra kötü arkadaşlar, internet ve medyayı da suçlamaktadır. Çocukların başarısızlığı konusunda kendilerinde sorun görmemekte, ancak kendi eğitim ve meslek hikayelerinde kendilerini suçlamaktadırlar.

Aileler eğitimin öneminin farkında olmalarına karşın, çocuklarının eğitimi konusunda sahip oldukları kaynaklar yetersizdir. Bu da aynı motivasyona sahip olsalar bile çocuklarının eğitim sürecinde başarılı olamamalarına neden olmaktadır. Bu yüzden, çocukların başarısı ve geleceğiyle ilgili düşük ve içinde buldukları şartlara göre de gerçekçi beklentilere sahiptirler.

Ebeveynlerin düşük eğitim düzeyi de eğitim konusunda düşük bilgi, ilgi, destek ve beklentiye yol açmaktadır. Aileler çocukları için daha az eğitim gerektiren düşük gelirli işlere odaklanmaktadır. Örneğin Demetevler sakinlerinin çocukları istihdam olanaklarından faydalanmak için çoğunlukla mesleki ve teknik eğitime devam etmektedir.

Aileler yoksulluklarından kendilerini sorumlu tutmaktadırlar. Kendi sınıflarına ait olan toplumsal ve ekonomik rollerini de kabullenmiş görünmektedirler. Bu yüzden, ailelerinden kendilerine kalan çeşitli sermayeleri ellerinde tutmak ve varolan pozisyonlarını yükseltmekten ziyade korumaya çalışmaktadırlar. Bunu yaparken çocuklarının eğitimine yapılan harcamalar ve diğer tüketimlerini azaltmak gibi yaşam stratejilerini de kullanmaktadırlar.

Yaşam kavgaları, aslında üzerine en çok durulması gereken eğitim konusunu da göz ardı etmelerine neden olmakta, bu da kısır döngüye yol açmaktadır. Üst sınıfların tüketim alışkanlıklarını taklit etme, kendilerini daha düşük statülerdeki insanlarla karşılaştırma, kendi durumunu algılama, statü endişesi gibi etmenler de bu sürece yardım etmektedir. Tüm bunlar da eşitsizliklerin yeniden üretimine katkıda bulunmaktadır.

Demetevler-Karşıyaka sakinleri benzer sembolik sermaye ve habitusa sahiptir. Aynı hayat tarzı, benzer meslek ve gelir düzeyine sahip olarak, aynı mekanlarda yaşamakta, aynı mekanlarda okuyup, aynı mekanlarda çalışıp vakit geçirmektedirler. Arkadaşları da kendileriyle çok benzer mesleki durum, eğitim ve sosyokültürel düzeydeki insanlardan oluşmaktadır. Bu kişilerin evlendikleri kişiler de benzer ya da aynı sosyoekonomik ve kültürel düzeyden insanlar olmaktadır. Böylece yaşadıkları toplumsal çevre ve coğrafi mekan aynı kalmaktadır. Mahalle sakinlerinin her zaman taşınmaya, yer değiştirmeye hazır oldukları, buradaki yüksek coğrafi hareketlilik tarafından kanıtlanmaktadır. Ancak bu yüksek mekansal hareketlilik Demetevler için olumlu bir gelişme getirmemektedir. İnsanlar hoşnutsuzluklarına rağmen mekana yapışmış gibidirler ve içinde buldukları durumdan kolayca kurtulamamaktadırlar. Taşınırsalar bile, gidecekleri yer şu anda buldukları yerlerden farklı olmayacaktır. Mekansal hareketlilikler sadece statik bir nüfus değişimi olarak kalacaktır. Tüm bu etmenler semtteki toplumsal ağların gelişmesine de engel olmaktadır. Toplumsal

ağların yetersiz oluşu da insanların sermayelerini yeterince geliştirmelerine olanak tanımamaktadır.

Toplumsal hareketliliğe dair belirtilen önemli özelliklerden birisi, kendi mal, beceri ve ilişkilerini, yani kapasitelerini ve olanaklarını kuşaktan kuşağa aktarılmasıydı. Bu anlamda düşünecek olursak, yapılan çalışmaya göre Ankara'ya veya semte ilk gelen kişiler bu aktarmayı tam olarak gerçekleştirememiş, yani kuşaklar arasında fazla bir hareketlilik meydana gelmemiştir. Bir diğer hareketlilik ölçümü kuşak içerisindeki hareketlilik olarak adlandırılmaktadır ve bireyin kariyerinden önceki konumları karşılaştırılmaktadır. Bu açıdan bireyler önceki konumlarına göre konumlarını değiştirebilmişler; ancak bu hareketlilik de kısıtlı bir oranda kalmıştır. Çünkü mesleki statüyü ekonomik statüden ayırmak da oldukça önemlidir. Birey bir meslek edinmiş olabilir. Ancak bu meslek ekonomik olarak statü yükseltecek, dolayısıyla da toplumsal ve mekansal hareketliliğe yol açacak düzeyde bir gelir getirecek bir meslek olmamıştır.

Mahalle sakinlerinden bazıları zamanla yaşam alanlarını ve işlerini güçlükle değiştirebilmişler ve yaşam standartlarında bir miktar yükselme yaşamışsalar da, sosyoekonomik durumlarını yeterince değiştirememektedirler. Bunun yanında toplumsal kökenleri ve deneyimleri algı, yargı ve davranışlarını olumsuz olarak etkilemektedir. Kadercı anlayışları verdikleri cevaplardan açıkça anlaşılabilir. Artık habituslarında toplumsal yapıyı ve bu yapıdaki kendi yerlerini içselleştirmişlerdir.

Örnekleme içinde 12 kişi kendilerini ve ailelerinin yukarı doğru toplumsal hareketlilik deneyimlediğini ve başarılı olduklarını öne sürse de, göstergeler bu değerlendirmeleri doğrulamamaktadır. İnsanlar kendilerini ekonomik ve kültürel olarak geliştirememektedirler. Sahip oldukları nitelsiz işler kendi habituslarına paralel bir statüyü kabul etmelerine yol açmaktadır. Düşük eğitim düzeyi, düşük istihdam ve gelir olanakları ve Demetevler sakini olmak, sahip oldukları değişik sermaye biçimlerinin sınırlı kalmasına neden olmaktadır. Bu nedenle bu sınırlı sermayeleri de birbirine dönüştürememektedirler. Zamanla oluşturdukları sermayeler de onları mobilize edecek bir habitusa ve güçlü bir sembolik sermayeye yetmemektedir.

Mekandaki varoluşları ve pozisyonları şa anki habituslarıyla çok fazla bağlantılıdır. Fırsatları yaratmalarını, kendi kararlarını vermeyi, yaşam koşullarını değiştirmeyi sınırlayan bu sosyoekonomik yapıdan bağımsız hareket etme kapasiteleri ve özerklikleri yoktur. Bu nedenle ancak şu anki konumlarını kaybetmemeye çalışan insanların gündeminde toplumsal hareketlilik diye bir kavram bulunmamaktadır.

Çalışmanın sonuçları genel olarak değerlendirildiğinde, diğer etmenler dışarıda bırakıldığında, ebeveynlerin geçmiş hikayesi ve çocukların eğitim ve iş başarısının oldukça yakın ilişkili olduğu söylenebilir. Ailelerin gelir, meslek, eğitim, kültür, içinde buldukları toplumsal ağ ve sermaye birikimleri kendilerinin ve gelecek kuşakların toplumsal hareketliliğini sağlamada yetersiz kalmaktadır. Toplumsal kökenin toplumsal yörüngeye olan etkisinden kaynaklanan aşağı doğru hareketlilik hikayeleri ise gün geçtikçe artmaktadır. Varolan eğitim, istihdam, gelir ve kent sisteminde yukarı doğru hareketlilik olası görülmemektedir. Buna eşlik eden son yıllardaki ekonomik, toplumsal ve mekansal dönüşümler bu durumu daha da çıkmaz hale getirmektedir.

Tez toplumsal hareketliliğin bugünkü durumuna yönelik olarak bazı çözüm önerileri getirmektedir. Bireysel düzeyde; eğitimde tek bir doğru yol olmadığı kavranmalı, çocuklara bireysel özerklik tanınmalı, çocukların gelişimine engel olabilecek varolan toplumsal yapıyı sorgulayan alternatif yollar geliştirilmelidir. Çocuklar için meslek bilgilendirme çalışmaları ve bu meslekleri seçme hakkı tanınmalıdır. Aile düzeyinde; eğitimde ailenin örgütlenmesi, desteklenmesi, güçlendirilmesi ve bilgilendirilmesi çok önemlidir. Ailenin eğitim konusunda bilinçlendirmesi ve eğitime katılımının artırılması, okul ile aile ilişkilerinin yoğunlaştırılması, karar süreçlerine ailelerin katılması ve çocukların öğrenimini cesaretlendiren ev ortamı yaratılması önemlidir. Kurumsal düzeyde; okullar sadece eğitim için kullanılmamalıdır. Okul aynı zamanda yaşama, öğrenme ve deneyimleme mekanlarıdır. Devletin halka en yakın olduğu kurum olarak okul, politik ve toplumsal bir kurum olarak da görülmelidir. Okul eğitim sisteminin politik ve ideolojik işleyişinden kaynaklanan sorunları aşmak için stratejiler geliştirmek görevindedir. Bunun için yerel ve merkezi kurumlar arası bir ağ oluşturulmalı ve sürdürülmelidir.

Okul çevre ve kendisi arasındaki kültürel boşlukları doldurmak durumundadır. Okul çevre için toplumsal ve kültürel merkez olmalıdır. Hem öğrenci hem de velileri için meslek kursları, atölye çalışmaları, yaz kampları, ücretsiz ve gönüllü destek dersleri düzenlenmelidir. Derslerin dışındaki zamanlarda psikolojik rehberlik çalışmaları, eğitsel çalışmalar, toplumsal faaliyetler ve mesleki beceri eğitimleri yapılmalıdır.

Semt ve mahalle düzeyinde; semt ve mahalle kentsel katılım için ideal düzeylerdir. Okul öğrenme atmosferi yaratmada, insanları bilinçlendirme ve örgütlendirmede önemli bir yere sahip olduğundan, eğitim kent programı içinde değerlendirilmelidir. Toplumsal ağlar, mahalleye bağlılık ve sahiplenme duygusu okul yardımıyla güçlendirilmelidir. Yerel düzeyde; yerel yönetimler kentin yarattığı olanaklar ve kentteki varolan toplumsal faydadan yararlanabilecek bir kentsel mekan oluşturarak, sakinlerin yaşam koşullarını geliştirmelidir. Kamu yararı çerçevesinde, kamu siyasalarına paralel olarak yürütülecek kentsel siyasalar kolektif tüketime yönelmelidir. Yerel yönetimler çeşitli kurslar açmalı ve kanunda belirtilen görevlerini tam anlamıyla yerine getirmelidir. Öncelikle plansız ve rant ağırlıklı gelişme önlenmelidir. Demetevler özelinde ise varolan yapılar güçlendirilmeli, Demetevler sakinlerinin yukarı doğru toplumsal hareketliliğine yardım edecek toplumsal, ekonomik ve kültürel gelişmeleri öngören rasyonel kentsel dönüşüm projeleri gerçekleştirilmelidir. Bu dönüşümler kamu katılımıyla gerçekleştirilmelidir. Toplumsal siyasalar bu çerçevede önemlidir. Kentsel dönüşümler, mahalleden düşük gelirli halkı çıkarıp, yerine üst gelir gruplarını yerleştiren değil, varolan mahalle halkını güçlendiren ve destekleyen bir şekilde gerçekleştirilmelidir. İnsanların konut ve çevre anlamında kendilerini güvende hissetmesi, sürekli bir kentsel hareketliliği ve toplumsal hareketsizliği engelleyecek ilk koşuldur.

Eğitim bir politik tercih sorunu olduğundan, politik süreçlerle biçimlendirilmelidir. Siyasalar eğitimi arz yönlü ve talep yönlü olarak iki biçimde etkiler. Arz kamu harcamalarının ve okul kalitelerinin artırılmasıyla, talep ise ailelerin eğitime katılımı ve yatırımını engelleyen mali sınırlamaların kaldırılmasıyla gerçekleşebilir. Kamu müdahalesi olmazsa eğitimdeki eşitsizlik mutlaka bir sonraki kuşaklara geçecektir. Bu nedenle kamu ve özel okulları arasındaki teknik ve mali eşitsizlikler önlenmelidir. Kamu okullarının nicel ve nitel özellikleri artırılmalı, böylece kamu okulunda okuyan çocukların özelde okuyan çocuklarla eşit durumda olması sağlanmalıdır.

Düşük gelir düzeyi eğitim için engel olmamalıdır. Eğer bir yarış olacaksa, herkes yarışa eşit başlamalıdır. Bu nedenle temel eğitim tamamen ücretsiz olmalıdır ve en azından dezavantajın kuşaklar arası geçişine neden olan eğitimdeki kısır döngüyü kırarak fırsat eşitliği yaratmalıdır. Çünkü eğitimin varoluş nedeni kamu hizmetidir. Okul ekonomiye insan gücü sağlamanın değil, eğitim hakkı ve fırsat eşitliğinin garantisi olmalıdır.

Toplumsal uyum sadece mali anlamda değil, istihdam, sağlık ve konuta erişimde de önemlidir. Burslar ve diğer maddi destekler, yatılı okullar, sosyal ve kültürel hizmetler gibi araçlar kullanılabilir. Eğitim programları ve müfredat oluşturulurken, hükümet, okullar, öğretmenler, sendikalar, aileler ve çocuklar ortak karar vermelidir. İnsan gücü planlaması da işbirliği içerisinde yürütülmelidir. Mesleki eğitim zorunluluktan ziyade önemli bir eğitim aracı olarak kullanılmalıdır.

Eğitime yapılan kamu yatırım ve harcamaları artırılmalıdır. Eğitimin kamusal boyutu yeniden güçlendirilmelidir. Eğitim sisteminin pazar merkezli yapısı değiştirilmelidir. Mekanlar tarihsel ve kültürel olarak farklı olduğundan ve okullar eğitim ve öğretimin dışında, özellikle ekonomik olarak dezavantaja sahip bölgelerde bulunan öğrenciler için ekstra çalışmalar yapacağı için okulların mekansal yerleşimi buna dikkat edilerek yapılmalıdır.

ABD’de okulların verimliliğini artırma ve rekabeti yükseltme amacıyla kurulan Charter okulları, bir sözleşmeye dayalı olarak özel sektör tarafından veya sivil toplum kuruluşları tarafından işletilen, geleneksel devlet hiyerarşisinin ve bürokrasinin dışında çalışan kurumlardır. Ülkemizde de şu an buna benzer yapılar kurulmaya çalışılsa da, son dönemde yapılan çalışmalar bu okulların eşitsizlikleri engellemekten ziyade, dışlanan kesimleri belirli bir mekanda toplayıp, varolan kutuplaşmayı daha da derinleştirdiklerini göstermektedir. Ülkemizin geçmiş yıllarda deneyimlediği Köy Enstitüleri kuram ve pratiği birleştiren, demokratik, bağımsız ve üretken eğitim merkezleri olarak, öğrencilere mesleki ve teknik beceri kazandırmanın dışında, belli ölçüde sanat, ekonomi ve tarım bilgisi bile sunmaktaydı. Geçmişte başarısı kanıtlanan bu okulların incelenip, hem köy hem de kent ölçeğinde bu tür bir eğitim anlayışı ve kurumsallaşmanın getirilmesi eğitimin şu anki bir çok sorununu çözecektir.

Eđitim bir kamu hizmetidir ve kamusal olarak üretilip dağıtılması gerekmektedir. Eđitim planlaması istihdam planlaması ile birlikte yapılmalıdır. Ayrıca eđitim planlaması; temel eđitim, mesleki eđitim, teknik eđitim ve eđitim yönetimi olarak ayrı ayrı gerçekleştirilmelidir. Eđitim reformları soyuttan ziyade somut adımlardan oluşmalıdır. Ekonomik yapıdan değil, daha çok toplumsal yapıdan ilham almalıdır. Bunun yanı sıra uygulanacak sosyal siyasalar da yoksulluđu ve toplumsal dışlanmayı azaltarak fırsat eşitliđi sağlayacaktır. Tüm bunlar doğal olarak ebeveynlerin sosyoekonomik statüleri ve çocuklarının statü ve davranışları arasındaki bağlantıları kopararak toplumsal hareketliliđi olumlu yönde etkileyecektir. Kent barışı ancak her sınıfın eđitimden eşit olarak faydalanabilmesi ve bu sayede kazanacağı daha iyi yaşam koşulları ile gerçekleşebilir. Ancak bir bireyin ya da bir grubun toplumsal hareketliliđi ya da beklentisi bir başkasının toplumsal hareketliliđine zarar vermeyecek şekilde gerçekleşmelidir.

İnsanlar ekonomik, toplumsal ve kültürel sermayelerini birbirine dönüştürebilmeli ve onları daha iyi yaşam koşullarına taşıyabilecek bir habitus geliştirebilmelidirler. Öncelikle onlara, ailelerinin ve çocuklarının gelecekleri hakkında kendi özgür kararlarını alabileceklerine dair kapasite ve inancı sağlamak gereklidir. Çünkü beklenen toplumsal hareketlilik düzeyi en az gerçekleşen toplumsal hareketlilik deneyimi kadar önemlidir. İnsanlar sosyoekonomik kökenlerine göre değil de, yetenek, beceri ve çabalarıyla toplumsal ve ekonomik olarak yükselebileceklerine inanmalıdırlar. Sadece gelecek hakkında olumlu beklentiler bile toplumsal hareketlilik için farklı yollar kazandırabilecektir. Çünkü insanların savaşmak için bir nedene ihtiyacı vardır.

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Soyadı : Hatipoğlu

Adı : Hasan Belya

Bölümü : Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler ABD

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