

NEIGHBORHOOD PROJECTS OF EDUCATION:  
THE CASE OF THE HALKEVI SUMMER SCHOOL IN OKMEYDANI



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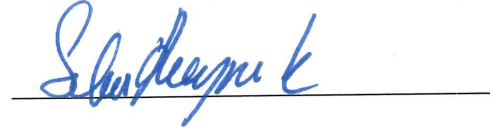
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## ABSTRACT

### Neighborhood Projects of Education:

#### The Case of the Halkevi Summer School in Okmeydanı

This study aims to analyze the effects of state violence in everyday life on an alternative education program. Halkevleri has organized free Summer Schools for children at their ages of primary and secondary schools in poor neighborhoods since 2008. The Republican People's Party established Halkevleri in 1932 as an adult education center to collect social and cultural life under the republican regime. Halkevleri was established as a top-down organization however it has been converted an independent mass organization. The activities of Halkevleri in the field of education rebounded up with the historical changes. Halkevleri Summer School is analyzed as critical education practice because of its alternative education program, the way of the organization of program organized, education program for instructors, the relation between instructors and children and their perception of struggle for education as a part of social struggle. A politically, economically and ethnically marginalized neighborhood, Okmeydanı has been one of the places where Halkevleri Summer Schools organized since 2008. State violence, which is an historical reality of Okmeydanı, has been escalated since Gezi protests. Analyzing Halkevi Summer Schools in a politically, economically and ethnically marginalized neighborhood shows the limitations and possibilities of alternative education practices. While this alternative education opens a new space for children in their everyday life, the organization of the Summer School, participation of children, access to volunteer instructors, participation of parents and the practice of alternative education content is negatively affected by state violence.

## ÖZET

### Mahalle Eğitim Projeleri:

#### Halkevi Okmeydanı Yaz Okulu Örneği

Bu çalışma günlük yaşamda devlet şiddetinin bir alternatif eğitim programı üzerindeki etkisini inceliyor. Halkevleri 2008 yılından beri yoksul mahallerde yaz dönemlerinde 5-14 yaş aralığındaki çocuklar için ücretsiz yaz okulları düzenliyor. Halkevleri 1932 yılında Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi tarafından sosyal ve kültürel yaşamı parti rejimi kontrolüne almak için kurulan bir yetişkin eğitim merkeziydi. Yukarıdan aşağı yönetilen ve devlete bağlı bir kurumken, bugün bağımsız bir demokratik kitle örgütü olarak faaliyet gösteriyor. 1932'den bu yana yaşanan kurumsal değişiklikler, Halkevlerinin eğitim alanındaki faaliyetlerine de yansdı. Halkevi yaz okulları; alternatif eğitim programları, örgütlenme biçimi, eğitmenler için hazırlanan programı, eğitmenler ve çocuklar arasında kurulmaya çalışılan diyalog ve eğitim mücadelesini toplumsal mücadelenin bir haline getirmesiyle nedeniyle bir eleştirel eğitim hareketi olarak inceleniyor. Siyasi, ekonomik ve etnik olarak marjinalleştirilmiş bir mahalle olan Okmeydanı, Halkevinin 2008'den bu zamana yaz okullarını yürüttüğü mahallelerden birisi. Okmeydanı'nda tarihsel olarak var olan devlet şiddeti 2013 yılında yaşanan Gezi direnişinin sonrasında gündelik hayatta etkisini artırdı. Bir alternatif eğitim projesini siyasi, etnik ve ekonomik olarak marjinalleştirilmiş bir mahallede incelemek alternatif eğitim hareketlerinin sınırlarını ve imkanlarını gösteriyor. Yaz okulları bu mahallede çocuklara yeni bir alan açsa da, yaz okulunun düzenlenmesi, çocukların katılımı, gönüllü eğitmenlere ulaşma, ailelerin katılımı ve alternatif eğitim programı mahallede gündelik yaşamda artan devlet şiddetinden olumsuz olarak etkileniyor.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

This study examines the effects of everyday state violence on an alternative education program for children at their ages of 5-14 in ethnically, politically and economically marginalized neighborhood, Okmeydanı. People's Houses (Halkevleri) has organized Summer Schools since 2008 to provide free and alternative education during summer times for four weeks in poor neighborhoods. Okmeydanı that is populated by Alevis and Kurds and an enclave for leftist organization was one of the few neighborhoods that Halkevleri Summer School adopted in 2008. Instead of asking the question whether Halkevleri Summer School is an critical education or not, this study analyzes Halkevleri Summer Schools as critical education program by taking into consideration its objectives, its alternative education program, the relations between instructors and children and its commitment to social struggle. By analyzing the effect of everyday state violence on this critical education program, this study provides the ground to discuss critical education theories. It discusses critical education theories as how a critical education has a dualist character as reproduction and production.

This ethnographic research is particularly relevant for the general comparative theoretical debates on the relation between education and politics. The general comparative theoretical debates ask the question of the role of education in society and two typical answers are given to this question. One of them is that reproduction theories of education and the other are critical theories of education. While the former emphasizes that education only serves for domination (Althusser, 1971; Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Bourdieu and Passeron 1979), the latter claims that

education can be a site of struggle (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1983; Gramsci, 1971; Hill, 2006; Mayo, 2008; Willis, 1977).

There are different sites of struggle emphasized by critical education theories. Dave Hill (2006) categorizes these sites as “arenas for critical transformative intellectuals in education and other cultural sites” in his article “Class, neoliberal global capital, education and resistance”. First arena of struggle is “within the education and media apparatuses”, he claims that a “critical reflection” should be developed by educators and cultural workers in these fields (Hill, 2006, p.12). Second arena is “working outside the classroom: local action”. Hill states that by saying working in that context means “knowing”. In other words, knowing the realities of exploited groups (Freire, 1971). The process of knowing is defined as repositioning which means to “see the through eyes of the disposed” and work against the ideological and institutional process that cause inequalities (Apple et al. 2009, p.3). The concept of critical education can be explained by various ways. It may be defined as “cooperative classrooms with somewhat more political content” (Apple et al. 2009, p.3) or as more strict examples “reconstruction of what education is for, how it should be carried out, what we should teach, and who should be empowered to engage in it.” (Apple et al., 2009, p.3).

The literature on Turkish education system emphasizes main function of Turkish national education system is to teach children national and religious values (Üstel, 2004; Kaplan, 1999) and the commercialization of national education in Turkey (Ercan, 1998). Therefore, literature on education in Turkey is mostly focused on public education and how it reproduces social and economic inequalities. Subsequent to analysis of national education system in Turkey, questions are asked by scholars that how education system can be changed in Turkey, whether it is

possible to create critical education or not in Turkey. Impossibilities of changing education system without intervening the whole system have been discussed (Ünal, 2014). In that regard, in the literature on education and politics in Turkey is lack to discuss critical education and possibilities for practicing it. While it is mostly referred that education system should changed and struggle for and by education is needed, it is accepted as to have another education is impossible. While the impossibility of critical education in Turkey is discussed, the transformative practices, community actions and local actions are underestimated. Analyzing these sites critically will provide also the limitations and possibilities to struggle for education. In that regard, understanding dynamics of Halkevleri Summer School in Okmeydanı is remarkable to discuss possibilities and limitations of alternative and critical education in Turkey.

Halkevleri Summer Schools has been organizing in 20 neighborhoods of Istanbul.<sup>1</sup> At the beginning, 2008, university students were volunteer instructors in the Summer Schools in Halkevleri, but gradually it expanded. Scholar of education and activists in the field of education emphasizes Halkevleri Summer School as possible sites of alternative education in Turkey. There isn't any academic study that work and analyzes Halkevleri Summer School as critical education. However, among discussions on critical education, Halkevleri started to be given as examples of critical education (Özmen, 2014). Halkevleri Summer School is analyzed as an example of alternative education from Turkey in a volume of *Eleştirel Pedagoji* Journal, which contains several examples of alternative education across the world (Elifoğlu, 2014). Examples of alternative education in this volume with Halkevi

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<sup>1</sup> This is the number that I took from the website. However, this number can be plus-mines 1-2. There can be small changes. Because sometimes they can't be organized in some neighborhoods. Another important thing is that it isn't only in İstanbul. It is made in other cities also.

Summer School were Barbiana Schools, Highlander Folk School, and Porto Alegre Citizenship School. As the definition of critical education made that it contains many different movements, these schools are also different from each other in terms of age of people with they work, their content of education and their historical and local contexts. Barbiana Schools were organized in Italy in a church for children who expelled from their schools. Myles Horton established Highlander Folk School in 1932 in Tennessee in order to empower workers as an independent adult education center. Education programs were developed for worker unions (Freire and Horton, 2003). Therefore while their contexts were different, all these movement aimed to “repositioning” and “working with exploited people” (Hill, 2006).

The choice of Halkevleri as institutional site of this ethnographic research has also the potential to address various questions of change and continuity on the literature on institutional changes. Republican People’s Party (RPP) established Halkevleri in 1932 as a social and cultural organization to realize social and cultural activities of Republican Regime. It worked as an education institution when it established in 1932. The institution was opened as “...adult education centers to conduct cultural, sporting and educative activities” (Karaömerlioğlu, 1996, p.68). More specifically, they opened as to support the national education system (Karaömerlioğlu, 1996, p.69). Halkevleri were used as a means to modernize peasant and to close the gap between rural and urban lives. Halkevleri, which was opened as education organization, was closed for two times by different government in 1951 and in 1980. During this process, the institution experienced institutional changes. By analyzing the practice of Halkevi Summer School; this study also shed lights on the institutional change of Halkevleri and its statue, its politics and reactions of state toward it. Therefore, education has been an important aspect of Halkevleri since its

foundation. Halkevleri Summer Schools are a part of right to education struggle of Halkevleri in contemporary days. By analyzing Halkevleri Summer School, the institutional changes and institutional structure of Halkevleri in contemporary days will be grasped.

Analyzing this neighborhood education project in a politically, ethnically and economically marginalized neighborhood already from the start prove to be a critical case for exploring the relationship between state violence, class and education in Turkey. The continuity of struggles and lasting state violence in the neighborhood makes the neighborhood a particular test ground for an alternative education project and an interesting ethnographical site for analyzing relations between education and politics. Therefore, studying the role of Halkevi Summer School in the neighborhood also offers a look into how state violence intervenes in everyday life in a marginalized working-class neighborhood. Neighborhood politics, and state violence in everyday life of a neighborhood has also received a lot of attention in studies of poor neighborhoods in Latin America (Auyero, 2013; Rodgers, 2006; Villareal, 2015). For example, Auyore et al. (2013) makes an ethnographic research to analyze existence of state's violence and its effect on daily life of poor people's in violence-ridden, low-income neighborhoods. It is stated that the presence of state force, which is supposed to prevent violence, are escalating violence in these districts.

### 1.1 Methodology

My ethnographic research lasted on and off for one year (start from July 2014 to August 2015). I used participant observation method, non-structured interviews and newspaper analysis. I made 5 semi-structured interviews with volunteer instructors and also made non-formal group dialogues with 7 volunteer instructors. While my

research is on Halkevleri Summer School in Okmeydanı, I also made semi-structured interviews and observation in two other neighborhoods, İkitelli and Beşiktaş. I would like to first give sequences of entering the field and then explain the reasons to make an ethnographic research in Okmeydanı.

My first visit to Halkevleri Okmeydanı was in July 2014 while the Summer School was going on. At my visits in July 2014, I had non-formal dialogues with volunteer instructors and I watched some of the courses. Thereafter I started to have contacts with activists of Halkevleri and try to be informed about all events of Summer Schools. Then, I visited to Okmeydanı Halkevi in September 2014. At my first visit of Halkevleri, I hadn't decided to conduct research in Okmeydanı Halkevi. I tried to collect data about Halkevleri Summer School in general and in various neighborhoods.

After my preliminary research in Okmeydanı Halkevi Summer School, I went to the district of İkitelli, which is another working-class neighborhood Summer School was held, in February 2015.<sup>2</sup> I continued to make non-structured interviews with volunteer instructors as I did in Okmeydanı and also watched the courses. From February 2015 to until Summer School starts, August 2015, I followed the news and online resources of Halkevleri. At the beginning of the summer in 2015, I talked with activists in Okmeydanı Halkevleri and informed them that I want to be volunteer instructor. I became instructor for Fun English (*Eğlenceli İngilizce*) class.

Fun English class is one of the courses in the curriculum for which there isn't established content. For math courses and for English course they put the word "fun" because the perception of children toward these courses was negative because they had them in their public schools. The word of "fun" is used in order to make

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<sup>2</sup> In February 2015, which was semester break, at İkitelli Halkevi and some other bureaus of Halkevleri, there were education activities with children when they were in semester.

attractive the course for children. Besides being volunteer instructor for Fun English class, I participated all courses in Okmeydanı Halkevleri Summer School in August 2015. In Summer School Okmeydanı in 2015, there were courses of “ fun science”(eğlenceli bilim), “fun math” (eğlenceli matematik), “urban and child workshop” (şehir ve çocuk atölyesi), “graphiti workshop” (grafiti atölyesi), “philosophy train” (felsefe treni) and “rhythm workshop”(ritim atölyesi) and “evolution” (evrim). There were 12 children participated courses.

Halkevi Summer Schools were started approximately at same dates in different neighborhoods; they may have few differences in their start dates. In order to have better grasp of dynamics of Halkevi in Okmeydanı, I also wanted to visit another Summer School at a wealthier neighborhood. Therefore, I went to Beşiktaş Summer School. I spent one whole day in Beşiktaş Summer School, I made semi-structured interviews with two instructors who were also activists of Halkevleri and I watched the courses as I did in Okmeydanı and İkitelli.

Besides that I joined a general meeting at the head office of Halkevleri at Taksim. The meeting was organized in order to gather volunteer instructors from each neighborhoods of Istanbul where Summer Schools organized. Volunteer instructor for evolution course and me joined the meeting as instructors represent Okmeydanı. In that meeting, I gathered information about dynamics of Summer Schools in different neighborhoods.

Since the beginning of my fieldwork I searched the web sites of the Halkevleri and also followed the social media accounts to be informed about the incoming events of Halkevleri’ Summer Schools.<sup>3</sup> I also made newspaper research

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<sup>3</sup> These websites are <http://www.halkevleri.org.tr> and <http://sendika10.org>. The information about Summer Schools of Halkevleri and the news about all Summer Schools are available on the website of Halkevleri. Sendika.org is news website of Halkevleri (Kaderoğlu B., 2011). Sendika.org was

both to collect data about Halkevleri in general and about the neighborhood. In other words, newspaper analysis is important also to understand the representation of the neighborhood in the mainstream media. My observations for the neighborhood aren't limited to the dates when my fieldwork in Okmeydanı Halkevi Summer School started in July 2014, and ended in August 2015. For example, during and after Gezi protest in 2013, I was in the neighborhood so I narrated my observations, and followed the news closely.

During the whole research I only used a tape recorder at my first meeting in July 2014. Observing that children and also some instructors became uncomfortable, I stopped using a tape recorder right away. I also I didn't take long notes in front of them. Moreover, I didn't have time to write my notes while I was dealing with children during Summer School in 2015.

At my first visit to Halkevleri in July 2014, I made 4 semi-structured pilot interviews. Three of them were university students in Istanbul and they were living in different neighborhoods of Istanbul. Besides these 4 interviews, during the same visit, I had informal group discussion with three high-school students and two activists of Halkevleri who weren't instructors for Summer School, but they were instructors in previous years. After those interviews I wanted to talk with activists and volunteer instructors who were part of first Summer School in 2008. Then I made semi-structured interviews with 3 activists who were volunteer instructors at previous years. These 7 interviews and the group discussion with 2 activist and 3 high school students were conducted in Okmeydanı. Then, I interviewed with 2 volunteer instructors in İkitelli neighborhood. I didn't make semi-structured or structured interviews during the time that I was instructor Summer School 2015 in

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censored by government for 11 times and the last name of the website is sendika10.org (Sendika.org 11. defa sansürlendi, 2016).

Okmeydanı. However, I made my observations and my informal dialogues around similar questions that I used during my interviews. There were 10 volunteer instructors. Volunteer instructor, Berke, was 24 years old, physiotherapist. He was spending his time beyond the evolution class. Derin, was 25 years urban planner? She was teaching entertaining science class. Volunteer instructors for urban and child workshop were 3. They were urban planner one of them was working in a bank. They were 25,26. They were going to each neighborhood in Istanbul to make workshop. There was a planned drama course in Okmeydanı, however because of the low number of children, course couldn't be made, volunteer instructor came only once. In music class, there was music-engineering student; she was 23 she came for the rhythm course. For philosophy trainer there were one high school student from Okmeydanı and one university student. For graphite course there were 2 high school students. I talked with them during classes, before classes and after classes. And I made one interview with an instructor and activist of Halkevi while I was observing the classes during whole day. In the following part, I explain the reasons that directed my study to Okmeydanı and an ethnographic study in Okmeydanı and also my experience as an instructor in Okmeydanı Halkevi.

## 1.2 Why Okmeydanı and why ethnography in Okmeydanı?

I started preliminary research on Halkevi Summer School in Okmeydanı in June 2014. Before I went to the Halkevi to interview with volunteer instructors in June 2014 in Okmeydanı, I researched the website of Halkevi to get general knowledge about Summer Schools. In the website, under the title of the education, there were news on Summer Schools of Halkevi in various neighborhoods of Istanbul. Moreover, there were news on openings of Summer Schools in different

neighborhoods of Istanbul and other cities of Turkey. Therefore, according to the news shows Summer Schools in different neighborhoods, there were many neighborhoods where Halkevleri Summer Schools organized than before.

I went to my first appointment on June 14, 2014 to get general information about Summer Schools and also specifically to understand how they explain the rise of the Summer Schools. However, during our conversation, instructors explicitly made effort to clarify how the challenges of Okmeydanı were different from any other neighborhood that Summer Schools organized. When I entered the Okmeydanı Halkevi on June 14, 2014, there were 2 instructors and I introduced myself, told them that I was doing research on Summer Schools of Halkevleri, they welcomed me right away. We went out the Halkevi to sit together with other 3 instructors on the wall of the park that across the Halkevi and started a conversation. They were all university students who lived in different neighborhoods and came to Okmeydanı in order to work as volunteer instructors at the Summer School. We spoke around one and half-hour during the conversation, I noticed three fundamental points that were repeating in all the instructors' remarks. The first one was that the number of children who participate the Summer School in Okmeydanı decreased, a contrast to my expectations based on the web sources. The second one was that instructors signified that children who participate in the Summer School in Okmeydanı were mostly Kurdish children. They reported that Kurdish population of the neighborhood increased. According to them, when the Kurdish population of the neighborhood increased, majority of children who participate the Summer School in the neighborhood became Kurdish. They added that Alevi families increasingly didn't prefer to send their children to the Summer School. Third, they mentioned that functioning of the Summer School in Okmeydanı became a difficult task, because of

police violence, radical politics of the political organizations in the neighborhood and tensions among different ethnic identities; therefore, for all these reasons, for them, Okmeydanı Summer School was different from its counterparts in other neighborhoods of Istanbul.

For example, one of the instructors Melda told me that because of political landscape of the neighborhood “Alevi families refrain from sending their children to Halkevi. This year number of children is low. There are more children in Gazi and Sarıgazi [two other neighborhoods which are populated by Alevis and Kurds, enclave for leftist organization).”<sup>4</sup> Then, Oktay, who was an activist in the Halkevi, broke into the conversation and he criticized the strategies of other leftist organizations in the neighborhood. As mentioned above, Okmeydanı is an enclave for left and most of the leftist organization has their bureaus or relations in the neighborhood. For Oktay, the reason why families didn’t favor the Halkevi was the wrong policies of other leftist associations.

“Some other leftist organization lead a marginalize far-left in the neighborhood and this affect negatively families’ attitudes toward all leftist organizations and so toward Halkevleri. This is why they refrain from sending their children to summer school”.<sup>5</sup>

In addition, he implied that another factor caused decrease in number of children was instructors’ lack of working in the neighborhood. Ultimately, he explained the reasons of lack of interest in Summer School in the neighborhood by emphasizing tensions among Alevi families and Kurdish families. He explained:

“We are also responsible for decreasing number of children. Because we have not propagated Summer School enough in the neighborhood. In the

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<sup>4</sup> Original quotation: “Alevi aileler çocuklarını Halkevine göndermiyorlar. Bu yıl çocukların sayısı düşük. Gazi ve Sarıgazi’de daha fazla çocuk katılıyor.”

<sup>5</sup> Original quotation: “Bazı örgütler solu marjinalleştiriyor ve bu da ailelerin sol örgütlere karşı tavırını olumsuz bir şekilde etkiliyor. Aileler bundan dolayı çekiniyorlar.”

neighborhood, there is a tension between Alevi and Kurds. For example, in Gazi, the Kurdish population is low.”<sup>6</sup>

While for Melda and Oktay, the reasons of families’ hesitation to send their children Summer School were political cleavages and conflicts of neighborhood, the wrong strategies of leftist associations and tensions among ethnic identities, Mine, who was a music teacher in a public school and instructor for choir in Summer School, emphasized the political preference of families. She stated:

“There are families who don’t want to send their children because of their political preferences. However, since Kurdish families don’t see Halkevi any more as a Kemalist institution<sup>7</sup>, they send their children and now most of the children who participate Summer School are Kurdish.”<sup>8</sup>

Instructors underlined migration, ethnic divisions and political landscape in the neighborhood in my initial meeting. When the number of instructors I spoke with increased, the points that instructors highlighted about who were coming and what were the reasons of them to come or don’t come varied. For example, unlike the points of political landscape, political preferences, and ethnicity, Kaan, another instructor, emphasized the class dimension of the Summer School in the neighborhood: “Low-income families send their children. Children who come to Summer School are the poorest of the neighborhood.”<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Original quotation: “Çocukların sayısının azalmasında bizim de payımız var. Mahallede yeterince duyurusunu yapamadık. Aynı zamanda mahallede aleviler ve kürtler arasında bir çekişmede var. Gazide daha az Kürt aile var mesela.”

<sup>7</sup> Halkevi was established in 1932 by Republican People’s Party as an enlightenment project of state. It was the means of the party to reach the values of ‘Republic’ to the masses. Since the organization was founded, its function has changed. It converted from an organization established by a top-down process to an organization worked by a bottom-up process. Therefore, this is why Mine stated that ‘Kurdish families do not see it as a Kemalist institution.’

<sup>8</sup> Original quotation: “Siyasi tercihleri yüzünden çocuklarını göndermeyen aileler var. Ama Kürt aileler Halkevini artık Kemalist bir kurum olarak görmedikleri için çocuklarını gönderiyorlar ve şu an yaz okuluna katılan çocukların çoğu Kürt.”

<sup>9</sup> Original Quotation: “Yoksul aileler çocuklarını gönderiyorlar. Gelen çocuklar mahallenin en yoksulları.”

Except Mine, all instructors agreed on the decline of number of students, when explaining the decline and remarking on the profile of participating students, each instructor had something else to say. On the reasons for the decline, they had different explanations. They pointed out different reasons of difficulty to carry out Summer School of the Halkevi in a migrant receiving, politically marginalized and poor neighborhood. All instructors' answers highlighted the complexity of social life in the neighborhood.

Such complexity was totally lost in the news coverage of Okmeydanı, which was frequent. As an important source of information, news coverage on the neighborhood only mentioned police raids. The language of the news in the mainstream media mostly marginalized the neighborhood. These are some of the titles of the news published in last six months in two newspapers –*Milliyet* and *Cumhuriyet*:- “Armed attack to police in Okmeydanı (25 July 2015),” “Terror operation in Okmeydanı (7 November 2015)”, “They burned caterpillar in Okmeydanı” (7 August 2015), “Demonstrators set a car on fire” (16 December 2015), “Polis raid in Okmeydanı” (11 December 2015), “Helicopter borne operation in Okmeydanı (11 December 2015).

Coverage of the news about Okmeydanı only mentioned police raids, operations and violent demonstrations, which were waiting to, stopped by the state forces, exactly identical to observations Deniz Yonucu (2014) made in her article. Yonucu (2014) stated that headlines about the neighborhoods where there is intensity of Alevi and Kurdish population liken neighborhoods to bombs that have high destructive power instead of displaying the police violence in the neighborhoods. Therefore, news had two functions for Okmeydanı: first while they highlighted the violence “from below” which have to be stopped by state forces, the second one was

that they make Okmeydanı as there is nothing else from violence in the neighborhood. These discourses that produced by the news coverage on the neighborhood ignores the many sources of social and cultural activities. For example, there wasn't a single news article on Halkevi Summer School in Okmeydanı.

Addition to inefficacy of the news to understand the neighborhood, both qualitative and quantitative researches on Okmeydanı were relatively limited. Furthermore, there is no neighborhood-based statistics in Turkey. There were statistics of income, poverty, unemployment, crime rates and housing provided by Turkish Statistical Institute<sup>10</sup>, however they were measured for cities and countrywide. In fact, statistical data on poor neighborhoods became a matter of election campaign promises in 2009. Political parties proposed to map poverty in Istanbul in order to reach poor families to provide them with social support. President of Republican People's Party (CHP) stated that in order to put poor people on a salary and to provide them social security, a 'map of poverty' is needed.<sup>11</sup> He stated "we need to access the poor". Their projects targeted an income based poverty research as to find who lives under the poverty line and who don't have any social security support and to signify the places where poor people are living.

Even if they existed, statistics of income would still be a limited in conveying life experiences. In other words, statistic of income wouldn't be enough to understand the effects of coming from a low-income family in the Okmeydanı. Basically for the same reason Loic Wacquant (2007) also underlined that: "income-based, economistic model that provides both an inaccurate and incomplete picture of social life, constraints and opportunities at the bottom of the social and spatial

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<sup>10</sup> <http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/>

<sup>11</sup> CNN Turk, 11 February 2009.

structure of the US metropolis” (Wacquant, 2007, p.105). When he explained the complexity of social life in US metropolis, he developed his “multiple measures of economic and social vulnerability” in order to understand what income based statistics can’t do. However, even if there were various levels of stats, stats became often insufficient. While analyzing the increasing number of Halkevleri Summer Schools in Istanbul, and decreasing number of students in Okmeydanı Summer School would be possible by using statistics, the complexity of social life in Okmeydanı made the attitudes of children toward Summer School was irreducible to statistics as E.P. Thompson (1996) in his book *The Making of English Working Class* had also claimed that agricultural earning is irreducible to statistics because of the complex reality of unemployment and casual labor. Definition of ethnography made by Paul Willis and Mats Trondman (2000) supported Thompson’s emphasis on the point of what is or not reducible to statistic: “family of methods involving direct and sustained social contact with agents, and of richly writing up the encounter, respecting, recording, representing at least partly in its own terms, the irreducibility of human experience ” (Willis& Trondman, 2000, p.394).

An analysis of Internet sources and news about Halkevi convinced me to believe that number of children who joined Summer School increases and correspondingly effectiveness of the Summer Schools increases. However, having a conversation with instructors and listening their comments showed me that Summer School practices in Okmeydanı were different from any other neighborhood, precisely it recalled to me definition of ethnography made by Dolby and Dimitri (2004) that “ethnography is a way at getting some of this cultural complexity, a way to reflect on experience in ways that go beyond easy categories and distinction” (Dolby, Greg, & Willis, 2004, p.5).

### 1.2.1 Becoming an instructor

After my short visits from June 2014 to September 2014, I recognized that I needed one more step to analyze the complexities of the neighborhood. How could I go beyond instructors' stories and news coverage? I could understand perceptions of volunteer instructors, their motivations and their thoughts about Summer School by interviewing with them. However, I needed to find the ways to understand how and why were children in Okmeydanı different from children in another neighborhood and how was this alternative education program practiced and how did children react to it?

I have to spend time with children in Summer School during my first visits in July 2014, September 2014 and February 2015. My initiatives during my preliminary research to talk with them were unsuccessful. For example, In June 2014, at the beginning of my visits, while an instructor, Erkan, was telling me a story of children how they have violent behaviors to each other, Bülent, who was one of the children Erkan was talking about came to us and started to listen to our conversation. I was taking notes at the same time. Then I turned to the kid and asked him questions about why they fought with their friends and I continued to take notes. He shouted when I saw I was taking notes:

“Who are you? Don't write my name, it was a lie, my name isn't Bülent.”<sup>12</sup>

Apparently, police operation has penetrated in Okmeydanı. People were with suspicion, even at the sight of someone taking notes.<sup>13</sup> Sometimes, to be seen as foreigner especially during a political demonstration, concert or another cultural activity organized by a leftist organization was enough to fall under suspicion. For

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<sup>12</sup> Original Quotation: “Sen kimsin, yazma benim adımı, yalan söyledim, adım Bülent değil.”

<sup>13</sup> I had a similar experience in 2010 when I was working on a photo documentary project on Okmeydanı. While I was taking the photos of graffiti and walking in the neighborhood with camera, I encountered the following questions: who are you, why are you taking photos, did government employ you to take photos of the neighborhood?

example, during Summer School in 2015, we met with instructors before the course in the Park, which was across the Halkevleri, there was an event organized by another political organization in the Park. It was the first time one of the instructors, Seda, came to Okmeydanı. When she entered the park, organizers of the event wanted to make a search of her bag.

After the reaction of Bülent, I stopped to take notes during my visits not to bother any kids and I was looking for new ways to talk with children. Then I asked instructors if I could watch the courses and to speak with children during breaks. They welcomed my request. However, it wasn't possible for children to sit and to answer my questions while their friends were playing games. Moreover, when I asked them a question, the first question of most of them was: "are you a teacher?"<sup>14</sup> or they directly accepted me as a teacher and asked, "which course are you going to teach?"<sup>15</sup> Therefore, first, the reaction of Bülent to me as a foreigner, then, reluctance of children to answer my questions as preventing them to enjoy their breaks and lastly, their acceptance of me directly as teacher motivated me to be instructor.

After deciding to be instructor, I had to choose a course to teach. I asked Erkan, who was responsible for scheduling the Summer School in Okmeydanı, that if they do want me to teach any special subject. He said, "it is up to you." I wanted a course, which children would enjoy and at the same time would give me the opportunity to talk with them. As I knew from my preliminary research, children liked courses in which they were active and also which were different from the courses that they had in their public schools. Choirs and theatre were the most popular courses at the Summer School. However, I wasn't able to teach any of these courses. I was thinking that I could only teach Math and English. I didn't want to

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<sup>14</sup> Original quotation: Sen öğretmen misin?

<sup>15</sup> Original quotation: Ne öğreteceksin.

teach math. Because when I asked a 12 years-old girl about courses, she talked about “entertainment math course” and stated disapprovingly “how can be a math course be entertaining”? Therefore, I was afraid that if I did math course they wouldn’t like it. I decided to teach English, basic dialogues in English and English songs for kids.<sup>16</sup> I told Ersin that I am going to teach English. He started to laugh and said:

“Do you think that you can teach them English and they will sing an English song?”<sup>17</sup>

This sentence reflected what they think of children in Okmeydanı. In order to understand whether it was their prejudices or the reality that children can’t learn anything different for them or the difficult to teach something in Okmeydanı I had to be an instructor and to see for myself. Before going to my first course, I planned to teach basic conversancy sentences. I tried to find ways to make more dialogues with children. I knew that most of them were Kurdish children and there could be some Syrian children whose families escaped the war in their country. They were between 5-12 years. I told them I will teach you conversation dialogue in English then you will teach me in Kurdish, Arabic or any other language you can speak. They looked at each other. They were little shy and asking me how they will do it. I asked which languages they could speak. Most of them could speak both Kurdish and Turkish. There were two students, who were brothers, could only speak and understand

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<sup>16</sup> After starting to be instructor, I recognized that it was me who was thinking by the means of formal education. All instructors were high school and university students. Two high school girls were teaching evolution; another one was instructor for choir, a university student who studies physical therapy and rehabilitation was teaching philosophy. At the beginning I was suspicious about how they would do it. Then they told me that there are resources that were prepared in previous years about each course and they followed them. Moreover, it was not only about the materials. There was not any reason to prevent a high school student to learn and then teach evolution or a physical therapist to teach philosophy and to talk and discuss with children. Then at the last week, I made a part of “peace workshop”.

<sup>17</sup> “Original Quotation: “Sence bunlar öğrenecek mi İngilizce şarkı”

Kurdish. And a girl didn't say anything, instead of her, her friend spoke and said: "she can speak Arabic and but she is ashamed."<sup>18</sup>

Then I started to teach them to say, "how are you?", "what is your name?", "how old are you?". They told me the same sentences in Kurdish, but Syrian girl didn't say anything in Arabic. With the time, children became familiar with me and they became more relaxed. I wrote a basic English song for kids, *my teddy bear*. I chose the song randomly. Entertaining English course was one of the courses that it didn't have any specific or fixed curriculum; therefore, the content of that course was flexible. One boy stand up and said: "teacher do you want me to teach you Kurdish song"<sup>19</sup>, and he immediately started to sing it by dancing *halay* in the classroom. They liked the idea to teach me Kurdish. For each class, after we sang the English song, one of them stood up the board and started to teach me Kurdish sentences. They all learnt the song and enjoyed it. Even 4 years-old Selin who could only understand Kurdish, -I wasn't under the impression that she was even listening us- she was sitting next to her sister, sometimes walking in the class; she was singing it with us.

If I hadn't been instructor, I would have built my research on what instructors had said on children. Since, their comments about children and their prejudices weren't independent from realities of the neighborhood, my experience as instructor made me think of the reasons why instructors have prejudices and to analyze its reasons. Also it emphasized the importance of hearing stories of kids in the Summer School from them and to see their answers during the classes. This reminded Thompson's emphasis on the necessity of hearing stories of workers when analyzing "the making of English working class" (Thompson, 1966). As his analysis claimed

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<sup>18</sup> Original quotation: "Arapça konuşabiliyor, ama utanıyor."

<sup>19</sup> Original quotation: "Öğretmenim size kürçe şarkı öğreteyim mi?"

that the reality of agriculture workers couldn't be understood without hearing their stories, understanding relations between state violence and education entails to hear the stories or reactions of children.

Entering Halkevi, joining courses and spending time with both instructors and children in the neighborhood opened me a new space within neighborhood and caused me to see that there were many things about both the neighborhood and Summer School that I couldn't understand without entering the Halkevi and being instructor in the summer school.



## CHAPTER 2

### THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In order to grasp dynamics of the informal and critical education project in a politically marginalized working class neighborhood, which exposed to state violence in everyday life, I will discuss theories answer the question of what the role of education in society is. In the literature on politics and education there are two main answers of what the role of education in society is. The two main answers of this question are that education can only serve for domination or it can be a terrain of struggle. Theories of reproduction (Althusser 1971, Bowles and Gintis 1976, Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979) which assert that education will only serve for dominant groups and theories of critical education, which explain education as a site of struggle, will be analyzed. Critical education method of Paulo Freire (1970), who is one of the most famous scholar on alternative education, will be scrutinized both because of its important position in the critical education literature and emphasis on his method by instructors of Halkevi Summer Schools. In that regard, it will be a critical case to understand how Paulo Freire's pedagogy of oppressed used by various movements with different methods. Understanding Paulo Freire's method is important to understand the relation between teachers and students, the alternative education program and the emphasis on local characteristics of the neighborhood.

Then, contrary to strict categorization of theories on the role of education such as reproduction theories and resistance theories, ethnographic study of Paul Willis (1977), *Learning to Labor: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs*, is an important study to make a synthesis of them. Willis's book learning to labor is

also analyzed both as a theory of reproduction and also how he opens to discuss education beyond reproduction.

Willis investigates reproduction and cultural production in a progressive school, which organized to help protect working-kids from the inequalities of industry, will be in this discussion as a synthesis of theories of reproduction and resistance. The study of Willis is important for this research for these reasons: first while it analyzes a public school, it is a public school that aimed to protect working class kids from inequalities of industry. This school is in a working class area and it is called as progressive school. Then, as the study of Willis analyzes whether this school can protect this children, it shows us how an education program can't be free from social inequalities even it tries to work against social inequalities. On the other hand, this school also becomes a place that children create resistance. The study of Willis is important to make a critical analysis of a critical education project. In that point, understanding ethnographic study of Willis gains importance to discuss how an education project work for both reproduction and resistance.

Main discussions on the relation between education and politics are grounded on the discussion about the role of education in society. Theories of education answer the question of whether education only can serve for dominant power or it can be a site of struggle in society. Reproduction theories discuss education by emphasizing its role on serving for dominant groups. Contrary to reproduction theories, resistance theories in education signify education as a terrain of struggle.

Louis Althusser analyzes schools as ideological state apparatus, which is needed to sustain existing mode of production (Althusser, 1971). In his analysis, ideology reproduces the existing relations of production and schools are the places that teach students skills and behaviors, which are needed to provide these relations

of social reproduction (Giroux, 2001, p. 81). While Althusser emphasizes the ideological role of education, Bowles and Gintis (1976) highlight the relations between economics and education. According to them, the role of education is to sustain and consolidate capitalist relations within society. They call this relation as ‘correspondence principle’ in their book, *Schooling in Capitalist America*. The role of education is to integrate young people to the economic system by preparing them for work force (Bowles & Gintis, 1976). Henry Giroux, who is critical education scholar, highlights the importance of daily classroom practice in correspondence principle analysis of Bowles and Gintis. The hierarchy of the work force is manifested by the relationship between teachers, students and administrators in daily classroom supports the division of labor (Giroux, 2001, p. 84).

Reproduction theories, which examine the role of education as reproducing inequalities within society, figure out how education becomes a means of power to form citizens and consolidate its domination over society. Giroux emphasizes that reproduction theories have different understandings about “how power and control function in the interest of the dominant society both in and out of schools.” (Giroux, 2001, s. 77). The study of Bourdieu and Passeron (1970), *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, analyzes how education system reproduces inequalities within society and empower dominant groups by concealing their advantage over dominated groups. Therefore, while Bowles and Gintis explain with correspondence principle, Bourdieu explains with symbolic violence. Bourdieu defines education as symbolic definition and in his study a student from disadvantaged family will have difficulties more than a student from advantage family (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979).

Reproduction theories of education are criticized as they ignored the role of education as creating social change. Theories of reproduction, which explains the role of schools through social reproduction of inequalities, pass over actions of individuals. In their understanding logic of domination is reduced to structural determinism (Fernandes, 1998, p. 169). The ignorance of agency of teacher, students and other actors may engage to education is criticized by Giroux as:

” Reproduction theorists have overemphasized the idea of domination in their analyses and have failed to provide any major insights into how teachers, students and other human agents come together within specific historical and social contexts in order to both make and reproduce the conditions of their existence.” (Giroux, 1983, s. 259).

In that regard, when reproduction theories emphasize how education becomes a means of domination, they ignore any possibility can occur in education that can work against domination. Contrary to deterministic approach of reproduction theories, critical education theories support the idea that education can be a means of change. Giroux underscores the incomplete structure of social and cultural reproduction mechanism and how this gives ways to elements of opposition. He states that “Subordinate cultures, whether working-class or otherwise, partake of moments of self-production as well as reproduction; they are contradictory in nature and bear the marks of both resistance and reproduction.” (Giroux, 1983, p. 261).

Contradiction that contains both resistance and reproduction is an important aspect of definition of hegemony of Antonio Gramsci. The possibilities of both reproduction and resistance are also explained by his definition of hegemony (Gramsci, 1971). He explains the state of hegemony by referring incomplete structure of it (Mayo, 2010). Since the hegemony is lacunary and unstable, there are possibilities of counter-hegemonic action. The cracks in state of hegemony inspire challenging and reviving it. Peter Mayo claims that Gramsci’s definition of

hegemony provides with a ground for moments for counter-hegemonic action. Mayo emphasizes the role of education in Gramsci's strategy of social transformation with counter-hegemonic action that will be made at the existing excluded areas (Mayo, 2010, p. 22). However, on the other hand, education has an important role to reinforce existing hegemony in Gramsci's analysis (Mayo, 2010). Addition to school and/or education system of state, there are other ideological institutions that compose civil society including law, religion, education and mass media. These civil society networks can also serve for consolidating existing hegemony (Mayo, 2010, p.22). Therefore, while education system constrains hegemony, counter-hegemonic movements in excluded area can have potential to be against hegemony. It is important to understand Halkevleri Summer Schools. As volunteer instructors stated that Summer School doesn't claim to be replaced by public education however its aim toward public education is to criticize it and to show that free education is possible. Therefore, with Summer Schools, they open a new space.

Michael Buroway (2012) underscores the similarities between critiques of Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) and Gramsci (1971) for the role of education to constrain existing hierarchical social relations. However, as the definition of hegemony and its openness for counter-hegemonic action in Gramsci's analysis indicates that while in Bourdieu there are no ways to create an education for opposition or there aren't moments of resistance in the struggle for education, Gramsci's definition of hegemony paves way to analyze education as struggle area.

One of the most important scholars who asserted while education is used to dominate advantageous groups, it could be a means of struggling for liberation of disadvantaged groups is Brazilian educator Paulo Freire. Besides criticizing existing education system, Freire (1970) develops his method of the "pedagogy of

the oppressed”. He defines the relation between education and politics by claiming that ‘education is politics’ (Freire, 1970). He makes definition of education as politics, he claims “education is never politically neutral.” He also propounds both domination and resistance in education by signifying ‘education for liberation’ and ‘education for oppression’. Contrary to reproductive analysis of education, he underlines the possibilities of resistance in education while not ignoring its dimension to serve for interests of dominant groups. He investigates the possibility to practice an education for the oppressed, for disadvantages that don’t have similar conditions with advantage groups. He looks for the ways to practice a pedagogy for the oppressed within existing relation of production:

“But if the implementation of a liberating education requires political power and the oppressed have none, how then is it possible to carry out the pedagogy of the oppressed prior to the revolution? One aspect of the reply is to be found in the distinction between systematic education, which can only be changed by political power, and educational projects, which should be carried out with the oppressed in the process of organizing them”. (Freire, 1970, p. 54).

Contrary to education that serves for domination, the most important aspect of education for liberation that its role in the liberation of men and women by providing the education which let them to understand and question their environment and the reality around them. Education for liberation concerns the consciousness of oppressed by regarding their social realities. In this process of education, men and women will be active participants of this transformation. Theoretically, Freire’s theory emphasis on praxis and he signifies liberation as praxis and makes as explanation for it:

“Liberation is a praxis: the action and reflection of men and women upon their world in order to transform it.” (Freire, 1970, p.77).

Freire criticizes existing education systems as “banking education system”. He claims that banking education system behaves students as they don’t know anything

and they can directly receive what teachers or the person who accepted as 'knowledgeable' teaches. In that point, his banking education system also criticizes education system how reproduction theories also criticize. Freire claims that banking approach education treats oppressed, as individuals should be integrated to 'the healthy society'. Activists of Halkevleri who were part of it criticized Turkish education system as banking education system. And in the content of courses, it is emphasized that courses will increase awareness of children.

He claims that, the objective of the oppressor isn't to change the condition that gives way them to be oppressed but oppressor aims to affect consciousness of the oppressed and so to provide integration of the them to the system (Freire, 1970, p. 74). Freire offers problem-posing education across the banking education system. Problem-posing education emphasizes that oppressed people should "fight for their emancipation" (Freire, 1970, p. 86). It can't be education of the oppressor as he states:

"Problem-posing education doesn't and can't serve the interests of the oppressor" (Freire, 1970, s. 86).

He developed his method by providing literacy program for illiterate Brazilian peasants in 1960. It is aimed to give children skills to read and write and so to be able to vote and be a part of political life in their country. However, as he underscores that his literacy program doesn't aim to teach only how to read and write. He states that it isn't a practice 'to read the word' but it is practice to 'read the world'. His method doesn't act men and women as they directly learn what is taught without questioning as the banking system of education, which he criticizes, does.

He states:

"We wanted a literacy program which would be an introduction to the democratization of culture, a program with men as its Subjects rather than as patient recipients, a program which itself would be an act of creation, capable

of releasing other creative acts, one in which students would develop the impatience and vivacity which characterize search and invention.” (Freire, 1973, p.39)

Therefore, in that program, oppressed aren’t passive actors of their own life. He also states “we began with the conviction that the role of man wasn’t only to be in the world, but to engage in relations with the world- that through acts of creation and re-creation” (Freire, 1973, p. 39). Conceptually, he doesn’t use the name of school because of its traditional passivity.

In his methodology, the statuses of teacher and learner aren’t strict but it is accepted as teacher is learner and learner is teacher. Dialogue is an important aspect of his pedagogic formulation. It is dialogue that provides problem-posing education. As he summarizes:

“We launched a new institution of popular culture, a ‘culture circle’ since among us a school was a traditionally passive concept. Instead of a teacher, we had a co-coordinator; instead of lectures, dialogue; instead of pupils, group participants; instead of alienating syllabi, compact programs that were ‘broken down’ and ‘codified’ into learning units”. (Freire, 1973, p. 38.)”

The main perspective of Freire’s method understands social realities of people with whom they will work which is called as “thematic universe”. Subsequent to that ‘generative words’ were used which will be again related to people. Then with coding and decoding process an interactive education will start (Youngman, 1986). In that regard, social reality of the oppressed is an important aspect of Freire’s methodology. Halkevleri Summer School organizes in different neighborhoods and also take consider the realities of children in their environment.

Therefore, what is contradictory here is that while reproduction theories criticize public schooling and inequalities caused by it, how Freire’s method, which proposed an education activity outside public schooling, can be discussed against

reproduction theories. According to Mayo, since the percentage of public schooling was low in Latin American countries in Freire's time, his method was practice out of formal schooling. Nevertheless, he also emphasized the limitations to practice Freire's method in public education because 'extreme repression':

“Together with the fact that it is difficult to carry out counter-hegemonic schooling under conditions of extreme repression, has rendered the area of non-formal education the ideal setting for a process”. (Mayo, 2008, p.43)

Literacy program organized at the non-formal area called as “cultural action for freedom”. He claims that this non-formal activity outside the existing systems as cultural action. Mayo defines this cultural action as “the vehicle whereby members of oppressed groups are made aware of the social contradictions that lock them in a position of subordination” (Mayo, 2008, p.4). In the discussions on the role of education and making education a terrain of struggle, both working both inside and outside the schooling is proposed. Freire states that education system is a subsystem, which is in relation with big system in other words “productive system”, “political system”, “the structural system”. The fight should be given for both ‘internal to schooling system’ and ‘external to schooling system’. He claims that while his practice is out of education system but it is under the big system. Therefore, his method aims to open ways to oppression in the excluded areas of big system.

According to him, the process of education always has to address the following questions: “which content should be taught, to whom, in favor of whom, against what, against whom, how to teach, what is the participation of students, parents, teachers, and popular movements in the discussion of what should be taught?”<sup>20</sup>

Dave Hill emphasizes struggling outside the schools as:

“This is the second arena of resistance, working outside the classroom on issues relating to education and its role in reproducing inequality and

oppression.” (Hill, 2006)

This “working” activity is to know the realities of the exploited classes. Freire’s work is alternative pedagogy rest upon dialogue, which concerns the problem of students. Buroway claims that his work entails being together with students outside public schooling by “bringing education to their communities neighborhoods and villages (Buroway, 2012, p.1). In that regard, Summer School practice of Halkevleri in poor neighborhoods is also an education struggle outside the schooling system, however as Freire defines his struggle outside schooling system but inside ‘big system’-socio-economic system

While Freire develops a literacy program for peasants, actors of different social movement practice his education at different contexts across the world. He defines his education practice as ‘cultural action for freedom’. The example of Citizenship School Porto Alegre is discussed in the literature as examples of Freirerian education model. It was organized in 1988 as an alternative for excluded people in Porto Alegre. It was a struggle for democratization of access to school, democratization of knowledge and democratization of administration. With democratization of access to schools, it was aimed to reach poor children of the region. And democratization of information worked related with “thematic universe” method Freire (Gandin, 2009). Apple claims that with the method of thematic universe children won’t read a history, which isn’t related with their life, but they will learn the history through starting to read history of their families (Apple, 2004).

Freire’s analysis and also alternative education models are criticized as ignoring class dimension. In their book, *Inheritors*, (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979) Bourdieu and Passeron argue that even there is equality of opportunities; school will reproduce domination of privileged classes over oppressed class (Buroway, 2012).

Bourdieu and Passeron who support reproduction theories in education criticize popular educators as utopians that popular educators focus on pedagogical relations and ignore class dimensions in these relations. Bourdieu offers 'rational pedagogy'. He defines rational pedagogy as fighting against inequalities in the cultural preparation of different classes by teaching sovereign culture to oppressed groups (Bourdieu and Passeron 1979). Bourdieu (1979) criticizes "populist pedagogies" reinforce inequalities instead challenging them. According to Bourdieu, critical theorists ignore technical dimension of education and economist ignore the social dimension of education. Buroway summarizes these two contradictory arguments:

"Here then are two antithetical approaches to the same problem – the way education reproduces domination. Where Bourdieu can only conceive of a countering of domination by creating universal access to the cultural achievements of bourgeois society, that is, by extending bourgeois civilization to all, Freire, on the other hand, sees in this the perfection of domination. He seeks an alternative pedagogy that extricates and cultivates the good sense that remains within the oppressed despite internalized oppression – a pedagogy that starts out from lived experience. " (Buroway, 2012, s. 2)

Donaldo Macedo claims that even Freire emphasizes that struggle can't be understood as only class struggle; he doesn't ignore class analysis (Macedo in Freire 1971). Macedo emphasizes how Freire gives importance to the multiplicity of factors:

"In essence, Freire's later works make it clear that what is important is to approach the analysis of oppression through a convergent theoretical framework where the object of oppression is cut across by such factors as race, class, gender, culture, language, and ethnicity. Thus, he would reject any theoretical analysis that would collapse the multiplicity of factors into a monolithic entity, including class." (Macedo, 1970, s. 15)

Macedo claims that Freire emphasizes "theoretical complexity of multifactor analyses" (Freire, 1970, s. 14). Freire gives importance to creating new alternative spaces even though they won't be totally autonomous. Freire is criticized as he focuses on the method however he also answered his critiques that who analyze the

work as a pedagogical one.

What makes Paul Willis's (1977) analysis important and also relevant for this study is that he doesn't provide one side of educational practice. In other words, his analysis offers both the reproduction and resistance in education. As critical education theories did, he criticizes the arguments that evaluate schools as "black box" which only works for dominant classes. He claims that "cultural level" is crucial that emphasizes "degrees of agency, "penetration", and "experience of life transitions as in some way broadening, liberating, and a practiced field of choice" (Willis P. E., 1977, s. 206).

Willis assumes that any institutional reform can't be criticized in a simplistic way since each pedagogical movement has its own process of cultural reproduction. In other words, he claims that while education can't be regarded as a "black box" which only serves for dominant classes, any cultural action won't be free from inequalities and reproduction of inequalities. As he says:

"Any kind of educational, or other, change will encounter its own forms in unintentional, contradiction, and unseen forms of reproduction in complex links to class cultures and the objective requirements of the outside system. This is rather the point: that no institutional objectives, no moral or pedagogic initiative, moves in the clear still air of good intention and Newtonian cultural mechanics. Every move must be considered in relations to its context and likely circles of effectiveness within the netherworld (usually to institutional and official eyes) of cultural reproduction and the main world of social class relationships." (Willis P. E., 1977, s. 178)

Willis claims that even an education initiative works for providing advance for children, "we must not, simply be naïve about what is meant by advance." He argues that the questions should be asked "in what form, for which, in which direction, and through what circles of unintentional, with what reproductive consequences for the social system in general, particular advances are made" (Willis P. E., 1977, p. 178).

Willis work is important that he shows us the reactions of children toward an education initiative. However, when Willis argues for a contradiction in education or a cultural production, he claims that:

“Interventions and reforms will pass through all the circles of unintention, contradiction and cultural reproduction in relation to structural factors which have been identified in this book. “ (Willis, P. E., 1977, p. 186).

In this vein, Halkevleri Summer School as a non-formal education intervention aims to open a new space for children. However, this new space can't be freed from social realities of children. It gains different dynamics in different neighborhoods, which come from contradictory socio-economic background. In other words, according to Willis, both cultural production and reproduction can exist in any pedagogic initiative. It isn't possible to regard any kind of education movement as a strict example of reproduction or resistance, however since each locality, lived experiences, group behavior has its own characteristic, making a generalization or categorization for them will be misleading. As he says:

“Social reproduction and contradiction must be shown not as abstract entities, but as embedded dynamically within the real lives of real people in a way that is not simple “ correspondence” or “ reflection” of unchanged, somehow “ deeper” structures. “ (Willis, 1977, p. 201-2)

The ethnographic study of Willis analyzes the education initiatives targets to work for working class kids by protecting them from the inequalities of industrial system. However, the collective action of “the lads” and their group identity open places of resistance within the school. Therefore, while the result is reproduction, the contradictions within school and the efficacy of “wills” of the lads become related with the structure. Moreover, when we look at the relations between women and men in the study, the school becomes a place for reproducing domination of men over the women. Therefore, as we can't only talk about reproduction in the school, an

analysis of resistance, which ignores the reproduction, can't analyze dynamics of that education practice. The complexity of lived experience, the complexity of relations shows to analyze in a pedagogic initiative both reproduction and resistance. In conclusion, theories of reproduction and theories of critical education provide the ground to analyze the neighborhood education project in Okmeydanı. How Halkevi Summer School works as a practice of resistance to both public education system and to domination penetrated children's life and how it affected and shaped by the social and political landscape of the neighborhood is the question that will be analyzed in the ethnographic research on Okmeydanı Halkevi Summer School.

## CHAPTER 3

### HALKEVLERI AND EDUCATION

Now I turn to analyze the institutional site of the research, Halkevleri, and its historical background, its approach to education in different times and today. Then, I will analyze the alternative education program of Summer School by analyzing the contents of courses. Understanding Halkevleri Summer School with related to its historical background and its political position in contemporary days provide a better grasp of the relations between education and politics in Turkey.

#### 3.1 Halkevleri in Turkish politics from past to present

Halkevleri (*People's Houses*) are democratic mass organizations campaign for right to education, housing, health and environment and right of women's and disables in Turkey. Republican People's Party (RPP) established Halkevleri in 1932 to control social and cultural life. However, Halkevleri converted from organization established and worked by a top-down process to organization worked by a bottom-up process. Even though this study doesn't investigate the history of Halkevleri, this transformation is interesting in-itself for understanding the relationship between education and politics in Turkey.

Halkevleri were established as "adult education centers to conduct cultural, sporting and educative activities" (Karaömerlioğlu, 1999, p. 68). Asım Karaömerlioğlu stated "the RPP established Halkevleri as propaganda institutions in order to spread the principles of Kemalism, which were barely supported by the average people" (Karaömerlioğlu, 1999, p.69). Halkevleri were established after closing of Türk Ocakları (Turkish Hearts), which was established in 1912 to collect

all actors of social life. According to Füsün Üstel, Halkevleri were established to gather all social and cultural activities under party-state rule (Üstel, 1997).

When Democrat Party (DP) came to power in 1950, Halkevleri were accused by being subsidiary organ of the RPP. In the first year of the DP government, 1950, state budget for Halkevleri were cut and in 1951 Halkevleri were closed. Literature on Halkevleri in Turkey focused on the first period of Halkevleri, which was lasted from 1932 to 1951 (Karpas, 1963); (Öztürkmen, 1994); (Karaömerlioğlu, 1999); (Şimşek, 2005); (Lamprou, 2015). There is a lacuna in the literature concerning the subsequent periods of Halkevleri. Therefore, by analyzing Halkevleri Summer Schools, this study also sheds light on the political position of Halkevleri at the present time.

Second period of the Halkevleri started in 1963. The institution didn't get any state subsidy in its second period was growing as 'an independent democratic mass organization'. Bureaus of Halkevleri were moved from city centers to neighborhoods. Nevertheless, Halkevleri, which settled in the neighborhoods, became sites where all leftist groups gathered and organized. However, with 1980 military coup d'état, which oppressed all oppositional groups in Turkey and closed all trade unions and organizations, Halkevleri were closed for the second time. The executives of organization were arrested and the property of it was expropriated.<sup>21</sup>

In 1987, Halkevleri were reopened. Halkevleri waged anti-neoliberalism campaigns in 1990s. It campaigned for rights, as slogan of the institution at that time was "People Have Rights" (*Halkın Hakları Var*). Related with anti-neoliberal campaigns and the struggle for rights, Halkevleri were also called by activists and supporters as Opposition Houses of People (*Halkın Muhalefet Evleri*).<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> <http://www.halkevleri.org.tr/hakkimizda>

<sup>22</sup> <http://www.halkevleri.org.tr>

Extent of struggle for rights, which started in 1990s by campaigning for free education and free health, has expanded. Nowadays, neoliberal campaign for rights of people isn't only about education and health. Halkevleri also struggles for rights of housing, women rights, rights of disable, labor and environment.

In its third period, there were numerous protests that Halkevleri both organized and joined against policies of government.<sup>23</sup> Halkevleri, which closed by different governments two times since its foundation, has encountered several closure cases toward different bureaus of it after 1986. These closure cases are important to grasp how Halkevleri is perceived by government, how their activities are understood by government.

The organization was placed in the list of illegal organizations by directorate of Bolu, a city in the west of Turkey, at a seminar organized to conscious high school students about terror in 2002. Then a news published in *Zaman*, a pro-government newspaper, declared that “Halkevleri which were established by Atatürk are terrorist organizations” in 2004. After this news, ministry of interior affairs which claimed that Halkevleri established by Mustafa Kemal withdraw from their old functions and disregarded their own statue, conducted an inspection over Halkevleri.<sup>24</sup> As the implementations of government against Halkevleri showed that the activities of the organization in its third period were accused of not acting through the rules were taken at its foundation in 1932 by government.

One of the closure cases opened at Mersin 5. Criminal court of general sessions brought against Mersin Halkevi after the ‘egg protest’ made in Mersin, a city in the south of Turkey, in 2006. Nine university students threw egg to Prime Minister of then, Erdoğan, to declare “*Free Education, Free Health*” campaign of

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<sup>23</sup> <http://www.halkevleri.org.tr>

<sup>24</sup> Bianet, 7 October 2002.

Halkevleri in Mersin. The protestors were imprisoned.<sup>25</sup> Related to the egg protests, Mersin Provincial Directorate of Associations (*Mersin Valiliği İl Dernekler Müdürlüğü*) applied with a petition to prosecution against Halkevleri and opened a closure case against Mersin Halkevi in May 10, 2006. In the petition, 21 applications for events made by Halkevleri to Mersin Directorate and criminal complaints toward members of Halkevleri, which nonsuited, were existed. In the petition, the clause that “it doesn’t do politics”<sup>26</sup>, which removed from the statue in April 2016, was used to blame institution for flouting it.<sup>27</sup>

Moreover, after the ‘egg protest’ in Mersin, Ankara Tax Office demanded to investigate documents of Halkevleri for 2004 and 2005. The investigation was completed in 2007 and a report was sent to Ministry of Interior to remove Halkevleri from the list of organizations of public good. The statue of organization for public good was given to Halkevleri in 1961 with council of ministers’ decisions.

<sup>28</sup>Afterwards, Halkevleri were removed from the list of organizations of public good in 2011.<sup>29</sup> RPP’s Kocaeli deputy offered a parliamentary question that asks the results of inspections, which made to organizations of public good for each two years and also he asked why Halkevleri were seen as ‘harmful’ to public:

“...Do Halkevleri, which don’t collect money and teach women to read and write and also teach music, theatre, painting and cinema who wants, harm public good?”<sup>30</sup>

Another closure case was opened in May 2011, after demonstrations against Prime Minister Erdoğan in Hopa, town in the city of Artvin. During Erdoğan’s public

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<sup>25</sup> Bianet, 17 October 2006.

<sup>26</sup> This statue hasn’t been included in charter of Halkevleri since 17 April 2006.

<sup>27</sup> İsmail Saymaz, 16 April 2008, *Radikal*.

<sup>28</sup> Milliyet, 11 October 2008.

<sup>29</sup> Halkevi opened revocatory action and state council canceled the decision of removing Halkevleri from the list of organizations for public good in March 2016 (*CNN Turk*, 3 March 2016)

<sup>30</sup> Original Quotation: “...para toplamayan kadınlarımıza okuma-yazma kursları, dileyenlere müzik, tiyatro, resim, sinema eğitimleri gibi kurslar veren Halkevi “kamuya zararlı” mıdır?” (Hülya Karabağlı, 25 July 2011, *T24*). His question answered by assembly as: Investigations were made other organizations and 17 organizations were removed from the list of organizations for public good

meeting, anti-Hes protests made and a non-violent demonstrator, Metin Lokumcu who was teacher in a public school by profession, was killed by tear gas that police used.<sup>31</sup> In the wake of Metin Lokumcu's death, protests grew in Hopa and Halkevleri' members were arrested in that protests. Halkevleri were defined as "legal wing of *Türkiye Halk Kurtuluş Partisi Cephesi*" in the Hopa case. Halkevleri were declared as a part of an armed terrorist organization by specially authorized public prosecutor of Ankara.<sup>32</sup>

Besides closure acts and oppression to members of Halkevleri, government also targeted Halkevleri Summer Schools. The police menaced families of two children who participated Kocaeli Halkevi Summer School in July 2012. The police clearly was sending a message to families that they should not be sending their children to Summer School and that in the case of a police operation to Halkevi they could also be arrested if their children was participating to Summer School.<sup>33</sup>

In sum, Halkevleri that established in 1932 as an organ of Republican government converted from an organization established by the elites of the country to the organization of ground organization.

### 3.2 Halkevleri, education and Halkevleri Summer School

Halkevleri celebrated its 84. Anniversary. As mentioned above, in 84 years, the organization underwent several institutional changes. Members of Halkevleri made the emphasis on loyalty to previous periods about being an education organization and also it is emphasized in their advertisement documents. It was highlighted that "Halkevleri were established as an education organization and continued to be an

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<sup>31</sup> İsmail Saymaz, 31 May 2011, *Radikal*.

<sup>32</sup> Ayça Söylemez, 25 August 2011, *Bianet*.

<sup>33</sup> Ekin Karaca, 24 July 2012, *Bianet*.

education organization education.”<sup>34</sup> However, the education struggle of Halkevleri in contemporary days showed that the institutional changes organization underwent since its foundation redounded up the activities of the organization in the field of education.

In that regard, the changes in education activities, which go parallel with the institutional change, recalled the emphasis of Paulo Freire on the relationship between education and politics. Freire stated that “education is politics” and he added, “education is never politically neutral” (Freire, 1970). In all periods of Halkevleri, education activities were shaped according to the political agenda, political perspective and the organizational form of the Halkevleri. The organization, which established to grow citizens according to “formal ideology” converted an organization, aimed to provide children with an education against formal ideology.

The purposes of the Halkevleri in 1932 as education associations were to educate citizens for the nation so to grow citizens by regarding formal ideology of the state. Halkevleri emphasizes how the institution opened as an education center and it still works as an education center. Therefore, they emphasized the continuity in the field of education. However, in that point, it is important to understand how institutional changes reflected to the activities in the field of education. In this section, I will analyze what Halkevleri does in the field of education, what is the place of Summer Schools in this activities. When understanding these, I will both use the resources of Halkevleri and interviews that I made with volunteer instructors and activists.

Anti-neoliberal campaign of Halkevleri in 1990s started with the struggle for free education on free public education. Struggle for right to education demands

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<sup>34</sup> Original Quotation: “Halkevleri 84. Yıl önce bir eğitim kurumu olarak kuruldu ve öyle olmaya devam ediyor.”

“free, scientific, equal in mother tongue education”. During the recent years, many demonstrations organized to claim “equal, free, scientific education in mother tongue” by Halkevleri. However, it wasn’t only demonstrations that Halkevleri organized to conduct right to education struggle. For example, after declaration of 4+4+4 education system in 2011, Halkevleri formed “assembly for right to education” that started to work in 2012 to declare violations of right to education in public education system. Halkevleri declares reports that analyze inequalities in public education.

Halkevleri Summer Schools is a part of education struggle of Halkevleri. Summer Schools are organized as a practice of free education by providing courses such as evolution, choir, urban and child, gender, rights of children, entertainment math, entertainment English, theatre, cinema, cheese, folk dances, pantomime and entertaining science to improve creativity, critical thinking and scientific learning in mostly working-class neighborhoods. Volunteer instructor, Kaan, (university student and also a member of Halkevleri, 24 ages) stated that:

“We campaign for free education as a part of campaigns for rights of people. We want to show that it isn’t difficult to practice free education, we want to conscious people about free education and also politicize free education.”<sup>35</sup>

Summer School project of Halkevi was organized to show that free education is applicable. However, with Summer Schools struggle for public education is organized out of the public education. In the short documentary of “Halkevleri Summer School 2013”, a volunteer instructor claimed that:

“We don’t aim to replace with state education or relieve to education system. What we do for a mount in a year is a small step. Education should be equal for all children. Halkevleri struggle for it.”<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Original quotation: “Ücretsiz eğitim mücadelemiz halkın hakları mücadelemizin bir parçası olarak devam ediyor. Parasız eğitimin zor olmadığını göstermek istiyoruz ve insanları ücretsiz eğitim için bilinçlendirmek ve ücretsiz eğitim talebini politikleştirmek istiyoruz.”

<sup>36</sup> Original Quotation: Bizim yaptığımız şey varolan eğitim sisteminin yaralarını sarmak ya da o kötü biz bunu yapıyoruz diye bir şey yok. Bir ayda bir çocuğun hayatında müthiş değişimler yaratılamaz

In the literature of critical education, it is discussed that struggle for education should be organized both in the schools and out of schools. It is stated that the community and the political movements should be engaged with struggle for education (Freire, 1970; Hill, 2006; Giroux, 1983). They don't practice alternative education program unrelated to their free education struggle, moreover this practice is organized to strengthen their demand for free education.

Struggle for right to education doesn't occur without their social struggle. It is a part of the social struggle of Halkevleri. In this vein, struggling against hegemony and the existence of power in everyday life of children out of public schools is another important objective of Halkevleri. In other words, struggle for education isn't free from struggle for rights of people and struggle against injustices and inequalities within society. Therefore, it isn't only a teaching practice, which is free from political objectives. Inequalities and injustices encountered in everyday life of children is also an important aspect of Summer Schools. They aren't only against the oppressive, discriminations and capitalist dimension of public education, but the violence of power; the hegemony of state in everyday life of children is what Summer Schools are against. As the *raison d'être* of the summer schools explained:

“We have responsibilities to protect children to hit by gas canister in the street in where they play games, to prevent them losing their relatives or their body in the middle of the war, to protect them to forget their childhood in the prison they arrested, to protect them to die in their factory, mine they work, to protect girls from early-marriage, to prevent extortion of their basic rights as education, health and housing. Summer Schools of Halkevleri are small steps to carry out these responsibilities.”<sup>37</sup>

The everyday life of the children beyond formal schooling is among the things that the Halkevleri aimed to interfere by organizing Summer Schools. While the Summer

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bunu farkındayız. Bu çocukları böyle kurtaracağız demiyoruz. Biz diyoruz ki eğitim eşit, parasız, bilimsel ve nitelikli verilmelidir. Her çocuk nerde yaşarsa yaşasın, hangi ailede yaşarsa yaşasın eşit faydalanmalıdır.”

<sup>37</sup> See Appendix C for original quotation in Turkish.

Schools are criticizing the Turkish education system, the existence of violence and domination in everyday life of children beyond formal schooling is emphasized.

Volunteer instructor, Kaan, stated that:

“Children are under a total domination, it isn’t only public schools. At their home, at the streets, children have faced the state and its authoritarian and capitalist dimension.”<sup>38</sup>

He emphasized that it isn’t only schools that children affected by the power. This emphasis on the existence of hegemony out of schooling in children life is reflected what Robin Small (2005) stated, in his book *Education and Marx*, about that how life of children out of schooling is an important part of their individuality:

“It must be realized that only a part of the formation of the individual goes on in the school, and that this may not even be the most important part. “ (Small, 2005, p. 36).

Inequalities to access activities for children during summer time is also an important reason that why children needs a free education out of schooling. Life of children beyond formal schooling constitutes an important part of Summer Schools. For example, Halkevleri criticized the existence of Quran courses as only option for children in poor neighborhoods. The lack of opportunities of children is what Halkevleri concern. It is important in terms of education theories that Summer Schools both concern public education and the life of children out of the schools, which can’t be also separated from education system.

In the explanation of Halkevleri, state violence in the everyday life of children, child labor, the marriage of girls in their early ages and also the unprotected environment of the schools were emphasized. Therefore, it is an education project that concerns inequalities and injustices in everyday life of children. It is aimed to

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<sup>38</sup> Original quotation: “Çocuklar bütüncül bir baskı altında bu sadece okullarda değil. Evde, sokakta devletin otoriter yönü ve kapitalist boyutuyla karşılaşıyorlar.”

create new spaces for children. Halkevleri' Summer School purposed to create a space for children both to practice free education and to move away children from the violence, inequalities they encountered in everyday life. Beyond creating a space for free education, instructor stated that they aimed to create a new space that "children can breath"<sup>39</sup>. Şükrü Aslan (2004) in his analysis of squatter movement in 1 Mayıs neighborhood referred "use value of space" (Lefevbre, 1992) against change value of space can be bases for Marxist political groups. He claimed that social movements remove urban inequalities in the manner of "not only using urban space but also producing it" (Aslan, 2004, p. 53). Organizing summer schools to provide a new space for children shows the importance of producing new spaces.

### 3.3 Making Halkevleri Summer Schools a practice of critical education

Halkevleri Summer Schools are analyzed as critical education practices in this study. In this section, I will analyze how did program start and how did it become an alternative education practice, what are the courses they have in their curriculum and what is their content and how instructors are chosen and how are they preparing for the Summer School.

The very first aim of Halkevleri Summer School was to provide free courses for children in poor neighborhoods. They didn't have an alternative content and a stable content. Volunteer instructors who were a part of Summer Schools in 2008 talked about the process how they converted an alternative education practice. When it started in 2008, there wasn't a program that could be called as "alternative education", Aslan stated:

"Summer School project of Halkevleri started in 2008. When it started in 2008, it was just in 4-5 neighborhoods and it didn't have its own curriculum.

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<sup>39</sup> "Çocuklara nefes alabilecekleri bir alan açmak"

Discussions on critical education/another education/alternative education weren't popular among activists of Summer School Program.”<sup>40</sup>

It was stated that there wasn't a particular curriculum for Summer Schools, which they have now and makes Summer School as a practice of critical education project. Beginning both as a campaign for free education and providing a new space for children, Summer School of Halkevleri converted an alternative education movement (Elifoğlu, 2014). Therefore, the transformation to an alternative education occurred as a need of the Summer Schools. The instructors and executives of Summer Schools started to discuss that at some point they did repeat what the public education makes in terms of their behaviors towards children or sometimes in terms of the content of the courses. Aslan stated that:

“We were studying with children however we realized that we weren't doing something different from public schools. We weren't teaching children something that provides them to question their lives and environment.”<sup>41</sup>

They aimed to provide free courses children at their ages of primary and secondary class students. After they realized that while they aimed to give free education and to open a new space for children, they repeated in some manner the rote-learning based education system and not questioning education of public school, which they were criticizing. Then they took a step to overcome contradiction. Therefore, the practice of alternative education occurred as a need of the practice. A process of discussion towards alternative education started in Halkevleri. Aslan, 27, who was a part of summer schools since its foundation as a volunteer instructor and as an activist of Halkevleri stated:

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<sup>40</sup> Original quotation: “Yaz okulu projesi 2008’de başladı. Başladığımızda sadece 4-5 mahallede vardık ve kendi müfredatımız yoktu. Öyle bir eleştirel eğitim, alternatif eğitim tartışması yapmıyorduk.”

<sup>41</sup> Original quotation: “Çocuklarla çalışırken fark ettik ki, okuldakinden farklı bir şey yapmıyoruz. Çocuklara etraflarını sorgulatacak bir şeyler öğretmiyorduk.”

“In time of progress, there have been increasing in discussions, meetings and activities in Halkevleri about alternative education and how to promote summer school as a practice of another education.”<sup>42</sup>

Gradual transformation of Summer School program reminds what Fernandes said about the importance of practicing alternative education in his article analysis reproduction theories and critical theories of education:

“Even if part of these changes may not be put into practice at the present moment, due to the opposition and the power of the dominant social groups, we need to be aware that an alternative education can only be made possible tomorrow if it is thought and elaborated today.” (1988, 170).

The very first attempt to make the projects as a critical education project, a program organized for educators. It was called as “Education of Educator”. This is what Marx stated in Thesis on Feuerbach that “educator must himself be educated” (Marx and Engels 1974). And also, educating educator is an important step of the Pedagogy of the Oppressed (Freire, 1970) in order to prevent authoritarian dimension of banking education system and to create teacher-learner and learner- teacher dialogue. In the “education of educator” program of Summer Schools of Halkevleri, both variety of courses and content of courses were discussed.

“Now, we have our “education of educator” program before our summer school programs. We are studying with professors and we are using studies of universities to form our own curriculum and to enhance our alternative education activities.”<sup>43</sup>

In the “education of educator” program, instructors read Paulo Freire’s book Pedagogy of the Oppressed. They discussed about banking education system and

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<sup>42</sup> Original quotation: “Zamanla, alternatif eğitim hakkında tartışmalara, toplantılara başladık, bu pratiği nasıl bir alternatif eğitime pratiğine dönüştürebileceğimiz tartıştık.”

<sup>43</sup> Original quotation: “Şimdi yaz okulları başlamadan önce eğitimcinin eğitimi programımız var. Bu alternatif eğitim pratiğini geliştirmek için Üniversite hocaları ile çalışıyoruz , üniversitelerin kaynaklarından faydalıyoruz.”

problem solving education system in Freire's method. Aslan stated, " We aim to practice an education program out of "banking education system of Paulo Freire".<sup>44</sup> The importance of dialogue in Freire's method was emphasized also.

It is important to explain who were volunteer instructors and who taught in Summer Schools. Halkevleri calls for university students to make solidarity with poor children. Most of the instructors were university students but gradually with the increasing number of volunteers, public schools teacher, architects, producers, became volunteer instructors. They join the Summer Schools in which neighborhood is appropriate for them and which courses they could give. There isn't central mechanism for instructors. Each year, announcements are made in the universities, on social media and in the neighborhoods. There is an application form in the website of Halkevi. Announcements of the Summer School are also made on social media. In the Okmeydanı, the announcement of the Summer School is on the walls of the streets of the neighborhood. Volunteers applied for being instructors, they signified the course they can teach and the neighborhoods they can go.

The transformation of the program has continued with the creating a new curriculum, preparing their own content and enhancing the courses. With increasing number of volunteers, the variety of courses has increased. Courses added to list of Summer Schools to provide creative and question. Halkevleri Summer School has a wide range of lessons by which it is aimed to provide creative lessons. In the following part I will explain the content of some courses.

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<sup>44</sup>Original quotation: "Ezilenlerin pedagojisi kitabında da bahsedilen bankacı eğitim modelinin dışına çıkmak istiyoruz."

### 3.4 Alternative education content of Halkevleri Summer Schools

The courses given in the Summer School are theatre, drama, choir, entertaining science, entertaining math, entertaining English, zoolatry, recycling, pantomime, origami workshop, short-films workshop, urban and child workshop, gender workshop, evolution, rights of children, peace workshop and graphite workshop.

With all the courses, it is aimed to provide creative education. Volunteer instructors, professionals prepare the content of the courses and also sources of universities are

used. The variety of courses is related to interests of volunteer instructors. For

example, with apply of a movie-director, short-films workshop was added to list of courses. Certain group gave some of the courses and they were given in all Summer Schools. For example, Urban and Child workshop or entertaining science was one of them. The list of the courses is more than the list that is available on the website.

They developed new courses and they mostly are related to the political discussion of the society. For example, on the website there isn't information about urban and child workshop. This also shows that they develop their curriculum. I argue that the strategy of the association to prepare the contents of some courses on the website and making it easily reachable for who wants to be trainer in the summer school can be seen as a step to prevent the inequality among neighborhoods.

One of the courses since the beginning of the Summer Schools is the Children's Choir. The importance of Children's Choir in development of children is emphasized as follows on the website of Halkevleri:

“ Children who take place in choir develop in terms of their relations with music. Moreover, since they involved in a group, choir became an experiment of socialization for them.”<sup>45</sup>

Children’s Choir of Halkevleri criticized children’s choir in general in Turkey as children are seen as acceptor not questioner in general. The culture transferred by Children’s Choir of Halkevleri is “fraternity, friendship, peace and egalitarianism”. At the first years of Summer Schools, there wasn’t a list of songs of Summer Schools. However, by evolving an alternative program, they prepared their own music album- Songs of smart-aleck child” (*Bilmiş Çocuğun Şarkıları*). Some of the songs in that album are that: “Spin a yarn to me” (*Bana bir masal okuyun*), “Children wants peace” (*Çocuklar barış görmek isterler*), “Laborer bees” (*Emekçi arılar*), “ Wish to see everywhere as park” (*Her yer park olsa*) “Mr. Scientist Bomb Maker” (*Bomba Yapan Bay Bilgin*)<sup>46</sup>, “Draw fishermen” (*Balıkçıları Çiz*)<sup>47</sup>. With the songs it is targeted to both entertain children and give them and society a message of solidarity and peace.

The album was released 23 April of 2014, children’s day, and it was stated “our album is dedicated to children who can’t celebrate 23 of April because of war, exploitation and tyranny and it is gift for all children of world”. Moreover, at 23 of Aprils, Halkevleri organize alternative ceremonies in neighborhoods. It is signified that “contrary to formal ceremonies that named as children’s day in public schools, a

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<sup>45</sup> <http://www.halkevleri.org.tr/yaz-okullari/yaz-okulu-ders-ve-atolye-icerikleri>

<sup>46</sup> The lyrics of the song in Turkish: Bomba yapan Bay Bilgin/Hiç oyuncak yaptın mı?/Kaç çocuk aç yatıyor/Söyle haberin var mı?/Yaşarsak yaşar dünya/ Ölürssek güneş solar/ Bomba dolu dünyada/ Yaşayamaz çocuklar.

<sup>47</sup>“Yaz okulu ders ve içerik atölyeleri,” *Halkevleri*, <http://www.halkevleri.org.tr/yaz-okullari/yaz-okulu-ders-ve-atolye-icerikleri/cocuk-korosu> (accessed on 17 February, 2015).

festival has been organized in neighborhoods in which children can song, dance and play games freely”.<sup>48</sup>

Government blamed the song “*Balıkçıları Çiz*” as ideological song. In Antakya, a city in south of Turkey, police fined Halkevleri Summer School’s students when they were visiting archeology museum in 2013. Police warned to take criminal action being against 2911 numbered act because of wearing children t-shirts that written “We are looters, Hatay Halkevi Summer School”<sup>49</sup>, walking to Archeology museum, preventing traffic, and singing an ideological song, *Balıkçıları Çiz*.<sup>50</sup> Therefore, police and state forces not only interfere demonstrations organized by Halkevleri but activities of Summer School are also seen as a threat by state forces.

The aim of the Halkevleri Summer School to create critical awareness in children isn’t only limited to choir courses. All courses aim to provide children critical thinking and questioning. Volunteer instructor for pantomime in 2014 in İkitelli, she stated that: “Children’s theaters treat children as they don’t understand anything.”

One of the plays that is prepared for Pantomime lessons were about “kid brides” to that aims to give message that “kid brides” is an abuse of children. In that point, it is important to state that in all of the art lessons such as short-movie class, theater and pantomime, it is aimed to provide children to question their environment and all of them had political messages. One of the short movie was made by children was Turkish author Aziz Nesin’s “Monument Erected Fly” (*Anıtı Dikilen Sinek*).<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>Sendika.org, 22 April 2014.

<sup>49</sup> “Çapulcuyuz biz, Hatay Halkevi Yaz Okulu”. Prime Minister Erdoğan called Gezi protestors as looters.

<sup>50</sup> Sol, 4 August 2013.

<sup>51</sup> It is the story of endless effort of a young housefly to get rid of darkness and to reach light. The youngest one of houseflies, which lived in a sunless home always looking for the ways to go out by

Such as all theaters games and all songs, it was aimed to provide creative learning to children.

Summer Schools criticize the public education system for not providing children with the tools for questioning their environment. The Evolution classes and Entertaining Science classes are results of their demand for scientific education. Evolution classes had been a contested issue in Turkish public education history. Recently, evolution isn't in the curriculum of Turkish education system but it is only "subject" of science courses. With Evolution classes in Summer Schools of Halkevleri, it is aimed to explain children to dialectical dimensions of evolution. It is signified that:

"Evolution that banned and censored in public schools meet with children in Halkevi Summer Schools. It is aimed to provide children grasp dialectical dimension of science and evolution instead of giving them mass of biological information. Evolution lessons that will be made in Halkevi Summer School aims to meet children with scientific and revolutionary information against reactionist ideology encircled children in public schools and mainstream media." <sup>52</sup>

BBC documentaries are used as sources for evolution courses. Another course that related with the evolution courses is "Fun Science" (*Eğlenceli Bilim*). In this course, scientific experiments are made to which children can join.

Gender inequality in society and in public education system is another important aspect that criticized. One of the courses, which aren't in the list of public education or which is the most criticized dimension of public education was gender. It was aimed that:

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clashing the window. It wasn't discouraged by what other elder houseflies said. It believed in that if it gets over more than light, it can pass the window. However, it couldn't succeed it and at the end it clashed the window and it dies. Other houseflies gathered around it and sermonized about its heroism. (Nesin, 1996)

<sup>52</sup> <http://www.halkevleri.org.tr/yaz-okullari/yaz-okulu-ders-ve-atolye-icerikleri>

“Contrary to educating children gendered roles, with the courses that aims to inform children about equality, children learns that they are different but all of them have their same rights and priorities by discussing. “

The book that used in Gender workshops that “ *Pusulacık: Çocuklar İçin İnsan Hakları Eğitimi Kılavuzu*” was prepared by Bilgi University. In gender classes, instructors asked questions that can increase discussions about the role of women and men in daily life. In the four weeks program, at the first week, a famous story or tale will be told by changing role of sexes. There is an example of the story of *Külkedisi*. The title of the second week is ‘men doesn’t cry’. The third week is about ‘injured words.’ The objective is to discuss how they affect people. The fourth section is “what I do and what I like”. Volunteer instructors stated that it was asked to students “What do you want to change in your daily life?” Girls gave more realistic answers that I don’t want to clean home, or I don’t but guys were more adventures I want to fly I want to be superman. And one of the instructors stated that unequal gender relations in society are easily seen among students and we always try to lead them to question about this problem.

The history of science and inventions (*Bilim Tarihi ve İcatlar*) is another course in the list of Halkevleri Summer Schools. Title of the first week of this course “A Scientist: Marie Curie”. It was stated that the objective of that course was to teach children that there isn’t sex of science. Being a scientist isn’t related with sexes. In the course plan, it is stated that children should be given examples from their own environment and also it should be provided a ground for them to speak and to ask questions. And than the name of ‘Marie Curie’ will be written on the board and children will be asked to think about this name and to tell their ideas. A cartoon will be watched and in case it isn’t possible to watch cartoon instructor can tell the story with descriptions. Title of second week is “ Invention of Telephone: Alexander

Graham Bell”. In that course, it was aimed to show that science as other movements of thought isn’t fixed but it is changeable. As it was stated for the previous subject that it is the most important part of the course that providing children to speak and ask their questions. Title of the third course is that “the importance of cooperation and cooperative work”. The subject of the course was that teaching children the importance of collective working besides to teach them physics of flying. The subject of the fourth week is “creativity”, Leonardo da Vinci.<sup>53</sup>

Philosophy Train-*Felsefe Treni* - aims to increase students’ interest to intellectual history of humanity and to lead them to question their environment. It is aimed to make in practical ways such as improvisation. With this course, it is targeted to make children close to thinking history of humanity and open ways them to question the life and their environment. Methods promote for the courses of summer school emphasize interactive teaching. Children will learn philosophical history by improvisation. Class on Children Rights aims to provide students to learn their rights by drama games and enjoyable games against increasing child labor, child brides and child abuse.

Recycling course *Geri-dönüşüm Atölyesi*- aims to teach what children can do with wastes at the environment they live in. It was aimed to teach how to make art and music instruments with wastes such as nylon, pochette and plastic.<sup>54</sup> Didactic plan of the course was explained as that the main objective of the course is to show children what they can do with the wastes in their environment. The concept of the course is to show children that making musical instruments and art instruments can recycle these wastes. Another important objective of this course is to teach children economic problems and reasons that caused to existence of these wastes. What

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<sup>53</sup> <http://www.halkevleri.org.tr/sites/default/files/indir/02-07-2013-4hafta.pdf>

<sup>54</sup> <http://www.halkevleri.org.tr/yaz-okullari/yaz-okulu-ders-ve-atolye-icerikleri>

happens when they throw away? Where do they go and how do they disappear? Why does wastes harm our environment? The course plan contained 4 weeks. The subject of the first week was to give about what do wastes consists of? What happens to wastes? The information about economic transformation is given. The second week: to explore the living area, waste collection, cleaning the wastes and talking about the material, and start to work. Third week is for making the material. And fourth week is completing the material and make an exhibition for children and families.<sup>55</sup>

Most of the courses were given according to instructors. In other words, instructors signify what they will teach. However, for entertaining science, peace workshop and urban and child workshop, a group of instructors visited all Halkevleri' Summer Schools in Istanbul.

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<sup>55</sup> <http://www.halkevleri.org.tr/sites/default/files/indir/05-07-2015-geridonusumsanati.pdf>

## CHAPTER 4

### DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Okmeydanı, which is located at the heart of Istanbul, is a working-class neighborhood populated by Alevis and Kurds and also dominated by far-left organizations. The neighborhood was constructed at the end of 1950s with arriving of rural Alevi migrants who came to because of economic reasons. In 1960s and 1970s, the neighborhood continued to be a destination for migrants from Sivas, Tunceli, Tokat, Erzincan, Giresun. The processes of settlement of Alevi population and building of squatters coincided with the settlement of far-left organizations in the neighborhood. In fact, the consolidation of far-left in nascent squatter settlements populated by Alevis was the case of Turkey in 1960s (Kurt, 2010). In other squatter areas such as *1 Mayıs*, *Gazi*, *Sarıgazi* and *Armutlu*, far-left organizations consolidated and they took part in the building of squatters, distribution of lands and they struggled against the demolition policies of state. Şükrü Aslan who analyzed one of those settlements in his book *1 Mayıs* neighborhood, expressed squatter movements as urban social movements campaigned for services that weren't provided by state. He underscored far-left declared that campaigning for housing as a part of their class struggle (Aslan, 2004).

Even, this research isn't enough to make historical analysis of the neighborhood; the struggles in the neighborhood at times of construction indicated that the roots of ongoing political cleavages in Okmeydanı dated to struggles of 1960s. Therefore, ongoing political cleavages couldn't be analyzed regardless of the struggles at the construction process of the neighborhood. Sema Erder emphasized

the importance of historical context of the squatter areas. She claimed that the neighborhoods, which were constructed by struggles, were separated from the other sites of the city. In those places, tensions, struggles and mass actions became a part of everyday life (Erder, 1997, p. 54).

While Okmeydanı constructed as a squatter area in 1960s, it isn't a squatter area anymore. In 1990s, government allowed high-rise buildings construction and subsequent to that rule, in a short span of time high-rise buildings took the place of squatters in the neighborhood (Kurt, 2010). Even this transformation was allowed; housing has been a source of conflicts between state and dwellers since its foundation. Okmeydanı is targeted by gentrification policies of AKP government recently.

Just as the struggles and tensions go on in the neighborhood since its construction, it has continued to be destination for migrants. The neighborhood, whose story started with arrival of poor rural Alevi families in 1960s, is still a destination for various identities left their homeland because of political and economic reasons. For example families of children who joined Summer School of Halkevi has migrated in last 10 years, even sooner. Alevi migration in 1960s-1970s was followed by migration of Kurdish population from east and southeast cities of Turkey, Mardin, Siirt, Batman, Van and Diyarbakır, because both political and economic reasons. Recently, Okmeydanı is a destination for Syrian migrants who escaped from the war in their country. Moreover, there are migrants from Turkic Republics who came because of economic reasons.

#### 4.1 Increasing state violence in Okmeydanı since Gezi protests

Since its construction, Okmeydanı became an enclave for the far-left. There have been numerous protests, demonstrations, and political meetings in the neighborhood. One of the most protests with broad participation was NATO protest in 2004. The protests caused celebre and protestors, who came from different cities of Turkey, gathered in the neighborhood.<sup>56</sup> In all labor days, there were protests in the neighborhood and clashes between police and protestors.<sup>57</sup> Protests made for different issues such as urban transformation protests, women day protests or free education protests in the neighborhood.

As the numerous protests have happened in the neighborhood, there have been numerous clashes between police and protestors and police raids in the neighborhood. In other words, while the neighborhood is an enclave area for far-left, it is a dangerous neighborhood for state forces. Even state violence have existed in the neighborhood since 1960s, it escalated and penetrated everyday life in Okmeydanı after Gezi Resistance in 2013. Gezi Resistance started as an environment movement against building a shopping mall at the Taksim Square than converted to an anti-government movement all around Turkey in July 2013. It became a breaking point for Okmeydanı as it did other working class neighborhoods populated by Alevis and Kurds.

Gezi Resistance lasted fifteen days at Gezi Park at Taksim and it resounded in different neighborhoods of Istanbul. It wasn't only politically marginalized working-class Alevi neighborhoods that protests were made during Gezi Resistance. Protests were made in wealthiest neighborhoods, which never witnessed any organized political events such as Beşiktaş, Kadıköy. Moreover, by participation

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<sup>56</sup> Bianet, 28 June 2004.

<sup>57</sup> Bianet, 1 May 2007.

from different social groups, the class dimension of Gezi Uprisings was discussed. Tuğal underlined the participation of middle-classes and elites and active role of professionals. He claimed that it showed that Gezi revolt had more middle-class dimensions (Tuğal, 2013, p. 156). Contrary to class-based analysis of Gezi protest, Yüksel and Yörük made a quantitative analysis to analyze class-based assumptions of Gezi uprising. They claimed that it wasn't class explain participation to protest as all social classes were at the movement but being against AKP government was the main aspect of protests (Yörük and Yüksel, 2014).

State violence, which dispersed all around Turkey during Gezi uprising, escalated in the politically marginalized working-class Alevi neighborhoods such as *Okmeydanı, Gazi, 1 Mayıs, Tuzluçayır*. Since Gezi Resistance, four people died at the clashes in Okmeydanı. After police intervened to Gezi Park and deconstructed tents, which were formed during protests at Gezi Park, there were splitting conflicts among police and protestors in Okmeydanı in June 15-16.<sup>58</sup> In 16 June 2013, at the wee hours of morning, Berkin Elvan, who was 15 years old boy living in the neighborhood, was shoot by pepper gas of police.<sup>59</sup> He stayed in come for 289 days and he died in March 11, 2014. During the time Berkin was staying in come, there were several clashes between police and protestors in Okmeydanı. In March 12, 2014, hundreds of people came to the neighborhood to join Berkin's funeral. The funeral ceremony transformed a demonstration that people walked from Okmeydanı to Taksim. Then, police attacked marching after funeral at Taksim, then clashes spread to Okmeydanı.<sup>60</sup>

The clashes after Berkin's funeral were different from previous clashes in the neighborhood. Addition to clashes between police and protestors in the

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<sup>58</sup> Gökhan Karakaş, et. al 16 June 2013, *Milliyet*.

<sup>59</sup> Zülal Atagün, 6 June 2013, *Hürriyet*.

<sup>60</sup> *BBC*, 12 March 2014.

neighborhood, clashes erupted between young groups of two contradictory sites of Okmeydanı. While, this study focused on the part of Okmeydanı that far-left organizations dominated and populated by Alevis and Kurds, there is another part of Okmeydanı inhabited by more Turkish nationalist and conservative population, which is called *Dörtyol*. After Berkin's funeral, severe firefights happened among young groups of two contradictory regions in the neighborhood. Young protestors were clashing at the streets with their own guns at the both sites of Okmeydanı. And at the day after Berkin's funeral, Burakcan Karamanoğlu who 19 years boy living in *Dörtyol*, was killed during the clashes among opposing young groups.<sup>61</sup>

Death of Burakcan tensed the relations between two regions of Okmeydanı. In fact, there was an invisible border between these two contradictory parts. For example, when a demonstration organized by far-left groups, it started from the part of far-left dominated and people walked until the street where *Dörtyol* started. However, there wasn't any violent event among the people of these two regions. As well before death of Burakcan, provisions were being made to organize a big demonstration against gentrification policies of government that targeted two parts of Okmeydanı. However, after Burakcan was killed, the tension between these two regions escalated and planned demonstration was cancelled.<sup>62</sup> The increasing violence between two neighborhoods blocked the ways of solidarity against gentrification policies of government. Deniz Yonucu claimed that violence in politically marginalized working class neighborhoods targeted to break networks of solidarity among people who live there and become together against state (Yonucu, 2014).

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<sup>61</sup> Radikal, 13 March 2014.

<sup>62</sup> İsmail Saymaz, 24 March 2014, *Radikal*.

In the following days, battle royals between protestors and police continued in the neighborhood. The neighborhood started to live an ordinary “state of exception”. Yonucu (2014) used conceptualization of Walter Benjamin as spaces of “state of emergency” since the oppressive polices of state became evident. Benjamin defined state of emergency not as an exception but as a rule (Benjamin, 1968). With the battle royals and the clashes erupted everyday in Okmeydanı, it is possible to define state of emergency as a rule in the neighborhood.<sup>63</sup> In May 22, 2014, a small group of high school students made a demonstration for Berkin Elvan and Soma mine disaster that caused death of 301 miners in May 13, 2014. This protest converted into a clash between them and police. During that clash, Uğur Kurt, who was in the yard of worship, Cemevi, for funeral ceremony of his relative, was killed by police bullet.<sup>64</sup> Subsequent to the death of him, there were demonstrations and severe clashes during the week. During clashes among police and protestor after death of Uğur Kurt, Ayhan Yılmaz, who was standing at the street, was killed.<sup>65</sup>

After Gezi resistance, police violence in the neighborhood became a routine of the neighborhood. The neighborhood became a place where violence and fear dominated everyday life. Recently, it is possible to see police everyday in the streets even there isn’t any demonstration. Moreover, the existence of state forces is increasing on and on. When I started ethnographic research in Halkevi in July, 2014, a police car stayed at the entrance of the neighborhood, even that was enough to see state violence in the neighborhood. However, in August 2015, the number of police cars increased and they were patrolling around the streets, sometimes they made verbal warnings to children and young of the neighborhood. For example, when we were making courses in the building of Halkevi, police car was passing in front of

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<sup>63</sup> Deniz Yonucu, 1 June 2013, *Evrensel*

<sup>64</sup> Radikal, 22 May 2014.

<sup>65</sup> Bianet, 23 May 2014.

the building of Halkevi for several times. And recently, police is patrolling in the neighborhood by making dwellers *mehter* anthem from scorpion or they call sirens when there isn't any demonstration or any event. As Auyero stated that "sirens, loud orders, and the usual shoot-outs mark its (policemen) fast and furious presence" in his article on the effect of presence of state forces on daily life of poor neighborhoods (Auyore et al., 2013, p.13).

Death of four young men after Gezi protests and increasingly progressing existence of state forces in the neighborhood caused to live in a situation of "state of emergency". Rodgers claims in his study on state presence in poor neighborhoods as a different form of state governmentality that "... precipitated localized 'states of exception' through terrorizing raids that symbolically demonstrate the arbitrary power of the state" (Rodgers in Auyero, 2013, p. 13). Analyzing Halkevi Summer School in Okmeydanı will also show how the ways of making politics, the ways of solidarity among people and everyday life in the neighborhood has been affected by existence of state forces in the neighborhood.

#### 4.2 Traces of resistance and oppression on the walls and at the streets

The physical and visual appearance from the high street of the neighborhood to building of Halkevi mirrors the political cleavages and class and ethnicity dynamics of Okmeydanı. The neighborhood is located at heart of the city center and it is possible to reach easily by public transportation, buses and metro bus, under normal circumstances. However, buses, which pass through Okmeydanı, don't enter the neighborhood most of the time especially after 5 pm, because of the clashes and also because of the bus firing events. Furthermore, taxi drivers also don't want to enter

the neighborhood. When they hear the name of the neighborhood, they regret to go there. Once, when I took taxi to go to Okmeydanı, driver didn't want to go and said:

“Now, it is chaotic out there. Don't we get in trouble?”<sup>66</sup>

Therefore, even the neighborhood is at the heart of the city physically, the political cleavages in there push it out of the city.

Transportation is provided by metrobus, which is also far away from the neighborhood. There is a big park between metrobus station and high street of Okmeydanı. It is one of the three parks of the neighborhood where children and their families spend time, retired old men are sitting together and mostly women take walk at the very early times of the day. On the wall of the park, which is also a common wall of a high school, there is a big picture painted by children of Halkevi Summer School that is written “Living alone and free like a tree and brotherly love like a forest”<sup>67</sup> and “Freedom is toy”<sup>68</sup> These are slogans of Summer Schools of Halkevi.

However, it isn't only these slogans on the wall. The wall at the entrance of the neighborhood shows the extent of opposition in the neighborhood with slogans such as “free education”, “we don't recognize internal security law”, “boycott on March 11”. But then, while these phrases are the traces of resistance in the neighborhood, stains of dyes on those phrases are traces of oppression in the neighborhood. Young protestors write the slogans and the police or the municipal officers cope slogans by dying. Then protestors write new slogans.

After passing the park, the traces of the oppression on the wall are followed by the physical existence of the state forces in the neighborhood. High street of the Okmeydanı meets dwellers and visitors of the neighborhood with an anti-riot water

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<sup>66</sup> Original Quotation: “Şimdi karışıktır oralar, başımıza bir şey gelmesin.”

<sup>67</sup> “Yaşamak bir ağaç gibi tek ve hür ve bir orman gibi kardeşçesine”. This is from poet, Invitation (davet), by Nazım Hikmet.

<sup>68</sup> Özgürlük çocuk oyuncağı.

canon vehicle. The presence of anti-riot water canon vehicle became a routine of the neighborhood as a 10 years child, Mehmet, who lives in the neighborhood and joined Summer School program of Halkevi in 2015, put it to his picture of the neighborhood.

On the steep from the main street to Halkevi, there are adherent 5-6 storey buildings, whose walls are also full of slogans, names and pictures of people who killed by police, died in torture and commemorating phrases for them such as “Berkin Elvan is immortal”<sup>69</sup>. Besides the names and slogans, calls for demonstrations, campaigns, and names of far-left organizations and pro-Kurdish groups, which are settled in the neighborhood, are written on the walls. At the very first floor of same buildings, there are garment and carpenter workshops, coal dealer, iron-manger and several bakeries and groceries, which are the working places of many dwellers of the neighborhood. On the same steep, there is Cemevi, Alevis’ place of worship, whose yard Uğur Kurt was killed by police bullet.

Before arrive the Halkevi, another park with a photo of woman, whose name was given to park, welcomes visitors. Official name of the park is Fatma Girik<sup>70</sup>, however the majority of locals calls the park as Sibel Yalçın. Yalçın and other two men killed a police officer, Rüştü Erdem, who was in front of local center of True Path Party in Istanbul, in 10 July of 1995. Then Yalçın hid in a house in Okmeydanı. Police opened fire on the house and killed her.<sup>71</sup> Her fellows gave her name to the park in 2007. Whenever the mainstream media covers a news story related to the park, often both of the names have been used.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Berkin Elvan ölümsüzdür.

<sup>70</sup> Fatma Girik was mayor of Şişli in 1989-1994.

<sup>71</sup> Milliyet, 1995.

<sup>72</sup> These are some examples show how both of the names used for the Park at the mass media: Çeber’in suçluları cezalandırılсын. (2008, November 1). *Cumhuriyet*. (The Park called as “Fatma Girik.”). İstiklal caddesi savaş alanına döndü. (2012, October 31). *Milliyet*. (While the news isn’t about

Park has two playgrounds, a teahouse for young people and families, and an amphi-theatre. From the teahouse of the park, songs, which mostly are protest music, propagate to the neighborhood. The park is used by political associations to organize various political activities such as political party meetings and commemorative ceremonies for who died in political struggles. There are cultural activities of political groups such as film screening, concert and theatres at the amphitheater at the park. Some activities and courses of Summer School of Halkevi are made at that park.

The walls, slogans, police cars, protests, changing name of the park and song propagates from the park show both the dynamics of everyday life and political landscape of the neighborhood. In the following chapter, I analyze how violence, which penetrated everyday life and political landscape of the neighborhood, affected and shaped the practice of Summer School of Halkevi.

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the Park, in the news the name of the park is written as Sibel Yalçın”). Otobüse Molotof. (2013, August 06) *Cumhuriyet*.( The park called as Sibel Yalçın).

## CHAPTER 5

### THE PRACTICE OF SUMMER SCHOOL IN OKMEYDANI

In this chapter, I analyze how increasing state violence in everyday life shape the practice of Summer School in Okmeydanı. The organization process of Summer School in Okmeydanı by members of Halkevleri, the effect of fear on perception of Summer School by families, decreasing number of students and the profile of students who are coming to Summer School, the challenges for volunteer instructors to become volunteer in Summer School in Okmeydanı, differences in participation of parents the practice of alternative education program in Okmeydanı and reactions of children during the courses will be analyzed.

#### 5.1 State violence vs. politics

The first reaction of volunteer instructors in Okmeydanı was that “it is difficult to make Summer School in Okmeydanı”<sup>73</sup> and “it isn’t same with any other neighborhood that we make summer school”<sup>74</sup>. In that regard, the reasons of why it was difficult to organize Summer School in Okmeydanı while it was one of the neighborhoods that Summer School started in 2008 was an important question.

A volunteer instructor and an activist in Okmeydanı Halkevi stated “we made Summer Schools in neighborhoods where Halkevi could work”.<sup>75</sup> Summer Schools started to be organized in 2008 in a few working class neighborhoods to provide free courses to children who live in these neighborhoods. However, when I went to Halkevi Okmeydanı in July 2014, volunteer instructors stated that it was getting difficult to make Summer Schools in Okmeydanı. Therefore, whereas Okmeydanı

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<sup>73</sup>Original Quotation: “Okmeydanı’nda yaz okulunu yapmak zor oluyor.”

<sup>74</sup>Original Quotation: “Burada yapmak diğer mahallelerle aynı olmuyor.”

<sup>75</sup>Original Quotation: “Yaz okullarını halkevinin faaliyet yürütebileceği mahallelerde yaptık.”

was one of the neighborhoods that Summer Schools started, it became a neighborhood where Summer School couldn't be made. According to the instructors, very first reason of that difficulty was increasing state violence in the neighborhood and also changing political landscape of the neighborhood. The increasing violence in the neighborhood has different effects on relations of activists of Halkevi, families, children and volunteer instructors. However, the very first impact of the increasing violence in the neighborhood is on the organization of the Summer School. As state violence affected other ways of making politics, organizing social and cultural events in Okmeydanı, it negatively affected the organization of the Summer School. It prevented preparation of the program, access to instructors, and making announcements.

Activist of Okmeydanı Halkevleri who was responsible to organize Summer School in Okmeydanı claimed that making Summer School in Okmeydanı became a secondary position in the neighborhood in July 2014 when I went to Okmeydanı Halkevi for the first time. The state of emergency in the neighborhood caused infeasibility of Summer School. Volunteer instructor stated:

“We couldn't focus on summer school in the Okmeydanı, because after recent events, there are other things that we have to deal with in the neighborhood.”<sup>76</sup>

Organizing the Summer School in the neighborhood became difficult as a consequence of the continuous “state of emergency” in the neighborhood.

What makes Okmeydanı as an extreme case in terms of practicing Summer School is that contrary to the situation of Summer School in Okmeydanı, the efficacy of Summer Schools increased gradually since its foundation in Istanbul and all around Turkey. In fact, it was Gezi protests that lifted effectiveness of the Summer

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<sup>76</sup>Original Quotation: “Okmeydanı’nda Yaz Okuluna çok odaklanamadık. Son olaylardan sonra mahallede ilgilenmemiz gereken başka şeyler vardı.”

Schools in Turkey. A volunteer instructor remarked that 2000 volunteer instructor applications were made for Summer Schools that organized immediately after Gezi protests in July 2013. Halkevi made the announcement of the Summer School in August 2013 as follows:

“Resistance longed for a month is going to move neighborhoods”.<sup>77</sup>

In 2013, Summer Schools were made in 11 neighborhoods at the parks in Istanbul. However, as the results of Gezi resistance became distinct in Okmeydanı correlatively the results for Summer School differentiated. While Summer Schools started to be made in neighborhoods which experienced organizing politically at Gezi resistance for the first time, it rendered difficult in a politically organized working-class neighborhood, Okmeydanı.

Summer Schools of Halkevleri were organized to practice free education for children in working-class neighborhood and providing a new space for children who exposed violence in the streets. As a critical education project, it wasn't free from politics and it was a part of a right to education struggle. Therefore, as a way of making politics in the neighborhood and organizing solidarity by and for education in there, increasing violence in the neighborhood prevented to practice it. Besides that, it wasn't only practice of Summer School in the neighborhood affected by increasing violence in the neighborhood. Recently, after Gezi protests and so escalating state violence in the neighborhood, state forces oppressed all the protests in the neighborhood. Yonucu resembled the influence of state violence on the politics in Okmeydanı with Gaza. She stated that when intensive state violence

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<sup>77</sup> “Bir aydır süren direniş mahallelere taşındı.”

placed at the center of politics, it narrows the place of politics and moreover depoliticizes opposition.<sup>78</sup>

## 5.2 Fear vs. Summer School in the neighborhood

Another important point is that while the Summer School was held in Okmeydanı, participation of children to Summer School in Okmeydanı decreased. It is important that whether families send their children to Summer School or not and how does increasing state violence affect their attitudes to send or not their children. Are there any changes of attitudes of families toward the Summer School?

In the atmosphere of fear, families were afraid to send their children to the Halkevi Summer School. Once, when I was heading to Halkevi, I bumped into a woman that I knew before from neighborhood. She was working in a private company and had two daughters who were 6 and 8 years old. I told her I was going to Halkevi to teach English, at the first stake she heard I was going to Halkevi Summer School, she said:

“They (her daughters) went Halkevi Summer School three years ago, they enjoyed it.”<sup>79</sup> Do I send them again? They are bored all day at home. I couldn’t find any summer school. They are all too expensive. Even there are some, they are far away.”<sup>80</sup>

Then she suddenly changed her mind and stated:

“Notwithstanding, nothing is certain but the unforeseen in the neighborhood, suddenly an event occurs and police comes. Never mind, they continue to sit at home all day.”<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Deniz Yonucu, 8 June 2014, *Evrensel*.

<sup>79</sup> Related with number of children and their ages, Halkevleri’ Summer Schools could also have activity for children who were at the age of kindergarten.

<sup>80</sup> Original quotation: “Kızlar 3 yıl önce Halkevi yaz okuluna gitmişlerdi, sevmişlerdi de. Gene mi göndersem acaba? Bütün gün evde sıkılıyorlar. Yaz okulu bulamadım, bulduklarım da çok pahalı. Olanlarda uzaktalar.”

<sup>81</sup> Original quotation: “Gerçi ne olacağı da belli olmaz, olay çıkar, polis gelir. Boşver, napayım, evde otursunlar.”

While Summer School could fulfill her need of a place to send her daughters to spend their time, she hesitated to send them because of the violence in the neighborhood. Providing free courses during summer time is also an important aspect that Halkevleri Summer Schools aimed. However, while for parents it is a site to send their children, the fear in the neighborhood prevents to use this space.

More specifically, the fear in the neighborhood pervaded the ways of going out home and becoming together at the streets of the neighborhood. Fear examined sociologically at the urban scale in Argentina, Mexico, Venezuela and Columbia emphasized the isolating effect of fear that “made people stay at home, caused suspension among people, diminished night life and abandoned parks” (Villareal, 2015, p. 137).

The increasing violence affected daily life in the neighborhood. It was possible to stay in the middle of a clash between police and protestors as the death of Uğur Kurt and Ayhan Yılmaz who were killed when they were staying at the street. People couldn’t go to their houses freely. People went to parks with their children dreadingly. Therefore, as a consequence of state violence, atmosphere of fear penetrated everyday life in the neighborhood. An ethnographic study on violence in El Salvador and Brazil stated, “Basic decisions, such as how to get home through your own community, whether to go to the local shop, and whether to speak to neighbors are therefore colored by the threat of violence” (Hume and Wilding, 2015, p. 97).

Fear penetrated to neighborhood also caused to negative attitude of dwellers toward any organization made in the neighborhood. A volunteer instructor in Halkevi pointed out that “people are tired of conflicts in the neighborhood.”<sup>82</sup> He gave an

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<sup>82</sup> Original Quotation: “İnsanlar mahalledeki çatışmalardan bıktılar. “

example that when they were making announcements of the Summer School in the neighborhood, a middle-aged woman rebuked:

“Don’t do anything. Let the neighborhood stay calm.”<sup>83</sup>

The escalating violence in the neighborhood influenced negatively the attitudes of families toward Summer Schools of Halkevi and so decreased the participation of children. While, the aim of summer schools was to open space for children who faced exposed state violence visually, atmosphere of fear created by violence stonewall to function of that space.

The effect of fear was explained as double-edged that: “it both tears the social fabric and brings people together, both destroys public spaces and creates new forms of social life” (Villareal, 2005, p. 137). The very first aim of Summer Schools of Halkevleri was to create “new forms of social life” for children against the state violence and state oppression. However, escalating state violence in the neighborhood caused to “destroying public spaces” in the neighborhood and so destroyed the space that Halkevi aimed to open by organizing free summer schools (Villareal, 2015).

### 5.3 A new space for the poorest children in the neighborhood

While the increasing violence affected organizing Summer School, there were still children participating even their number was relatively small. However, volunteer instructors emphasized that both the number of children decreased and the profile of children changed. At my preliminary research in July 2014, when I talked with volunteer instructors, they stated that it was only Kurdish children participating Summer School in Okmeydanı by underscoring the increasing Kurdish population in

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<sup>83</sup> Original Quotation: “Bir şey yapmayın. Bırakın biraz mahalle sakin kalsın.”

the neighborhood. Addition to increasing Kurdish population in the neighborhood and so in Summer School, a volunteer instructor stated that:

“Alevi families are refraining because of the violence in the neighborhood and so they don’t send their children.”<sup>84</sup>

Instructors emphasized the tension between Alevi and Kurdish families in the neighborhood. Therefore, they claimed that the reason of only Kurdish children participating was that the increasing Kurdish population in the neighborhood, the refrainment of Alevi families because of the violence in the neighborhood and also tensions among Alevi and Kurdish families in there.

In fact what volunteer instructors stated about profile of children in July 2014 was supported by the situation of 2015 summer school. There were twelve children among 5-12 ages participated in Summer School. The number of children was very low when compared to previous years of Summer School as one of the instructor stated that there were 30-40 children were participating Summer School. In Urban and Child workshop, which aimed to learn everyday life of children in the city and their neighborhood, instructors asked questions that where were children born, whether their family migrated to Istanbul or not, where do children spent their time in the neighborhood, which school were they going to. Children were sitting around the table at the entrance of the Halkevi and they explained their stories one by one. One of the common things among their answer was their story of migration. There were 3 Syrian girls whose families of Syrian children migrated neighborhood last year when they escaped from the war in their country. Kurdish children migrated from Mardin, Siirt, and Batman in last 10 years.

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<sup>84</sup> Original quotation: “Alevi aileler mahallede artan şiddet yüzünden çocuklarını göndermek istemiyorlar.”

There was one more aspect that underscored about who participate to the Summer School. A volunteer instructor, Kaan, claimed that:

“Children who are participating Summer School in there are the poorest of the neighborhood.”<sup>85</sup>

Another instructor, Mine, stated that:

“These children are spending all their time at the street and at that park.”<sup>86</sup>

By emphasizing that children were spending their time at the street she emphasized their lack of access activities during summer time. It was again in the Urban and Child workshop in 2015 that the answers of children supported the argument of volunteer instructor. In the workshop, instructors asked children that what were they doing in their free times, where did they spend time in the neighborhood? Mehmet answered:

“ We are going to *Anadolu*-the biggest street of the Okmeydanı-, *BİM*-a supermarket in the neighborhood-, *KİM*- a supermarket in the neighborhood-, grass plot which was behind of our school.”<sup>87</sup>

Another one added:

“ We are going to Örnektepe – a close neighborhood to Okmeydanı-, and Esenyurt to visit our relatives.”<sup>88</sup>

The places children referred were all in Okmeydanı and they were name of the markets and other streets. Therefore, they spent all of their time within the neighborhood. They didn't have any space out of the neighborhood. The Summer School became a place for them to spend their time within the neighborhood.

Children who participated Summer School in Okmeydanı mostly enjoyed when they spent time with instructors. Since they didn't have any activity, or they didn't any

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<sup>85</sup> Original quotation: “Yaz Okuluna katılan çocuklar mahallenin en yoksul çocukları.”

<sup>86</sup> Original quotation: “Bu çocuklar bütün günlerini parkta, sokakta geçiriyorlar.”

<sup>87</sup> Original quotation: “Anadolu’ya gidiyoruz, BİM’e, KİM’e, okulun arkasındaki çimenliğe gidiyoruz.”

<sup>88</sup> Original quotation: “Örnektepe’ye gidiyoruz, Esenyurt’a akrabalarımızı ziyarete gittik.”

opportunity to go out the neighborhood, the courses became places where they enjoyed. Once when I was going to have a break, Ersin, 10 years, was shouting to me from the park:

“Why aren’t you coming? We are bored. Let’s go and start the course”.<sup>89</sup>

A conversation that made between two volunteer instructors at my first visit to Halkevi revealed that how the interest of children changed in Okmeydanı when a compared a wealthiest neighborhood. Before the classes started in Okmeydanı, I was sitting with instructors and they were talking about the courses. Instructor for music class- whose first time in Okmeydanı- asked:

“How am I going to learn the songs?”

And the other instructor:

“It was the most easiest one.”<sup>90</sup>

Then girl said:

“But in the courses that I gave in Kadıköy, children were bored.”

He said:

“Don’t worry. They were from Kadıköy. These are children of Okmeydanı, they will enjoy whatever you teach.”

The opportunities of children and its effect on participation in Summer School was discussed in the general meeting of the Summer Schools of Halkevi in August 10, 2015 at the head-office of Halkevleri. In that meeting, volunteer instructors conveyed and talked about the problems of Summer Schools in each neighborhood. A volunteer instructor from Beşiktaş, which was a wealthier neighborhood, claimed that:

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<sup>89</sup> Original quotation: “Niye gelmiyorsun? Sıkıldık, hadi derse başlayalım.”

<sup>90</sup> “Bu şarkıları nasıl öğreteceğim.” “Çok basit.”, “Ama aynı dersi Kadıköy’de yaptım, çocuklar sıkıldılar.”, “Merak etme, onlar Kadıköylü. Buradakilere ne öğretsen severler, sıkılmazlar.”

“We can’t make courses at the weekends, because children are spending time with their parents and making activities with them”.<sup>91</sup>

Since children had alternatives, they didn’t join courses at the weekends in Beşiktaş. In Okmeydanı, addition to lack of places they can spend their time, children who joined Summer Schools didn’t spend time with their families. 4 of 12 children who participated summer school were brothers and sisters. The oldest one Esin was 10, and Ersin 9, Barış 5 and Selin 3 years old. Since their mother was working in garment industry in the neighborhood, Esin was also responsible to take care of Barış and Selin. Selin wasn’t able to understand courses; she was staying at the Halkevi, walking in there and playing other volunteers. Therefore, for a child who spent his/her day in the street, the summer school became a place for entertaining.

In sum, with increasing violence in the neighborhood, while the number of children decreased, it became a place for only the poorest children of the neighborhood. These were children who couldn’t spend time with their families, who didn’t have a life beyond the neighborhood and also who spent all their days at the street. This aspect of Summer School in Okmeydanı shows both the reproduction and resistance in this project. While this education activity affected by the state violence of he neighborhood, it still realizes its aim to offer a space for children who doesn’t have any opportunity during the summer.

#### 5.4 Participation of parents

Besides the negative effects of increasing state violence in the neighborhood on Summer School activity in terms of organization of Summer School and participation of children, (non) involvement of parents was also remarkable.

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<sup>91</sup> Original quotation: “Beşiktaş’ta hafta sonları ders yapamıyoruz, çünkü çocuklar aileleriyle vakit geçiriyorlar, dolayısıyla gelmiyorlar.”

Parental involvement was studied as one of the key factors of academic success. It was discussed the relationship between parents and school staff will bring about increase in relation between student and school (Comer in Gartell, 1991); (Gartrell, 1991).<sup>92</sup> Involvement of parents to education activities was one of the important aspects of education struggle of Halkevleri. Meetings with parents were organized to encourage participation of parents to ‘free education’ campaign and to make them a part of Summer School project.

However, during my preliminary research in summer 2014 and also during 2015 Summer School when I was instructor in Okmeydanı Halkevi, I didn’t meet any parents in Okmeydanı Halkevi. None of parents came to Halkevi during Summer School. I asked instructors about attitudes of parents toward Summer School in the neighborhood. Instructors complained of decrease in participation of parents in recent years in Okmeydanı contrary to first years of Summer School in Okmeydanı and also apathy of parents for their children. In some cases, complaining about apathy of parents wasn’t only about Summer School in Okmeydanı but also in general apathy of parents toward their children in the neighborhood. Volunteer instructor for music class, Mine, said that:

“Families are unconcerned about their children. I asked children: ‘where is your parent when you are running behind water canon-vehicle and they said their parents didn’t know.’”<sup>93</sup>

During Summer School of Halkevi in 2015 in Okmeydanı, children came to Halkevi themselves and leave themselves from Summer School. In order to start classes, they went to call their friends. Before the classes, they were playing at the park, which was across the Halkevi, and after the class they again went to continue to their play

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<sup>92</sup> This is an ethnographic study of an after school program for Afro-American minorities at a high-crime region.

<sup>93</sup> Original Quotation: “Aileler çocuklarıyla ilgilenmiyorlar. Çocuklara siz Toma’nın peşinden koşarken aileniz nerede diye sordum, haberleri yok dediler.”

at the park. Children enrolled themselves. They knew instructors and activists of Halkevi in the neighborhood. Aside from Summer School of Halkevi, children spent time with activists of Okmeydanı Halkevi. Their parents weren't in any process of the Summer School. Mine stated when she complained about the absence of parents that:

“And since their families aren't interested in them, children embrace Halkevi. They know instructors and activists of Halkevi and they registered themselves.”<sup>94</sup>

The important point here was that involvement of parents changed according to social and economic characteristics of neighborhoods. I went to İkitelli neighborhood in February 2015, which was also a working class neighborhood however it wasn't similar in terms of violence in everyday life with Okmeydanı and the participation to Summer School was more than Okmeydanı. And also profile of children varies. In other words, it wasn't only the poorest of the neighborhood participated Summer School of Halkevleri in İkitelli. Parents brought their children to Halkevi and at the end of the day they came to pick up their children in İkitelli. They asked question to instructors about courses.

Nevertheless, the difference wasn't only between Okmeydanı and İkitelli. I went to watch classes of Summer School in Beşiktaş, which was place of middle and upper income families. Contrary to both Okmeydanı and İkitelli, in Beşiktaş, families came with their children to Summer School and they spent time at the park, where Summer School of Halkevi made in Beşiktaş, by sitting and talking together. They leaved from Summer School with their children. Parents watched all courses, and they also interfered the courses. During the courses, children wanted food and water

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<sup>94</sup> Original Quotation: “Aileleri ilgilenmediği için çocuklar burayı kendileri sahipleniyorlar. Buradaki öğretmenleri tanıyorlar, ve kendilerini kayıt ettiriyorlar.”

from their parents. Almost all parents had food with them; they took their child to give their foods.<sup>95</sup>

There were two important points about involvement of parents to Summer School in Okmeydanı. Since instructors complained about it, the involvement of parents in Okmeydanı changed with decreasing efficacy of Summer School and changing profile of children who participate Summer School in Okmeydanı. Addition to changes in involvement of parents' in Okmeydanı, differences among neighborhoods also supported the idea that different social and economic characteristics of children affected the involvement of parents.

Different levels of parent's involvements showed the relationship between social class and parents involvement. Social class was studied as a factor that defines parents' involvement. Annette Lareau (2011) in her study on social class and parenting, *Unequal Childhoods*, asserted that while middle class families interested in their children abilities and worked to develop their abilities and skills, working class families' priority was to provide their children with basic needs such as food and cloth (Lareau, 2011). Her analysis was against natural growth philosophy of parenting which explained different levels of parental involvement between working class and upper class families by emphasizing willingness of upper class parents.

However, there is also another dimension of (non) involvement of parents. As volunteer instructor stated in Okmeydanı "children are enrolled when they want" so it was their own decision, which reminded the case of Barbiana Schools. A priest, who expatriated to in a village close to Florence in Italy established Barbiana School in there. In this school, its own curriculum was created which gives important participatory learning and also a content that is relevant to life experiences of

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<sup>95</sup> In that point, different ranges of proximity in neighborhoods is important. However, besides the difference range of proximity, it is more related with the economic situation of the neighborhoods.

children. Children who came to Barbiana School were expelled from public schools. One of the important features of that school was emphasized that children come when they want to be there (Kayahan, 2014).

### 5.5 Challenges for volunteer instructors

The variety of courses for each Summer School in neighborhoods was related to the volunteer instructors who applied there. There were online-documents for the courses on the website of Halkevi Summer Schools. The documents contained knowledge about how to give the course and what to teach.<sup>96</sup> The courses for which documents were available were “children’s choir”, “evolution”, “philosophy train”, “children’s plays”, “entertaining science”, “the history of science and innovations”, “child rights”, “gender” and “the art of recycling”. Addition to courses on the website, there were some courses for which there wasn’t any information or they needed a specialty to be taught such as ‘pantomime’. Or there were some other sport courses. And for some courses, there were also group of instructors organized and they visited each summer school to give the courses such as “urban and child” and “entertainment science”. Therefore, even there is a prepared list of courses and their contents, the number and interests of volunteer instructors that applied for specific neighborhoods defined which courses will be given in which neighborhood.

I participated to general meeting for volunteer instructors to discuss the problems of Summer Schools of each neighborhood. In that meeting, there were one or two instructors from each neighborhood. They remarked how many children were

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<sup>96</sup> I argue that the strategy of the association to prepare the contents of some courses on the website and making it easily reachable for who wants to be trainer in the summer school can be seen as a step to prevent the inequality among neighborhoods.

participating, which courses were given, what kind of problems they faced during courses, they remarked their local problems. Instructors from “Sarıyer dağ evi”, which was very far from the center low-income neighborhood, stated that they had only two volunteer instructors so they couldn’t give most of the courses. While some neighborhoods had extra courses such as cinema, or pantomime, some of them didn’t have. Therefore, neighborhoods, which could be easily reached, were more preferable.

With the news about Okmeydanı it was declared as a neighborhood not advice to go. The neighborhood was reclaimed as a dangerous neighborhood. This affected to preferability by volunteer instructors and so it influenced the variety of courses in Okmeydanı. The increasing violence didn’t only affect the number of students but it also affected the issue of instructors. As the hesitation of two volunteer instructors in Okmeydanı showed that the structure of the neighborhood can be a variable to affect negatively the choices of the instructors. Didem, 26, Urban planner, I talked in Okmeydanı stated,

“My family doesn’t know that I am coming to Okmeydanı. They know I am a trainer in Halkevleri but if they learnt that I am in Okmeydanı, it would be problem for them.”

In Summer School Okmeydanı, most of instructors were from Okmeydanı and most of them were high school students. However, for example when I went to Beşiktaş, there were public school teachers or drama teachers. The conditions of the neighborhood caused some inequalities in terms of variety of courses and to have instructors.

## 5.6 Violence and politics in the classroom

In previous parts, I analyzed how increasing state violence in everyday life affected negatively the practice of Summer School project of Halkevi in Okmeydanı. Firstly, because increasing state violence and changing dimensions of clashes with police within the neighborhood, practicing Summer School became a secondary position in the neighborhood. Then with increasing violence, fear dominated to the neighborhood and families didn't want to send their children. Besides that while there was decrease in participation to Summer School in Okmeydanı, it became a place for the poorest of the neighborhood. With changing profile of children who participate in Summer School, involvement of parents to Summer School in Okmeydanı changed. And also participation of volunteer instructors to this Summer School also affected.

As mentioned at the beginning of this study that all volunteer instructors and organizers of this education activity emphasized the difference of Okmeydanı and the difficulties of organizing Summer School in Okmeydanı. They emphasized how children in Okmeydanı were different. During my ethnographic research both volunteer instructor in Summer School in Okmeydanı and with direct observations in the neighborhood, I observed that politics and violence in the neighborhood became apparent both in the games of children and their reflections during the courses.

Before Summer School started in the neighborhood in August 2015, all volunteer instructors came together at Halkevi Okmeydanı to talk about the courses and the activities will be made during Summer School. A university student who came for the first time to Okmeydanı asked the question that:

“How should we behave them? For example, if they don’t want to listen classes or if they do behave each other in a bad way?”<sup>97</sup>

Volunteer instructor and also activist who was living in Okmeydanı stated that:

“You should never forget that these children face violence in every moment of their life at the street, at their school, at their homes. So, the most important thing is that here we can’t let them to face violence one more time”<sup>98</sup>

Nevertheless, since the very beginning of my ethnographic research on Summer School project of Halkevi in poor neighborhoods, one of the common thing that all volunteer instructors who had experience of being instructor in Okmeydanı that I met both in Okmeydanı, İkitelli and Beşiktaş, emphasized how children in Okmeydanı were different. When they stated different, they referred how children in Okmeydanı politicized.<sup>99</sup> As music instructor Mine stated how children in Okmeydanı influence her:

“I asked one of the children that if I would be teaching to Berkin<sup>100</sup> if I came to the Summer School last year, they said Berkin was shot in those times last year. I was influenced a lot. These children know too much and experience everything at the extreme points.”<sup>101</sup>

In this part, I analyze how the violence and politics those children faced at the street reflected during the courses at Halkevi Summer School in Okmeydanı. I joined courses in August 2015 were the courses that Urban and Child workshop, Philosophy, Evolution, Children’s Choir and Entertainment Science apart from

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<sup>97</sup> Original quotation: Çocuklara nasıl davranmalıyız? Yani dersi dinlemek istemediklerinde ya da birbirlerine kötü davrandıklarında”

<sup>98</sup> Original quotation: “Unutmamız gereken bir şey var. Bu çocuklar hayatlarının her alanında şiddetle karşılaşılıyorlar, sokakta, evde ve okulda. Bizim dikkat etmemiz gereken en önemli şey kesinlikle şiddete başvurmayaacağız.”

<sup>99</sup> They also explained being politicized made children self-confident.

<sup>100</sup> Berkin Elvan who was shot by pepper gas bullet by police in June 2013 in Okmeydanı participated Okmeydanı Halkevleri Summer School in 2008.

<sup>101</sup> Original quotation: “Çocuklardan birisine geçen yıl gelseydim Berkin’e ders vermiş olurmuycum dedim. Hayır Berkin geçen yıl bu zaman vurulmuştu dedi. Bu beni çok etkiledi. Buradaki çocuklar biliyorlar. Çok uç noktalarda yaşıyorlar herşeyi.”

Entertaining English class that I gave. I will explain how courses were practiced and how and why children were different in Okmeydanı and courses were made.

During the classes in Okmeydanı what I observed and also realized after reading the comments of instructors about the similar courses at online documents, reactions of children at the courses were different from children's reaction at other neighborhoods and also were different from what instructors expected from them. Urban and Child workshop was one of the courses that was added to the course list of Halkevi Summer School after Gezi protests. The aim of the course was explained as "reimagining cities with children." The Urban and Child workshop was organized in order to change children's perception of the urban. It is stated that:

"Urban design workshop with children is an important meeting in the name of providing children with free thought who were subjected to "gray" dreams at the boring, ordinary and sterile places of urban life."<sup>102</sup>

During the workshop, it was aimed to learn what children like and don't like in their environment, in their living places and what kind of urban space they imagine instead of the existing ones. Three volunteer instructors came to Okmeydanı Halkevi to make the 'Urban and Child' workshop. It was their first time in Okmeydanı. For the first meeting of the workshop, they prepared a big map of Okmeydanı and they wanted to discuss with children about the neighborhood, the places they live in, the places children spent time etc. One of the instructors stated that: "We have different program for other neighborhoods. We visit '*esnaf*' or important buildings with children. However, for Okmeydanı, we have to change the program."<sup>103</sup> For the first course, volunteer instructors planned to go to the Sibel Yalçın Park with children and then color the map of the neighborhood in order to give a sense to children where

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<sup>102</sup> Sendika10.org, 11 August 2015

Original quotation: Çocuklarla kent tasarım atölyesi, hapsedüğümüz kent hayatının sıkıcı, sıradan, steril mekanlarında 'gri' hayallere mahkum edilen çocukların daha özgür düşünmesi adına önemli bir buluşma

<sup>103</sup> The peculiarities of Okmeydanı caused to change the program.

they live in. At the same moment, I had to leave from the Halkevi for 15 minutes and went to my friends' home, which was across the Park. When I was at her home, suddenly I heard the slogan: "We are HDP, we are to assembly"<sup>104</sup>. I was surprised because there hadn't been any announcement for a demonstration for that day. I went to the balcony and saw that it was children from Summer School. When volunteer instructors told them they are going to color the big map of the neighborhood in the Park, children directly took the map, they treated the map as if it is banner and they walked from the Halkevi to the park by shouting the slogan on the HDP. This was a story of politicization of children, which instructors emphasized when they said that children in Okmeydanı are different.

It wasn't the first time children in Okmeydanı made their own demonstration. Making demonstration became a daily practice of them. During my research, most of the days, at least once in a day, I heard children were playing games, as one group was Police and the other groups are Protestors. They positioned across to each other, and throw stones themselves. Sometimes they were organizing their own demonstrations and they were walking by shouting, "Killer police get out of the neighborhood", or "Berkin Elvan is immortal", "Berkin Elvan, a sapling just 15 years old"<sup>105</sup>. For example, in 23 April 2015, when I was with my friend on her balcony, I saw three girls were screaming a Kurdish political marching music by walking the street. One of them had a balloon with a Turkish flag on it. They walked along the street by singing the Kurdish march and they went to the park, they continued to song the march and the slogans that belong to Kurdish movement. The

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<sup>104</sup> "Bizler HDP, Bizler Meclise". It was after the elections and the slogan was of the HDP during the election process.

<sup>105</sup> Their slogans can vary according to political landscape of the neighborhood and also Turkey. As they directly started to shout the slogan for the elections of 2015 as "we are hdp, we are to assembly".

political conflicts and the divergence between state and dwellers reveal themselves in their games that they played in the streets.

After the first course in the Park, volunteer instructors didn't want to make the course at the Park. They continued workshop in the building of Halkevi. At the second workshop, volunteer instructors wanted children to draw Okmeydanı and then to replace the things 'they don't want to see' with the things 'they want to see'. One kid-10 years old- drew the street and he placed the police to his picture.<sup>106</sup>.

Instructor asked him:

“Why did you put the police to your picture?”<sup>107</sup>

He answered:

“Because, it stays always there.”

Therefore for children, police is a part of the neighborhood where lives in. Instructor tried to convince him that it would be better to not to draw the police to his dreamed neighborhood and she stated: “you can draw a park, you can draw flowers”,<sup>108</sup> but Mehmet didn't accept to change and he repeated that this was the place of the police. The aim of the “Urban and Child” workshop, as mentioned above, explained as “reimagining cities with children”. As the picture of Mehmet showed that it was hard for children to imagine a neighborhood without existence of police. However, not to be able reimagine a new city in the Urban and Child workshop was peculiar to the neighborhood. Volunteer instructors wrote their experience in the Beşiktaş Summer School in an article on sendika.org by volunteer instructors which as how they reimaged new cities with children<sup>109</sup>:

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<sup>106</sup> A water-canon vehicle always stayed at the entrance of the big street to the neighborhood.

<sup>107</sup> Original Quotation: I.: Neden buraya polis çizdin?

M.: Çünkü orası polisin yeri.

<sup>108</sup> Original Quotation: I.: Şuraya park ya da çiçek çizebilirsin.

M.: Ama orası polisin yeri öğretmenim.

<sup>109</sup> Sendika.org, 11 August 2015

“There are children who lived these transformations and there are children who became the witnessed of the struggles to give for green places.” Therefore, the idea to imagine new life spaces made children excited. They immediately started to imagine parks and playing grounds. We made trees with colored papers with 20 children. They put themselves into their imagined draws. Workshop for designing cities with children is meeting for the sake of free-thinking of children who were convicted to sterile and ordinary places of boring urban life.”<sup>110</sup>

In an article that published in sendika.org was about answers of the children who joined Summer School in Beşiktaş was mentioned. It was stated that when instructors asked children that what kind of neighborhood they want, at the first time, children became concerned that what if they would be living in 14.th floor. Floor building their parents would call out when they were play in the street, and they became reluctant for shopping mall in their neighborhood. Children painted the neighborhood and they imagined their new neighborhood with greens and trees.

However, in Okmeydanı, when volunteer instructors asked children whether they liked the neighborhood or not and what they want to change in the neighborhood, children’s answers was about the police and violence in the neighborhood. When volunteer instructors asked children in Okmeydanı what do they want change in the neighborhood and whether they do like the neighborhood or not, children answered as:

“I don’t like the neighborhood when there is violent events.”<sup>111</sup>

“There is always police, if there wasn’t police, I would like the neighborhood.”<sup>112</sup>

“There is only one park and since there are political events we can’t play in the street. However, in our village, we had big places to play.”<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> See Appendix C for original quotation in Turkish.

<sup>111</sup> Original Quotation: “Çatışma olmadığında mahalleyi seviyorum”.

<sup>112</sup> Original Quotation: ”Burada sürekli polis var, polis olmasa severdim.”

<sup>113</sup> Original Quotation: “Oynayacağımız bir park var ve sokakta da hep olay olduğu için oynayamıyoruz. Ama öğretmenim bizim köyde oyun oynayacak çok yer vardı.”

Therefore, when children in the Okmeydanı were asked what they want to change in the neighborhood, their answers were about the police and violence in the neighborhood. However, the answers of the children in Beşiktaş was quite unsurprisingly, since volunteer instructors after the first course in Okmeydanı what said:

“They are different. It isn’t possible to make the same courses in the same way with other neighborhoods.”<sup>114</sup>

Besides the existence of police and violence in the neighborhood in their answers to questions of neighborhoods, as their plays, which were, political showed that politics was at center of their life. This reflected in each course to each question asked to them. In other words, children who made the map a banner answered all questions with political references, with their references to police, to struggle to movement. This is also differed from another neighborhoods as I encountered in Beşiktaş and İkitelli as their imagination of the cities differed.

Physiotherapist, 23, gave evolution course. As children told me that it was one of the favorite courses of them. When I asked them about their favorite course they said: ‘entertainment science’ or ‘evolution’.

In the Evolution course, students were asked how primitive people communicated before languages. In order to make an interactive course, all of the students wanted to animate one thing without words/speaking. And the others wanted to predict what he/she says. Their answers during estimating what the guys are doing were interesting. They said:

-He is making freedom sign.

-He is making peace sign.

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<sup>114</sup> Original Quotation.: “Çok farklılar. Aynı dersleri aynı şekilde yapmak mümkün değil.”

-He is fighting in the mountains.<sup>115</sup>

Children in Okmeydanı commented most of the subjects by political concepts and political answers. It is important to signify that children were also aware that they are in a political association. All their answers reflected instructors they were close to politics in their daily life.<sup>116</sup> When the instructor talked about substance and he talked about gases in Entertaining Science course and try to give some example to facilitate the ability of children to understand, one child gave pepper gas as an example of gas. In the same course, another one stated: “With baking soda, molotov bombs are made.”<sup>117</sup>

Nevertheless, aside from their political reflection at the courses, during the breaks, when they talked with instructors, they liked to talk about politics and police in the neighborhood. Once, there was a hard hat in the association. One children asked his friend for what it is used and the other answered – we use them during events.<sup>118</sup> Children also liked to talk about their political experiences. It became a source of increasing their popularity among their friends. They started their stories about struggling with police. One gave example – last week plainclothes police followed me. Their stories with police make them fancy among their community. For example, when we were sitting on the wall of the Park across building of Halkevi, Davut, 12, came and told us:

“I’m telling you, there is police at the park, I understand.”<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Original Quotation: “Zafer işareti yapıyor”.

-Barış işareti yapıyor.

-Dağlarda savaşıyor.

<sup>116</sup> A high school sociology teacher gave ‘Philosophy train’ in Beşiktaş. There were 14 children. They sat down in a circle. Children’s answers for the questions are different from Okmeydanı. They gave normal answers. They didn’t give any kind of answer like answers in Okmeydanı. In philosophy train course, they used the park; they collected trash to show how people found the fire.

<sup>117</sup> Original Quotation: “Hocam, karbonatla da Molotof kokteyl yapılıyor.”

<sup>118</sup> With event he means political clashes with police. And “hard hat” is started to use with Gezi protests in Turkey.

<sup>119</sup> Original Quotation: “Size söyleyeyim, parkta polis var, ben anladım.”

During the research, I encountered several times that when police car were patrolling in the neighborhood, these children started to run behind the police or they started to shout slogans. Even sometimes, slogans of the children could start the clash in the neighborhood.

Another important point was that political answers of children made instructors to give political examples. For example, children asked question about blackhole as: “Teacher, is blackhole bigger than *toma*?” Then, when instructor explained the size of meteor and the world, he said it is bigger than ‘toma’ or ‘akrep’. He tried to find something could make easier for children to understand the course, therefore, instructors also preferred to use political words in Okmeydanı. All these references of children were the things that they talked about everyday. Hence, police, violence and politics in the neighborhood was their reality. Whatever they asked, they used the things about police, politics and violence in the neighborhood. And, these different reflections of children in Okmeydanı shaped the courses and the ways that instructor explained the things to them during the classes. And when instructors see children use these terms, they started to teach with these terms.

These stories from Okmeydanı indicate that these children are political and they are aware what is happening around them. The name and the content of the course didn’t make a difference for their political reactions. At the urban and child workshop; they couldn’t imagine their neighborhood without police, at philosophy train course; primitive man was fighting at the mountains according to them and at the science class; pepper gas was the example of gases. Their examples and answers resourced from lived experience and concrete things. Their reactions highly differed from reactions of children who live in normal situation.

Political answers of children in Okmeydanı and their different reactions from other neighborhood makes important to remind the objectives of the Summer Schools. Beyond practicing free and critical education, Summer Schools aims to detract children from the violence of the streets by providing them a new space. However while Summer School had provide a space for the poorest children of the neighborhood and who didn't have a place to spend their in the neighborhood, this Summer School didn't detract children from the violence and politics of the streets of Okmeydanı but children put across the politics and violence to the courses. Therefore, in that point, if again this practice is analyzed as not practicing the courses at the same way with other neighborhoods in Okmeydanı and so this caused an inequality among neighborhoods and children, it can be argued that inequalities reproduced one more time among neighborhoods with the practice of Summer School. However, if political answers of children and their reaction, which highly related with their environment is analyzed as how children can question and understand their realities, it is what Summer Schools aimed to give children.

In his analysis, Willis was analyzing a school in working class neighborhood, which aimed to protect children from industry, however because of the working class habitus and social inequalities, it is stated that working class children gets working class jobs. However at the same time they create their resistance. In that regard, there are two important points in this study.

Halkevleri Summer School aimed to give free and critical education in poor neighborhoods. However, state violence in the neighborhood negatively affected the practice of Summer School in neighborhood. However on the other hand, children who were affected by this state violence were already politic and they were aware their social environments.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

This study analyzed the effect of everyday state violence on an alternative education movement in an economically, politically and ethnically marginalized neighborhood. It discussed critical education theories and analyzed how critical education has contradictory dimensions that while it becomes a terrain of struggle, it is affected by structural inequalities (Giroux, 1983; Willis, 1977). I argued that while Halkevleri Summer School opened a space for children in the neighborhood, it became a place that inequalities both within Okmeydanı and with other neighborhoods continued. It was the state violence in the neighborhood against which Halkevleri organized Summer Schools pervaded practice of Summer School in Okmeydanı, however alternative education program in the neighborhood was affected by state violence negatively. In other words, practice of the Halkevi Summer Schools changed according to social and political landscapes of neighborhoods. The social and political landscape of the neighborhoods has been decisive how to practice Halkevleri Summer Schools in different neighborhoods. Moreover, the state violence which is penetrated in Okmeydanı shapes daily life in the neighborhood. The existence of state forces and violence and fear in everyday life affected the way of making politics, coming together and basic everyday life activities (Auyero, 2013; Hume& Wilding, 2015; Rodgers, 2006; Yonucu, 2014; Villareal, 2015).

History and activities of Halkevleri are investigated since 1932 to now. However, it wasn't detailed historical analysis. Contrary to literature on Halkevleri in Turkey, which analyzed only first period of Halkevleri (Karpas, 1963); (Öztürkmen,

1994); (Karaömerlioğlu, 1999) (Şimşek, 2005); (Lamprou, 2015), I focused on the last period of Halkevleri, which started 1986. In order to understand relations of Halkevleri across state, closure acts against Halkevleri and oppression toward activists of Halkevleri, and accusations made by government to Halkevleri indicated the tense relation between government and Halkevleri. On the other hand, I analyzed Halkevleri Summer School project as education project of Halkevleri, how the institutional changes reflected to education project of Halkevleri. In that regard, what I encountered that even there were fields that Halkevleri emphasized its history started in 1932, institutional changes reflected to education projects. In other words, when organization, activities and political objectives of the institution changed, their practices in the field of education shaped by this change, which shows the relations, and between education and politics (Freire, 1970) Halkevleri, which established, as education project became an institution struggle for rights of education. Halkevleri, which opened as an adult education organization to support national education system (Karaömerlioğlu, 1999), aims to practice free education and to provide a new space for children with Summer Schools in poor neighborhoods.

The courses that were in the program of Halkevleri Summer School theatre, drama, choir, fun science, fun math, fun english, zoolatry, recycling, pantomime, origami workshop, short-films workshop, urban and child workshop, gender workshop, evolution, rights of children, peace workshop and graphite workshop. Most of the courses weren't included by curriculum of public education and an important part of that these were provided children for free, which showed the free and creative education of Halkevleri Summer School. Halkevleri Summer School started to be discussed an example of critical education. I encountered at my ethnographic research that while it didn't start as a critical education practice or to

provide critical/alternative courses, the program transformed to an education project which showed how practicing is important in critical education (Horton and Freire, 1990). The way they organized an alternative education program, the content of the courses, the objectives of the Summer School beyond education in other words ‘knowing the realities of children’ (Hill, 2006; Freire, 1970; Apple et.al, 2009), the relations between educator and children and the program for “education of educator” (Freire, 1970) makes Halkevleri Summer School a critical education practice. This study is a critical analysis of a critical education project since the practice of Halkevleri Summer School analyzed in a politically, ethnically and economically marginalized neighborhood.

The preliminary research directed this study on Halkevi Summer School project to Okmeydanı. Limited studies on Okmeydanı and challenges of daily life in Okmeydanı makes this research crucial to understand dynamics of neighborhood. I argued that the cleavages in Okmeydanı couldn’t be understood historical roots of struggles in the neighborhood (Aslan, 2004; Erder, 1997). While state violence is historically and structurally exists in Okmeydanı, it escalated after Gezi protests. Summer School became a secondary position with the increasing state violence in everyday life. Therefore, the project of Halkevleri which aimed to create new space for children both in order to practice free education and detract children from violence in the streets was affected by the structural inequalities. Okmeydanı was one of the few neighborhoods that Summer School started in 2008, however, while numbers of neighborhoods and Summer Schools increased the practice of Summer School in Okmeydanı became a difficult issue. There were more participation of children at previous years. However, the neighborhood, which encountered state

violence since its foundation, exposed intensified state violence at times of Gezi protests when violence and struggle spread across the country.

With the increasing state violence, fear penetrated to the neighborhood. As my observations showed that this increasing violence affected all social life in Okmeydanı, from daily practice go to home go out to home. Therefore, this reflected to making politics in the neighborhood. Families didn't want to send their children. However, one of the important things that refrainment of families were also related with their social and economic characteristics. It was mostly Alevi families refrained to send their children. In other words, Halkevi Summer School became a place that poorest children of the neighborhood came and spent their times. Children who participated Summer School were giving different reactions than children in other neighborhoods. Landscape of the neighborhood affected their interests and attitudes toward Summer School. They were political and they were aware of their environments and attitudes of children shaped the content of the courses.

There were three fields of that study and on which further research can answers their questions. Firstly, the institutional changes of Halkevleri should be analyzed with further research with detailed study. How does process of gaining autonomy from the state and how it became a democratic mass organization? Moreover what can this institutional change tells about Turkish politics?

On the other hand, while during the ethnographic research the emphasis made by instructors in Okmeydanı about tensions between Alevi families and Kurdish families and also discriminations behaviors of children toward Syrian children entails an ethnographic study to understand identity, class, migration and violence dynamics. While there were references made by instructors that the poorest in the

neighborhood, it will be an important question to understand dynamics between ethnicity and class within the neighborhood.



APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCRIPTS

FOR INTERVIEWS WITH VOLUNTEER INSTRUCTORS

1. Kendinizden bahseder misiniz? Yaşınız? Öğrenci misiniz? Nerede okuyorsunuz? Nerede yaşıyorsunuz?
2. Yaz okulunda hangi dersi veriyorsunuz?
3. Verdiğiniz dersi siz mi seçtiniz?
4. Neden bu dersi vermek istediniz?
5. Daha önceki senelerde burada ders vermiş miydiniz?
6. Yaz okulundan nasıl haberdar oldunuz?
7. Neden bu mahalleyi seçtiniz?
8. Başka mahallere gidiyor musunuz şu an?
9. Anlattığınız dersin içeriğini siz mi belirlediniz?
10. Hangi kaynaklardan faydalaniyorsunuz?
11. Öğrencilerin tepkileri nasıl?
12. Sizce burayı seviyorlar mı?
13. Derslere katılıyorlar mı?
14. Derslerde ve çocuklarla iletişimde nelere dikkat ediyorsunuz?
15. Okuldaki dersleriyle karşılaştırıyorlar mı? Ya da sizi okuldaki öğretmenleriyle karşılaştırıyorlar mı?
16. Dersler çocuklar için ne anlamda faydalı oluyor?
17. Mahalleli nasıl yaklaşıyor?
18. Aileleri geliyor mu?
19. Kimler çocuklarını gönderiyor?

20. Öğrencilerin ve ailelerin katılımı neye göre değişiyor?
21. Gelmek istedikleri belli dersler oluyor mu?
22. Bir sonra ki sene de ders vermeyi düşünüyor musunuz?
23. Burası size neler kattı?

FOR INTERVIEWS WITH HALKEVLERİ MEMBERS

1. Yaz okulları nasıl başladı?
2. Nerelerde başladı?
3. Başlarken ki amacınız neydi?
4. Yaz okulları neyi hedefliyor?
5. Hangi mahallelerde yapıyorsunuz?
6. Mahalleler neye göre belirleniyor?
7. Mahallelerin sayısı nasıl arttı? Bunun için neler yaptınız?
8. Mahallelerde nasıl duyurular yapılıyor?
9. Gönüllülere nasıl ulaşıyor?
10. Siz ders verdiniz mi?
11. Hem mahalleliye ulaşma, eğitmenlere ulaşma anlamında mahalleler arasında bir fark var mı? Ya da sizin her mahalleye göre yaptığınız belirli şeyler var mı?
12. Şu an Yaz Okullarının ders içeriğine ulaşmak mümkün. Bu içerik nasıl oluşturuldu? Neye göre ve kimler oluşturdu?
13. Eğitmenler için bir programınız var. Bu ilk ne zaman yapıldı, bu programda neler var? Kimler programa katılıyor?
14. Mahalleler arasında farklar var mı?
15. Okmeydanı özel kılan sebepler neler?
16. Burada ki çocuklar neden ve ne anlamda farklı?

17. Velilerin katılımı nasıl?

18. Velilerin ve öğretmenlerin katılımı mahalleye göre değişiyor mu?

19. Çocukların tepkileri değişiyor mu?

20. Bunlarda farklılık gördükçe programınızda değişiklik yapıyor musunuz?



APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCRIPTS (ENGLISH)

FOR INTERVIEWS WITH VOLUNTEER INSTRUCTORS

1. Can you talk about yourself? How old are you? What is your job? Where do you live in?
2. Which course do you teach in Summer Schools?
3. Did you specifically choose this course?
4. Why did you want to give this course?
5. Did you teach in previous years as volunteer instructors in Summer Schools?
6. How did you know about Summer Schools?
7. Why did you choose this neighborhood?
8. Are you teaching in other neighborhoods?
9. Did you form the content of the course?
10. Which sources do you benefit from?
11. What is the reaction of students?
12. Do you think that children live courses or not?
13. Are they active in courses?
14. What is important for you when you are teaching in Summer Schools?
15. Do children compare Summer Schools with their public schools? Or do they compare you with their teachers in public schools?
16. What do you think about the effects of courses on daily life of children?
17. How does inhabitants approach to Summer Schools?
18. Do their families come to Summer School?
19. Which families do send their children?

20. By what do attributes of families and children vary?
21. Do they want come specific courses?
22. Do you want to be instructor for next year?
23. What is the advantage of being volunteer instructor in Summer Schools for you?

FOR INTERVIEWS WITH HALKEVLERI MEMBERS

1. How did Summer Schools start?
2. In which neighborhoods did it start?
3. What were you aiming to start Summer Schools?
4. What do Summer Schools target now?
5. In which neighborhoods do you make Summer Schools?
6. How do you choose the neighborhoods to make Summer Schools?
7. How did the number of neighborhoods increase? What did you to increase the number of neighborhoods?
8. How do you make announcements for Summer Schools in neighborhoods?
9. How do you access volunteers?
10. Do you give any course in Summer Schools?
11. Is there any difference among neighborhoods in terms of accessing families, children and volunteer instructors? Or do you make particular things for particular neighborhoods?
12. Contents of courses are available on the website of Halkevleri. How did you form this content?
13. Do you have a program for volunteer instructors? If yes, when did you make it first? What does the program contain?
14. Are there differences among neighborhoods?

15. What makes Okmeydanı special?
16. How and why are children in Okmeydanı different?
17. What about participation of parents?
18. Do participation of parents and volunteer instructors vary by neighborhoods?
19. Do the reactions of children vary by neighborhoods?
20. Do you make any change when you see the differences among neighborhoods?



## APPENDIX C

### ORIGINAL QUOTATIONS

38. “Çocuklar; oyun oynadığı sokakta gaz fişegiyle vurulmasın, savaşın ortasında, en yakınlarını, kolunu-bacağını yitirmesin, öldürülmesin, kapatıldığı cezaevinde çocuk olmaktan vazgeçmesin, çalıştırıldığı atölyede, organize sanayide ve madende canını yitirmesin, ihmal, istismar ve şiddete maruz kalmasın, kız çocuklarımız erken yaşta evliliklere mahkûm edilmesin, en güvende olması gereken yer olan okulda güvensiz bir fiziksel ortama mahkûm edilmesin, eğitim, sağlık, barınma gibi temel hakları gasp edilmesin diye onlar için üzerimize düşen sorumluluklar var.”

111. “Kamusal alanların, mahallelerin, sokakların rant uğruna hızla dönüştüğü, sosyal kültürel dokuların izlerinin silindiği zamanlardan geçiyoruz. Bir yanıyla bu dönüşümü yaşayan çocuklar diğer yandan kent merkezinde, betonların arasında kalmış son yeşil alan için verilen muazzam bir mücadelenin tanıkları. Dolayısıyla kendileri için bir yaşam alanı hayal etme fikrini tartışmaya başladığımız anda heyecanla oyun alanları ve parklar geliyor akıllarına. Yaklaşık yirmi çocukla beraber rengarenk kartonlardan ağaçlar yapmaya koyuluyoruz. Salıncaklar, kaydıraklar çiziliyor. Ellerininde toplarıyla kendileri de bu hayallerde yerlerini alıyorlar.”

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