

HOW DOES A HIDDEN CURRICULUM OPERATE:
A CASE STUDY OF ROUTINE PRACTICES AND RULES
IN A FOURTH-GRADE CLASSROOM

SEBAHAT ŐAHİN

BOĖAZIŐI UNIVERSITY

2014

HOW DOES A HIDDEN CURRICULUM OPERATE:
A CASE STUDY OF ROUTINE PRACTICES AND RULES
IN A FOURTH-GRADE CLASSROOM

Thesis submitted to the
Institute for Graduate Studies in the Social Sciences
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
Educational Sciences

by
Sebahat Şahin

Boğaziçi University

2014

ABSTRACT

HOW DOES A HIDDEN CURRICULUM OPERATE: A CASE STUDY OF ROUTINE PRACTICES AND RULES IN A FOURTH-GRADE CLASSROOM

The purpose of this study was to examine in detail how the hidden curriculum in a public primary school classroom operated through the routine practices and rules that characterize daily classroom experiences. The study sample consisted of the thirty-three fourth-grade students and the class teacher of a primary school located in a small town in Western Turkey, Eastern Marmara region. Students were from a low socio-economic background, nine of whom were Roma.

The method of this study was qualitative, namely a case study. A fourth-grade classroom was observed through a two-and-a-half-month period and interviews with the teacher and students were conducted. Observational and interview data about the routine implementations and rules characterizing the classroom experience were analyzed by using the descriptive analysis and content analysis methods.

Findings revealed that students remained passive during daily routine activities in classroom. They were limited to the activities within the frame determined by the teacher. Furthermore, it was observed and stated by the students that the teachers acted anti-democratically during determining and implementing the classroom rules. Students' perceptions of the rules about were formed through the teacher approval. The teachers gave more importance to the continuity of classroom functioning -organization than to the social and cognitive development of the students, and recognized the negative behaviors of students more frequently than the positive ones. Finally, it was observed that the students from different ethnic origins were in more disadvantageous position and excluded when compared students from dominant cultural background.

ÖZET

SINIFTA GİZLİ MÜFREDAT NASIL İŞLİYOR: BİR DEVLET OKULUNUN DÖRDÜNCÜ SINIFINDAKİ RUTİN UYGULAMALAR VE KURALLAR ÜZERİNE BİR DURUM ÇALIŞMASI

Bu araştırmanın amacı, bir ilkokul sınıfında gizli müfredatın günlük sınıf deneyimini karakterize eden rutin uygulamalar ve kurallar aracılığıyla nasıl işlediğinin ayrıntılı bir şekilde irdelenmesidir. Araştırmanın örneklemini, Türkiye'nin batısında, Doğu Marmara'daki bir kasabada bulunan devlet ilkokulunun dördüncü sınıfına giden otuz üç öğrenci ve onların sınıf öğretmeni oluşturmaktadır. Gözlem yapılan sınıftaki öğrenciler alt sosyo-ekonomik düzeydeki ailelerden gelmektedir ve dokuz tanesi Roman'dır.

Araştırma, nitel araştırma yöntemlerinden durum çalışması kullanılarak yapılmıştır. İki buçuk ay boyunca sınıf içi gözlemler, öğrenciler ve öğretmenle derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Sınıf deneyimini karakterize eden rutin uygulamalar ve kurallarla ilgili toplanan verilerin analizinde betimsel analiz ve içerik analizi yöntemleri kullanılmıştır.

Araştırma bulguları doğrultusunda, öğrencilerin sınıftaki günlük rutin aktivitelerde edilgen bir konumda oldukları, öğretmenin belirlediği çerçevedeki aktivitelere mahkum edildikleri, sınıf kurallarının belirlenmesi ve uygulanmasında öğretmenin anti-demokratik bir yaklaşım izlediği, öğrencilerin kural algısının öğretmenin onaylamadığı davranışlar üzerinden şekillendiği, öğretmenin sınıftaki işleyişin devamına öğrencilerin sosyal ve bilişsel gelişiminden daha fazla önem verdiği ve öğretmenin öğrencilerin olumsuz davranışlarını daha çok farketmediği sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Ayrıca farklı etnik kökenden gelen öğrencilerin baskın kültürden gelen öğrencilerle kıyaslandıklarında daha da dezavantajlı bir durumda oldukları ve ayrımcılığa maruz kaldıkları gözlemlenmiştir.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people have contributed to this research. I am grateful to everyone that supported me all through this study. A special word must go to my students, who have taught me a lot since the day I started my profession of teaching.

I want to acknowledge all participants of this study – students, the class teacher and the school administrator – that accepted to do interviews with me and that allowed me to attend classes to make observations. Every child that is mentioned on these pages has a meaning far beyond the codes are given to them.

I would like to sincerely acknowledge Prof. Dr. Fatma Gök, who promoted me with her opinions and suggestions, and encouraged and supported me to study in a field that I am interested in. She is not only my thesis advisor but also an impressive person that I am so glad to know. I would like to thank the dear members of my committee. Assist. Prof. Dr. Ayse Caner, I am thankful that she helped clarify on my thesis subject and provided positive suggestions in evaluation process. I am also grateful to Assist. Prof. Dr. Cem Kirazoğlu for his encouraging evaluation and contribution in the writing period of my thesis.

I would like to give special thanks to dear Melike Acar for her support and cooperation; she contributed this study in every stage with her opinions and suggestions.

I want to acknowledge my dear student Gamze Siyah for sharing my enthusiasm while reading the observation notes of this study and for the sparkle in her eyes.

Finally, I must offer profound thanks to my mother and my father for their love and constant support throughout my life. Also thanks to my precious nephews and nieces Hasan, Emre, Mercan and Bilge who beautify my life. And Duman, thank you for being my companion for seventeen years.

To all children whose childhood have been dictated with adulthood norms...

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT (ENGLISH)	iii
ABSTRACT (TURKISH)	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	v
DEDICATION.....	vi
LIST OF TABLES.....	ix
LIST OF FIGURES.....	x
PREFACE.....	xi
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION.....	1
Problem Statement.....	4
Research Question.....	6
Significance of the Study.....	7
CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE	9
The Concept of the Hidden Curriculum	9
Theoretical Approaches to the Hidden Curriculum	13
Rules and Routines	39
Studies on the Hidden Curriculum.....	44
CHAPTER III: METHOD.....	52
The Research Design.....	52
Study Sample	53
Data Collection Instruments	57
Data Analysis.....	61
The Role of the Researcher	63
CHAPTER IV: PRESENTATION AND THE DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS	65
The General Features of the School, Classroom, Teacher and Students Been Observed.....	65
The Routine Practices that Characterize Daily Class Experience	75
Rules of the Classroom	103
The Behaviour in the Classroom that the Teacher Does Not Tolerate	123
Behaviour Appreciated by the Teacher in the Classroom.....	146
Summary of the Findings	157

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION	163
Limitation of the Study	168
Suggestions for Further Research	169
APPENDICES.....	170
A: A Student’s Drawing	170
B: The Observation Form (Seating Mobility).....	171
C: The Interview Form.....	172
D: An Example of Data Analysis Process	173
E: Tables in Turkish	174
F: Quotes in Turkish	196
REFERENCES.....	201

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. The Students Who Were Mostly Absent	71
Table 2. Mothers' Occupation	73
Table 3. Fathers' Occupation	74
Table 4. The Rules Students Stated	108
Table 5. What is the Purpose for the Rules Stated by the Students?	113
Table 6. The Students Who Were Stated that Not Obeying the Class Rules	116
Table 7. The Warnings the Teacher Being Observed	125
Table 8. The Positive Warnings the Teacher Being Observed.....	130
Table 9. The Negative Warnings the Teacher Being Observed.....	131
Table 10. Which Students Were Warned and When?	136
Table 11. The Behaviour that the Teacher Does Not Tolerate/Get Angry with According to the Students	139
Table 12. Warnings Made According to the Students	142
Table 13. According to the Observation the Behaviour the Teacher Approved/Appreciated	148
Table 14. According to the Students the Most Approved/Appreciated Behaviour by the Teacher	154
Table 15. The Behavior the Teacher Gave a Prize.....	156

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. The physical plan of the classroom	55
Figure 2. The Seating Arrangements (Between the 14 March and the 1 April)	92
Figure 3. The Seating Arrangements (Between the 2 April and the 10 May	94

PREFACE

This study also includes my own story. Upon graduation from the Faculty of Education in Dokuz Eylül University, a few months later, I was assigned as a class teacher in a village of Karadeniz Ereğli on January 13, 1993. I was teaching a multigrade class. Most of my students would not pursue education after graduating from the primary school (grades 1 to 5) and would stay in their village. The inspectors coming to the school and the director of education in the district were just saying that “It is enough for them to know how to read and write, and to do the four arithmetical operations.” There is one event, which I had witnessed during my first teaching semester and cannot forget. The student who brought coal to the headmaster’s office was rebuked, rather than being thanked, by the female teacher acting as a director, saying that “Okay, get out, quick.” Then, she turned and told me that “If you tolerate them, they will not obey you.”

After completing my internship, I resigned and started to work for the most assertive and popular private teaching institution preparing students for various exams in Ereğli. The institution was paying special attention to students’ and parents’ satisfaction. The student in the village school, who would not obey me if I tolerated him/her, in this institution, was highly esteemed; s/he was a customer, after all. The future of the institution was dependent on its students’ satisfaction, their success on the exams and their recommendations to the people that they knew. The teachers and the administrations were taking great care to have a good relationship with their students. The teachers were waving their students goodbye until they got onto the shuttle buses, which would take the students home, disappear. The most esteemed student was the one who solved the most questions on a test. Likewise, the most esteemed teacher was the one who was asked for private tutoring and who attracted students most into the instruction.

In the sixth year in my teaching profession, I started to work for a private school whose classrooms faced the sea. There was a tree passing through the building. The school was designed for the students, and had well-selected equipment and physical capacity. The teachers willing to work for the schools were

employed “carefully” after several interviews and screening. The parents had high levels of income. Educational thoughts were among the issues at the parents’ meeting. The school always let the students know that they were highly esteemed. The students were equipped with not only academic abilities but also abilities of the social class that their families belong to. The students could learn how to play tennis, play the piano, dance in ballets and do gymnastics. Whatever the students ate was selected with great care, and the water they drank was purified with special techniques. Masked balls, well-organized commemorations, special end-of-the-semester events were held in the auditorium of the school.

I have observed that the atmosphere of the each school that I worked for was different and the each school provided different messages to students. Most of the messages were not available either on the formal curricula or the documents of the school; however, they were very powerful and effective. One of the most influential reasons of my decision to make this research is my experience in three different institutions where I worked as a teacher.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

What is the function of education? From past to present, the answer of this question has been reshaped and redefined according to the meanings attributed to education by societies. Gök (1999) stated that education and human training systems are dominated by the considerably close and intertwined relations among social, political, and cultural structures of societies and by the power groups that control the economic and political decision-making mechanisms. Furthermore, the dominant social groups that control and govern the society shape the future of the educational system according to their own preferences and interests.

How education was shaped according to the needs of the dominant groups can be observed during various historical periods more closely. The practice of education in primitive societies was realized in the form of transferring the established culture to the youth under the supervision of the leaders of the community. The content of education in primitive societies was teaching the social manners and socio-economic practices to a great extent, such as hunting, horse riding, fighting, cooking, making love, reaching manhood/womanhood, respecting elders, and protecting children. In slavery societies, education functioned as teaching an elite culture to the children of noble families. Some of these noble children learned fighting, some learned fine arts, some learned commerce, and some learned preaching the public. Servants called “pedagogues” did not have the right to get education themselves and were responsible for the care and transfer of

the children to and from school. Educational practices in feudal societies were carried out in churches and monasteries by the clergymen under the supervision of churches, and the children of villagers who did not own any land (serfs) were generally excluded from this education. In capitalist societies, education has gained a collective character along with the concept of mass production. It became widespread and the concepts of school and teacher in the professional sense emerged during this period. Education started to be provided in public schools by the state and became an obligation for workers to be able to understand commands and to operate the machinery, and for the capital owners to be able to manage the employees and sell the goods produced (Şimşek, 2002, pp. 26-27). With the development of capitalism as the dominant economic system of the world the most important function of educational systems has become to be the selection and training of individuals for the different positions that have already been established based on unequal social division of labor. This ideological reproduction has mostly been intertwined with the reproduction of the economic order and unequal distribution of resources (Gök, 1999).

If formal and informal educational practices play such a crucial role in reproducing social and economical inequalities in a society, then how should we study education? Since the answers of this question vary according to the different theoretical frameworks the question has remained as a debatable issue among social scientists. One research approach to education emphasized the necessity of getting into schools. For example, Hern (2008) focused on the urgency that researchers ask basic questions related to the schools' nature and their students'

school experiences. These questions are important not only for understanding whether the school is functioning but also for being able to look at the students' everyday life. When Einstein was describing insanity, he said "doing the same thing over and over again and expecting different results" (Hern, 2008, p. 18). In that sense, schools are the places in which children do the same thing over and over again with the hope that the outcome of their schooling would change their social status in the society. However, when we consider the historical evidence, we see that schooling practices helped to replicate the social order that was defined by dominant groups.

Furthermore, Giroux (2001) indicated three crucial insights in order to comprehend ideological tension about schooling deeply and the means and outcomes of learning and teaching practices:

(1) Schools cannot be analyzed independently from their socio-economic context. (2) Schools are places where meaningful subjective discourse is produced and controlled on a political base. (3) The commonsense values and beliefs that direct and construct the classroom are not essentially universal, but are specific normative and policy implications based on social configurations (p. 46).

In this context, schools are not places where only the requirements of the formal curriculum are conveyed. In schools, there is another unwritten, implicitly taught, hidden curriculum in addition to the official written curriculum. Towards the end of the 60's and in the beginning of 1970's the term "hidden curriculum" emerged when criticizing education and it has become a commonly used term. Schools are now seen as adopting two types of curricula. One of them is open and formal and the other is hidden and informal (Giroux, 2001).

Each and every classroom has its own unique dynamics. Classrooms have clear signs that provide clues about the physical order of a classroom, teacher-student and student-student communication, classroom management, sense of discipline, undesirable behavior, methods and approaches used to prevent undesirable behavior, violations of discipline and rationale behind resistance, prominent values, praise, language and metaphors used, functioning and mechanisms in classrooms. The students' participation in the decision-making process in communal life areas, whether there is any opportunity to express themselves, in what circumstances and how teachers intervene in students' behaviors, how mechanisms of praise and power are operated, and when and how students put the authority to the test provide us with crucial data on the hidden curriculum of that class. If the research processes focus on the intrinsic practices diffused into the schools and classrooms through which the child is being raised to become the “desired” adult citizen of the future, the concept of hidden curriculum can reflect the reality of schools and classrooms.

Problem Statement

The primary purpose of this study is the detailed examination of the hidden curriculum in a primary school classroom while considering the school and the classroom in their socio-economical context. It aims to unpack how the hidden curriculum operates through the routine practices and rules that characterize daily classroom experience. Today, every child is considered to have the right to get education. “Standardized” training programs are presented as the indicators of

“equal opportunity in education” with reference to the “standardized” exams that will shape the future of the children and youth. Education-training activities in schools are carried out according to a content determined in line with the purposes stated in this standardized official curriculum. The official curriculum is designated by the Ministry of National Education. In official training programs, general and special purposes, content, hierarchical breakdown of the content based on time, activity examples targeting every outcome of some courses (e.g., courses of Life Sciences and Mathematics) and the principles of evaluation are outlined. In all classrooms of all schools within the territories of our country, teachers are expected to carry out the same education-training activities in line with the principles and purposes determined in the official training program, under the guidance of Teachers’ Guides. Course and study books to be taught to the students at schools are published by the Ministry of National Education and distributed to the students.

We can have an idea of which subjects are taught in that class by examining the course notes of the teachers, students’ class notes, and student study books. We can have an idea of the academic standing of the students by looking at the results of in-class or national or international exams. However, these are not enough for us to get sufficient information on how students and teachers are positioned at the school and in the classroom during this process, which power relations dominate, schools and classrooms, and how the already formed hierarchical structures are reproduced. In order to have a deeper understanding of what is really going on in schools and in classrooms we need other methods and definitions.

In addition to the formal program of schools the hidden curriculum should be noticed and be approached holistically by close analysis of the new policies making processes in education, the development of teacher training programs in faculties of education, preparation of textbooks, physical arrangements in schools and classrooms. All of these are important components of the hidden curriculum and they function together while the hidden curriculum operates. In schools qualified teaching/learning is impossible because of the attitudes of the administrators, the nature of the communication between teachers and students, language barriers, the content of the lesson and lesson materials, the organization of the course books and classroom, rewards and power mechanisms.

This study examines the mechanisms of the hidden curriculum in a fourth-grade public elementary school classroom in the eastern Marmara region of Western Turkey. By using the participant observation technique, the functioning of the hidden curriculum in terms of routine practices that characterize the daily classroom experiences and classroom rules are analysed in detail.

Research Questions

The main purpose of this study is the detailed examination of how the hidden curriculum in a primary school classroom operates through the routine practices and rules that characterize daily classroom experience. In line with the purpose of this study, answers to the following questions have been sought:

1. What are the routine practices that characterize daily classroom experiences?
2. What are the classroom rules and what purposes do they serve?

3. What are the behaviors that are not approved by the teacher in the classroom?
4. What are the behaviors approved and appreciated by the teacher in the classroom?

Significance of the Study

In addition to the formal curricula in school programs, attention must be paid to the hidden curriculum with a holistic approach. Although there are many studies conducted on official curricula in Turkey, the number of the studies conducted on the hidden curriculum is limited. This study in this way contributes to the hidden curricula literature. In recent years in Turkey, it can be seen that there is an increase in the research about the hidden curriculum (Sarı, 2007; Sayan, 2007; Veznedaroğlu, 2007; Tuncel, 2008; Akbulut, 2011; Başar, 2011; Fidan, 2013; Temir, 2013). Of these researches, four were made at primary school level, two at secondary school, one at high school and one at faculty of education. Qualitative research techniques were used in three of the researches at primary school level. Of the studies that were done by qualitative research techniques, two were conducted at a public school and one at a private school. The researches at public schools aim to identify the function of the hidden curriculum in the process of gaining democratic values at schools that have low and high standards of living (Sarı, 2007); also the influence of the hidden curriculum on the undesired in-classroom student behaviour in teaching and learning process (Basar, 2011). The study is done at the private school aimed to evaluate the hidden curriculum elements in two fourth-grade classrooms during the teaching of the Social Sciences Curriculum and at school (Veznedaroglu, 2007).

The present study is one of the first studies that analyze the routines that characterize the everyday class experiences and class rules through participant observation. In addition to the observations conducted in class, the deep analysis of the teacher and students interviews have given the opportunity for rich findings about the progress of the hidden curricula in class. Due to the existence of different ethnic groups in the class being studied, it provided important data on how social hierarchy mechanisms are reproduced in schools with hidden curricula.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

The Concept of the Hidden Curriculum

There are many opinions about when the concept of the hidden curriculum appeared in the field of education. Eisner (1994) stated that this term was first used in 1932 in Waller's work "The Sociology of Teaching", whereas Hlebowitsh (1994) argued that the term was first used under the name "collateral learning" by John Dewey (as cited in Yüksel, 2004, p. 8). In studies conducted on the hidden curriculum, it was generally stated that Jackson used this term for the first time in his 1968 work titled "Life in the Classroom" (Apple, 1971; Gordon, 1982; Lynch, 1989; Portelli, 1993; Hemmings, 2000; Margolis, 2001; Boostrom, 2010).¹

¹...A good deal of the focus has been on what Jackson (1968) has so felicitously labeled the "hidden curriculum" that is, the norms and values that are implicitly, but effectively taught in schools and that are not usually talked about in teachers' statements of end or goals (Apple, 1971, p. 27).

...Over the last decade and a half, since Philip Jackson (1968) coined the term, the hidden curriculum has become one of the major cudgels used by radical critics to attack the schools and show their pernicious place in capitalist society (Gordon, 1982, p. 187).

...While neo-Marxists are by far the most prolific writers on the hidden curriculum, Philip W. Jackson is generally acknowledged as being the first person to use the term in *Life in Classrooms* (1968:10-33) (Lynch, 1989, p. 1).

...When Jackson (1968) first used the expression "the hidden curriculum" in *Life in Classrooms* he captured the meaning identified in the hidden curriculum as the unofficial expectations, or implicit but expected message (Portelli, 1993, p. 345).

...The term "hidden curriculum" was coined by Philip Jackson (1968) to refer to the unofficial 3 Rs - Rules, Routines, and Regulations - which structure *Life in Classrooms*. In order to make their way satisfactorily through school, students must learn how to wait for things, curry special favors, be alone in a crowd, and otherwise go along with implicit procedural expectations (Hemmings, 2000, p. 1).

...Phillip Jackson (1968) is generally acknowledged as the founder of the term hidden curriculum in his book *Life in Classrooms* (Margolis, 2001, p. 4).

...As coined in 1968 by Philip W. Jackson in *Life in Classrooms*, the term was intended to bring attention to elementary-school learning that results from students' experience of the conditions of classroom life (Boostrom, 2010, p. 439).

It is also seen that Jackson used the hidden curriculum term for the first time in an article written in 1966 titled "The Student's World". The following statement by Jackson about hidden curriculum is also defining the concept operationally:

...The other curriculum might be described as unofficial or perhaps even hidden, because to date it has received scant attention from educators. This hidden curriculum can also be represented by three R's, but not the familiar one of reading, (w)riting, and (a)rithmetic. It is, instead, the curriculum of rules, regulations, and routines, of things teachers and students must learn if they are to make their way with minimum pain in the social institution called the school (Jackson, 1966, p. 354).

Other researchers who studied the hidden curriculum defined it in many ways.

Some examples of these definitions are presented below:

Hidden curriculum is a broad category that includes all of the unrecognized and sometimes unintended knowledge, values, and beliefs that are part of the learning process in schools and classrooms (Horn, 2003, p. 298).

In general, I use the term to refer to those nonacademic but educationally significant consequences of schooling that occur systematically but are not made explicit at any level of the public rationales for education (Vallance, 1973-1974, p. 7).

In school, students learn many things that are irrelevant to the formal curriculum.

As Illich's states, the purpose of school is to indoctrinate the "passive consumption" – an uncritical acceptance of the existing social order. It does this through the shape of the school organization and its procedures. The hidden curriculum teaches children that their role in life is "to know their place and to sit still in it" (Illich, 1973, as cited in Giddens, 2006, p. 704).

Portelli (1993, p. 347) emphasizes the hidden curriculum term as not "hiding" but "hidden". He has the following conceptual analysis:

1. X *actually* hid himself or herself, that is, X is responsible for the hiding, X is an *agent*. This corresponds to the meaning of "to hide" when used as an intransitive verb: "to conceal oneself". (As when someone is playing

hide and seek, and is not “It”. In this case, “X is hidden” means “X is hiding”, that is, “X is doing the hiding”.)

2. X was intentionally concealed by someone else (Y). Y, an *agent*, knows that X is concealed. Y knows where X is. In this case, X is not necessarily an agent. X could be either a willing agent or a thing.”
3. X is concealed, X is hidden unintentionally. No one meant to conceal X. It might also be the case that X does *not know* that he or she is in fact hidden. Again, X could be a willing agent or a thing.”

Portelli (1993) asserted that the hidden curriculum was not an agent and so the first option could not be correct; however, the other two options could be regarding that it was available to be hidden by someone else.

According to Gordon (1982, pp. 188-189), the hidden curriculum could be identified in three common ways:

1. Outcomes Definition: “Academic learnings, which are associated with the manifest curriculum and nonacademic learnings-attitudes, values, dispositions, certain social skills- which are associated with the hidden curriculum.”
2. Environmental Definition: “The “cognitive” environment, on the one hand, and the physical and social environments, on the other.”
3. Latent Influence Definition: “A conscious, deliberate influence associated with the manifest curriculum and an unconscious, unplanned influence associated with the hidden curriculum”.

The concept “hidden curriculum” means the “non-designed consequences of the process of schooling”. Some of the teachers and education professionals understand that the students are shaped by the schools through standardized learning conditions and through other plans such as the rules of conduct, classroom

arrangements, and the informal pedagogical practices utilized by the teachers (Giroux & Purple, 1983, as cited in McLaren, 2003). The hidden curriculum also contains the educational strategies implemented in classrooms, the messages conveyed to students through the total physical and instructional environment, administrative structures, teacher expectations, and grading procedures. The knowledge and attitudes of the students are shaped through the way in which the hidden curriculum operates. This process can be named the bureaucratic and administrative "press" of the school — the combination of these pressures directs the students into the compliance with dominating approaches and social practices about the authority, behavior, and morality (McLaren, 2003).

According to Portelli (1993, p. 345), the hidden curriculum could be defined with 4 main concepts:

- (a) the hidden curriculum as the *unofficial expectations*, or implicit but expected messages;
- (b) the hidden curriculum as *unintended learning outcomes* or messages;
- (c) the hidden curriculum as *implicit messages* arising from the structure of schooling;
- (d) the hidden curriculum as *created* by the students.

(a) Jackson defined the hidden curriculum (1968) and he put forward that it was the values and norms, which were aimed to gain students by the school, teacher and parents. (b) Martin (1976), Gordon (1982) and Conelly and Clandinin (1988) focused on the unintended results and messages of the hidden curriculum. (c) Illich (1978) and Aronowitz and Giroux (1985) stated that the education system provided students with the socially and politically appropriate opinions and values in a subtle way and this resulted from the structure of the education system. (d) Snyder (1971)

claimed that students were supposed to learn the issues that were in the hidden curriculum rather than those in the official curriculum to be successful at school (Portelli, 1993, pp. 345-346).

Giroux (2001, p. 61) argues that the concept of hidden curriculum should not be seen as marginal, but it should be situated at the centre of curriculum theory:

Curriculum theory and practice will have to integrate into its problematic a notion of critique that is capable of questioning the normative assumptions underlying its logic and discourse. Furthermore, if the notion of the hidden curriculum is to become meaningful it will have to be used to analyze not only the social relations of the classroom and school, but also the structural "silences" and ideological messages that shape the form and content of school knowledge.

Theoretical Approaches to the Hidden Curriculum

Studies examining the concept of hidden curriculum have used different theoretical frameworks. For example, in their review about hidden curriculum research, Giroux and Penna (1979) categorized the theoretical approaches under three main groups: the structural-functional view of schooling, the phenomenological view of the "new" sociology of education and the radical critical view, often associated with the neo-Marxist analysis of educational theory and practice. Similarly, Lynch (1989) grouped hidden curriculum studies into two main categories: the functionalist tradition and the neo-Marxist perspective. Furthermore, Margolis, Soldatenko, Acker and Gair (2001), categorized them into five main groups: functionalist theorists, Marxist perspectives, British perspective on sociology of education, critical theorists in the United States, and resistance theorists. Finally, Giroux (2001)

grouped the studies into three main groups: traditional approach, liberal approach, and radical perspectives.

When we look at the hidden curriculum research in terms of theoretical paradigms of sociology education, we can see the different research approaches to hidden curriculum can be categorized under three paradigms: functional (structural-functional view, functionalist tradition, traditional approach), interpretive (phenomenological view, liberal approach) and conflict (radical critical view, neo-Marxist perspective, Marxist perspectives, British sociologists of education, critical theorists in the United States, resistance theorists, radical perspectives).

Tan (1990, p. 570) states that in order to explain education, community relations on a macro level functionalist and conflict paradigms must be applied together. Tan summarized the general outline of what a functionalist and conflict approach in terms of its main focus are by comparison:

1. The relationship between education and community, particularly the relationship between education and professional development. The reason why education today has gained more importance compared to past societies is because functionalists have provided a rational solution for the societies needs. However, the conflict approach argued that education serves the ruling elite of the society rather than people from a low socio-economic status.
2. The relationship between education and equal opportunities. Functionalists believe the widespread of education rights indicates that it contributes to the transition to a meritocratic society. The conflict approach, however, indicates that the concept of "equality of opportunity" prevailed for the privileged

groups in order to protect their own benefits. Moreover, it is considered their own fault when failing in education.

3. Achievement gaps in education. Functionalists indicate social class culture, environment, and intelligence are factors outside of school, whereas conflict theorists focus on in-school processes such as intelligence tests, the curriculum, and evaluation methods, which are stacked against children from a lower-socio-economic class.

Studies of the hidden curriculum can be categorized in to three approaches: traditional, liberal and radical. Then, theories of social reproduction, cultural reproduction, and resistance will be briefly examined in relation to hidden curriculum practices.

Traditional Approach

As discussed earlier, a traditional approach to education has a lot in common with the functionalist paradigm of sociology. In this approach the assumption is that the education provided in schools plays an important role in the maintenance of society. It considers schools and societies as a coherent whole and represents the relationship between education and society without bringing a critical perspective. The transfer of the dominant social values and the reproduction of rules of society by the hidden curriculum are considered as positive aspects of the education process (Giroux, 2001, pp. 47-50). Talcott Parsons (1959), Robert Dreeben (1968) and Philip Jackson's (1968) studies can be considered as classical examples of a traditional approach (Skelton, 1997; Giroux, 2001). Durkheim compares society to a

human body, and because every organ in the body has its own duty and they work cooperatively, so the institutions in a society should also have this type of harmonious relationship. Inspired by the human body metaphor where the cells work harmoniously, they proposed the concepts of culture and socialization. In this conceptualization, individuals must socialize in schools and internalize the cultural norms of the society. Only through formal education can individuals be forced and feel obligated to fulfill their social duties (Murphy & Davis, 1979, as cited in Tan, 1990).

Talcott Parsons (1959), in the “The School Class as a Social System,” defended the Durkheimian position that what is essential in a stable and orderly society is the existence of a moral consensus or a set of common values. Socializing children to hold particular values such as those of “achievement” and “equality of opportunity” is necessary to this consensus and is the primary function of education. Parsons contended that schools impart the ideology that inequalities in income and social class status are consequences of differences in educational attainment and are thus to be expected. This “winning and losing” notion of achievement maintains that those who do well in school ought to be highly rewarded. Parsons believed that the sorting and selecting of students through a selection procedure that gives the appearance of rewarding hard work and talent neutralizes inequality (Margolis, Soldatenko, Acker & Gair, 2001, p. 6).

Another functionalist, Jackson (1968), focuses psychological perspective of schooling that socializes students in very powerful ways. Three elements of the hidden curriculum are emphasized which is:

- the crowded nature of the classroom – pupils have to cope with delays, denial of their desires and social distractions;
- contradictory allegiances required to both teachers and peers;
- unequal power relations given to teachers over pupils (as cited in Marsh, 1997, p. 33)

These three elements of “crowds”, “praise” and “power” gave rise to norms of behaviour in classrooms – “the sum total of unofficial institutional expectations, values and norms aimed at by educational administrators, and perhaps teachers and to a lesser extent parents, and which were initially completely unknown to the students” (Portelli, 1993, p. 345).

The powerful relationship between basic dominant assumptions in a collectivity and the hidden curriculum of school was examined by Dreeben (1968). He argued that students tacitly learn certain identifiable social norms mainly by coping with the day-to-day encounters and tasks of classroom life. The fact that these norms that students learn penetrate many areas of later life is critical since it helps document how schooling contributes to individual adjustment to an ongoing social, economic, and political order (Apple, 1971, pp. 29-30).

According to Parsons and Dreben, school is a very valuable social area where students learn social norms that they cannot learn in family life. Even though Jackson sometimes criticizes student obedience at school, he emphasized the importance of a hidden curriculum due to its effect on preparing the student in becoming an adult (Giroux, 2001, pp. 48-50). This is why Jackson’s studies are considered traditional and seen in a functionalist perspective category by researchers (Lynch, 1989; Skelton, 1997; Giroux, 2001).

Finally, Apple (1977, as cited in Giroux & Penna, 1979, p.23) summarized the value of the structural-functionalists approach as the followings:

1) it makes clear that schools do not exist in precious isolation, removed from the interests of the larger society; 2) it spells out specific norms and structural properties of the hidden curriculum; and 3) it raises questions about the specifically historical character of meaning and social control in schools.

Liberal Approach

The liberal view of the hidden curriculum criticizes the relationship between class power and social order more different than the traditional approach. This approaches' main focus was based on Young's (1971) study (Tan, 1993; Giroux, 2001).

Young discussed the sociological approach to the organization of knowledge in curriculum in his article in the book called *Knowledge and Control*. Young (1971) asked:

Why no sociology of the curriculum? Perhaps the organization of knowledge implicit in our own curricula is so much part of our taken for granted world that we are unable to conceive of alternatives. Are we then reluctant to accept that academic curricula and the forms of assessment associated with them are sociological inventions to be explained like men's other inventions, mechanical and sociological? (p. 40).

According to Giroux (2001) this approach is based on the question "how meaning gets produced in the classroom" and it rejects the traditional approach of students being seen passive. Research using a liberal approach examined the interactional patterns of everyday school experiences. While using an interpretive approach, these studies focus on micro-social processes within schools and classrooms,

classroom interactions, teacher and student descriptions and the organization of knowledge in teaching programs (Tan, 1993, p. 68).

The hidden curriculum is viewed differently in the liberal perspective than the functionalists. As stated by Skelton (1997) the liberal perspective considers the hidden curriculum as the taken-for-granted assumptions and practices of school life. These assumptions and practices created by various “actors” within the school (for example, teachers and students) take on an appearance of accepted normality through their daily production and reproduction. Many liberal critiques of schooling, therefore, revealed those unquestioned and “hidden” aspects of school life such as school rules and codes of discipline, learning organization (for example, streaming and mixed ability) and relationships and interactions between teachers and students. They seek to make explicit the assumptions, on which everyday practices come to light and describe the process of how these practices are created and maintained in classrooms” (Skelton, 1997, p. 179).

Liberal critiques regarded knowledge as a social structure and researched the following questions (Giroux, 2001, p. 50):

(a) the actual and hidden content of schooling; (b) the principles that govern the form and content of teacher-student interaction; and (c) the importance of seeing educational knowledge as commonsense categories and typifications selected from the larger culture and society that teachers, students, and researchers use to give meanings to their actions.

Hargreaves (1967) and Lacey (1970) studied streaming practices, which were effective for students with different learning abilities. Both authors argued that found that once streams had been created, students took on the “identity” of the stream, leading to underachievement in the “lower” stream classes. David

Hargreaves (1978) researched the role of space and time in classrooms. He found that these aspects are symbolic expressions regarding power relations between the teacher and student. For example, the teachers' freedom to walk around, work space, controlling allocation and time within the classroom give clues to students about "appropriate" teacher-student relations (Skelton, 1997, p. 179).

Nell Keddie's (1971) study is a typical example of the liberal approach. In this study, a certain number of high school teachers who gave lessons to groups of students from different socio-economic backgrounds were examined. Results demonstrated that the students from the working-class were taught to follow rules such as not asking questions, or accepting the teacher's opinions without hesitation. However, it was found that the teachers extended the class material while teaching to the students from the middle-class. The students from middle class background were also found to be more motivated to participate. This study was important not only in terms of revealing how teacher's examples and categories used in class contributed to the students' achievement, but also in some situations their attitudes in classrooms was the main cause failure of students (Giroux, 2001, p. 51). Keddie stated, "Working-class students are denied access to higher status academic knowledge, which inevitably restricts their future educational success (as cited in Skelton, 1997, p. 182)".

The hidden curriculum concept was discussed separately from political and economic determinant with a non-critical perspective in studies with a liberal approach. Researchers who adopt this approach found the teachers individually responsible for the existence of a hidden curriculum and its effect. For example,

Richard M. Merelman (1980) argued that “Future teachers have grade-point averages far below the averages of their academic peers, that most of the elementary schools are filled with our least gifted minds”. In this approach ideological and structural constraints were ignored and pedagogical deficiencies have been reduced to individual failure (Giroux, 2001, pp. 50-56).

One of the main focuses of the liberal review was gender study in schools. It can be observed that most of the gender studies conducted during the 1960’s and 1970’s in the United States and England had this approach. These studies on gender emphasized the internal structures and processes in education that promote gender roles socialization. However, they did not pay enough attention to roots of inequalities in gender relations outside of the school, what interest it serves and how these gender roles are intertwined with different social class and forms of individual behavior (Giroux, 2001, pp. 50-56). Instead of viewing gender inequality as a structural problem, the liberal approach assumed that about gender inequality in school was indication of individuals’ ignorance and prejudice. Researchers using the liberal approach presumed that educational institutions would stimulate social change by providing gender equality in schools. At the same time they argued that inequality could be adjusted through egalitarian education programs and affirmative action (Thompson, 2003, as cited in Sayılan, 2012).

Giroux (2001) summarized the limitations of the studies on the hidden curriculum using the liberal frameworks as the following:

... the hierarchical and often authoritarian relationships of school management, the conservative nature of school ideology, the material conditions of the classroom, the structural isolation teachers often face, and

the fiscal and ideological constraints in many liberal accounts of the workings of the hidden curriculum (pp. 55-56)

These studies demonstrated how the liberal perspective took a different view of people in relation to society when compared with the functionalist perspective.

Drawing on the philosophical roots of symbolic interactionism, humanistic psychology, phenomenology and ethnomethodology, the liberal approach views people not as passive receivers of social norms and values, but as active, purposeful creators of meaning. School practices, therefore, and their hidden assumptions and effects, are not created by society and received powerlessly by teachers and students. Rather they are created and reproduced by teachers and students through their actions and interactions within the classroom. The emphasis in the liberal perspective, therefore, is “microscopic”, as opposed to “macroscopic” (as with the functionalists). Its focus is internal structures and processes of schooling as opposed to the social structure and how schools contribute to the order and maintenance of this structure (Skelton, 1997, p. 180).

Radical Perspectives

According to Giroux, both theoretical and empirical studies dominated this approach focused on the political economy of schooling. The radical approaches focused on the argument of “the social relations that characterize the production process represent the determining force in shaping the school environment” and analyzed the political role of education in the context of social class and oppression (Giroux, 2001, p. 56)

Tan (1990) stated the common assumptions of conflict (radical) perspectives as the following: The existence of a fundamental conflict between different groups in the society having opposing interests, the hegemonic struggle of different interest groups over education, and the internalization of the values that help the continuation of the existing order as the main objective of education (pp. 564-565). The radical approach focuses on the role of social classes, ethnicity, and gender for maintaining a hierarchical relationship. Boostrom (2010) stated that radical and critical approaches had a significant impact on curriculum studies. Moreover, he argued that the studies based on this approach explained how the concept of the hidden curriculum became a mechanism to explain the production and reproduction of social inequalities. Researchers like Jean Anyon, Michael Apple, and Henry Giroux have expressed that the hidden curriculum was a tool used to serve the interests of the dominant groups. Furthermore, it implicitly teaches inequality based on race, gender, and social class to students through school experience (Boostrom, 2010). The critical perspective accepts social factors that affect teachers and students. The main problem is the fact that hidden curriculums causes inequalities in society and even official curriculums support these hidden notions that lead to social injustice (Skelton, 1997, p. 181).

Bowles and Gintis (1976) made the theoretical ground to this approach in their study named "Schooling in Capitalist America". Even though the researchers did not use the term "hidden curriculum" they indicated the relation between school and work career. They found that schools used different programs that are not a part of the formal curriculum for students from different social classes in

order to equip them with the skills they will need in the working force (Skelton, 1997; Giroux, 2001).

Theorists like Carnoy and Levin (1976) pointed to the school structures in which different socio-economic groups received different forms of education. With the development of this point of view, metaphors were used to explain the relationship among schools, wider society and the economic order. One of the commonly used metaphors was that schools have become factories for the working class (Giroux, 2001, p. 57).

Giroux (2001) found the studies conducted on the “political economy position” with the radical approaches as important contributions to the education literature. However, he critiqued this line of research for analyzing the role of a hidden curriculum with a one-sided theoretical perspective. He stated that the teachers and students at schools are resistant and do not take the forces for granted and do not act passively according to the capitalist logic: “these radical accounts fail to understand that while schools serve the interests of capitalism, they also serve other interest as well, some of which are in opposition to the economic order and the needs of the dominant society (p. 58)”.

According to Apple (1995), educational institutions play a role in the reproduction of ideology and social order. However, he claimed that several school practices might have been in conflict with the open interests of the ruling class. He also pointed to the importance and the need of getting into schools in order to comprehend the role of schools in being reproductive ideological sites:

...without getting inside the school, without seeing how and why students rejected the overt and hidden curriculum, and without linking this back to non-mechanistic conception of reproduction and contradiction, we would be unable to comprehend the complexity of the work that schools perform as sites of ideological production (Apple, 1995, p. 24).

Apple sees ideology as the “part of a lived culture that was a result of the material conditions of one’s day to day practices (1995, p. 24)”. Therefore, in order to understand how ideologies are used in schools, the close examination of everyday school life in concrete form is crucial. Moreover, he implied that with the help of the content of the curriculum, the capitalist control mechanisms and its logic have entered schools. Apple also stated that two elements of a curriculum should be important to discuss: what is in its context? And what is missing from the context? (1995, p. 28)

According to Anyon (1980), Bowles and Gintis have argued that students in different social-class backgrounds are rewarded for classroom behaviors that correspond to personality traits allegedly rewarded in the different occupational strata – the working classes for docility and obedience, the managerial classes for initiative and personal assertiveness. By focusing on school knowledge, Basil Bernstein, Pierre Bourdieu, and Michael W. Apple have argued that knowledge and skills leading to social power and regard (medical, legal, managerial) are made available to the advantaged social groups but are withheld from the working classes to whom a more "practical" curriculum is offered (manual skills, clerical knowledge).

Anyon (1980) conducted a study in New Jersey with fifth-grade students in five different schools. The schools were categorized according to professions and economic income of the students’ parents; two of the schools were working-class

schools, one of them was middle-class, one of them was an affluent professional school, and the last one an executive elite school. Anyon's study was very important in terms of stating the differences in teaching/learning between different socio-economic levels. Anyon's study's results in terms of teaching-learning practices are summarized: In the two working-class schools, the procedure continued mechanically, the students had very little choices and did not participate in decision-making processes. The students were told what to do by the teacher and they were expected to follow these instructions. The focus was on whether they had followed the instructions and not whether they answered right or wrong. The teacher used imperative form and in the language lesson only punctuation was taught. What the students wrote was either dictated or written on the board. Students wrote the same sentences in their notebooks. The teachers determined the time given for the lesson and break. For example, students who did not complete their work or who needed discipline were not sent out to break. In the middle-class school the focus was on finding the correct answer, and the students were given a grade according to the number of correct answers. The students found answers through their books and by listening to the teacher, and the answers they found were written down neatly in order. The teacher listened to their answer. The students were expected to write their own sentences, not to copy the information. During communication, the teacher used the word "please". The lessons were mostly based on the books. The teacher explained the lesson without analyzing the content of the book and answering questions such as why. In the affluent professional school the focus was on creative activities, which students

could do freely. The opinions and impressions of students were considered important. Materials and methods were chosen by both the students and the teacher. The originality of the activities was considered crucial. The teacher encouraged students to think critically. During the activities students were allowed to use different areas of the classroom, they could stand up or sit on the floor. In class, different teaching methods and approaches were used to inspire student creativity. Student studies are considered very important. The teacher found that the answers being right or wrong was not important but discussing the students' opinions was more meaningful. In the executive elite school, the teaching-learning activities were based on strengthening the student's intellectual knowledge. The students were encouraged to conceptualize rules in order to solve problems. School activities helped students to prepare themselves for achievement and perfection. The purpose of school activities was to make the students' future perfect. The teacher always encouraged the students to express their opinions when they did not agree with one another. Students were encouraged to discuss current issues and were listened to for their different perspectives. The students came to school ready and they gave lectures as student teachers. Later on, the explanation and these lectures were analyzed by the whole class. In the evaluation, their criteria were whether the student was clear enough, and if he/she made any mistakes. The teacher reminded the student that he was also the authority and backed up the student when needed. The students, except kindergarteners, could go to their classroom without waiting for the bell to ring. Two months after the school started, the fifth graders could go to the lesson or gym without waiting for the teacher or

without getting into line. The students could receive the material whenever they needed from the teacher's desk and cupboard. They did not require permission to exit the lesson, and the teachers acted very polite and called them by their names.

Giroux (2001, p. 104) criticized Anyon's (1980) study for disregarding diversities with the same school and treating the communities and schools as monolithic wholes. Furthermore, in Anyon's (1981) study, the concept of resistance is not defined, and the resistance concept is categorized both under passive and active categories. In his article (1981) named "Social Class and School Knowledge" Anyon indicated that the students in the working-class showed passive and active resistance towards curricula that is forced. Active resistance took place in the form of misplaced books, bugs being put in desks so that students fell out of their seats, and as passive resistance the students did not answer the questions and the teacher believed that they did not care. Related to the political economy of schooling, next section will discuss theories of reproduction briefly to show the role of dominant groups in the operation of the hidden curriculum. Finally, it will review the literature on resistance theories in relation to hidden curriculum processes.

Theories of Reproduction

In general, the theories of reproduction focus on the decisive nature of the dominant power on society and how educational institutions serve their interests and priorities (Giroux, 2001). Reproduction theorists used the metaphors of factory and prison to describe school where children from low socio-economic backgrounds learn skills and manners for working class jobs.

Theories of Social Reproduction

Althusser (1995) states that capitalist relations of production are reproduced through state apparatuses applied by the government in power. The state apparatuses can be grouped into two: repressive state apparatus and ideological state apparatus. The main difference between the repressive state apparatus and the ideological state apparatus is that the repressive state apparatus means “using force”, whereas the ideological state apparatus is focused on “using ideology”. While the repressive state apparatus consists of governmental administrators, army, police, court, and jails, whereas the ideological state apparatus is scattered in the society (e.g., religious and educational institutions (whether private or public school systems), family, law, politics, unions (systems including different parties), communication (press, radio, television etc), culture (literature, art, sports etc.).

“What do schools teach?” was the primary question of Althusser’s (1995) analysis of education. He argued that starting from a very early age, schools take children from different social classes when their minds are “open to any influence” and inculcate the dominant ideology for years. In this sense, the primary mission of schools is to shape young generations by the ideological state apparatus. Althusser (1995) also stated that schools teach the rules, proper manners and etiquette for their status, designated by the dominant class. For example, schools do not teach only “awareness of being a citizen, professional conscience, ethnic rules, being respectful to socio-technical division of labour, respecting the social class order”,

but also “making commands properly, being able to speak and write in French properly to the future capitalists and working class” (pp. 158-159).

According to Giroux, “Althusser attempted to tackle the difficult question of how a labor force can be constituted to fulfill the important material and ideological functions necessary for reproducing the capitalist mode of production (2001, p. 79)”. Giroux’ analysis (2001) of Althusser’s arguments on teaching pointed out that ideology is made up of two crucial elements. The first consists of the daily practical regulations and routines in schools and material existence (for example, the architecture of a school building, seating arrangements). The second element is a representation system that hosts unconscious, implicit meanings for students (p. 81)

Similar to Althusser’s arguments, Bowles and Gintis’ (1976) book named *Schooling in Capitalist America* was one of the important studies about the role of schools in reproducing the dominant values in a society. Bowles and Gintis claimed that formal and hidden curricula play a role in maintaining capitalism: “competition and evaluation, hierarchical divisions of labor, bureaucratic authority, compliance, and the fragmented and alienated nature of work” (as cited Margolis, Soldatenko, Acker & Gair, 2001, p. 7).

On the other hand, Giroux (2001) criticized Bowles and Gintis for not sharing the Althusser’s opinion about the role of capitalism in schools. Bowles and Gintis supposed that schools have two roles in capitalist society; the first is the reproduction of labor force necessary for capitalism and the other is reproduction of the knowledge and tools for that turns labor into profit. While Althusser chose

the term “ideology” in explaining the role of schools, Bowles and Gintis used the correspondence principle. The correspondence principle can be defined as patterns that characterize the hierarchically structured values, norms and skills of capitalism. These patterns are observable in the daily practices and social dynamics within schools. Therefore, through social relations in schools the individuals learn practices and skills that are necessary for capitalist society:

The educational system helps integrate youth into the economic system, we believe, through a structural correspondence between its social relations and those of production. The structure of social relations in education not only inures the student to the discipline of the workplace, but develops the types of personal demeanor, modes of self-preservation, self-image, and social identifications which are crucial ingredients of job adequacy. Specifically, the social relationship of education – the relationship between administrators and teachers, teachers and students, students and their work – replicate the hierarchical division of labor (Bowles & Gintis, 1976, as cited in Giroux, 2001, p. 84).

According to Bowles and Gintis the hierarchy in school supports capitalist employment. The frequent evaluation of students’ is also consistent with the idea of performance evaluations in their future careers. The level of schooling based on students’ abilities (i.e., low, middle, high ability groups) has an effect on how students experience different normative climates. Bowles and Gintis argued that the lower levels emphasize “rule-following”, the middle stresses “dependability” while the higher level expects “internalization of the norms of enterprise”. They further stated that the students’ social class, race and gender determine their social experiences in schools (Lynch, 1989).

To sum up, the arguments of both Althusser (1971) and Bowles and Gintis (1976) about social reproduction were criticized by Giroux (2001) for their lowering

the human agency to a passive model. Furthermore, they ignored the forms of conflicts and struggles within schools and work places (p. 86).

Theories of Cultural Reproduction

According to Giroux (2001) the cultural reproduction theory focuses on the question how capitalist societies repeat and renew themselves (p. 87).

In this section of the literature review of cultural reproduction, the theory of Pierre Bourdieu and his friends (1977) and in Basil Bernstein's (1975/2003) studies will be examined.

Bourdieu suggested three forms of cultural capital: embodied (existing according to the mind and body), objectified, (being seen as a objective cultural value), and the institutionalized (within a corporate structure, such as educational qualifications)(1986, pp. 106-110).

According to Bourdieu, just because everyone has the right to be educated, it does not mean there is equality in education. Individuals coming from different social classes and having different cultural capital do not enter school in equal condition. In other words, due to the differences in cultural capital, students are not equal in their luck to be successful in their education. Therefore, they are not equal in the teaching-learning processes. The education provided in schools embeds the dominant cultural ideology and includes cultural codes that are difficult for students from lower social classes to decode. Bourdieu claimed that when teachers are grading students, it is impossible for them to not be biased, because teachers prioritize values and styles of the dominant social class. Even if the teacher does not

come from the dominant social class, the information and culture are transferred through the language of the dominant class. The students from the lower class have difficulty in comprehending the meaning, whereas the students from the dominant social class have an advantage in comprehending the language. This is why, according to Bourdieu, education serves the function of elimination (Aktay, 2010).

Bourdieu, cites physicist Maxwell's second thermodynamic law in terms of the functioning of the reproduction mechanisms in schools (1998, p. 20):

Maxwell imagined a demon who sorts the moving particles passing before him, some being warmer, therefore faster moving, others cooler, therefore slower moving; the demon sends the fastest particles into one container, whose temperature rises, and the slowest into another container, whose temperature falls. He thereby maintains difference and order, which would otherwise tend to be annihilated. The educational system acts like Maxwell's demon: at the cost of the energy which is necessary of carrying out the sorting operation, it maintains the preexisting order, that is, the gap between pupils endowed with unequal amounts of cultural capital. More precisely, by a series of selection operations, the system separates the holders of inherited cultural capital from those who lack it. Differences of aptitude being inseparable from social differences according to inherited capital; the system thus tends to maintain preexisting social differences.

The concept of cultural capital and habitus are regarded crucial for the analysis of the reproduction functions and its processes (Giroux, 2001). Bourdieu (2006) used the game metaphor in order to explain the concept of field. In a game, there are the players, their cards, their investments, purposes, interests, strategies and rules that are not clearly stated. The players represent the society. Their investments and capitals are at the risk and but they wait for a profit at the end of the game. The real capital is the cards every player has in their hands. The field is the place on which the game is played. According to their cultural capital, players' chance to win and their access to power are determined. Strategies that players develop during the

game are susceptibly shaped by time and correspond to the habitus concept (Özsöz, 2006, pp. 17-18).

On the other hand, Bernstein (1977) claims that classroom relations in education play an important role in the reproduction of culture. The center of the analysis is the theory of cultural transmission. Bernstein examined the question of how the educational structure shapes the identity and experience. He argued that the school embodies the education code, which can be defined as transmission of power and authority in every aspect of school experience (as cited in Giroux, 2001)

According to Bernstein (1975/2003, p. 77) in order to frame and classify the educational knowledge, the section below should be taken into consideration:

How a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control. From this point of view, differences within, and change in, the organization, transmission and evaluation of educational knowledge should be a major area of sociological interest.

Bernstein (1977) tried to conceptualize the schools' reproduction of class relationship in society. He stated that power and control are embedded in the experiences in social fields such as family, school and workplace and they configure individuals' consciousness (as cited in Giroux, 2001).

Bernstein's analyzed the social division of labor by using the concepts of horizontal and vertical dimensions (as cited in Köse, 2001). The horizontal dimension is based on the relationship between categories that show similarities with teams sharing the same criteria. Categories of team that share the horizontal dimension show peer relations and have relatively equal features. The vertical

dimension, however, is based on the vertical position in a team or category. There is a hierarchical relationship between categories that deploys on different positions in groups or team relations, like the relationship between students and teachers, and teachers and administrators. Bernstein states that a social structure based on the division of labor and the horizontal and vertical relations between the classes or groups organizes group dynamics. In a social structure based on the division of labour, vertical relations define and lay out horizontal relations. Therefore, relations between social classes or groups would also define and lay relations within social classes and groups. Furthermore, the relations among the employers, workers, teachers, students, men and women as groups or social class in a social structure defines the relations between employers and workers, teachers and students, women and men as individuals (Köse, 2001).

Bernstein (1975) claimed that children from different backgrounds developed different codes and language dialects that affected their school life from an early age. During the development of this cultural code the social environment in which the child has grown up, the values and norms, kinship and neighborhood relations, and the communication among family members play a role. For example, students from the working class will use a simple code when talking. The simple code is the language they use to communicate in practical life and its features distinguish children from a lower socio-economic class from their peers. Middle-class children use a more complex code. Children from a middle-class can easily generalize and express abstract concepts. Bernstein claims that children with the ability to talk with a complex code are more likely to comprehend the formal

academic language in schools and can adapt to the school environment easier. However, this does not mean the children from the working class do not have a language code; it just means that these children's speech conflict with the schools' existing academic culture (Giddens, 2006, pp. 708-709).

Theory of Resistance

Giroux (2001) stated that resistance theory provides an important framework to analyze the relationship between school and society. This relatively new approach in educational research rejects the traditional functionalist approaches that view oppositional behaviors as deviant and abnormal. The resistance approach redefines the logical reasons and meanings of oppositional behavior in the context of emancipatory possibilities.

According to Apple (1982), "students are not merely passive vessels but act creatively in ways that often contradict expected norms and dispositions that pervade the schools". Resistance theorists like Apple, Freire, Willis, Macedo, McLaren, Hooks, and Giroux state the importance of agency, resistance, and opposition in the education system (as cited in Margolis, Soldatenko, Acker & Gair, 2001, pp. 15-16).

Freire (2000) argued that the relationship between teachers and students is based on narratives. This relationship consists of a narrator as a subject (teacher) and patiently listening objects (students). The students were seen as "cups" and "containers" that needed to be filled by the teacher. The more the teacher fills the containers the better he or she is considered, and the more the containers allow

themselves to be filled the better they are considered as students.

Freire called this type of teacher-student relationship the banking model and

defined it this way:

- (a) the teacher teaches and the students are taught;
- (b) the teacher knows everything and the students know nothing;
- (c) the teacher thinks and the students are thought about;
- (d) the teacher talks and the students listen – meekly;
- (e) the teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined;
- (f) the teacher chooses and enforces his choice, and the students comply;
- (g) the teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher;
- (h) the teacher chooses the program content, and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it;
- (i) the teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his or her own professional authority, which she and he sets in opposition to the freedom of the students;
- (j) the teacher is the subject of the learning process, while the pupils are mere objects. (Freire, 2000, p. 73)

One of the most important studies on the theory of resistance is Paul Willis's

book named *Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs*.

Willis's (1977) study shows that schools are not only places in which culture and ideologies are imposed on students but they can also serve as sites for struggle and conflict (Apple, 1995, p. 23). His research conducted in a school in Birmingham analyzed cultural production and tried to answer the question of "how working-class kids get working-class jobs". Willis observed a certain group of male students and noticed that they were aware of the authority mechanism but did not instrumentalize it to adjust them to the system, but used it to fight against the system. Students noticed the flaws in teachers' personalities or their classroom management weakness and suggested they manipulated these to protect each other. These young students were impatient to leap into the work force although

they knew that their income would never be satisfactory. They were approaching the work with a rejecting attitude like they did to school (as cited Giddens, 2006, pp. 711-712).

Robert Everhart's (1979) research with senior high school students mostly from the working-class yielded similar results. These students were spending time on creating cultural formats that gave them authority in school. Even if they do not reject the formal curricula, they complete what is necessary in order to not jeopardize their social mobility (Apple, 1995, p. 24).

Years after Willis's study, the sociologist Mairtin Mac and Ghail (1994, as cited in Giddens, 2006) studied youths in a secondary school in a working-class neighborhood of West Midlands. They were living in an area where there was unemployment, the manufacturing sector had collapsed and the government had cut down the funding for youths. Ghail stated, contrary to Willis's findings, that these young students did not have a clear path between school and work life. Most of the youth envisioned life after school as being economically linked to the family, working on "useless" government projects, and performing manual labor in a job that has no security. Moreover, they were confused about the connection between school and their future. This point of view came up in different responses regarding teaching-learning. Four men coming from the working-class, "macho lads", evaluated as a part of the authority system that imprisons students and tries to teach unnecessary skills. The youths that Willis observed found a way to use the school for their own benefits, whereas these macho youths challenged the roles they were given. Schools were like the streets, where they learned to battle. For

macho lads, surveillance and solidarity with friends played an important value. For them “school was not about the 3 R’s (reading, writing and arithmetic), but about the 3 F’s (fighting, fucking and football)”. They viewed teachers as police who always tried to trap them with authority. Like in Willis’s study, they saw academic achievement as trivial and girlish and called students who were academic achievers “dickhead achievers” (as cited in Giddens, 2006, pp. 712-713).

Rules and Routines

Apple (2012) stated that in the USA the curriculum is based mainly on the student’s individuation, ready individual worksheets, the students’ individualized study and work on individual tasks. Except for the recess periods, teaching/learning activities are organized based on the one-to-one communication between the teacher and students. Through this curriculum students were managed and disciplined.

Furthermore, Gitlin (1979) argued that standard characters and standard behaviour patterns are rehearsed in prime-time television programs to ensure social stability. “They express and cement the obduracy of a social world impervious to substantial change (as cited in Apple, 1995, p. 29)”. Therefore, routines and rules both in schools and in social life represent ideological codes and help the reproduction capitalist relations.

Furthermore, in a study on morning routines in a pre-school, Akgün (2013) indicated that routines in the morning are pre-activities and are a “ritual” to help the transition from home to school and game to studying. These rituals have an important role in transferring positive features to children and in helping them to

adapt to school life and school culture. For example, through routines they learn the rules for respect and for living together and to connect with social organizations and groups. The most important purpose of these rituals is to “organize a class where the child can adapt to, settle in and connect and spend his/her day in a social organization and group.” Children’s participation in the activities and routines increases their awareness on “what they need to learn and what to expect” and they learn to “obey rules, gain focus, and join in activities” (Akgün, 2013).

By closely examining the literature, we can further question which other functions and rituals are served. According to Bates (1982) “schools are saturated with rituals (p. 16)”. Rituals are potential control mechanisms that reflect characteristics of intergroup power. Bates (1982) states that rituals and routines are the basic constituents of a hidden curriculum. “Routines as ritualised relations are redundant and powerful, redundant, because they are not consciously thought about, because they are accepted without examination or question. They are powerful, because they are unconsciously followed and unquestionably accepted” (Bates, 1982, p. 17).

According to the perspective of Schimmel (1997), citizenship education is related to teaching school rules and rule-making processes in schools. Making the school rules and informing the pupils about them is a very important part of the citizenship education. For this reason, the rules settled in schools are a kind of law applying to the pupils (Thornberg, 2009). Based on the practice of all rules, the final result of the hidden or implicit citizenship education can be determined whether students become good citizens. A good citizen can be defined as someone “who

(1) does good to others and does not harm others, (2) functions well in the society and lives by its laws and norms, and (3) takes responsibility and does her or his very best". However, in this definition, there is no place for critical thinking, critically discussing and repealing the explicit rules. The children are supposed to behave in accordance with the rules shaped by the adults (Thornberg, 2009, pp. 253-254).

The education professionals shape and sustain the social order in school, arrange the student behavior, and organize the lessons, breaks and other school activities. The teachers judge the transgressions of all rules of classroom as moral. The behaviors complying with the rules such as being silent and nice are accepted as something valuable or morally good (Thornberg, 2009, pp. 248-249).

The school rules have two different functions: (1) social regulation which can be defined as constructing the order in school by shaping the pupil behavior and (2) moral socialization, which can be defined as encouraging the pupils in a moral sense (i.e., their understanding of justice, welfare and rights). That is why the school rules reflect the daily values on social regulation and moral education (Halstead & Taylor, 2000; Johansson & Johansson, 2003; Thornberg, 2006 as cited in Thornberg, 2009, pp. 248-249).

Another example was Wrag's (1994) study that analyzed urban, rural and ethnically mixed primary schools in England. The results of this study revealed that the amount of noise the students make and talking without permission are the two of the most observed unwanted behaviours in classrooms. Wragg states that the most frequent misbehaviour was at a medium level, but was not severe. For example, being noisy is a misbehaviour that violates the social functioning.

However, only one percentage of the time was behaviour considered severe, but physical aggression toward another student was observed (as cited in Wrag & Wrag, 1998, pp. 5-8).

According to Wragg (1994), “the percentage of lesson segments in which various kinds of misbehavior occurred” as follows:

Types of misbehaviour	% of occurrences
1. Noisy or illicit talk	% 32.9
2. Inappropriate movement	% 26.4
3. Inappropriate use of materials	% 10.3
4. Defiance of teacher	% 8.3
5. Taking something without permission	% 1.8
6. Physical aggression to another pupil	% 1.4

(Wragg, 1994, as cited in Wrag & Wrag, 1998, p. 6)

Özer, Bozkurt and Tuncay (2014) studied the topic of unwanted behavior and the class teachers’ strategies to confront and to stop unwanted behavior. The study indicated similar results. The causes of unwanted behavior were outside factors such as; the family, the students’ friends and school related structural factors such as crowded class. They have stated that teachers teach subjects like Turkish, social studies, science and technology, and mathematics were less exposed to unwanted behavior in lessons; whereas, music, sports and art teachers come across with more unwanted behavior.

Başar (2011) studied the effect of a hidden curriculum on the student’s unwanted behaviour during teaching and learning processes. The results indicated that the class teachers’ decisions regarding classroom management and rule making were mainly half-democratic. This study also indicated that class teachers make decisions when necessary.

Doğanay and Sadık (2007) conducted a study in order to research unwanted behaviours in classrooms and they interviewed fourth- and fifth-grade teachers, students, and parents in a low socio-economic status primary school. According to the research results most participants defined unwanted behaviour as behaviour that is not proper in terms of societal expectations. Teachers stated the most frequent unwanted behaviors as the following: making noise, talking without permission, not entering and exciting class on time, not waiting for the teacher in a ready position, lack of participation, dealing with extracurricular activities, complaining, talking back to the teacher, trying to get attention, distracting the teacher, not following instructions, not coming prepared to class, disturbing friends when studying, rude and abusive speech, not paying attention to the way they sit, disturbing friends, getting each other's belongings without permission, and doing physical and verbal violence to friends. The behaviour that was seen not tolerable was stated dirtying the floor, giving harm to friends physically, acting bad to friends, giving harm to class property, do not disrespect the teacher, do not talk without permission, do not make noise, talking rudely and swearing, not waiting for the teacher prepared, reluctant to the lesson, distracting the teacher, and coming to school unprepared were the most everyone agreed on.

Similarly, Keskin's (2009) studied the opinions of class teachers how classroom management strategies change unwanted behaviors. According to the results, the mostly used intervention method to stop unwanted behaviours was getting angry with students and verbal warning. Furthermore, the most two

unwanted behaviour in class were complaining about friends and speaking without permission.

Studies on the Hidden Curriculum

Keddie (1971) conducted a research in a multiple program high school in the United Kingdom. The students studying in this school were tracked into three groups according to their academic levels (A, B, C groups). When the teachers defined the students in different levels, they used different statements according to their level. The teacher defined the lowest group considered problematic (C group- working class students) with negative statements, whereas they defined the highest group (A group- high economical class students) with positive statements. When the teacher gave lessons, the content of the lessons differed according to their levels. While giving lessons to group A, they used more complicated, demanding teaching methods and techniques, However, when they teach in group C note taking, repeating activities were used. The teachers would answer the questions asked by the students in group A, but they avoided answering questions from the students in group C by giving excuses such as the question being irrelevant etc. Moreover, it was seen that teachers had different expectations according to the features of the group. They showed tolerance to students' in group C to speak slang, whereas group A was not allowed to speak slang.

Furthermore, Rubovits and Maehr (1973) noticed that white middle-aged class teachers expected low academic achievement from black students. They found that teachers gave lessons by grouping their students based on their race. As

a result of this classification white and two black students were treated differently. Teachers paid more attention to the white students, whereas the black students were less motivated, and praised.

As mentioned earlier, Anyon's (1980) study with fifth grade students in five socio-economically different schools showed that the content presented by the teacher displayed the manners, the method used to communicate with the students, the students motivation, and the values put forward in class show difference according to the SES levels of the schools.

In her study named "Classroom Social Relationships: Exploring the Bowles and Gintis Hypothesis", Oakes (1982) examined 75 high ability and 64 low track ability students whom were tracked according their success in secondary English and mathematics classes. In these classes the teacher-student and student- student relationship were examined in relation to Bowles and Gintis's study named "Schooling in Capitalist America". Oakes' results supported the study of Bowles and Gintis' findings empirically. In both studies it was found of social relations and teacher-student interactions showed difference in different classes of the same school.

In the study known as the Pygmalion experiment, Rosental and Jacobson (1968) conducted an IQ test on all students in a primary school and later on they randomly chose students and told their teacher that those students were going to advance rapidly during the year. At the end of the teaching year it was observed that the students whom were labeled as smart and had the potential to advance mentally had shown a remarkable increase in their IQ results. Rosental (1993)

stated students whom were considered as “special” and treated differently by their teachers that were expected to show advancement. This different treatment of teachers can be identified in four ways (pp. 10-11):

1. Climate. Teachers appear to create a warmer socio-emotional climate for their special students. This warmth appears to be at least partially communicated by nonverbal cues.
2. Feedback. Teachers appear to give their special students more differentiated feedback, both verbal and nonverbal, as to how these students have been performing.
3. Input. Teachers appear to teach more material and more difficult material to their special students.
4. Output. Teachers appear to give their special students greater opportunities for responding. These opportunities are offered both verbally and nonverbally (e.g., giving a student more time in which to answer a teacher's question).

Hemmings (2000), studied “The Hidden Corridor Curriculum” and his purpose was to identify the hidden curriculum in the corridors of two public high schools. Four students who were considered school leaders for two weeks each were walked around with in the corridors and eaten food. In addition, semi-structured interviews were done with students and focus group work. Two months were spent in both schools. Some of the behaviors observed in the corridors were the following: the higher grades showed violence to lower grades and the low grades did not know how to defend themselves, groups in school forcing students to obey certain rules, and gender hostility.

Sarı (2007) compared the school life in terms of equality, respect for human dignity, respect for the environment and the functioning process of a hidden curriculum in two different schools. One of the schools was known for providing low quality education and the other was a high quality school. In this study named “The

Effect of Hidden Curriculum on Gaining Democratic Values: A Qualitative Study in Two Elementary Schools Having Low and High Quality of School Life” (Sarı, 2007), the researcher used both quantitative and qualitative research methods. According to the research results, the low level of quality of school life was found in the lower socio-economic status school. It was also found that teachers showed more for equality, respect and for human dignity in the school with a high level quality of school life than the teachers in a lower level quality school. The of the hidden curriculum of the school with a high level quality of school life showed more positive features in terms of the nature of teacher-student communication, the process of making rules, the sanctions for rule transgressions, the social activities at school, parent-teacher association, and the quality of students home environment than the hidden curriculum of the school with a low level of school life quality.

Sayan (2007) studied which advantages and disadvantages schools brought for girls who were able to continue their education in poor areas. This study named “A Qualitative Research on the Girls’ School Experience” presented a section of female students’ school experiences and examined these experiences by using mainstream (liberal) and critical perspectives that divides sociology of education. Sayan (2007) conducted this research in a middle school located in a major town and used qualitative data collection tools such as diaries of female students and memories of both male and female students. It was expressed that the aim was to found out how the girls who were in the same school, same class, and who had the same teachers were exposed to the hidden curriculum differently than boys. The results revealed that girls were exposed to many obstacles whether hidden or open.

Some of the hidden elements were not named, or were seen normal even when seen in terms of gender roles.

Yüksel (2007) conducted a study named “Effect of Hidden Curriculum on Prospective Teachers’ Thoughts about Teacher Training Courses”. The aim was to find the effects of a hidden curriculum on the students of education faculties. Twelve senior students from a faculty education were interviewed. The findings showed some contradiction in the student teachers arguments. Although they evaluated their job as very important they in general viewed teaching negatively, student teachers further stated that they gave more importance to vocational courses they had problems with these professors.

Veznedaroğlu’s research (2007), “The Hidden Curriculum in School and Class” examined the hidden curriculum elements of the Teaching Elementary Social Studies Program. Qualitative research methods were used. Interviews with teachers, students, and administrators, and participant observations of the school and class were conducted. Research findings related to school climate revealed that the students knew that following the rules would increase their academic success and their social acceptance among peers. However, if they did not follow the rules they would get punished. Social acceptance and participation to games at schools were related to dominant status. Since they wanted to be a leader and dominant in the class a negative competition occurred among students. Another research finding related to classroom climate was about the classroom arrangement: The teacher’s desk and the students’ desks were arranged that it revealed the subordinate-superordinate quality of the student-teacher relationship.

Furthermore, students in the study learnt that they were expected to follow the unwritten rules, and if rules were not followed power and authority would be used.

Tuncel (2008) examined teaching profession courses in order to determine the dimensions of hidden curriculum and how these dimensions influenced affective development of students in the department elementary school teaching program at a Faculty of Education. In this study "The Hidden Curriculum In Terms of Development of Affective Characteristics" qualitative research methods such as observation, interviews, and document analysis were used. Some of the research findings indicated that the students' opinions were not valued while deciding on regulations for the class environment. Consequently, it was observed that student teachers had stereotypes against the professor as a result of student-student and professor-student interactions.

These stereotypes affected the students' attitudes towards the lecturer and the lessons.

In a study named "Gender in Context of Power and Resistance: An Ethnography of a School" Sayılan and Özkazanç (2009) researched a public high school during a 5-month fieldwork. Interviews with students, teacher and administrators, observation in school were conducted; archives of counseling, and discipline committee were analyzed. As a result of their study Sayılan and Özkazanç stated that exclusion of the gender issues and sexuality from the official discourse could be identified as the reason behind the unique role of schools in reproducing gender relations.

Akbulut (2011) studied the students' opinions about the teachers' behavior in and outside of school, the schools' physical arrangements and the school administrators' relation with the students. The purpose of this study named "Revealing the Hidden Curriculum Activities in Primary Schools" was to examine teachers' intentional and unintentional designs of the hidden curriculum. A questionnaire was conducted to a fifth grade class. Research result showed that the skills acquired by students as result of a hidden curriculum show differences according to the socio-cultural status of students.

Başar (2011) examined the "Hidden Curriculum Management of Undesirable Behavior of Students in Classroom". The purpose was to identify the role of the hidden curriculum in teaching/learning and its effects on the students' unwanted behavior. In the city center, districts and countryside of province teachers and students were interviewed, observed and observed with a camera. Some of the research findings were that the class teachers were not good enough in managing unwanted behaviors. Although they noticed unwanted behavior in terms of violence and student relations they did not pay attention to unwanted behavior from anxiety. They preferred to use verbal warning or ignore the unwanted behavior. Furthermore, they were in a democratic attitude while making decisions related to classroom management. It was observed that the teachers considered the most environmental factors most while making the rules.

Fidan's (2013) study named "The Opinions of Concerning the Existence of Hidden Curriculum in Secondary Schools" analyzed the views of a guidance counselors and information technology teachers in secondary schools of a province.

The Qualitative research methods such observation and interviews were used. Some of the research findings were that students in schools from the low socio-economic status were expected to have high self-confidence towards information technology tools. This expectation had a hidden negative effect on further teacher's expectations.

By using Foucault's approach on disciplinary power techniques Temir (2013) analysed how individuals internalized the discipline in schools. In the study named "A Survey Which Bases on Discipline and Secret Curriculum in the Context of M. Foucault's Discipliner Power" students in the 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th grades in a high school were given a questionnaire. Findings showed that the students internalized the disciplinary techniques and discipline.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

In this section, the research model, study group, data collection instruments, data collection and analysis of data are included.

The Research Design

The basic purpose of this study is the detailed examination of how the hidden curriculum in a primary school classroom operates through the routine practices and rules that characterize daily classroom experience. In this study, a qualitative research method was used. Qualitative researchers try to comprehend the relation between actions and words (Glesne 2010). As, Yıldırım and Şimşek (2006) explain, qualitative researches are based on sociology, anthropology, psychology, philosophy and linguistics and that “all these disciplines are based on a common purpose which is to comprehend human behavior in its environment.”

Qualitative research “is a method through which data is collected by analyzing observation, interview and documents”. Moreover, the perception and events are researched in a holistic and natural process (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2006, p. 35). In order to answer the questions “how” and “why” and to examine the facts and events in a classroom setting in depth the present study employed a case study model (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2006).

Case studies provide data to be analyzed intensively by participant observation, interviews and documents (Glesne, 2010). Stake (2000) analyzed case

studies under three titles. The studies in order to understand an event better are called *real case study*. The studies in order to understand a certain event or reorganizing the generalization are named as *instrumental case study*, and studies in order to research an event, population or general are titled as *cooperative case study*. Even though in some views case studies are seen as a research strategy, Stake (2000) stated that a case study is not a methodological choice but it is the choice of which case is to be studied (as cited in Glesne, 2010).

In this study with the guidance of routines and class rules the hidden curriculum was analyzed with participant observations and interviews. In the case studies generally more than one type of data was used to overcome the limitations of the research and also to benefit from the advantages of different methods (Merriam, 1998; as cited in Sarı & Doğanay, 2009).

Study Sample

The school's demographic profile played the most important role in the choice of it as the research site. Moreover, the researcher's senior students from the education faculty went to that school for their practicum lesson and presented the student profiles in working groups. Their presentations made the researcher of this study familiar about the social and economic structure of the school. One third of the student body consists of Roma students and it was thought that this ethnically mixed environment of the school would provide great observation opportunities for how the society's social stratification is reflected on school. It was also thought that different types of data would be received about the hidden curriculum process.

The study sample consisted of a class teacher and students of a fourth grade in a public elementary school, located in a low social-economic level district. During a two-and-a-half-month period an estimated 50 hours of observation was conducted. In addition to, the class teacher and 30 students were interviewed. In order to receive information regarding the student's profiles in the school, the assistant school principal was interviewed.

The School

The school was first opened in the 1970s as a five-class primary school, which was later demolished and rebuilt and continued on as an eight-year primary school. In the 2012-2013 academic year there were three floors in the building that consisted of 10 primary school classes, and 8 secondary classes. Approximately 430 students are in the primary school department. During the interview with the assistant principal he stated that 210 of the students enrolled out of 620 students were from the Roma neighborhood.

The Classroom

The students were seated in pairs and behind each other facing the board. There were 4 desks on the right side of the teacher's desk and were 6 desks in the middle and on the wall side. There were cloths with elastics sewn on the desks. The class physical equipment was placed as follows: when you entered the class there was a cabinet on the right side with a Turkish physical map on top. Next to this was the blackboard. The teacher's desk was placed on the far side of the board facing the

door. The wall behind the teacher's desk was where two windows that were separated by a column.



Figure 1. The physical plan of the classroom

The Teacher

The teacher who was observed had graduated from the elementary education department, and had been working for 9 years. She had been teaching for 5 years in

the same school where the research had been conducted, but had recently taken over the class.

The Students

According to the class list there were 19 girls and 16 boys in total of 35 students, but two of the students had left so during the observation the class consisted of 33 students.

Rationale for Research in a Primary School the Fourth Grade Level

In primary school the teachers in classes are mainly class teachers. In secondary schools teachers of different subjects attend different lessons. In relation to the teacher-student inconsistency over the middle school years it was predicted that variables such as teacher features, approaches, student forms of communication, editing the information, manner of teaching the content, and rules being set might show difference across different subjects. It was thought that the students would show different attitudes and behavior towards different teachers attending their lessons. However, interacting with the same teacher on a daily basis would give us a more detailed picture of hidden curriculum. Therefore, when considering the purposes of this study it was thought that making observation in a fourth-grade classroom in terms of daily class routines and class rules would lead to a better understanding of the hidden curriculum processes. In addition to classroom observation students were interviewed in depth by using open-ended questions. In order to make sure that student comprehend the interview questions and give

healthy answers it was decided that it would be more appropriate to research a fourth-grade classroom than first-, second-, third-grades.

Data Collection Instruments

In case studies, it is recommended to utilize multiple data collection methods (Hartley, 1995; as cited in Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2006). Hence, the database of the research would be large enough it would be possible to reach the inclusive results. Finally, alternative interpretations at the end of the research through a wider perspective are possible (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2006).

In this study, routine practices that characterize the classroom experience and the classroom rules through the hidden curriculum were analyzed through class observations, and teacher/ student interviews. The theoretical logic behind the materials used for semi-structured classroom observations and interview questions were discussed, below.

Semi-structured Observation

Wrag and Wrag (1998, p. 5) stated that understanding the events in a classroom is as important as observing them in its atmosphere. The observation method allows the researcher to obtain a detailed, comprehensive and extended image of a behavior in any medium (Bailey, 1982; as cited in Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2006).

Apple (2004, p. 15) stated that:

Instead of input-output studies of school achievement, the researcher needs to “live” in classrooms, to see the complex forms of interaction that occur in classrooms. In this way, more accurate pictures can be got of which

particular “kinds” of students “get” what particular kinds of knowledge and dispositions. This makes analyses of the labeling process in schools of particular importance, obviously. Furthermore, one can see how knowledge is actually created and used in school settings. Finally, the tacit teaching of a less overt, hidden curriculum can be documented.

Within the framework of classroom rules that characterize routine practice the observation being done in the classroom, the function of the hidden curriculum was studied. Before the observation had started, a pilot observation that took nearly two months and a total of 13 hours of lesson was observed. Structured observation forms were used during the first pilot observations, to determine what types of warnings students received for what behavior. However, observations being done with structured observation forms were an obstacle while note taking. It made it difficult to focus on student behavior, teacher warnings and hindered the clues to the hidden curriculum simultaneously. As a result the observations continued semi-structured.

The observation topics were developed within the scope of research questions after related literature research and receiving expert opinions. The observation topics are mentioned below.

- The routine practices that characterize the daily life in the classroom
- The presentation of the course content
- The strategy used in the instruction of courses, methods and techniques
- Giving permission to the students to speak
- Giving duties to students
- Seating and mobility of the students in the classroom (Appendix B)
- The behavior in the classroom that the teacher does not tolerate

- Teacher warnings and warning format
- The students who are warned
- Behavior appreciated by the teacher in the classroom
- The teacher's use of emoticons of confirmation
- Appreciated students by the teachers

Within the scope of the research between 14 March and 5 June in a two-and-a-half-month period, 50 hours of participated observation was conducted. The observation notes were recorded on a notebook. The number and date of each observation and the lesson in which the observation was done were remarked at the beginning of the page. Moreover, the desks on which the students were sitting during the observation and the displacement mobility were recorded on the form. The class observations were conducted with semi-structured field notes, which were later on transferred to a computer as data to study on.

Semi-structured Interview Form

Steward and Cash (1985) identified the interview as “a predetermined, mutual and interactive communication process based on questioning and answering and performed for a serious purpose” (as cited in Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2006, p. 120). In order to collect data for this research in terms of how the hidden curriculum is used, the class teacher and students interviews were conducted. In the class being observed the class teacher and 30 students were interviewed. Furthermore, in order to get information on the school’s student profiles the assistant principal was also interviewed. The interviews were conducted with a semi-structured method.

The semi-structured interview form developed by the researcher was designed through a literature research on related fields. After receiving the expert opinion, the pilot study was carried out with 1 teacher and 4 students.

The form took its final form after required modifications. (Appendix C)

The questions directed to the students during the interview are as follows;

1. Could you introduce yourself?
2. What are the rules in your classroom?
3. Which rules are obeyed the most in your classroom according to your opinion?
4. Which rules are not obeyed the most in your classroom according to your opinion?
5. What are the behaviors being not approved by your teacher and for which behaviors does your teacher give a warning?
6. For which behaviors do the students receive warning from the teacher?
7. How does the teacher warn the students?
8. What are the behaviors appreciated and approved by the teacher in classroom?
9. How does the teacher appreciate the students?

All interviews were recorded with a voice recorder. In the interviews conducted with the students, questions were asked to obtain information regarding class rules, what happens when class rules are obeyed and disobeyed. The interviews were conducted in an empty classrooms and recorded on a voice recorder. The interviews took about 9 hours (544 minutes), 7 hours with the students (448 minutes), about 50 minutes with the assistant principal, and about 46 minutes with the class teacher. The duration of the interviews with students

depended on the length of the answers, which changed between 4.5 minutes and 44 minutes. The transcripts of the audio recordings were transferred to a computer so as to study as data. In the teacher interview form, besides personal questions, questions were asked to obtain information on the students. The questions paralleled those for the students regarding class rules, and what happens when they are obeyed and disobeyed and the type of rewards and punishment given. Towards the end of the observation 30 of the students being observed had been interviewed. The interviews were conducted on a voluntary base. Some interview questions had been prepared beforehand, but some questions were added during the interviews when needed. In order to relax the students who seemed to be nervous, the relaxing questions such as “which games do you like playing?” were directed. According to the course of interviews with students, the order of questions was modified.

Data Analysis

In relation to the purpose of this study the collected data on how the hidden curriculum processes continue with everyday characterized routine practices and rules were analyzed with two of the qualitative data methods: descriptive analysis and content analysis. In the descriptive analysis, data is summarized and interpreted according to a predetermined theme, whereas in content analysis, collected data is analyzed in detail and a theme not predicted beforehand can be attained (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2006).

The observation notes that were taken during the observation were transferred to Word format on the computer. The data transferred to computer environment, by considering the case in which a data may be involved under multiple categories.

The diversity of the data gathered was processed by utilizing Maxqda Qualitative Data Analysis software.

The observation data transferred to the computer was categorized as a code on a qualitative computer program Maxqda. When the notes were coded more than once, in the first reading some of the notes were read and many codes were formed, then later on they were titled as “teacher activities” and “student activities”. With the new code system formed the field notes were scanned again, and the necessary changes were made to the code and sub code. While the field notes were being read, new codes were given as needed. Due to newly emerged categories the field notes were read again. This way data was rearranged and reconceptualized by reaching common themes. (Appendix D)

The same steps were used for the analysis of data with the school principal, class teacher and the students. In the semi-structured interviews conducted with the students: all students were asked the same questions, including the additional responses provided new categories according to the nature of a qualitative research. The results and quotes of the analysis of how the hidden curriculum progresses in everyday routine practices and class rules obtained from the observations and interviews of the whole observation are given below.

The Role of the Researcher

The researcher has 10 years' (1993-2003) teaching experience at elementary school level. In first two years she was a class teacher in a countryside school, and in her next three years she worked in a private establishment, which prepared elementary school students for the high school entrance exam. Finally the researcher taught as a class teacher in a private elementary school for 5 years. She experienced that each institution has its own dynamics and that each of them through the hidden curriculum gives messages to the students different from one another. She was aware that each class had its own different dynamics and the environment of the school, the families' social-economic and social-cultural backgrounds, and the teachers' and students' psychological characteristics affected these dynamics in different ways.

While the class was being observed in its natural environment the events and facts were seen holistically in a multiple approach, reflected, and given meaning in their own environment (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2006). During the research, ethic principles were highly considered. While the data was being collected in class with respect to the individuals and institutions being affected by this process, and any behavior that would harm individuals was avoided. Pseudo names were used for each participant involved in this research. Clear explanation was given about the purpose and process of the research, the observed events and facts were reflected as they were. Moreover, while observing the classes natural process was not controlled or changed. During the observation the researcher observed the same

class in an approximately a two-and-a-half-month period for about 50 class hours as a participant observer. During the whole observation the researcher sat at the back of the class in the same seat. On the first days of observation some students were curious at the pen being used so they came at recess to examine. In order to not attract the students' attention and to not affect the natural routines the same clothes, pen and notebook were used. The researcher avoided interfering with any students' behavior at recess. (Appendix A: Researcher in a Student's Eyes)

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION AND THE DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The General Features of the School, Classroom, Teacher and Students Been Observed

The General Features of the School

“...so there was no concrete type of parents like tradesman, teachers. We find it hard to find personnel for the parent-teacher association, we address that type of social-culture area unfortunately...”²
(The Assistant Principal)

The school was situated in a small neighborhood where students from a low-social economic class attended. The Roma neighborhood in the county was situated close to the school. The schoolyard was large and full of trees. In the yard there were benches, a volleyball net, and two basketball hoops.

During the interview with the assistant principal it was stated that 210 of the students out of 620 students enrolled were from the Roma neighborhood. The assistant principal also stated the schools general features as seen below:

We have a building that consists of 3 floors; in terms of its physical condition it has no problems. It has been built new. In terms of government standards we have a school that can be considered good. Besides our yard is rather convenient we have a decent yard that most schools do not have. Other than this, if I am to give information about the general surroundings outside of school in a social-cultural perspective, because it is located in the slums it is deprived of this. We address to a low level society, and we will continue to do so. This is because there are a lot of migrants here and these people are unemployed, with the purpose of finding work. We also have a Roma neighborhood where people constantly work as seasonal workers so they move here and there and transport to a different school or the families’ roots are from the countryside. They go to the country for picking hazelnuts

² “...hani elle tutulur böyle esnaf, öğretmen, şöyle o tarz velilerimiz yok hiç. Okul aile birliğine zor eleman buluyoruz, öyle bir sosyokültürel çevreye hitap ediyoruz maalesef...” (Müdür Yardımcısı)

or for spring duties, so the students attend school here for 3-4 months and then the rest of the year at the start and end they attend school at their countryside. This affects the teaching and learning, so there was no concrete type of parents like tradesman, teachers. We find it hard to find personnel for parent- teacher association; we address that type of social-culture area unfortunately. It is still an enjoyable place; I believe it is not a difficult place for a teacher. (Appendix F1)

When it was not raining it was observed that some of the Roma parents were seen waiting outside for the students while in class. The assistant principal stated it in these words:

With the parents here, we accept everything so they send the students at school. They say that their child has problems and will not stay here if they do not. This is not a problem but, they for instance eat food and leave their rubbish, we pick up nappies they come with their babies and change them so they just leave the dirty nappy there. You cannot do anything about this because this is their manner. For instance they sit with their mothers and eat, but leave the rubbish behind. You warn them. This is a place where everything progresses very slowly. (Appendix F2)

In the interview conducted with the school principal indicated that they had no problem with the physical state of the school building and yard. However, the families economic conditions, and due to their ethnic roots, lifestyle routines various problems occurred. The school being situated in an area taking migration and most of the families that migrated were unemployed, the Roma working as a seasonal worker outside the county, and in some part of the year some families spending time in their countryside's affected the students continuously going to school, and the teaching/learning activities negatively. The Roma families transferring their lifestyle to the schoolyard were seen as a problem, they stated that they had to "overlook" and send them to school. The student's family's socio-economic and social-cultural features affected the children's continuum to school, and teaching/learning activities.

The General Features of the Classroom

“I am bored, I am bored.”³
(A student)

The students were seated in pairs and behind each other facing the blackboard.

There were 4 desks on the right side of the teacher’s desk and 6 desks in the middle and on the wall side. There were cloths with elastics sewn on the desks. The class physical equipment was placed as follows: when you entered the class there was a cabinet on the right side with a Turkey physical map on top. Next to this was the blackboard. The teacher’s desk was placed on the far side of the blackboard facing the door. The wall behind the teacher’s desk was where two windows that were separated by a column.

On the left side of the desk next to the board was a board displaying examples of student activities from before. Throughout the observation it was observed that the examples had never changed. On the wall on the door side, was a science and technology and social studies board. Also behind the class on the wall, there was a history lane and an Ataturk corner. One of the two coat hangers in the class was on the left of the door and the other was at the back of the desks on the wall side. When the students hung their coats on the hanger on the wall side, because the desks were adjacent to the wall, there were a lot of clashes between the students sitting at those desks and the students hanging coats.

During the observation, the seating, organization did not change. The students were seated back-to-back facing the teacher and blackboard. In a class

³ “ Sıkıldım, sıkıldım, var mı...” (Bir öğrenci)

where teaching/learning activities were teacher based, the students sitting back-to-back allows the class to be easily controllable.

The classrooms physical size was not suitable for the class majority. It was observed that the desks were very close to each other so students would sometimes have discussions and complain to the teacher about each other. For example, it was observed that Sevda sitting at the back of the class in front of the hangers, quarreled with some of the students hanging their clothes, and did not give permission to some. The event below is interesting:

Sevda (Roma girl) sits at the back. When Hatice went to hang her coat she did not allow her. Hatice put her coat in her hand and turned away. Hasan said something (what he said was not understood). "I am bored, I am bored." Sevda said turning to Hasan. At that time a coat fell down and she hung it back neatly. At break it was learned that the coat belonged to Fatma (Roma girl).

In this example, it can express the existence of which different dynamics determine the relationship between students. From the data in the observations the three students mentioned in the examples general features are stated. Sevda was one of the Roma girl students in the class. She was among the academically low achievers. She was the tallest, largely built and one of the oldest (2001 birth) students. She was very active in class. Because she frequently stood up, walked around, talked etc. she got warned frequently. In the observations it can be observed that she got the most warnings in class. Due to her physical features everyone was afraid. Hatice was a quiet, shy student. During the whole observation she sat at the same desk, she only changed spots with her friend seated next to her,

and was observed that she did not get up at breaks. Hatice’s mother and father worked at a recycling factory. During the observation she was warned by the teacher for bringing drinks to three leaders of the class (Yusuf, Önder, Hüseyin). The date on the drinks she had brought showed expired use-by dates. Fatma was one of the Roma students in the class. She was also one of the students who had the most absences. When she came to school she would not get up from her seat, when talking with friends she would whisper. Her clothing style was different from other girls — she would wear pants, boots and a vest. At break no one dared to approach her. She communicated with students she wanted to, mostly communicating with her Roma friends, and she would joke.

The General Features of the Teachers and Students

“I preferred it to be like this, this year, because my breast-feeding permission coincided with my empty hours. If I had taken the first grades it would have been more difficult so I preferred it, but it still was difficult.”⁴
(The Class Teacher)

The teacher explained that she had a newborn child and in order to get breast-feeding permission in empty hours she preferred taking over middle grades instead of the first grades: “I preferred it to be like this, this year, because my breast-feeding permission coincided with my empty hours. If I had taken the first grades it would have been more difficult so I preferred it, but it still was difficult”. (Appendix F3)

⁴ “Bu sene ben bu şekilde olmasını istedim, çünkü süt iznim olacağı için boş derslerime denk gelmesi için. Çünkü 1 olsaydı bana çok zor olacaktı bu yıl, böyle olmasını istedim, ama tabii zor da bir süreç oldu.” (Sınıf Öğretmeni)

In the interview the teacher stated that the reason for her to choose this class was her giving birth and to be able to use her breast-feeding permission. It can be said that the teacher's condition is taken into consideration rather than which teacher should be teaching according to the students features. It can be said that the teacher designation to a different school, factors such as the teacher having given birth determine what class they will be teaching. The students being observed were with a different teacher for three years, due to that teacher leaving, a teacher whose condition matched according to the age group, and lesson timetable they were continuing on with another teacher in grade 4. In the determination of the teacher no explanation was given for the fact that the student's features were taken into consideration besides the grade factor.

According to the class list there were 19 girls and 16 boys with a total of 35 students, but because two of the students had left during the observation the class consisted of 33 students. Twenty-five of them were 10, 6 of them 11, and 2 of them 12 years old. One of the students had been to a countryside school the first term and was continuing at this school.

At the end of the term, a table that indicated the total absences of the students was retrieved by the administrators. It indicated that the Roma students were absent most frequently. In Table 1, the number of absent students is shown.

Table 1. The Students Who Were Mostly Absent

The number of days absent	The student
75 days	A Roma girl
63 days	A Roma boy
52 days (13 days excused absence)	A Roma girl
45 days (6 days excused absence)	A Roma boy
42.5 days	A Roma girl
30 days (9 days excused absence)	A Roma boy
25.5 days	A Roma girl
24 days (10 days excused absence)	A Roma boy
15,5 days (4 days excused absence)	A girl
15 days (10 days excused absence)	A Roma girl
13 days (4 days excused absence)	A Roma girl
11 days	A girl
10,5 days (2 days excused absence)	A boy
9 days	A Roma girl

The Roma students had been absent the most. In the interview conducted with the assistant principal, this was attributed to the student's family's opportunities. In the event of the students' family going to *araka* (large-sized pea), picking peas, or work as a seasonal worker they had to take the students as well. In addition the school principal stated that the Roma student's parents saw it enough for the students to go to school, they did not have any worries as to academic achievement or them ending up somewhere.

The assistant principal during the interview stated this problem as described below:

We have a serious absence problem. Some are because of poverty, for example, they say *araka* (large-sized pea). A few weeks ago picking peas started so, the family is not here now. The mother has to take the child too for a month, so they get permission. The child's academic success, I mean just the child being at school is enough for them. They have no worry about the children finishing their education, being successful and becoming something. They have to send them, but they think it is a profit when they do not. There are actually people here saying can I not send them for a while. Unfortunately, this situation lowers the success of the school.... The problem I noticed mostly was that their everyday language was swearing. I see the swearing problem as the most ignored rule because it is a bad example for the other students. Besides swearing, hygiene is a very important problem, especially because we live in a society where the children lack this. The toilets get clogged, we live that frequently, personnel open it, we change the pipes, and it is unbelievable they even threw their books, everything. (Appendix F4)

The assistant principal stated that, the factors leading to absences of Roma students were their parents' working as seasonal workers and their parents' attitudes towards education. Önen (2011) stated that Roma families would not bring social action to education; even if their students were educated because of their ethnic backgrounds they would not be given a job in government offices. The expressions of assistant principal about the attitudes of Roma families towards the school were in parallel with the study of Önen (2011). Önen (2011) has stated that Roma families were thinking that their children were alienated during their education, that, rather than sending their children to the school, they see working their children in daily and temporary jobs, at which they work, to be less costly and more beneficial.

In the class being observed it was seen that the students' families were from a lower socio-economic income group. Only 8 of the student's mothers worked outside. 25 of the student's mothers were housewives. Two of the 8 mothers were working in a hazelnut factory, 1 in a serviette factory and 1 in a recycling factory. 1 of the mothers worked in a dormitory canteen, 1 did babysitting, 1 was a farmer and the other worked in a preschool. The distribution of the students' mothers that work for money is seen in Table 2.

Table 2. Mothers' Occupation

Count	Mothers' occupation
25	Housewife
2	A Worker in a hazelnut factory
1	A worker in a serviette factory
1	A worker in a recycling factory
1	A worker in a dormitory canteen
1	Babysitting
1	Farming
1	Working in a preschool

During the interviews, students gave information about their fathers' occupation. Seven of the students fathers' were working in a factory, 5 were drivers, 5 of them were porters and herb pickers, 4 of them were builders, 2 carpenters and 2 farmers, 1 a tradesman, 1 a jeweler, 1 a employee in the industry, 1 a painter (whitewasher), a baker, 1 a blacksmith, 1 a transporter, and 1 a worker in a petrol station. If daily

work constitutes the workers would all be from the Roma parents. The distribution of the fathers that work for money is seen below:

Table 3. Fathers' Occupation

Count	Fathers' occupation
7	A worker in a factory
5	A driver
5	Daily work (porters, herb picker)
4	A laborer
2	Carpenter
2	Farmer
1	Tradesman
1	Jeweler
1	A employee in the industry
1	Painter (whitewasher)
1	Baker
1	Blacksmith
1	Carman
1	A worker in a petrol station

The Routine Practices that Characterize Daily Classroom Experience

The main purpose of this study is the detailed examination of how hidden curriculum in a primary school classroom is applied through routine practices and rules that characterize daily classroom experience.

Apple (1995, p. 28) states that in order to understand how ideologies work in schools, what is lived in everyday life should be seen in concrete form. In this section, everyday events that are repeated on a regular basis and the applications students are exposed to in class (due to them being passive and not being a part of decisions) are focused on.

The First Lessons at School

The first lessons of the day are the time when routines are most easily observed. The morning routines at school are starting activities and express the transition of from home to school and from game to study (Akgün, 2013, p. 78).

After the students enter the classroom, for the first lesson, they leave their schoolbags on their desks and hang their coats. After the teacher enters the class the name list is checked and while doing so, the teacher warns the students who have not taken their coats off to do so. When milk is distributed, time is given to drink. Even if the students' bell and teachers bell have rung, the students still continue as though it were break until the teacher has come.

Start of the First Lesson

“Lately there have been a lot of pigeons around.”⁵
(A Student)

The observations of the first lesson is summarized below:

When the students have entered the classroom, they leave their schoolbags on their desks and hang their coats, and at the same time they are talking loudly and joking around energetically. This continues even when the bell has rung. When the teacher appears at the door the sound lessens but mumbling is still heard. Only the students who are standing are hurrying to their desks. As the teacher starts to talk the mumbling is lowered to a minimum and stops. If it continues, the teacher warns the student with a loud voice by naming the student, and continues on with the lesson.

On the first lesson it was observed that there were no questions asked by the teacher, related to the student’s life outside of school hours such as news, weather report and daily life. During the duration of the observation the teacher had only asked one question related to outside activities, which was who had been to a circus. Related observations are given below:

The teacher asked who had gone to the circus that had come to the county. Two students answered enthusiastically. One of them recalled a pigeon and said that it had disappeared, but the feathers were seen from behind. The teacher made no comment, and the other student (Cezmi) said that lately there have been a lot of pigeons around.

⁵ “Bu aralar hep güvercin var.” (Bir Öğrenci)

The teacher wanted the students to hang their coats after they entered the class. When the teacher entered the class, she reminded students to take off their coats, but if the classroom was cold they were allowed to wear them. On one occasion, she asked if they were cold and informed them that students sitting close to the wall can wear their coats, so a few students did so.

Attendance

“They went to *araka* (large-sized pea.)”⁶
(A Student)

The teacher generally checked the name list in the first class, but sometimes it was at different times during the lesson. When she checked the list she waited for the students to sit in their seats and warned ones that were walking around. For example: “Let me look... Emel sit down!”. “Now I will check the list everyone lean back! Would you sit leaning back properly?” In one of the lessons been observed the teacher asked one day after the student who was academically successful (Ünzile) was absent on the exam day: “Why did you not come to the exam yesterday?”

During the observation the students who were mostly absent were from a Roma origin, and when these students were at school, the teacher did not remark on their absences. The teacher had asked one non-Roma student who had been absent on the exam day why she had not come, but not the Roma student. In the class being observed, the teachers and students were accustomed to the absences of the Roma students. Especially with the weather warming up the Roma students

⁶ “Onlar ‘arakaya’ gittiler.” (Bir Öğrenci)

with their mothers would go to collect an herb root and *araka* (large-sized pea). The Roma students are not called by name by the teacher and other students but by saying "Roma". For example, the student (Hüseyin) that was distributing the class milk at first recess said, "There are 24 students in class". One of the students (Emel) said, "Roma are not coming". Another student (Önder) said, "They went to *araka* (large-sized pea)".

This finding is parallel with the study of Rosental and Jacobson's (1968) on what is called the Pygmalion effect study. The teacher acted according to expected behavior from the students. As an authority figure the teacher asking a student academically successful in front of the class why he/she was absent and not asking the Roma students who were absent the same day, gives clue that the operation of the hidden curriculum in the classroom.

School milk

"Did you throw it in the bin? They will get it from the bin and drink it; I wish you had thrown it outside."⁷
(A student)

Generally in the first lesson, the student who was assigned to distribute the milk entered the room with a carton of milk for the whole class. The milk sometimes was given at recess or in the second lesson. Before the distribution of the milk the teacher asked whether they had had breakfast and if not, they should have it before drinking the milk. It was observed that some students did not raise their hand when asked if they had had breakfast even if they had not (for example, Hasan).

⁷ "Çöpe mi attınız. Onu çöpten alıp içerler. Keşke dışarı atsaydınız." (Bir öğrenci)

After the milk came to class it was sometimes distributed by a student who was on duty for the day or they would get the cartons themselves from the teacher's desk. It was observed that the students were enthusiastic about distributing. Even though there were different students wanting to distribute the milk the teacher gave the duty to the same students without giving an explanation. Below is an extract from the observation notes:

A Roma girl (Nehir) wanted to distribute the milk that came in the second lesson "Teacher can I distribute them?" the teacher said "No, everyone can get it himself or herself". Then a male student (Cemal) distributed them. Even though the teacher stated that everyone should get their own milk, there was no explanation given to why Cemal gave them out instead of Nehir.

While the milk was being distributed, the students with an allergy or who did not feel like drinking were not given milk. During the class observation one time a student whose parents had signed a permission form for the student to not drink milk wanted to drink, the teacher asked whether he had an allergy and then gave the milk. The observation notes are extracted below:

A student whose parents had signed a permission form for the student to not drink milk wanted to drink. The teacher said, "You do not have an allergy do you?" and when the student said no she gave it. The student started to drink. The teacher by looking at the child's face said, "If you do not like it, do not drink it" and threw it in the bin. One of the students (Cezmi) bewailed "Did you throw it in the bin they will get it from the bin and drink it; I wish you had thrown it outside." The teacher said "okay" and stopped Cezmi talking.

The milk of the students that were absent was drunk by other students who wanted to. On occasions like this, the teacher reminded the students by saying; “If you have got two cartons of milk, do not drink them one after the other, finish one of them, then wait a while and drink the other.”

After the milk was distributed, the students were given a certain period of time to drink. They were not allowed to drink after the time given, or leave it in their bags. When the teacher saw milk besides that period of time she would warn them. “Sevda is there milk in your hand? Why do you not drink the milk in the time given and make them wait in your bags?” In situations where the teacher does not notice the students that are not drinking in the given period they complain to the teacher about one another. For example, Zeynep complained to the teacher about Emel in a lesson that she is drinking milk. The teacher went next to her and Emel said, “It’s a lie.” The teacher warned her by saying “You have drunk milk, if its leftover drink it at break.”

While students are controlled by characterized everyday routine practices, they also learn to obey without questioning. In the class being observed the students were to take off their coats after entering class but if the classroom was cold the teacher would give permission, or they were to drink their milk given in the time the teacher gave. The two examples might look beneficial for the student like if the student sits with his/her coat he/she might get ill when outside or if school milk is not drunk quickly it might spoil and the student might get sick. During the observation, the teacher had not emphasized these reasons. If the students continued on doing these actions, then the reasons should have been repeated, so

students took their own health as a responsibility. The teacher chose what the students wore when sitting, and when the milk was to be drunk in the lesson — indicators of the teacher controlling students' behaviour. It was observed that this approach had an effect on student relations. One of the students told the teacher that one of the students had not drunk the milk in the given time, and the teacher got angry with the student drinking milk, but the student drinking denied it, because the teacher would get angry. The teacher did not talk with the student who told the teacher, or explain why the milk was to be drunk in the given time. With this, the teacher complaining normal, and this emphasizes that they can only do things when the teacher says so. The teacher sustains his control over the students with the help of the procedure of distributing milk, which became routine. This example supports Bernstein's (1975) findings on rituals. "The management of ritual in schools is an important element in the maintenance of order, for rituals celebrate both unifying and differentiating features in the social structure of the school (Bernstein, 1975; as cited in Bates, 1982, p. 17)".

The Bell for Entering and Exiting the Lesson

At school the bell for break rings once. When break is over two bells ring, one for the students and another for the teachers. When the break bell was about to ring the students would get more energetic, and even if the teacher was still in the classroom they started to speak loudly and walk towards the door. On break the classroom was not completely empty, especially on cold and wet days the classroom is fuller. It is possible to see some students clapping hands and singing

tongue twisters, some rolling a ball in the corridor, some writing and drawing on the blackboard, some sitting on the desks and talking loudly, and you can also see students joking, fighting and swearing.

When the lesson bell and teachers bell rang the activities being done during break were less loud, but did not stop. When the teacher was seen at the door, the mumbling still continued, but the students made sure they were closer to their seats.

Strategies Used During the Lesson

“Read this, find the proper word and raise your hand!”⁸
(The Class Teacher)

The teacher followed the teacher’s book which she folded throughout the lesson by sitting at her desk. The strategy was mainly based on making them read the text in the student’s book, and then answer the questions given in the workbooks. While speaking she had a very straightforward voice that did not change in tone or style. Instead of explaining the lesson she gave directives such as “open this page, read the text and complete the exercise on this page”.

When explaining the lesson by giving easy short directives she tells them when to do what with imperatives. Some examples of directives she offered are given below:

“Read there, find the correct word and raise your hand!”

“The ones that have finished should continue with exercise 6!”

“Do it by reading the explanation above, in the explanation it says “discuss”.”

⁸ “Orayı oku, uygun kelimeyi bul ve parmağını kaldır!” (Sınıf Öğretmeni)

“The ones that have finished both open your workbooks, but page 45.”

“Look follow, do not miss, take up where one left off.”

In the lessons no other resource besides the course book and workbook are used, and no question besides those in the book are asked. When the teacher asked the students a question without giving enough time for them to think she gave permission to the first student who raised their hand. If the answer was right the teacher asked the student to repeat it loudly, so the other students could write the answer. The teacher sometimes gave the answer to the question and wanted them write it.

It was observed that the teacher constantly reminded students about the page number, and question, and gave importance to the questions in the workbook to be answered by filling the gaps necessary. For example, “Has everyone written the answers this way in their book? Yesss! Then open to page 140 and 141 and read. Let’s see who completes their duty?”.

It was observed that even the students who were not following the lessons showed effort in filling the gaps, when they could not follow they would look from their friends next to them, in front or behind in order to keep up. During the observations the teacher asked knowledge-based questions. Below are some examples of questions she offered:

“Let’s complete the story map.”

“Who is the main character?”

“Who are the side characters?”

It was observed that the teacher seldom asked questions open for comment. An example of the teacher's questions and a student's answer are given below:

Teacher: "Is there anyone that has an idea? Is there anyone that has information about this? Is there anyone that can give an example of this scientist?"

Yusuf: "I cannot, because I do not know any."

Teacher: "What did we read just now?"

The students are expected to complete the activities in the workbook in the given order and time. The teacher does not accept when the students have completed an activity in the workbook before or continue on with another activity the teacher has not said. It was observed that the teacher warned the students in these situations. For example, after a text was read in a Turkish lesson the teacher said, "Now we will start our summaries." One of the students (Cemal) said, "Teacher I started a bit." The teacher said "We are starting now, write a heading!"

Instead of the students making original creative activity, the teacher care about the activity finishing in the given time. For example, the activity in the workbook wanted the students to draw a picture in the given box about the text they read. The teacher said, "If you cannot do it, just turn to the previous page and draw the same picture." She meant the picture above the text.

In the lessons the student desks have either their course books or workbooks. The students who wanted to participate the most and that were allowed by the teacher to speak were seated in the window row or middle. It was observed that the students seated next to the wall (Roma students) were not interested in the lessons, and that the lesson continued mostly with the students

next to the window and middle row. It was observed that the teacher did not interfere with the students next to the wall when they were talking among themselves as long as it did not interfere with the lesson or walk around.

It was also observed that whether the students following the activities in the workbook or not was used as a control tool. While the activities in the workbook were being done the student not following, talking with their friend or standing up were asked by the teacher to answer the question, knowing that they could not answer it. This situation gave a warning sign that they should be following the activities in the book.

The blackboard was not used effectively. During the observation it was observed that the blackboard was seldom used. The writing that needed to be written in students' notebooks was written on the blackboard by students. The blackboard was used for a text that was to be copied in students' notebooks or solving mathematical problems.

It was observed that homework given to students was not controlled regularly. During the observation the teacher controlling homework was seen only twice. Observation regarding this is given below:

The teacher controlled the homework in the first lesson while students were drinking milk, some of the homework was hung up on the activity board "Now let's hang the best ones up".

The teacher controlled only (the row next to the window and middle row) when a student (Sultan) warned her by saying, "teacher there was homework". She did not

give feedback to students who had completed it or to the ones that had not completed or done it at all.

In one of the lessons the teacher showed a page and indicated it was homework. One of the students (Cezmi) said, "Yippee, I did the others, I will do this too". The teacher said "Have you done this homework?" and Cezmi said "I read it yesterday in class".

There was a syllabus hung on the class cabinet in the class, however the lessons were not given according to this. The teacher decided which lesson was to be done. If they had an exam that day regarding which lesson, the teacher told them to study for the exam. The teacher repeated the topics that she wanted them to study on.

It was observed that the students were willing towards arts, sports, and music lessons. The teacher sometimes did Turkish and Math instead of arts, sports, and music lessons. The observation in the arts lesson is summarized below:

In the arts lesson there was always movement and sound. The students were mostly standing. The teacher tried to stop the movement by warning repeatedly. In the arts lesson A4 paper in the class cabinet was distributed. The students draw on these papers, not in notebooks. They used only black pencils as an art pencils. In the art lesson the students were allowed to whisper. Some students were sharing pencils. Some were seen trading. Cengiz: "I will give you my pencil, and you will give me 5 stickers." Emel said, "5 is a lot, 1." Cengiz: "I am not giving it."

Some students helped each other in drawing some part of their pictures. For example, a student who drew a nice house all his/her friends lined up to draw a

house on their pictures. In some of the art lessons the teacher would sit next to students and draw for them. The students liked this. Later on the students said, "Can you draw for me too, teacher?" The teacher sometimes did not answer or said, "If there is enough time."

In the observations of music lessons it was seen that the teacher did not teach new songs or play any musical instruments. The observations in the music lesson are summarized below:

During the lesson the students would go to the blackboard individually or as a group and sing freely. The songs could be school songs or a song they know. In the music lessons the Roma enthusiastically, actively used their body language. They sang songs learned outside of school that was not commonly heard and not popular. Sometimes the teacher played music from the computer or a mobile phone and opened a music video on data-show. The whole class participated with joy and loud sound. Especially the students were frequently listened to the song "*Arkadaşım Eşek*".

It was observed that the students liked the sports lesson; the days that were not rainy they would play freely outside in the yard. The observations in the sports lesson are summarized below:

The students came to school without uniform. They do sports in the clothes they have on; they do not change their clothes. The teacher sat at a bench in the yard. The students were very enthusiastic in going outside in the yard for sports. When they were loud in the class the teacher would threaten them with not allowing them outside for sports. In the interviews with the students not going outside was

among the punishments the teacher gave.

It was observed that when comparing with other lessons the arts and music lesson the students were more energetic. There was more noise in these lessons than the others. This situation showed partial similarities with the findings of Özer, Bozkurt and Tuncay's (2014) study. Özer, Bozkurt and Tuncay (2014) stated that students showed more unwanted behavior in music lessons compared to Turkish, social studies, science and technology and mathematics.

The findings of the regulation of lessons are summarized below:

It was observed that during the observation no cooperative and motivating learning strategies, methods and techniques were used. The teacher just wanted the students to be communicating with her, when they communicate with their friends she warned them. This situation brings up Apple's (1995, p. 29) question "In order for the society accumulation to continue how is the co modification logic services and our goods passive and individualized experiences?" discussed on the individualization of the curricula. Apple's explanations sheds light on lessons being based on student workbooks, the student discipline model and the applications on a macro bases.

It was observed that the teacher corrected some students' use of language and did not correct some other students' use of Turkish. Below is an observation example:

In a class being observed the teacher asked what the meaning of "sudden" meant. Sevda used it in a sentence "all of a sudden my aunts came". The teacher did not warn her for saying "sudden" incorrectly. She said "you used it in a sentence". Even

though Sevda used the word incorrectly the teacher accepted it as correct.

This anecdotal data supports Apple's (1995, p. 42) view about the ideological role of the school information; "the students that are fewer in number, the poor people's children, and other disadvantaged groups with low success rates" can be seen tolerated and in terms of an economic perspective the role of information progress is seen less crucial.

It was observed that the teacher used the explaining and question and answer methods, she only used the course book and workbook while teaching, she seldom used technology (data-show), and she did not prepare beforehand the material she was to show. The teacher gave students easy imperative directives, which page they were to turn, and the answer of the question etc. The observations conducted in this class show one similarity with Keddie and Anyon's study findings on the teaching-learning applications students continuing school from a low social-economical class. In other studies conducted with students coming from a low socio-economic class the results were same. For example, Eskicumalı (1998) showed similar results with Keddie's study in which was conducted in Sakarya in a normal and "super" high school. In the study it was seen that the teachers showed different attitudes towards the normal and super high school students, and they provided them with different natured, quantity information, and learning experiences. For example, while the students in the super high school were motivated to think and solve problems, the normal high school classes social control was given importance to and expectations were less. In the study it was indicated that the students in the

super high school had clearly a higher socio-economic level than normal high school students (Eskicumali, 2002, p. 60).

In this study the teacher behavior and class applications showed parallelism with Freire's banking model. The teacher teaches and the students learn; the teacher speaks the students listen silently; the teacher thinks for the students and gives decisions; the teacher disciplines the students go into discipline; the teacher chooses and applies, the students obey; the teacher gives decision to which lesson is done, the students accept; the summary is; the teacher is the subject in learning, and the students are objects.

Exams

"Listen to me, these are your exam questions."⁹
(The Class Teacher)

During the whole observation, on the exam days the teacher wanted the students to study and get ready for the exam by explaining each topic one by one. She explained how they were to answer the questions. Below is an example of some explanations she offered:

"Two questions are about pulling-pushing. The questions are about light, environment pollution, furniture and instruments. "

"The topic resolution is asked liquid, solid and gas. Which of them molds into the shape of the bowl?"

"Did I say light and sound pollution?"

"What are our energy resources? For example how is the moon an energy source?"

⁹ "Dinle beni bak, bunlar hep sınav sorusu." (Sınıf Öğretmeni)

“I want you all to look them up in your books.”

“Listen to me these are your exam questions.” (While the teacher is saying this, there is mumbling continuing.) In order to attract attention she reflects the work sheet on data-show and states the exam questions will be asked from this. She even highlighted a section of a pray with the mouse.

During the observation period getting ready for an exam had been the main topic of the class. Whichever lesson it would be (English included) that day until the exam hour she would want the students to get ready for the exam.

Seating Plan

“ For instance I want them to sit with each other, but they do not want to. Moreover the parents may not want it, in which case they are right, because there really is a hygiene problem.”¹⁰
(The Class Teacher)

In the class that was observed the students were seated in pairs behind one another, and even though there were thirty- six students, there were thirty-two seats. When there were more than thirty-two students, which did not happen often, the students would sit next to a pair. Throughout the whole observation there were only two days that thirty-three students had come.

In Figure 2, the squares and rectangles represent the desks. In all of the squares the names of students seated between the 14 March and the 1 April. The reason for the squares having different sizes was due to the number of students seated. For example, the student seated in the front desk on the wall row was seated there 6 times. Hatice sat at the other desk 7 times, 6 times with Nazlı and

¹⁰ “Hani ben de bazen mesela şimdi diğerleriyle birlikte oturtmak istiyorum, ama onlar istemiyorlar çocuklar, bir de aileleri de belki de haklı olarak istemiyorlar. Çünkü gerçekten bir temizlik problemi var, yaşanıyor.” (Sınıf Öğretmeni)

once with Cemal. During the observation the movement of students during the same day was shown in the table.

In the figure the girls are orange coloured. The boys are in green, the Roma girls are pink and the Roma boys are shown in blue.

The positions of the students seating between the dates 14 March and 1 of April are given in Figure 2.

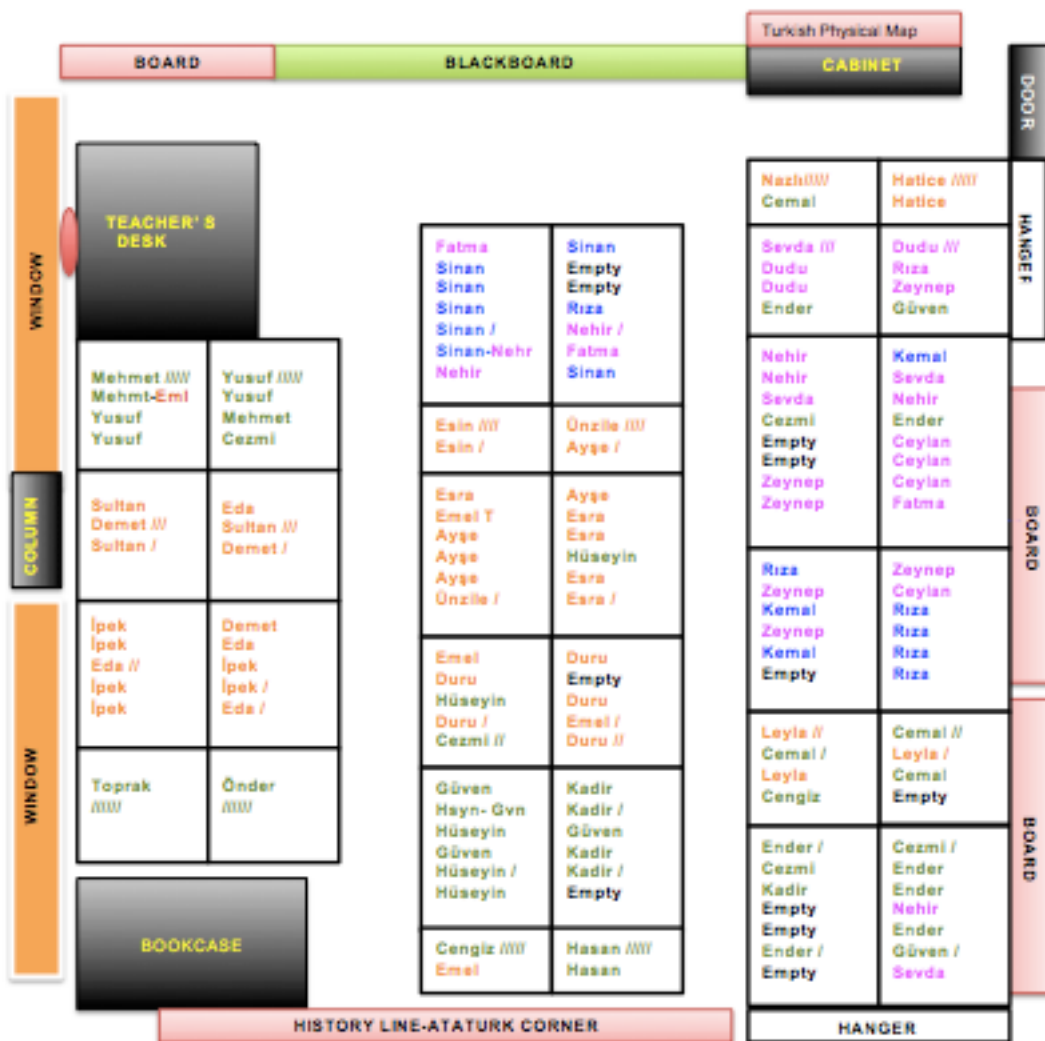


Figure 2. The seating arrangement (Between the 14 March and the 1 April)

From Figure 2 it can be seen that the Roma students sat next to each other, in the seats close to the wall on the second and third row and the front row in the middle of the classroom. The teacher explained that she knew they sat next to each other, but could not do anything about it. She expressed herself in these words:

For instance I want them to sit with each other, but they do not want to. Moreover the parents may not want it, in which case they are right, because there really is a hygiene problem. I seat them among themselves, but they end up in the same row. Then it is like distinction in class, I actually observe it but I cannot save the class from this distinction. The parents also do not want them to sit next to each other, so I seat the Roma students with each other. (Appendix F5)

During the whole observation it was observed that some students sat where they want to without asking the teacher and changed their seats with the student in front or behind them. If they were to change seats with someone far away they would then ask the teacher for permission. Furthermore, it was observed that if there was an empty seat they would negotiate in groups such as Roma students, girls and boys. In the class, only the Roma students sat girl-boy, whereas the other students would sit where the teacher told them to.

Throughout the observation the teacher only once changed the whole sitting arrangement. Observations are shown below:

The teacher placed three of the Roma girls next to the window for the first time, and one of the girls (Nehir) expressed her happiness for sitting next to the window. The teacher then asked why the girl had not told the teacher before to change her seat, and she said that she was embarrassed to. On the same day the girl (Nehir) was talking to the girl behind her, and told the teacher that she had found a friend, but the teacher told her off by saying “did I put you there to find a friend?”.

It was observed that the students' positions of seating had enforcement on the other students in the class. For example, the back desks were adjacent to the back wall. It was observed that the students seated on the wall side at the back were annoyed from the coat hanger. When the coats were hung they flowed on the students and annoyed them. It was observed that this situation sometimes was a cause of bickering and discussion. It was observed that a student seated in front of the hanger had enforcement over the other students on hanging their coats. For example, Sevda sitting at the back of the class in front of the hangers, quarreled with some of the students hanging their clothes, and did not give permission to some. The event is stated below:

Sevda (Roma girl) sits at the back. When Hatice went to hang her coat she did not allow her. Hatice put her coat in her hand and turned away. Hasan said something (what he said was not understood). "I am bored, I am bored." Sevda said turning to Hasan. At that time a coat fell down and she hung it back neatly. At break it was learned that the coat belonged to Fatma (Roma girl).

From the data in the observations the three students mentioned in the examples general features are stated following paragraphe.

Sevda was one of the Roma girl students in the class. She was among the academically low achievers. She was the tallest, largely built and one of the oldest (2001 birth) students. Due to her physical features everyone was afraid.

Hatice was a quiet, shy student. During the whole observation she sat at the same desk, she only changed spots with her friend seated next to her, and was observed that she did not get up at breaks.

Fatma was one of the Roma students in the class. She was also one of the students who had the most absences. When she came to school she would not get up from her seat, when talking with friends she would whisper. Her clothing style was different from other girls — she would wear pants, boots and a vest. At break no one dares to approach her, she communicates with students she wants to, mostly communicating with her Roma friends, and she would joke.

In this example, it can express the existence of which different dynamics determine the relationship between students. It was observed that due to Sevda's physical features and her sitting next to the coat hanger made her determinative on the usage of the coat hanger. Sevda allowed students to hang their coats but did not allow some of them. The students seating according to their features affected the hierarchy between them and organized it.

Giving Permission to Speak/Giving Duties

"Teacher, Hasan's writing was not ugly." ¹¹
(A student)

During the whole observation it was observed that the teacher allowed students to speak by giving names and with eye contact. When the teacher asked a question to the whole class she would give permission to the first student who raised their hand, without taking the number of hands that were up into consideration. When the teacher gave permission to speak she used imperative sentences. Below are some examples of sentences she offered:

"Read that! Find the right word and put your hand up!"

¹¹ "Öğretmenim, Hasan' ın yazısı çirkin değilmiş." (Bir öğrenci)

“The word for there is education.”

“Look follow do not lose where you left off!”

“Let Yusuf read 154 out loud.”

“Yusuf write what you said on the blackboard.”

“Yusuf read the problem.”

In the observations it was observed that the teacher was always giving permission to speak to the same students, and give duties to the same students. The students who were allowed to speak were generally academically successful. When the teacher was assigning duties she would also use imperative sentences. Some examples of the teacher’s sentences are given below:

“Toprak you distribute the papers, Önder you help.”

“Yusuf you collect the papers, put them on the table.”

“Open the computer. Cezmi said: “ Me or Yusuf?” Teacher said:“ Let Yusuf open it.”

Yusuf went on the desk and opened it.

“Yusuf come explain it at the blackboard.”

“Sultan you come to the blackboard and write.”

“Yusuf bring the room spray.”

During the observations the teacher assigned duties such as, distributing the class milk, distributing paper, bringing room perfume from outside and opening/closing the data-show. When she was to assign a duty she would not ask the students but call names she determined. Mostly the same students were

assigned with the same duties. For example, when the students were to write something in their notebooks, either Ayşe or Sultan would come to the blackboard and write. In the observation it was noticed that some students had come up to the blackboard for the first time. The observation is given as follows: the teacher has drawn figures on the blackboard, and then wanted the students to write which numbers these figures were indicating below the figures. One of the students raising hand for answering was Hasan. When Hasan went to the blackboard, it was heard that students were saying “right, wrong, he is doing, he is doing it right” at the level of voice which Hasan could hear. They seemed like surprised that he did right. Then, one of the academically successful students (Duru) said to teacher “Teacher, Hasan’s writing was not ugly”. The students were seeing the writing of Hasan for the first time, and they were like surprised about beauty of his writing.

It was observed that when there was a duty to students, class teacher would choose a student who had an impact and was listened by the students. When paper needed distributing she would want Toprak or Önder to do it. The student named Önder was a student who would call the students *abisinin* (older brother) and had an effect on them and was listened too. In the interview conducted with Önder he tried to explain why he warned the students by saying “when the teacher is talking they are talking so I say shut up! The teacher tries to shout when they are talking”. When students talked or did not listen to the lesson Önder would go next to them and warn them. In those situations the teacher would not warn Önder anyway.

Önder was a child small in stature, but in the students words “the student the teacher cannot deal with”, was sent to a different class, where nearly all of the

students were afraid of him and who would disobey the teachers. At break he would come frequently, and he would start to hit whomever Önder would show or complain about. During the observations the events which were witnessed by Hamdi are given below:

When the teacher was preparing the film the class was to watch, the noise continued. When the film started it still continued for a while. The teacher shouted “when you go to the cinema, do you watch it in this manner!” during this Hamdi came in, and when was asked who he was a student said “we sent him to another class, but he still comes” (he did not react even though he heard). He stood by the computer next to the teacher. He went out and came back again and continued to stand next to the teacher. After a while he gave a sign to Mehmet with his hand saying, “move” and sat next to him.

In the class, the teacher had her students watch a movie. After the bell had rung Cemal asked the teacher “are we going to continue?” the teacher said no with her head. Cemal said, “teacher I am turning it off” he got up on the desk with his shoes and turned it off. Then Hamdi entered the class and without taking his shoes off he got up on the desk and checked if the data-show was off.

The teacher was checking the exam papers at break when most students went outside. Hamdi brought his work he had done to the teacher. When he was leaving he said to the other students that wanted to look “do not look *abisinin* (older brother) do not” knowing that the teacher and all students heard. Later on he came back to the class. He said, “Teacher, the arts teacher is going to hang it”. The

teacher did not comment. He then came next to me and said to me “*selamünaleyküm ablacım* (peace be with you big sister)”. The teacher looked angrily at Hamdi and Hamdi said “what did you get angry at teacher?” very calmly.

The teacher said, “Okay come on now”. He said, “I am going anyway, you should not stay where you’re not wanted, and I hope they all get 0” and walked out. After a little while he came back. He entered saying loudly “Selamünaleyküm”. The teacher wanted him out, but he did not leave. Mehmet hit Hamdi when exiting and while Hamdi tried to catch Mehmet, the teacher shouted at Hamdi “go outside, shut up and leave on your own”. Hamdi was swearing at Mehmet at that time. He was putting his head through the door threatening Mehmet. The teacher meant Mehmet when she said, “I am talking to him”. Hamdi said, “It hurt me, it will not work with talking”. He walked out of the class by saying “Mehmet get out, we will see”.

The bell had rung for the lesson and the teacher entered. Hamdi suddenly walked in saying “Selamünaleyküm”. The teacher warned Hamdi to leave by saying, “good lessons, come on!”. The students said all together “good lessons”. Hamdi said “what’s it to you, I said it to the teacher” and he left the class.

At break the assistant principal came to the classroom, Hamdi entered the class at that time. The assistant principal said “Hamdi why are you here, the die is cast”. Hamdi did not comment and walked out.

At break we were talking to a student. Hamdi shouted, “I will poop in your mouth, you crazy whore, you whore”. Hasan by laughing at me said “He said it to

me because, I was tickling his head”. Later on Hasan was heard screaming. He was next to the teachers table and had been cornered by Hamdi. When Hasan is cornered by his friends he is able to get rescued by screaming with a sharp and annoying voice.

The lesson bell had rung the teacher said, “if you are quiet, the guidance counsellor will come to class”. Hamdi was standing next to the teacher’s table and the students said have a nice lesson. Then they tried to say it together (1,2,3 go). This meant go to your classroom to Hamdi. The teacher intervened and screamed. Hamdi also screamed, “What’s happening”. The guidance counsellor came in and Hamdi left the classroom.

At break Hasan entered the class quickly and shut the door, he said, “Hamdi is coming”. Hamdi walked into the class and said words very inappropriate and swore, walking towards Hasan. Despite the hall monitor (teacher) entered, Hamdi continued on insulting and swearing. At one stage Hamdi hit Mehmet who was next to him. The teacher could not separate them. Mehmet said “what did I do?” and Hamdi said, “Why did you hold me, you dishonest thing”. The male teacher who was hall monitor could not do anything.

The examples above in which the observation of Hamdi is interesting in terms of different dynamics that determine the teacher-student and the student-student relationship. Hamdi attended lessons for 3 years in this class. In grade 4 the students’ male teacher left to go to a different school and the female teacher that is their teacher now replaced him. When the new female teacher could not “handle”

Hamdi, the teacher sent him to a different class with a male teacher. In the examples, it was seen that Hamdi neither listened to the teacher being observed nor the teacher on duty (even though he was a male!). It was observed that he was only afraid of the assistant principal. The assistant principal can be considered as a higher authority figure than the class teacher or teacher on duty. This observation is reminiscent of Bernstein's (1977) study on power and control, school and other social area experiences as tools that build individuals' conscious. The student could be acting differently according to the authority of the personnel in school organization. The hidden curriculum teaches the students the process of institutional structures power and control mechanisms.

In every school there are applications that are repeated every day and taken for granted. For example, the bell that indicates entering and exiting, controlling the list for absence, and milk being distributed are only some of them. According to this description, even though differences are seen in terms of the countries, educational policies, schools, the environments socio-economic, socio-cultural characteristics in which the school is geographically located, school administrators and the teachers education management approach, students' developmental characteristics and family demographic characteristics all schools have this type of application within the framework of this description.

In this study it can be seen that the teacher takes decisions on routine practices and in its framework the students are expected to behave. The students do not attending the decision making process, the teacher made decisions for them.

Rules of the Classroom

The Process of Determining Classroom Rules

“The students did it and that’s why the teacher made it a rule”.¹²
(A Student)

There was no list of rules written among the teacher and the students hung on the wall. During the interviews with the students, almost all of them said that the rules were made by the teacher or teachers.

Three of the students said that they accepted the rules since they had started school. The students identify themselves being passive and obedient as seen below:

Kemal: “We have had these rules since first grade, we did not decide on them.”

Ender: “The rules have been here since we started school.”

Güven: “We did not decide our previous teacher did, and it is continuing.”

Five students indicated that the teacher had asked their opinions, but still made the decision herself. Below are examples of the students’ opinions:

Yusuf: “The teacher asked us our opinion, and we said no.”

Esra: “The teacher told us to raise our hands to talk, whisper while in our arts lesson, and do not be naughty. We said rules and the teacher decided on whether it was right or wrong.”

¹² “Öğrenciler yaptığı için öğretmen kızdı, kural koydu.” (Bir öğrenci)

Cezmi: "The teacher made the rules, we thought and gave opinions."

Ender: "We said eating in the class should be a rule and she said no."

During the interview the students stated that the rules set were not actually for the purpose of the class to function in a proper manner, but were seen as a sanction for the teacher against unwanted negative behavior. Moreover, the students were seeing themselves as an active factor regarding the rules. Therefore, due to the rules been made the students saw themselves in an active position with their negative behavior, while they saw themselves an obedient status in the decision making process. Below is an example of the statements of students:

Leyla said "the teacher saw the rubbish on the floor and under the desks, so she told them to keep the class tidy and it became a rule".

Kadir said "the students did it and that's why the teacher made it a rule".

Fatma said "when they had a fight the teacher warned them, and that they should not be seen talking and wait for the teacher, so the teacher made the rules".

Cengiz said that "Güven and Ender were fighting and then they thought about it, and they were punished".

It was seen that the students who spend most of their time in the classroom were not a part of deciding on the rules, they were in a passive position, not included in the process, and had no say. This finding shows partial similarity to Başar's (2011) study in which he determined that teacher's use mostly a half democratic attitude in making a decision about class management.

The authority in the class was the teacher. Moreover, the rules were made due to the student's unwanted behavior, and they tended to feel blamed among

their friends and themselves. The students without thinking logically made an assumption based on the cause-effect behavior about why the rules were made. In the following are examples of the student's opinions about why rules are made.

"When we do not follow the rules, we will fight a lot and everything can happen".

"If we do not raise our hand, then the class will get noisy".

"If we throw rubbish the floor would be full of rubbish and if we walk around the classroom it will make dust."

"We should not play ball because it makes dust".

"The class will smell and get dusty, so we might get ill".

"We would not be able to write on the blackboard, if we do not air out the class it will smell and if we do not assemble our seats they will be scabbled".

"The teacher banned having our hair out, because it comes on our face when studying".

"Our report will have a low grade".

The students evaluated the rules in terms of its results and beneficial factor. For instance, a student thought that playing ball in the class was a rule because it made dust, but did not question why the floor was dusty. In this study the examples the students gave about why rules were made in Doğanay and Sadık (2007) states that unwanted behavior is seen in examples such as these: "This is a rule, the teacher will get angry and punish us, our behavior grade will be 1, the teacher will warn us and throw us out of the class or send us to detention and even get thrown out of school". This study shows similarities with the observation done in class. During conversation it was understood that the students had no say in the rules, so

there was no democratic approach in the class. The students not having a say in deciding on classroom rules that are part of society may lead the students to become passive, obedient citizens in the future. Schimmel (1997, cited in Thornberg, 2009) stated that citizenship education is in relation to school rules and rule making in schools. Creating the school rules and informing the pupils about them is a very important part of the citizenship education. For this reason, the rules settled in schools are a kind of law applying to the pupils.

Classroom Rules

“...settling a rule in this school is a hard issue. In that they are not kids that grew up with rules in their families. They are not students who do everything on time, for example.”¹³
(The Class Teacher)

In the interview the teacher informed that there were 4 rules, while the students in total expressed 48. The teacher expressed that the more rules, the harder it is for them to follow that is why there are only a few. She stated this with these words:

The rules that need to be followed are keeping the class clean, listen to their friends and teachers without interrupting, using our tools properly and not harming them. There are not many rules. The solution is difficult when there are a lot of rules to follow. That is why by making fewer rules we have a purpose to ensure they follow all of them, but of course it is a problem. The students do not follow the rules the same way, and not being late to class, being on time, are our rules. (Appendix F6)

The class teacher stated that there were 4 rules in class, which were:

1. Keeping the class clean.
2. Listening to your friends and teacher without interrupting.

¹³ “...ama bu okulda kural oturtmak da zor bir şey. Çünkü böyle ailesinde de kurallarla büyümüş çocuklar değil. Her şeyi vaktinde yapan öğrenciler değil mesela...” (Sınıf Öğretmeni)

3. Using your stationery equipment properly.
4. Coming to school on time, not being late.

These rules indicated mostly class organization and class management on a functional structure. Furthermore, instead of it basing on raising interest-perception and motivation they focus on stopping the behavior.

During the interview with the class teacher she expressed that there was a problem in following the rules, especially due to the Roma students being absent.

Besides she explained that she got this class new, and that the rules had settled in the classes she had been teaching since grade one.

If I had taken them since grade 1 the rules may have settled in clearer. Because I had taught my previous class from grade 1 to grade 4 and it was different. We would have spoken more about the rules and make them clearer, but this year because I took this class from grade 4 getting to know the students, in that time we did not actually stay on the class rules but, we tried to stay on particular things that we wanted to from time to time. Like I said how is it in other schools this situation, I do not know but, settling a rule in this school is a hard issue... In that they are not kids that grew up with rules in their families. They are not students who do everything on time, for example. You get to know the kid better since they grow up from grade 1, what they want, what they are trying to say I knew better so it was different. I understood it this year. (Appendix F7)

The interviews conducted with the students had stated rules, and these are illustrated in Table 4 without any change made according to the rules frequencies.

Table 4. The Rules Students Stated

The Rules Students Stated	The Students Who Said the Rules	Frequencies
Not throwing rubbish on the floor	Kemal, Nehir, Zeynep, Dudu, Demet, Yusuf, Ünzile, Eda, Nazlı, Önder, Sultan, Cemal, Toprak, Esin	14
Not talking with someone during class	Zeynep, Rıza, Demet, Esra, Ender, Duru, Cemal, Cengiz	8
Not talking without raising your hand	Emel, Esra, Eda, Sultan, Yusuf, Güven	6
Not fighting	Nehir, Fatma, Leyla, Kemal, Hüseyin, Cengiz	6
Not playing in class (ball, jump rope)	Nehir, Nazlı, Cezmi, Ender, Hüseyin, Esin	6
Keeping the class clean	Nehir, Yusuf, Leyla, Kadir, Önder, Esin	6
Opening the windows during break for fresh air	Mehmet, Yusuf, Cemal, Ayşe, Esin	5
Not chewing gum in class	Sevda, Duru, Rıza, Ender	4
Not running in the class and while entering the class	Fatma, Duru, İpek, Güven	4
Acting nice and kind to your friend	Hatice, Sultan, Cengiz	3
Not writing or scribbling on the tables	Kadir, Hüseyin, Önder	3
Not making noise when the teacher is absent and wait silently	Sevda, Kadir	2
Coming to class on time	Duru, İpek	2
Waiting for the teacher by sitting in seat	Fatma, Ünzile	2
Not standing up and walking around	Emel, Ünzile	2
Picking up rubbish from the floor	Nehir, Sinan	2
When the teacher is absent, not writing on the blackboard	Yusuf, Önder	2
Not climbing on the tables	Leyla, Toprak	2
Keeping tables in order	Sinan, Ayşe	2
Not climbing out of the window	Sevda, Toprak	2
Not screaming	Mehmet, Emel	2
Keeping the door closed while waiting for the teacher	Kadir	1

The Rules Students Stated	The Students Who Said the Rules	Frequencies
Knocking on the door when entering	Eda	1
Listening to the teacher carefully	Cezmi	1
Not talking when the teacher is talking	Emel	1
Not talking when your friend is talking	Demet	1
Not being rude	Sevda	1
Being quiet	Zeynep	1
Not playing around with the teacher's computer, and not playing with the teacher's belongings.	Nehir	1
Not eating in class	Ender	1
Not going to the toilet during class	Ender	1
Not playing in the class	Kadir	1
Bringing chalk when finished	Ayşe	1
Emptying the rubbish	Yusuf	1
Not throwing rubbish under the desks	Sinan	1
Not looking through the teachers belongings	Nehir	1
Not ripping the desk cloths	Nehir	1
Not messing up the desk cloths	Kadir	1
Not flow your hair when coming to school	Nazlı	1
Not swearing	Mehmet	1
Not teasing	Nehir	1
When the bell rings, not pushing your friend	Hatice	1
If you find something on the floor tell the teacher or show it to the class	Kemal	1
Not stealing	Nehir	1
Not doing anything dangerous	Cengiz	1
Exiting the classroom at break	Mehmet	1
Not running in the corridor	Leyla	1

(Appendix E, Table 4 in Turkish)

* The Roma students

During the interviews with the students 47 rules were stated from 30 students.

These are the 10 most common rules given by the students:

1. Not throwing rubbish on the floor. (14 students)
2. Not talking to someone during class. (8 students)
3. Not talking without raising your hand. (6 students)
4. Not fighting. (6 students)
5. Not playing in class (ball, jump rope). (6 students)
6. Keeping the class clean. (6 students)
7. Opening the windows during break for fresh air. (6 students)
8. Not chewing gum in class. (4 students)
9. Not running during class and entering the class. (4 students)
10. Acting nice and kind to your friend. (3 students)

The first three rules that the students had said were based on the same rules as the teacher's first two rules show parallelism. The two rules the teacher stated was keeping the class clean and listening to your friends and teacher without interrupting. The student's first three rules were do not throw rubbish on the floor, do not talk with someone during class and do not talk without raising your hand. Throwing rubbish on the floor rule was the most told among 14 students, 9 of whom were girls and 4 of 8 Roma students stated this rule.

During the interviews students gave different rules. The students said that the rules were on what they had been warned about the most. For example, the student (Emel) who got up and walked around the class the most, and who got warned for it stated the rule about not walking in class first, while listing the rules.

An interview was conducted with the school's assistant principal, who expressed that they had serious problems concerning the Roma students' lifestyle continuing in school in terms of hygiene. The assistant principal used these exact words:

There were no rules in the student's life in the Roma neighbourhood, and that the students lived on the street without any rules, and were brought up in a family where they could talk or behave the way they want. That is why it is hard to explain rules to a student like this. The student has no rule in daily life even for bathroom manners such as washing hands and using the toilet regularly. The toilets are always clogged with buttermilk cups and water bottles so there are a lot of problems regarding this. It is normal and it is not the students' fault, because the students do not do it at home too and does not even have a regular toilet routine. (Appendix F8)

The teacher and assistant principal especially indicated that the problem with teaching the rules to the Roma students was due to their family lifestyle.

In the interview conducted with the teacher, she emphasized that the Roma students had hygiene problems and continued their home habits. What the assistant principal and class teacher had said showed similarity with the findings of Özer, Bozkurt and Tuncay (2014), where the class teacher saw the reason for unwanted behaviour firstly as the family.

When the class rules stated by the students were examined it was noticed that the rules were based on what the students should not do, and when they do so, they get a warning or be punished. The teacher is the authority that has made the rules and the students are to obey by not talking in class, not talking before raising their hand, not playing in the class, not chewing gum, not running, not writing on the blackboard, not climbing on the desks, not making noise when the teacher is talking, not walking around, knocking on the door when entering, not

going to the toilet during class, not eating in class, not keeping the desk cloths straight, not flow your hair when coming to school etc.

The students should learn to take care of their physiological needs at recess, such as going to the toilet, and eating. They are also expected to control their physical activities like talking, chewing gum, playing games in class, and walking around in class. They should know not to give school property harm, for example, writing and scribbling on and scratching the desks. They should also know bureaucracy, sitting and waiting for the teacher silently, so they do not discredit their teacher and also protect themselves from getting into trouble. The class rules were a part of the education of implicit citizenship. Like Thornberg (2009) said, there is no place for critical thinking and critically discussing.

What do the Classroom Rules Serve?

“Not flow your hair when coming to school.”¹⁴
(A student)

The rules that the students stated tried to be catagorised according to the purpose they serve. The rules were categorized into three, regulating the class process, ethic rules and rules about safety.

During the categorizing process it was difficult to put the rules in the proper category. That the rules weren't made in a democratic atmosphere, that the students create rules on the basis of their own experiences made it hard to categorise.

The rules were grouped according to what purpose they serve in Table 5.

¹⁴ “Okula saçı salık gelmemek.” (Bir öğrenci)

Table 5. What is the Purpose of the Rules Stated by the Students?

	The Purpose	The Rules Stated by the Students	Frequencies
The rules for the Regulation of Classroom Functioning (91 students)	Class Management	Not talking with someone during class*	8
		Not talking without raising your hand	6
		Not chewing gum in class	4
		Not standing up and walk around	2
		Not screaming	2
		Not talking when the teacher is talking	1
		Listening to the teacher carefully	1
		Being quiet	1
		Not being rude	1
		Not playing in the class	1
		Not flow your hair when coming to school	1
		Not eating in class	1
		Bring chalk when finished	1
		Total	30
	Class Cleanness	Do not throw rubbish on the floor	14
		Keep the class clean	6
		Open the windows during break for fresh air	5
		Picking up rubbish from the floor	2
		Emptying the rubbish	1
		Not throwing rubbish under the desks	1
		Total	29
	The Use of Class Materials	Not writing or scribbling on the tables	3
		When the teacher is absent do not write on the blackboard	2
		Not climbing on the tables	2
		Keeping tables in order	2
		Not messing up the desk clothes	1
		Not ripping the desk clothes	1
		Total	11

	The Purpose	The Rules Stated by the Students	Frequencies
	Use of the Class at Break	Not playing in class (ball, jump rope)	6
		Exiting the classroom at recess	1
		Not running in the corridor *	1
		Total	8
	Managing the Entering-Exiting of the Classroom	Not running in the class and while entering the class*	4
		Coming to class on time	2
		Knocking on the door when entering	1
		Not going to the toilet during class	1
		Total	8
	Bureaucracy	Waiting for the teacher by sitting in seat	2
		Not making noise when the teacher is absent and wait silently	2
		Keeping the door closed while waiting for the teacher	1
		Total	5
Ethic Rules (25 students)	Violence and Harming Others	Not fighting	6
		Acting nice and kind to your friend	3
		Not talking when your friend is talking	1
		Not swearing	1
		Not teasing	1
		When the bell rings do not push your friend	1
		Total	13
	Respect for Personal Space	Not talking with someone during class*	8
		Not playing around with the teacher's computer, and not playing with the teacher's belongings.	1
		Not looking through the teachers belongings	1
		If you find something on the floor telling the teacher or show it to the class	1
		Not stealing	1
		Total	12
Security (8 students)		Not running during class and entering the class. *	4
		Not climbing out of the window	2

	The Purpose	The Rules Stated by the Students	Frequencies
		Not running in the corridor*	1
		Not doing anything dangerous	1
		Total	8

(Appendix E, Table 5 in Turkish)

In Table 5, it was seen that the class rules were defined as unwanted behavior by the teachers. The student's definition of a "rule" was identified as unwanted behavior by the teacher, and when done was seen as a warning/punishment.

Table 5 shows the students stated the rules class organizational function the most, later ethnic rules and security based rules follow. The education professionals shape and sustain the social order in school, arrange the student behavior, and organize the lessons, breaks and other school activities (Thornberg, 2009).

Students Who Obeyed/Not Obeyed the Class Rules

"Generally, pardon me but the Roma continue so the teacher gets angry again and they do not do it." ¹⁵ (A girl student)
"God created us, what can we do now?"
(A Roma girl student)

In the interviews with the students, the students who were stated that did not obey the rules are shown in Table 6.

¹⁵ "Genellikle afedersiniz de Romanlar devam ediyo o yüzden öğretmen bi daha kızıyo sonra yapmıyolar." (Bir kız öğrenci)
"Allah yaratmış, ne yapalım şimdi?" (Bir Roman kız öğrenci)

Table 6. The Students Who Were Stated that Not Obeying the Class Rules

The Student Who Was Said to Have Not Obeyed the Class Rules	The Number of Students Who Said so
Hasan (He migrated from South-Eastern Anatolia. He has been in this class since grade 2.)	13
Sevda	10
Dudu	8
Riza	8
Nehir	6
Fatma	5
Sinan	5
Kemal	4
Zeynep	4
Cezmi	3
Mehmet	3
Tahsin (Even though he does not continue school his name was given twice)	2
Emel	2
Sultan	2
Ceylan	1
Hamdi (Even though he moved to a different class there was one student who said his name)	1
Yusuf	1

* The Roma students

From Table 6 it can be seen that in first place is a student named Hasan.

Observations on Hasan are given below:

Hasan has been in this class since the second grade. His family migrated from the South-eastern Anatolia Region. There are times when he has problems in following the lesson; he occupies himself with things outside of the classroom. In the class he is only in communication with his friend (Cengiz) sitting next to him and he always gives presents to him to make him happy such as stickers, a ball, or money. He sometimes has a dispute with Cengiz but he shows a lot of effort to propitiate and make peace in situations like this. They are in constant dispute with the other male students. Especially at break they are swearing and fighting with each other. When

a few students corner him Hasan screams loudly and sends them away. By screaming and biting the students try to protect them.

In Table 6 it is seen that in 8 out of 9 rows there are the Roma students' names. During the student interviews when stating the students who do not obey the rules, some students said the Roma student's names without thinking. Four students even stated a Roma student Tahsin was not continuing school. For example,

"Tahsin and Kemal, that's all. Zeynep and Fatma". (Hatice)

"Tahsin and Hasan fight with someone every day". (Cemal)

Two students said without thinking said that the Roma ruined the rules. Below are examples of what students stated.

Ünzile: "The teacher warns. Some of our friends continue. Generally, pardon me, but the Roma students continue so the teacher gets angry again and they stop. Because they think of playing, they play before the teacher comes, then the teacher comes and shouts at them. So they concentrate on the game."

Demet: "The Roma mess it up."

It can be said that the Roma students were there with their Roma identity ethnic roots. Bernstein (1977) stated that the vertical relations completed horizontal relations in the social structure. In this example, the place of the Roma's vertical hierarchy in the work force identifies and organizes the horizontal relationship between students. In the interview conducted with the teacher it was encountered that the teacher used generalization when talking about the Roma

students. For example in the class, Esin, who has a speaking problem due to physiological reasons, the students joking were stated in this manner:

There are a few students that ridicule about Esin that come from Gökkuşağı Street, *Sevdalar* (Sevda and her friends), the Roma students... Esin yes, even though she has a problem, and yes in general she is not ridiculed. In fact Yusuf and Cezmi get very angry if anyone ridicules her they defend her, when somebody says something to Esin. They like Esin a lot, but students who come from that (Gökkuşağı) street ridicule her. (Appendix F9)

The teacher using the plural form of the names of the Roma students when talking about students was significant. Like the students while stating the students that did not follow the rules saying “Roma” and listing all the names.

Göregenli (2012) stated that stereotypes have functions such as evaluating a group positive or negative and changing. In the process of a stereotype increases in-group sympathy outside group discrimination. The created “us and them” discrepancy can be seen as an adequate condition in the in-group. As a result of this the boundaries get stronger between the inside and outside groups and the space that makes discrimination widens. In one of the interviews conducted with a Roma student it was interesting in terms of the language used when defining their friends:

... when I saw her I got cold feet about going to school, then I felt like she was acting bad to me, at the start I thought that she was discriminating against me. Because we are Roma we say Gacı we thought that she was discriminating against us. We were talking among ourselves with the girls... we thought that the teacher was discriminating. Our teacher was acting badly to us, and then when we got used to her she got used to us. Was it like that for us, I do not know or was it when I started being curious at lessons the teacher acted nicely to us. Some of them the kids Tahsin, Ceylan, Fatma, Kemal bring course books, because the teacher behaves cold them, they do not open their books. We say Gacı to the girls and Gaco to the boys. So we say Gacı to women and girls and say Gaco to boys and men. That is how we separate, but we speak among ourselves as Roma we know *Romanca* (Romani language). (Appendix F10)

In the class it was easy to come across facts and events with the definition “us and them” between the Roma students and the others. For example, at one recess some students gathered up near the teacher’s desk. They stated that out loud a Roma girl’s name which was written on the name list. A Roma student named Nehir (bigger in age and physical stature) came running from one corner of the class and took the list from the students and rubbed off the name written. She explained herself in these words:

I looked at the list and Ceylan was written. I said that it was not Ceylan’s writing I went and rubbed it and compare with Ceylan’s handwriting then I went and put it on the teacher’s desk. Who knows who wrote it... but the teacher will not believe in that. She is very silent and in class, for example in the maths lesson she raises her hand (Ceylan). She sits inactive in the art lessons, I mean it does not happen to anyone else. (Appendix F11)

Çayır (2012) states that in those societies where intragroup inequality is present, the dominant, prevalent and powerful groups may stigmatize, define and label the weaker groups that are classified as minority, vulnerable and lower class groups. The author also indicates that the dominant groups along with the stigmatizing, create stereotypes related to the subordinate groups and these stereotypes homogenize all members of a group, isolate them from their individual qualities and turn them into the members of a stigmatized group. Having used the term stereotype for the first time, Lipmann (1922, as cited in Madran, 2012, p. 32) defines stereotypes as “the pictures in the brain that describe social classes”. Expressing a dislike for a certain group is a prejudice, while the qualities attributed to those groups as a justification for that dislike and the generalized beliefs ascribed to the members of a group are stereotypes (Madran, 2012). The behavior of the

students in the classroom where the research was conducted of labelling the Roma students as those students who do not obey the rules without thinking is an indicator of the stereotypes they developed against Roma students. In fact, they labelled even those Roma students that do not come to school any more, as in the case of Tahsin.

Çayır (2012) highlights that when the stigmatized groups act in accordance with the stereotypes related to them, problems such as discrimination do not turn into social issues. However, they are challenged when they would like to take up a role that does not comply with the stereotypes in the society. For instance, while a Roma selling flowers on the street does not pose a problem, when they want to be a politician, “when they would like to assume a role that does not correspond to the stereotypes in the society, then certain problems occur (p. 12)”.

In this research, examples supporting this approach were found. For example, in one of the lessons I observed, the teacher asked his students to replicate the musical drama which they had performed with the counselor. In their musical drama with counselor, Nehir, the Roma girl playing the role of flower-seller did not want to play this role, and did not stand up. In interview with Nehir, her expressions about why she didn't want to play that role were striking ones.

Nehir – Teacher sometimes loves us, sometimes doesn't. Then, I looked today.

...Ours will play (intended to Roma students), came to the blackboard, the teacher said “öff”, “will I beg you!” she said; “you play or not, your choice” she said. Then Ayşe (a non-Roma student) wanted to come to the blackboard, teacher said “come on Ayşe, you play”. She shouted to us, “Sit down, if you don't play, don't!” She

forced to Ayşe to stand up, let her sing a song.

Researcher – Why didn't you take the florist role?

Nehir – I was embarrassed.

Researcher – You did before.

Nehir – There was only a counselor.

Researcher – And if it is a red riding hood, will you play?

Nehir – Yes.

Researcher – Why didn't you want to act it (florist), why did you tell that you could act red riding hood?

Nehir – They won't let it on the scene.

Researcher – They won't let the red riding hood, why?

Nehir – For example, teacher won't want it. If I put my hand up, he will choose the other, then I will be demoralized... I did like this, handed up.... I handed up like this (showing how she handed up), and then I handed down.

Researcher - Well, why didn't you want to act florist?

Nehir – I embarrassed, then they will call us Roma more... God created us, what can we do now?"

In this research it was observed that the Roma were significantly discriminated against both in action and discourse. Not just during the lessons but also in the seating arrangement, it was clear in the communication of the teachers and Roma students this discrimination. In the interview, there was one Roma student who stated this very clearly. The student stated that by pout to the teacher protected herself from the teacher's bad behaviors. Nehir thinks that her

classmates and class teacher discriminate against the Roma students, and she has developed some strategies for struggling with these actions, as well. The things she specified in an interview were interesting:

They say “you pieces of shit, gypsies”. Sometimes I am very sad for that, I become about to die. Cezmi has said too, for example, I cried and said it to teacher. I said to my teacher that I had enough; they call us gypsies, Roma always.... Then teachers shouted at me, I say sometimes and then the teacher also shouts at us, she doesn’t do anything... For example, out teacher loves them; I thought that she doesn’t like us, and why she sees us as dirty and bad.... When everybody in the class makes noise, she sees us. Then she tells us “shut up you dirty Rıza, dirty Nehir”. It hurts me. I would be about to say where do you see us, do you see us in having shower, do you see our clothes, but I surrendered. I said “never mind, let her be older”. I said nothing again, I just got angry. She sometimes comes and calls me, she says me “my dear” or something, sometimes she caresses my head, and sometimes she looks at me angrily when I smiled her, and she smiles me when I was angry, because if I tell it my mom. I don’t behave friendly to the teacher, because she would totally come and shout at me if I behaved friendly, and so I don’t behave friendly. When she shouts at me like that, then I tell it to my mom.... sometimes my mom comes and shouts at teachers. Lately, teacher has pushed me on the stairs, and I was about to fall over, and then my mom came and shouted at her, I was about to fall and my friend held me..... Then they call us dirty, I want to take them to my home for seeing my home, my home is very clean, there are perfumes lined up, make-ups, wardrobe is also clean, everywhere is so clean. Because they just call us dirty, I will collect them one day, and take them to my home. Let’s see what they will do? We don’t stay such dirty.... For example, there was a boy named Kemal. I said, look Kemal they call us dirty. And I tell him that let’s beat them after the school. I got angry when they call us dirty, shit, and then I feel good when he cuts in and says do not talk to them, they say dirty gypsies. Then he doesn’t talk with me, and I stay alone in school, then go and say them, and we friends gather, and they can do nothing to us because we shout. Everybody in this classroom feels scared of us... They tell the teacher, and then teacher shouts at us but I don’t care, I turn, I do that (she turns her head). Then the teacher calls me, and then hugs me, if I behave friendly, then she would shout at me more, and I don’t do so, I don’t care her, and then she calls me and caresses me, and such that. When I behave friendly, she behaves badly to me. She thinks that I cannot tell it to my mom. (Appendix F12)

The Behavior in the Classroom that the Teacher Does Not Tolerate

There are two categories of behavior that the teacher does not tolerate. The first section is based on observation done in class: the warnings the teacher gave to students, the way the teacher warned the students and which students were warned were analyzed. In the second section with the guidance of the opinions of the students, the behavior that the teacher does not tolerate, and how and when they were warned were analyzed.

Classroom Observations

Teacher Warnings

“If his family complains and goes to the police and they come to school, then what’s going to happen!”¹⁶
(The Class Teacher)

In this section teacher warnings were analyzed according to which of the hidden curriculums goals it functioned for. According to the observations conducted in the classroom, the warnings were given by the teacher were categorized under three main titles: the regulation of classroom functioning, ethics and security.

It was observed that the class teacher most frequently (61 times) warned the students when they showed the behaviors under the category of regulation of classroom functioning.

The teacher warnings and the frequency of the warnings given under the category of regulation of classroom functioning:

¹⁶ “Şimdi ailesi şikayet etse polis gelse okula bak ne oluyor o zaman!” (Sınıf Öğretmeni)

- Talking in class, making noise (28 times)
- Changing seat without teachers permission (7 times)
- Not sitting (facing the teacher, towards the blackboard) (6 times)
- Standing up in class (6 times)
- Not preparing the lesson material (6 times)
- Being late to class (3 times)
- Not using time adequately (3 times)
- Not following the text being read (2 times)

The teacher warnings and the frequency of the warnings given under the ethics category:

- Violence and harming others (3 times)

The teacher warnings and the frequency of the warnings given under the security category (2 times)

In the previous section the rules were analyzed. The rules the students stated were categorized under these sections: regulation of classroom functioning, ethics and security. Most of the rules that the students gave were towards the regulation of classroom functioning. In the analysis of the teacher warnings in the class observations, there was a parallel categorization between the class rules. This parallelism supports the review of students stating more of the behavior the teacher warned them as a rule instead of approved/appreciated behavior. In the class observation the behavior that the students got mostly warned for, the statements used for warning by the teacher, and warning frequency is shown in Table 7.

Table 7. The Warnings the Teacher Being Observed

		The Teacher's Warnings
The Regulation of Classroom Functioning	Talking in Class and Making Noise	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The teacher counted to 5 and wanted them to be ready by the time she finished. When it was over she said, "Shout your mouth, and open your book." 2. When the teacher came in the class with speakers everyone yelled with excitement. Heyoo! "What is all this noise? Shut up! You still do not know what to do when you come into class!" "Just shut up, shut up!" 3. "Sultan will you sit in your place?" 4. "Shut up!" 5. While the teacher was setting up the film that they were to watch the noise continued. After the film had started it still continued. "When you go to the cinema do you watch it like this?" the teacher shouted. 6. "I am counting to 3 so you should shut up, and lean back" 7. "Yesss" 8. "Enough, just cut it out" 9. "Riza would you shut up!" 10. "Stop talking!" 11. "Will you turn to the front Nehir, to your own book" 12. "Nehir are you going to continue, so you are determined?" 13. When passing by Sevda and Nehir she warned them "cut it". 14. "Stop that!" (to a talking student) 15. "Now the ones that have given their papers shut up and be respectful to your friends that have not"* 16. "Do not squeal, do not squeal" she said to one of the students. (Önder) "Do not shout!" 17. "I wonder how it would be, if you were not talking." 18. "Riza will you turn around? Four of you are sitting there! Its enough!" 19. "Okay, okay do not talk!" 20. "Without talking my baby" 21. "That's enough Sultan!" 22. "Önder, please!" 23. "Shut up, do not taunt each other" 24. "You could not continue to draw your pictures for five minutes!" 25. "Shh! Shut up! Be quiet Emel!" 26. "Cut it out!" 27. "Enough! When I have counted to 3 everyone be in their seats" 28. "Hasan shut up!"
	Changing Seat, Without Teachers Permission	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. "Sevda, how can you lift your friend from there and sit in their place!" 2. Riza had sat in the middle row in the front next to Hasan. The teacher said "do not change your seats on your own, go to your seat" 3. Nehir got up and sat in the front next to Riza and the teacher warned her by saying "Go to your own seat Nehir" 4. "Nehir go back to your seat! Sevda I am going to throw you out of class now!" 5. "You change your seats then you say where am I going to sit! You are getting on my nerves and its just morning! Okay raise your head and look here!" "Enough, you have made me mad" (loud voice) 6. The teacher said "Sevda go to your seat" "stop changing your seats without permission" Sevda did not move. "Sevda!" she continued on writing in her notebook and got up and sat in her own seat. 7. The teacher said that everyone could sit where they want to. There was an immediate uproar. The teacher warned by shouting loudly. "enough". "By the time I count to 3 everyone must be seated!"
	Way of Sitting	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. "Nehir, firstly stop sitting side ways, turn to the front and lean back" 2. "Will you sit in your seat by leaning back properly?" 3. "Yes, lean back and open your maths books" 4. "Sevda and Hasan turn this way do not look there" 5. "Emel just sit" 6. "We are listening, how do we listen?" (One of the students said "like a flower and warns his friends by saying "everyone be a flower")

		The Teacher's Warnings
	Getting up During Class	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. "Önder, will you sit?" 2. Sevda goes next to the teacher the teacher says, "Will you go to your seat?" 3. "Nehircim will you sit down?" 4. Nehir and Sevda are standing. "What are you doing Nehir and Sevda?" Nehir 5. "Will you go to your seats? (To the students around the table) "Önder sit!" 6. "Hasan to your sit!" (His standing)
	Preparing Lesson Materials	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. "Where are your books? Zeynep open your book!" 2. "Nehir let Holat read" Nehir: "My books at home" the teacher "Its very good that your book is at home" 3. "Yes, lean back! Open your math notebooks, open them sweetly" 4. "Riza and Hasan will you open your books?" 5. "First sit! Take your pencils and erasers out! Do not talk!" 6. "Hasan, take your notebook out! Why do you not have it?"
	Being Late to Class	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The teacher called 3 of the latecomers to the blackboard. (Sevda, Nehir, Zeynep) "I am going to punish you in the afternoon, the writing on the blackboard punishment" one of the three students who sat down (Nehir) was happy and applauds: "Oley, I love to write" the teacher said, "I changed my decision, did you have a star?" Nehir "no" 2. "Where were you? And Fatma explained "my father came" 3. "Emel what were you doing in the toilets? You wet your face, eyes and hair again..." the students: "then she will say that she is cold" the teacher: "Sit in your seat, go!"
	Using Time	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. "Look your time is nearly up" 2. "Hasancim you still have not done it (Hasan) your too slow, look at Duru how she drew it. Yusuf help Hasan a bit" 3. "Yess, complete your drawings until the bell rings, finish them"
	Following the Text While Being Read	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cengiz (who gets up frequently from his seat) read when it was his turn by standing up, as well as Hasan (but they read the wrong part) the teacher: "Yusuf continue, they should have been following" 2. "Follow, look do not miss where you left of from"
Ethics	Violence and Harming Others	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Önder was fighting with Hasan. Hasan was sitting in his seat when the teacher came, and Önder was punching him from his seat. The teacher called both of them to the blackboard, and asked "What should I do to you too now?" 2. The teacher called Hasan next to her. "Mehmet, raise your head and look at Hasan's eyes. (he did not look with persistence and kept looking at his book in front of him) "What kind of anger is this no matter how angry you are, is it right to throw a stone? What if his eye popped out, do you know what would happen? Stop turning pages and lift your head I am talking to you! What kind of anger is this! If his family complains and goes to the police and they come to school then whats going to happen! I am saying this to everyone. Do not ever do this again, the same thing goes for Hasan" * 3. Sultan was crying, Cezmi said that he had hit her on the arm by accident. The teacher: "how can it be by accident? Sultan what happened you explain? Sultan: "I was sitting at my desk, he hit my arm" The teacher: "Appologize to your friend!" Cezmi apologized. **
Security		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The teacher called Hasan next to her. "Mehmet, raise your head and look at Hasan's eyes. (he did not look with persistence and kept looking at his book in front of him) "What kind of anger is this no matter how angry you are, is it right to throw a stone? What if his eye popped out, do you know what would happen? Stop turning pages and lift your head I am talking to you! What kind of anger is this! If his family complains and goes to the police and they come to school then whats going to happen! I am saying this to everyone. Do not ever do this again, the same thing goes for Hasan" * 2. Sultan was crying, Cezmi said that he had hit her on the arm by accident. The teacher: "how can it be by accident? Sultan what happened you explain? Sultan: "I was sitting at my desk, he hit my arm" The teacher: "Appologize to your friend!" Cezmi apologized. **

(Appendix E, Table 7 in Turkish)

The observation in terms of the categories for teachers' warnings, there were more warnings on the regulation of the classroom instead of ethics and security. This finding according to Wrag and Wrag (1998), from a study conducted in the UK on classroom management, indicated similar results. According to the results of this study the amount of noise the students make and talking without permission are the first of the most observed unwanted behaviour in classrooms. Wragg (1994) states that the worse behaviour was at a medium level not severe.

In Doğanay and Sadık's (2007) study, the unwanted behaviour of making noise, which the teachers stated most, was also the behaviour that students' got warned for the most in this study. According to Keskin's (2009) study, the most unwanted behaviour seen in class was complaining about friends and speaking without permission. During the observation it was seen that on the topics ethics and security only when they use violence against each other the teacher warned them.

In Table 7 with the (*) signed, while the teacher warned the student that had thrown the rock, she threatens them by saying "What would have happened if the rock had come to the student's eye? What if the family complain to the police and they come to school, then you will see what happens!" Rather than emphasizing more on the responsibility of popping his friend's eye, she states what would happen to him in these circumstances. The teacher approaches the behavior of the student throwing the rock not as being focused on changing the motivation, but eliminating the behavior. She scares the students.

In Table 7 the statement signed with (**), when the teacher entered the class a girl student was crying (Sultan). When the teacher asked what happened, a boy student (Cezmi) said that he mistakenly hit her arm. Without giving attention to what the student said “how does it happen by mistake? How does it happen? What happened, Sultan you explain”, the teacher said, listening to the crying student: “I was sitting at my desk and he came and hit my arm”. The teacher wanted Cezmi to apologize. Without even asking how it happened, and not allowing an explanation, or listening she came to a conclusion with what the crying student had said. The situation in a different dimension was; if the situation had been between different students was whether the teacher’s response changed both ways. The crying student is successful academically, has a proper diction, she is a student that can express herself well. Her writing is very good, and when the students write something in their notebooks, she is always given the duty to write it on the blackboard. In front of the class, at the blackboard or when speaking she was very comfortable. She was one of the best students. The student who caused the student to cry was also academically successful; he would follow the lesson very well, organized, sometimes warned the teacher and students what to do and is a student that technically helped the teacher in the usage of the computer and data-show. Sometimes he was a student who complains; sometimes from noise, doing a lesson when going to do a different lesson, and sometimes from homework. Both students wore clean and proper clothing.

In the interviews with the students three of the students stated that the teacher gets angry at one but, not at the others for the same behavior. In the examples given by the three students Cezmi's name was given by two of them.

... For example, I did this to Cezmi (she hit her hand) I touched and he went and told the teacher. The teacher came, and shouted at me. He did this (showing that he hit her), I went and told the teacher, and she said nothing. I hit Cezmi the teacher cornered me and later shouted. Then I too understood everything; I said that the teacher does not like us. For example, okay I explain my problems and she finds solutions but, I sometimes go next to her and she says what's wrong. I explain my problem; she says okay, sit down, Cezmi might have made a joke. (Nehir, Roma girl)
... Teacher when Hasan, Cezmi and Yusuf hits him the teacher says nothing. When we do a joke she gets angry. (Riza, Roma boy)

The Teacher's Warning Manner

The observed classroom warnings that were analyzed under the titles "positive and negative warnings". The teacher warning without giving names and reminding about the time belongs to the positive category. But the teacher's warning without giving names can be considered negative in terms of the warning type, as well.

The teacher's manner of warning, the warning sentences used and their frequency are shown in Table 8. In the table the teacher's warning sentences, the teacher-student relationship in class, and how the teacher appealed were given especially to form an idea.

Table 8. The Positive Warnings Given by the Teacher Being Observed

Behavior	Teacher Warnings	Frequency of Observation
Warning without giving names*	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. "Without talking sweetie" 2. The class bell rang, everyone was still playing around with hand and foot movements The teacher came and said "Sit now I am going to hand out your exam papers, first sit and take out your pencil and eraser, do not talk" a student started to hand out the papers and the class became quiet. 3. The teacher came to the class "yes, lean back and open your math notebooks. Open them sweetie" 4. "Do not touch the back of the computer, if you touch there the jag will break and it will completely need changing and we will not be able to use it" 	4
Reminding the time	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. The students were drawing in a section in their workbooks. The teacher reminded them the time by saying "Come on your time is nearly up" 	1

(Appendix E, Table 8 in Turkish)

The teacher warning the students without giving names can be considered in the positive category in terms of the students not being exposed. But, even though the teacher warned without giving names when she used imperatives and showed anger it was considered to be under the negative warning category.

According to the frequency of the teacher warnings observed under the negative category, warning by name, shouting, warning without names, intimidation/threat, allusion, expose, not listening to what is being said, humiliation and leaving out are shown in Table 9. Sentences that have a (!) sign indicate that the teacher was angry. Sari's (2007, p. 203) study titled "The negative behavior themes in class observations for the teacher's values in respect for human dignity" was utilized in the creation of this table.

Table 9. The Negative Warnings Given by the Teacher Being Observed

Behavior	Teacher Warnings	Frequency of observation
Warning by giving names	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. "Sevda is that milk in your hand? Why don't you drink them on time and leave them in your bags! 2. Start! Sevda, Sultan starts now! 3. "Hasan take out your notebook? Why do you not have it?" 4. "Esin tie your hair up!" (Esin had let her hair loose) 5. "Hasan shut up!" 6. Nehir got up and sat next to Riza at the front. The teacher warned her "Go to your place Nehir" 7. "Nehir sit in your place" 8. "Sevda sit in your place! Stop changing your seats without asking" but Sevda did not move. The teacher said "Sevda!" 9. "Önder will you sit" 10. Sevda goes next to the teacher the teacher says "Go to your seat, Sevda" 11. "Nehircim will you sit down? Will you go to your seats! Önder sit! (To the students standing around the table) 12. "Hasan to your seat!" (Standing) during that time everyone was talking. 13. "Sultan will you go to your seat?" 14. "Riza will you shut up!" (With a mean tone) 15. "Will you turn to the front Nehir, to your own book" 16. While the text was being read the teacher was walking around and when she was passing next to Sevda and Nehir and warned them "cut it" 17. "That's enough Sultan" and she changed her seat. 18. "Önder, please" 19. There was mumbling in the class. The students were getting ready for their English exam, which was going to be conducted at the end of the second lesson. "Shh! Shut up! Be silent Emel!" 20. "Hasan shut up!" 21. "Where are your books? Open your book Zeynep!" 22. "Riza and Hasan will you open your books!" 23. "Sevda how can you lift your friend from her seat and sit there!" 24. "Nehir are you going to continue, so you are determined?" Firstly, you should stop sitting in your one side. Turn around. 25. Önder was fighting with Hasan. Hasan was sitting in his seat when the teacher came, and Önder was punching him from his seat. The teacher called both of them to the blackboard, and asked "What should I do to you too now?" 26. Ender "Emel is writing what I have written" (they are writing slogans) "Emel come next to me" says the teacher. "Whenever I look you are talking Ender!" (She gets harder) "I am getting angry did you hear? Go to your seat, I do not want to see you talk with anyone" 27. The teacher called Dudu to her side and said, "what are you doing" she said with a loud voice. The class: "yesterday you changed us" the teacher looked angry and said "go" 28. Nehir and Sevda were standing. The teacher said "what are you doing Nehir and Sevda" 29. The teacher called Güven next to her and warned him. "I am not going to see you talk from there to here again!" Güven sat back in his seat and sat silently. It could be seen that he was upset. 	29

Shouting	<p>30. The teacher said that everyone could sit where they want to. There was an immediate uproar. The teacher warned by shouting loudly “enough”. “By the time I count to 3 everyone be seated!”</p> <p>31. “Follow, look do not miss where you left of from”</p> <p>32. “The teacher counted to 5 and wanted them to be ready by the time she finished. When it was over she said, “Shout your mouth, and open your book”.</p> <p>33. When the teacher came in the class with speakers everyone yelled with excitement. Heyoo! “What is all this noise? Shut up! You still do not know what to do when you come into class!” “Just shut up, shut up!”</p> <p>34. While the teacher was setting up the film that they were to watch the noise continued. After the film had started it still continued. “When you go to the cinema do you watch it like this?” the teacher shouted.</p> <p>35. “I am counting to 3 so you should shut up, and lean back”</p> <p>36. “Enough, just cut it out”</p> <p>37. “Cut it out” (to a student talking)</p> <p>38. There was mumbling in the class. The teacher: “cut it out!”</p> <p>39. According to the students sitting arrangements they were reading a poem stanza by stanza. The teacher said, “Shut up! Do not talk to each other!”</p> <p>40. When the teacher was checking the exam papers they were standing around her. The teacher said, “Give me time” but they came again. The teacher shouted at a student saying, “do not squeal, do not squeal, and do not shout!”</p> <p>41. “You change your seats then you say where am I going to sit! You are getting on my nerves and its just morning! Okay raise your head and look here!” “Enough, you have made me mad” (loud voice) it was silent for a while but then they continued to talk again.</p> <p>42. Everyone was standing as if it was like break and like a brawl. The teacher yelled “You could not continue to draw your pictures for five minutes!”</p> <p>43. The teacher said that everyone could sit where they want to. There was an immediate uproar. The teacher warned by shouting loudly “enough”. “By the time I count to 3 everyone be seated!”</p>	14
Warning without giving names*	<p>44. While the film was continuing some students were drawing and the teacher warned them “everyone is starting to draw, put them away!”</p> <p>45. The teacher said “keep the names on top of each other do not put them mixed!” to the students leaving their papers on the teachers desk.</p> <p>46. The teacher was walking around and warning the students who were not drawing by saying “everyone is to draw, everyone!”</p> <p>47. “Let’s look at the pictures of “the child with the rainy eyes” text”. The teacher states that she is going to read it. “Do not make any noise even a crack!”</p> <p>48. “If you want to say something raises your hand! Turn around!”</p> <p>49. “Stop talking!”</p> <p>50. “Now the ones that have given their papers shut up and be respectful to your friends that have not”*</p> <p>51. “Okay, okay does not talk!”</p> <p>52. Dudu, Riza, Nehir, Sevda, Zeynep, Ceylan were talking among them. The teacher did not warn them. “Everyone open your books in front of you” she stated with a high voice.</p> <p>53. When the teacher entered the class there was a lot of noise. She warned them a few times “sit in your seats!”</p> <p>54. Even though the bell had rung for class the students were still standing.</p> <p>55. It was like they were on break. When the teacher came they sat down “now open your notebooks” some students asked “which one?” “You are now going to write a two stanza poem, it should be harmonic you have to write it yourself, you are going to be the poet” there was still noise. “Stop talking” the teacher said without giving a name. One of the students said, “Can we talk in a whisper?” the teacher did not answer.</p> <p>56. “Okay, now complete your drawings until the bell rings” one of the students actually got frighten “Ohhhh we still have to draw a farm”</p>	13

<p>Making intimidation/ and threats</p>	<p>57. "Mehmet, raise your head and look at Hasan's eyes. (He did not look with persistence and kept looking at his book in front of him) "What kind of anger is this no matter how angry you are, is it right to throw a stone? What if his eye popped out do you know what would happen? Stop turning pages and lift your head I am talking to you! What kind of anger is this! If his family complains and goes to the police and they come to school then what's going to happen! I am saying this to everyone. Do not ever do this again, the same thing goes for Hasan" *</p> <p>58. "Hasan he swore to everything" Cengiz said. The teacher came next to him "Be careful at what you say, and then you say Hasan's eye popped out and things like that!"</p> <p>59. Zeynep came late "Where were you Zeynep? If you are late again I will not allow you into class"</p> <p>60. Sultan, Riza, Sevda is late. The teacher stopped a student reading. The teacher said, "Who did you get permission to go to the counseling service? Is it a canteen? If you do this again, I am not going to allow you into the class. Did you hear me Riza! (With a high pitch voice)</p> <p>61. "If you want to watch a cartoon you are not going to touch or pass from here!"</p> <p>62. "Do not make me come there Sevda come with me" (she took her out and spoke with her)</p> <p>63. The teacher walked into the class and the students kept pace by repeating "gym class, gym class..." according to the timetable hung in the class the lesson was sports. The teacher said "Let's do some maths then we will look" there was shouting in the class. The teacher said, "a little, a little if you continue you will never go out for sports again". Nehir said "God forbid".</p> <p>64. Sevda, I am going to throw you out of the class now!"</p>	<p>8</p>
<p>Allusion</p>	<p>65. "I wonder how it would be like if you did not talk?"</p> <p>66. Riza will you turn around? Four of you are sitting there! It's enough!"</p> <p>67. "Riza can you tell us the duty of health centers?" Riza: "I am writing" the teacher "Zeynep" Zeynep replied, "Were we suppose to write there duties?" The teacher said "Well done Riza and Zeynep"</p> <p>68. There books are all open in front of them but no one is studying. The teacher said "Cezmi you are studying very nicely!" **</p> <p>69. When the teacher entered the class she saw Nehir running on the desks. She warned her by saying, "well done Nehir!" (When Cezmi and Önder are opening the data-show they always step on the desk without taking their shoes off)</p> <p>70. Nehir raised her hand and said to the student in front of her "sit so the teacher can see me". Nehir was talking with the student sitting behind her and when she saw the teacher look she said "I found a friend" then the teacher said "Did I seat you there to find a friend?"</p> <p>71. "Nehir you read" Nehir: "I left my books at home" the teacher "Its very good that your book is at home"</p>	<p>7</p>
<p>Exposing</p>	<p>72. The teacher called 3 of the latecomers to the blackboard. (Sevda, Nehir, Zeynep) There are totally 5 students on the blackboard "I am going to punish you in the afternoon, the writing on the blackboard punishment" one of the three students who sat down (Nehir was happy and applaud: "Hurray, I love to write" the teacher said, "I changed my decision, do you have a star?" Nehir no"</p> <p>73. A text was being read out loud Kemal. Kemal-Riza were talking. The teacher said "Kemal. Kemal come and explain it to us" Kemal. Kemal "I could not listen because of Riza, he stuck a pencil in my hand didn't you?" the teacher then said, "You explain it Riza". While the text was being read she asked the students who were talking to explain it. "Dudu, Leyla explain"</p> <p>74. The teacher asked, "What do you associate happiness with?" the students were comfortable and enthusiastic chocolate, ice cream e.g. were said. At that time Emel was busy with something else. "Emel what do you associate happiness with? She said louder (a warning) the class laughed and Emel could not answer.</p> <p>75. Fatma came to class late the teacher asked, "where were you?" she said "my father came". The teacher said, "Who told me she was playing outside?" the students said "Zeynep".</p> <p>76. Fatma came to class late (when the teacher asked where she was her friends said at the toilet). The teacher said, "What were you doing in the toilet? You wet your face, eyes and hair again..." the student said "then she will say that she is cold" the teacher: "Sit in your seat, go!"</p> <p>77. "Hasancim you still have not done it (Hasan) your too slow, look at Duru how she drew it. Yusuf help Hasan a bit"</p>	<p>6</p>

Not listening to what is being said	78. A student was crying, she said that someone had hit her arm by accident. "How is that possible? You explain it," she said to the crying student. The student said, "I was sitting and he hit my arm" the teacher said, "apologize from your friend" to the student who hit her. The student apologized in front of the whole class. 79. While the teacher was walking through the rows Rıza wanted to say something and she said, "go to your seat, no complaining". 80. The teacher was giving a lecture. Hüseyin was standing; Cengiz and Hasan were talking. He went next to the teacher and tried to complain. The teacher continued as if she had not heard. Önder went and sat in his place. Cengiz- Hasan kept on talking at the back.	3
Humiliation	81. While the teacher was preparing the computer there was a lot of noise. The teacher shouted at the class "shut up!" Nehir turned to the class and said "If you shut up then we can hear" then she said "teacher the sound". The teacher said "Okay, god I know there is no noise " 82. When the teacher entered the class she told the students who were dancing "Horon" "Why don't you dance in the garden instead of the classroom". One of the students who were playing (Cezmi) said, "Nehir started it" (he meant the Roma students). The teacher opened " <i>Arkadaşım Eşek</i> " on the data-show, and said to one of the students "I opened it because you are all stomping". The volume did not open and Hasan said "teacher the volume" and she said, "God, I know that's what I am trying to do". Önder said, "As if only you have an ear," he said to Hasan.	2
Excluding	83. Nehir and Sevda had turned around and were talking to Dudu. The teacher said "Nehir turn around, do not talk with her!" 84. The teacher softly said, "Please do not talk Hüseyin". (Hüseyin and Hasan who was sitting at the front of him were fighting. Hasan was punching Hüseyin at the time when the teacher said this.	2

(Appendix E, Table 9 in Turkish)

The teacher warned Hasan who was an academic failure, was fighting with friends, and not communicating with anyone else except his desk friend sitting next to him.

"You still have not done anything Hasancım, you are very slow, look how Duru drew" she shows someone else's picture they drew as an example. In the rest of the conversation she wanted Yusuf the student accepted as the most academically successful to help out. "Help Hasan, a bit Yusuf" The teacher said this in a way that the whole class heard. Thus it could be said that she confirmed Hasan's slowness and Yusuf being a hard worker, and talented.

The teacher's wanting a student to apologize for hitting their friend can be considered a positive approach. But the teacher not listening, not paying attention to both students equally, and her attitude of not asking about the behaviour can be open to discussion. In the previous section it was analyzed in different dimensions.

Under the same category in the other two teacher warnings, the teacher not listening to the students that wants to say something, she ignores them. It was observed that the teacher got angry at Emel for drinking milk in reference to a student's complaint. In this situation the teacher gave the message that she without based on any policy showed a carefree attitude. The students were only allowed to talk only when the teacher asked a question or gave permission. She listened when she wanted to. In addition the teacher with this behavior, instead of raising awareness as to why students should not be complaining about their friends, she tries to hinder the complaining.

The data obtained in this study show similarities with the Sarı and Doğanay's (2009) study. In their study it was observed that the teacher's negative behavior was seen more than the positive. Similarly, in this study the frequency of negative warnings by the teacher was seen more frequently than the positive warnings. The warnings in the positive category were observed 5 times, whereas warnings in the negative category were seen 84 times.

In their study Özer, Bozkurt and Tuncay (2014) indicated that class teachers who were faced with unwanted behavior in the class used these strategies; verbal warning, reminder of class rules, assigning duties to students, calling the student by name, keeping eye contact and depriving them from their favorite things. Similarly, Keskin (2009) stated that the teachers while preventing unwanted behavior first used anger and shouting as a method.

Students Who Were Warned

In the class observation the students who were warned and its frequency is given in Table 10. The distribution of warnings according to the class majority is given below.

The teacher;

- Out of 33 students in class 19 were warned.
- Out of 18 girl students in class 6 were warned.
- Out of 15 boy students in class 3 were warned.
- Out of 24 non-Roma students in class 12 were warned.
- Out of 12 non-Roma girl students in class 5 were warned.
- Out of 12 non-Roma boy students in class 7 were warned.
- Out of 9 Roma students in class 7 were warned.
- Out of 6 Roma girl students in class 5 were warned.
- Out of 3 Roma boy students in class 2 were warned.

Table 10. Which Students Were Warned and When?

The Student Warned	The Behavior Being Warned
Sevda 13 warnings 2 times ignored 3 times threatened	Talking in class, and making noise (3 times) Changing seat without permission (3 times) Being late to school (once) Drinking school milk late (once) Not following the activities being done (once) Laughing in class (once) Turning around while sitting (once) Standing in class (2 times)
Nehir 7 warnings 2 times ignored 2 times threatened 2 times allusion	Talking in class, and making noise (4 times) Being late to school (once) Standing in class (once) Preparing the course book (once)
Riza 6 warnings 2 times ignored Once threatened Once allusion	Talking in class, and making noise (3 times) Not following the activities being done (once) Changing seat without permission (once) Opening the course book (once)

Hasan 7 warnings Once was ignored Once was threatened	Using time (once) Not following the activities being done (once) Not following the text being read (once) Turning around while sitting (once) Standing in class (once) Talking in class, and making noise (once) Fight (once)
Zeynep 3 warnings Once was ignored Once was threatened Once was allusion	Being late to class (once) Not following the text being read (once) Preparing the course book (once)
Sinan 4 warnings	Not following the activities being done (once) Talking in class, and making noise (once) Not preparing the course book or notebook (2 times)
Emel 3 warnings Once was threatened Once was allusion	Being late to class (once) Turning around while sitting (once) Talking in class, and making noise (once)
Önder 4 warnings	Standing in class (2 times) Talking in class, and making noise (once) Fighting (once)
Dudu 4 warnings Once was ignored	Talking in class, and making noise (2 times) Not following the activities being done (once) Drinking school milk late (once)
Cezmi 3 warnings	Not answering the exam papers fully (once) Not studying for the exam (once) Showing physical violence to a friend (once)
Mehmet 2 warnings	Not following the activities being done (once) Showing physical violence to a friend (once)
Hüseyin 2 warnings	Talking in class, and making noise (2 times)
Sultan 2 warnings	Standing in class (2 times)
Fatma Warned once	Being late to class (once)
Hatice Warned once	Bringing soda for friends from home (once) (Her mother-father work in a soda factory, the drinks had a expired date)
Eda Warned once	Not following the lesson (once) (asked questions)
Cengiz Warned once	Not following the text being read (once)
Güven Warned once	Talking in class, and making noise (once)
Esin Warned once	Opening hair (once)
Yusuf Once clue 2 positive messages	

(Appendix E, Table 10 in Turkish)

Evaluating the table, it is seen that 7 of 20 students having their names in table and the first 3 students receiving warning are the students from the Roma origin. Sevda is in the first place on the list. Sevda was one of the Roma girl students in the class. In the observations it can be observed that she got the most warnings in class. Nehir, being in the 2nd place on the list, is one of the Roma students of the class. She was, just like Sevda, born in 2001. Nehir has explained the reason of her late beginning to the school with following statements:

I am scared from the school, I thought not to start working, and such. I was scared; there were lots of sounds in school. Then we went to school principal, he said me that “don’t be scare my daughter, look out there, we have a nice garden, children are playing, you will have friends”. I said, “Okay then, I will start to school.”... For example, we learn clean things here, good things. (Appendix F13)

Student Interviews

Behavior that Was not Tolerated

In this section unwanted behavior according to the students by the teacher is analyzed. The behaviors the teacher does not tolerate are grouped according to repetition; the regulation of classroom functioning (classroom management, classroom cleaning, the usage of classroom, use of the classroom at break, bureaucracy) and ethics (violence and harming others and showing respect).

According to the interviews conducted with the students the behaviors the teacher does not tolerate are given in Table 11 in the students’ way of expressing themselves.

Table 11. The Behavior that the Teacher Does Not Tolerate/Get Angry with
According to the Students

		The behavior that the teacher dose not tolerate/get angry with according to the students	The students who told	Frequency
The regulation of classroom functioning	Classroom Management	Talking in class	Ünzile, Eda, Duru, Cemal	4 times
		Disobeying the teacher (not listening, or not doing what she wants)	Fatma, Toprak, Esin, Nazlı	4 times
		Shouting in class, speaking loudly	Mehmet, Sultan, Toprak	3 times
		Attending the class late	Yusuf	Once
		Not listening to the lessons	Yusuf, Sinan	2 times
		Walking around in class	Hasan, Nazlı	2 times
		Being late to class	Yusuf	Once
		Speaking without raising hand	Esra	Once
		Sending letters during class	Zeynep	Once
		Not listening in class	Hüseyin	Once
		Whistling in class	Kemal	Once
		Doing something without teachers permission	Sevda	Once
		Talking when the teacher is talking	Önder	Once
		Not doing homework	Hasan	Once
	Complaining	Eda	Once	
	Classroom cleaning	Throwing rubbish on the floor	Demet, Zeynep, Cemal	3 times
		Not throwing paper in the paper bin	Kemal	Once
		Dirtying the class	Leyla	Once
		Not airing out the class	Cemal	Once
	The usage of classroom materials	While playing dropping the desk	Zeynep	Once
		The desks becoming unorganized	Ayşe	Once
		Standing on the desks	Leyla	Once
		Leaving a mess under the desk	Sinan	Once
	Use of the classroom at break	Running in the class	Fatma, Ünzile	2 times
		Skip rope in the class	Mehmet, Hüseyin	2 times
		Playing games in class	Cezmi	Once
		Playing by running	İpek	Once
		Looking out the window	Duru	Once
		Playing ball in class	Hüseyin	Once
		Writing on the blackboard at break	Önder	Once
	Bureaucracy	Doing something for a star	Esin	Once
		Acting irrespectively to adults	Esin	Once

		The behavior that the teacher dose not tolerate/get angry with according to the students	The students who told	Frequency
		Bringing drinks for friends	Ayşe	Once
		At break going to the teacher’s room and complaining about friend and calling the teacher	Cengiz	Once
			Total	47 times
Ethics	Violence and harming others	Fighting	Kemal, Sinan, Leyla, Eda, Zeynep, Cengiz	6 times
		Hitting, bashing friends	Nehir, Sinan, Zeynep, Güven	4 times
		Breaking friends pencil	Sevda	Once
	Showing Respect	Swearing	Fatma, Esin	2 times
		Speaking rudely	Esin	Once
		Tease friends	Nehir	Once
		Not allowing friend to play	Esin	Once
			Total	16 times

* The Roma students

(Appendix E, Table 11 in Turkish)

The behaviors which the teacher did not tolerate or get angry about showed parallelism to the class rules. This parallelism can be commented as the students giving the behavior the teacher does not tolerate/ get angry with as a rule. Similarly during the observations it was observed that the behavior they were mostly warned about was considered as a class rule.

In this study the students described unwanted behavior, which shows similarity with Doğanay and Sadık’s (2007) study that the students had indicated the same unwanted behavior; “dirtying the floors, showing physical violence, acting bad to friends, giving harm to class materials, acting disrespectful to the teacher, talking without permission, making noise, speaking rudely and swearing, not waiting for the teacher ready in class, acting reluctant to lessons, distracting the teacher and coming to school unready.

How Were Students Warned by the Teacher?

“The Roma ruin it. The teacher says do not talk but, they still keep on talking, he/she does something like that they talk and the teachers patience boils, she does not talk with them. It takes long, 5-6 days. We do not also talk.”¹⁷
(A student)

What the students expressed about which behavior and how the teacher warns is given in Table 12 without any change made to what the students had expressed. From the student’s statements it can be noticed that the teacher used violence. Some students stated that when they talked in class, they did not listen to the lesson, walked around in class, complained about friends, did no homework, sending letters during class, go against the teacher, hitting a friend, swearing, fighting, playing games in classroom, and throwing rubbish on the floor and under the desks the teacher showed violence. It was indicated that the teacher threatens them when they do not listen to her and hit their friends. In addition a student explained that when you do not listen to the teacher, and go against her she insults them.

¹⁷ “Romanlar bozuyor. Sınıfta öğretmen konuşmayın diyo onlar hayla konuşuyor, öyle bir şey yapıyo konuşuyo öğretmen de sabrı taşıyo, onlarla konuşmuyo. Uzun sürüyor. 5-6 gün oluyo. Biz de konuşmuyoruz.” (Bir öğrenci)

Table 12. Warnings Made According to the Students

		Teacher Warnings
	When rules are not followed	<p>Anger</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> We do not get punished, the teacher just gets angry. (Ayşe)
		<p>Threats</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The teacher says if you do this I will beat you, she says things like that. Being sent to the principal. She says that but does not send. She gets angry, warns, gives fear and says I will call your mother. (Emel)
		<p>Punishment</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sometimes standing on the one foot. (Mehmet) You wait at the blackboard, not go into the lesson. You sit. You crouch down there, you crouch in the corner, and you do not listen to the lesson. (Yusuf) We sometimes stay on one foot, and not talk with anyone. (Toprak) Standing on one foot. (Cengiz) Going in front of the blackboard and not talking with anyone, hmmm standing on one foot until the bell rings. (Demet) Our teacher gives punishment. We stand and turn our face to the desk, not look at anyone. On one foot.(Rıza) Our teacher never hits, she punishes students who did something bad. Always standing on one foot in front of the blackboard, she does not give anything else. (Cemal) Punishment is given. When punishment is not followed we do not talk with them, we act like they are not there. The teacher does not talk. It continues one-two days. (Önder) Picking up rubbish from the floor by themselves, the ones in the class. (Cezmi) I will pick up rubbish. I picked it up, but with my own will. (Nehir) They will write in their notebooks 10 times “teacher I am sorry”. (Mehmet) There is a punishment in schools being suspended from school. (Toprak)
		<p>Violence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hits slowly. (Emel) She calls them next to her, she squeezes on the shoulder slowly and she slaps them. (Cengiz)
Functioning class management	Not listening to the teacher, and objecting	<p>Warning</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The teacher shouts, she sends them out, and talks with them, I just saw that. (Fatma) She calls them next to her, talks, then leaves, she says do not do anything like that again, she warns us. (Kemal)
		<p>Anger</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The teacher gets angry. (Hüseyin) The teacher gets angry. (Önder) Talking by mocking the teacher that is what makes her the most anger.(Ender) She gets very angry at whistling. (Kemal)
		<p>Insults</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The teacher says, “Are you stupid or something”. If you are not going to learn the lesson why do you come to class? Do you come to disturb others?”(Sinan)
		<p>Punishment</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> For example, we went out for sports, she/he can stay in class. (Esra) Our teacher sometimes gets angry when we do not do things, our friends get angry too, and then she sometimes sulks. She never punished me, only once, and that’s all, I stayed on one foot in front of the blackboard. (Kemal) She shouts at us and punishes. You are not allowed out of the class. Sometimes for one break we stay on one foot. (Zeynep) Sometimes when he/she mishaps she does not allow anyone to speak with them. For one lesson no one speaks with her/him. If he/she wants to speak the teacher Havva gets angry. She gives a bigger punishment. (Ender)
		<p>Violence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> If the teacher does not know she goes crazy, besides she will hold their arm and do this, and she will hit, like this. (She demonstrates.) (Sevda) Sometimes she slaps; sometimes she shakes. She does it to the ones that make her angry and that talk she does not punish us a lot, only sometimes. (Sinan) We had a student in our old class; he is now in 4/x they changed his class, she would always shout at him. Then she gets angry and shouts. She hits with her hand but, not fast. (Toprak) The teacher gets angry a lot. When there is a teacher’s meeting Hasan goes to the teacher’s meeting. The teacher comes to the class, gets angry and hits him on his cheeks. (Esin) When chewing gum in class she says throws it in the bin but will still go and sit. She gets angry, she sometimes puts it under the desk, she still chews, then the teacher comes and hits 2-3 times.(Kemal) For example the guidance counselor comes the teacher says a thousand times not to go without permission, but the others still go. The teacher gets angry at it and hits them. (Sultan) When we are naughty she hits us with her hand. She sometimes hits our face, and arm. (Emel)

		Teacher Warnings
	Talking in class	Anger <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The teacher gets angry. (Leyla) The teacher gets angry. (Ünzile)
		Punishment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Roma ruin it. The teacher says do not talk but, they still keep on talking, he/she does something like that they talk and the teachers patience boils, she does not talk with them. It takes long, 5-6 days. We do not also talk. (Demet) Students get punished. (Eda) When there is loud talk in the class, the teacher gets a headache she says shut up to everyone but the others talk even louder. The teacher sends them out of class and they do not attend the lesson. Everything gets mixed up in class like this. She sends them out of class, makes them wait on one foot then no one speaks with them the whole lesson. (Sultan) She shouts and punishes us. She says you are not allowed outside at break. Sometimes we stand on one foot. (Zeynep) The teacher gets angry with them. Teacher you know our cabinet, they are to turn their backs at the corner of the cabinet looking at the blackboard and we do not talk with him/her. He/she has to stay on one foot until the bell rings. (Duru) The teacher shouts. Staying at the blackboard by putting your foot up. (Cemal) Turning your back to the blackboard. He/she waits until the bell rings. (Ayşe)
		Violence <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teacher we talk, some fight. That's why she beats them. She hits them slowly with a stick. (Rıza) Sometimes she slaps and sometimes she shakes them. She does it to the students who make her angry and that talk. She does not give us a lot of punishment only sometimes. (Sinan) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teacher we talk, some fight. That's why she beats them. She hits them slowly with a stick it writes Haydar on it. (Rıza)
	Not listening to the lessons	Punishment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The teacher keeps us standing at the blackboard. (Kadir)
		Violence <ul style="list-style-type: none"> She shouts a bit and everyone listens to her, like that. When she gets very angry she goes and beats someone. She does not slap but hit slowly on the head. (Yusuf) She gets very angry. Let's say she calls the naughty student, with anger and pushes them. (Kadir) Hasan does not study. He goes to the teacher in the teacher's room and calls the teacher. She hits him not punish, she hits and says go to your place. She slaps and shakes them. (Sinan)
	Standing in class	Anger <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The teacher gets angry. (Leyla)
		Punishment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> She makes them stand in front of the bin with back turned to the class. Not going to the sports lesson is also possible. (Sevda)
		Violence <ul style="list-style-type: none"> In our class there is Hüseyin he walks around in class the teacher calls him and hits his arm. (Nazlı)
	Talking without raising hand	Punishment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The teacher gets angry. If you do that I will punish you. Going in front of the blackboard and standing on one foot is a punishment. She makes them pick rubbish in the sports lesson, in class and outside. They keep picking until they are quiet. (Esra) The teacher just gets angry a bit. We promise saying we will not do it again. Your friends will not talk with you for a whole day; there is that punishment. They also stay next to the rubbish; they do not look at anyone and stay at the blackboard on one foot. (Güven) She makes them stand in front of the bin with back turned to the class. Not going to the sports lesson is also possible. (Sevda)
	Sending letters during the lesson	Punishment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The teacher gets angry when we are there they send letters, they talk, throw it to each other and the teacher once saw this. Rıza and Kemal were playing. They threw it to each other and the teacher saw, she hit and punished them. They stood on one foot for one lesson. (Zeynep)
Violence <ul style="list-style-type: none"> She hit them. (Zeynep) 		
Not doing homework	Anger <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The teacher will get angry. (Hasan) 	
	Violence <ul style="list-style-type: none"> They do not do homework so they go to the blackboard. The teacher asks them "Why didn't you do it?" some say the electricity went, and say I forgot. The teacher gets angry, and hits her hands. We have a stick in the classroom Haydar (a stick) will beat. It stays with Yusuf, when the teacher asks for it he gives it. (Esra) 	

		Teacher Warnings
	Throwing rubbish on the floor and under desks	Anger <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The teacher gets angry a lot. (Leyla) She gets angry but does not do anything. (Esin)
		Punishment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The teacher shouts. Staying at the blackboard with one foot up. (Cemal) She shouts and gives us a punishment. She says you are not allowed out of the classroom. Sometimes for one break we stay on one foot. (Zeynep) The teacher sends them out of classroom and they do not attend the lesson. Everything gets mixed up in classroom like this. She sends them out of classroom, makes them wait on one foot then no one speaks with them the whole lesson. (Sultan) When rubbish is thrown on the floor she does not hit but shouts they stand in front of the blackboard. (Dudu) She gets angry. She says, "Why didn't you organize under your desk". She sometimes makes us wait on one foot. She shouts and hits. (Sinan)
		Violence <ul style="list-style-type: none"> She gets angry. She says, "Why didn't you organize under your desk". She sometimes makes us wait on one foot. She shouts and hits. (Sinan)
	Playing games in classroom	Anger <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The teacher gets angry. (Hüseyin)
		Punishment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The teacher gives punishments. (Cezmi) When you go on the desks; not talking with her/him for a while so she/he does not do that she gives permission. (Leyla) We play tag with the desks, when we drop a desk we get the biggest punishment. We stand on one foot and the teacher hits us. (Zeynep)
		Violence <ul style="list-style-type: none"> We play tag with the desks, when we drop a desk we get the biggest punishment. We stand on one foot and the teacher hits us. (Zeynep)
	Running in the classroom	Warning <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teacher I did not get punished so I do not really know. The teacher shouts and sends them out of classroom; she talks with them that way that is all I saw. (Fatma)
		Punishment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Only the teacher gets a bit angry. We promise not to do it again. Your friends are not going to talk with you for a day is a punishment. He/she is not allowed to look at anyone in classroom, and stays at the blackboard (Güven)
	Being outside after the bell	Punishment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some go outside of classroom into the corridors they walk around before the teacher comes. Some go to the toilet just before the teacher is about to come. The teacher gets angry and does not allow them outside for sports. Because they make the teacher angry in the arts lesson, she makes us do maths or sometimes write long texts like stories. (Kadir)
	Complaint	Anger <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Go sit at your seat, go away from me, go I am sick of your complaints. (Mehmet)
Violence <ul style="list-style-type: none"> She hits when you complain a lot, when you fight she hits you on the cheek. (Eda) 		
Violence and harming others	Hitting a friend	Anger <ul style="list-style-type: none"> She gets angry and says do not do it again. (Hasan) The teacher gets very angry. (Esin)
		Threats <ul style="list-style-type: none"> For example you know Hasan and Mehmet are fighting, the teacher gets angry then Hasan goes to the teachers room and cries he always calls the teacher. She gets angry at Mehmet, and she says to Hasan "if you come again I will punish you" she gets very angry. (Cengiz)
		Punishment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> We get punished. (Sevda) You can go to the principal. (Ender) He came from behind and pushed. Yusuf came and pushed me so he is punished now, for example we are not talking with him. If he wants to talk we do not. (Hatice) When one of our friends hit another friend she acts like he/she is not there in classroom and we do not talk for one lesson. (Hüseyin) Waiting with back turned to the blackboard until bell has rung. (Ayşe) When we break our friends pencil we get punished. (Sevda)

		Teacher Warnings
	Fighting	Violence <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For example someone can hit another and bleed so the teacher gets angry. (Ender) • She calls he/she pushes them and gets angry. She sometimes slaps. (Kadir) • The teacher hits with her hand. (Zeynep) • The teacher gets angry and hits. (Dudu) • The teacher gets angry. There is a kid Hasan, Cengiz dropped his pencil, Cengiz gave it to him, Hasan hit him on his arm and the teacher slapped him. (Güven) • Teachers hit. (Cemal)
		Anger <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The teacher gets very angry. They (meaning the Roma students) cry when she gets angry. They never... At one time Sevda, Nehir had a fight, the teacher did not hit them but got angry. She said our teacher “Do not do this again, you are still small!”. (Leyla) • She gets angry a lot. (Kemal)
		Punishment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The teacher seldom sends them to the principal and calls their mother- father. (Leyla) • They get sent to the principal, and if the principal does not give them a punishment they get suspended from school. (Ender) • If we fight we get a lot of punishments. We stand sometimes we do not go out of classroom until the afternoon; we go out in the evening break. (Rıza)
	Swearing	Violence <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If you complain a lot and fight she hits. She hits the cheek.(Eda) • The teacher will get angry at them and hit. (Duru) • Teacher we talk, some fight. That’s why she beats them. She hits them slowly with a stick (it writes Haydar on it). (Rıza) • The teacher will hit. (Cemal)
		Anger <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teacher I did not get punished so I do not really know. The teacher shouts and sends them out of classroom; she talks with them that way that is all I saw. (Fatma) • If you do not respect the teacher, for example Hasan always swears to his friends, and the teacher never condones him. (Sultan)
		Punishment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For example, Hasan becomes too much. Hamdi comes and hits Hasan. Hasan swears at Hamdi. The teacher says do not talk with him, until he quiets down. (Esra) • She gets angry and punishes. (Cemal)
Security	Looking out the window	Violence <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The teacher gets very angry and hits the ones swearing. (Esin)
		Punishment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The teacher gets angry at them. Teacher you know our cabinet, they are to turn their backs at the corner of the cabinet looking at the blackboard and we do not talk with him/her. He/she has to stay on one foot until the bell rings. (Duru) • The teacher will get angry. Standing faced the blackboard with back turned. Not talking with the punished one, and not talking with your friend. (Hatice)

(Appendix E, Table 12 in Turkish)

In the interview conducted with the teacher she explained that she got angry when they fought and teased each other, so she gave different types of punishments:

When they fight I get very angry, if they give damage I show a reaction besides the discussion, if they lie I get angry with them more. I get angry, and show a reaction... actually as a punishment stand on one foot is a reaction I show. I call their family, mother for example to talk to; some of them get very scared thinking I am going to say something negative, this way. For example I get very angry at teasing. I say it but sometimes, how can I say so that very one gets hurt I put them at the front of the blackboard and

let everyone laugh at him/her. Some of them really do not understand from don't do it, when it happens that way, they understand that they are in a bad situation. I do that and I noticed it worked sometimes, not every student can get over this I mean this can be done to all students. But, some are more careful in their attitude and movements. (Appendix F14)

In the interviews conducted with the students when talking about punishment they frequently mentioned their previous teacher and his bat, which they called "Haydar", as well. They stated that from grade 1 until grade 3 their teacher used to hit them with this bat as a punishment. There were students that stated that from time to time the teacher now used it, but they stated that it was used mostly by their previous teacher.

Behaviour Appreciated by the Teacher in the Classroom

The Teacher's Use of Emoticons of Confirmation

Classroom Observations

The teacher: "Well done Mehmet." (2 times)
"Did you do it yourself Mehmet?"
"Did he do it himself?"
(She asks Yusuf sitting next to him) ¹⁸

In this section, the findings in regards to the teacher's use of emoticons of confirmation during class observation are presented.

The behaviours in which the teacher used affirmative, appreciative remarks are listed according to their frequency.

- The student's reading aloud to the class the correct answer she/he has written. (6 times)

¹⁸ Öğretmen: "Aferin Mehmet." (2 kez)

"Kendin mi yaptın Mehmet?"

"Kendi mi yaptı?" (Yanında oturan Yusuf'a soruyor.)

- The student's stating the correct answer for a question. (3 times)
- The student's helping the teacher to use the data-show and computer. (3 times)
- The student's writing a math problem on the blackboard. (2 times)
- The student's reading a few sentences from a text he/she has written to the class. (2 times)
- The student's reading aloud a text to the class. (once)
- The student's explaining the text being read in class. (once)
- The student's completing an activity from the workbook. (once)

It was observed that the teacher did not give individual feedback to students, but as a group. The students who raise their hand to answer a question the teacher says; "Okay well done" when the students were whispering, she said "well done, we talk by whispering".

When Table 13 is analyzed it can be seen that during the whole observation the teacher expressed approval/appreciation 21 times. The teacher used this kind of expression mostly when students answered the questions correctly (18 times).

The teacher warned the students 66 times, whereas she expressed approval/appreciation 21 times. This situation can be reviewed that in this class emphasize mostly the students' negative behaviors and the teacher notices this more. The teacher's feedback regarding what each student was given, for what behavior and what expressions were used are seen in Table 13.

Table 13. According to the Observation the Behavior the Teacher

Approved/Appreciated

Student	Behavior	Expression the Teacher Used
Yusuf	The student reading aloud the correct answer she/he has written to the class	Nice.
Yusuf	The student reading aloud the correct answer she/he has written to the class	Very nice.
Yusuf	The student reading a few sentences from a text he/she has written to the class	Very nice.
Yusuf	The student reading aloud a text to the class	Yes, nice
Yusuf	Showing a fraction on a number line on the blackboard.	Well done Yusuf
Sultan	The student reading aloud the correct answer she/he has written to the class	Well done Sultan
Sultan	The student reading aloud the correct answer she/he has written to the class	Nice.
Sultan	Finding an answer to a question	Well done Sultan
Sultan	Answering a question.	Well done Sultan.
Cezmi	Fixing the sound problem	Thank you. God bless you!
Cezmi	Closing the data-show	Yes, sweetly.
Önder	Answering the question correctly	Well done Önder.
Önder	Closing the data-show	Well done.
Ünzile	The student reading a few sentences from a text he/she has written to the class	Ünzile wrote it very nicely, listen to Ünzile.
Ünzile	The student completing an activity from the workbook	Ünzile well done, very nicely.
Mehmet	Showing a fraction on a number line in a notebook	Well done Mehmet. (2 times) Did you do it yourself Mehmet? Did he do it himself? (she asks Yusuf sitting next to him)
Mehmet	Preparing invitations	Mehmet's one is very nice
Ayşe	The student explaining the text being read in class.	Very nice, well done.
Ender	Writing a division question with a remainder	Well done Ender.
Esin	The student reading aloud the correct answer she/he has written to the class	Well done
Eda	The student reading aloud the correct answer she/he has written to the class	Yes.

(Appendix E, Table 13 in Turkish)

When the table is analyzed it can be seen that the teacher had expressed approval/appreciation to 10 students. Characteristics of the students in the first three on the list quoted below:

The first student on the list is Yusuf (5 times). In the class observation, it was observed that the teacher always gave Yusuf positive feedback. When the teacher made the students write the answers to questions she would mainly make them

write Yusuf's sentences. When the answer was long Yusuf would write it on the blackboard and the students wrote it in their notebooks or workbooks. In the interviews conducted with the students it was emphasized that Yusuf was an achiever and that best example in the classroom, at the same time he is class president. The teacher sometimes asks Yusuf to help others (for example; Hasan) that are behind in an activity.

According to the table the second most approved/appreciated expressions stated by the teacher were to a student named Sultan (4 times). Sultan during the whole observation did not get a warning from the teacher. Sultan was one of the academically achieved students. She expresses herself with very nice sentences, her diction was nice and her writing was nice. When there was something the students had to write in their notebooks from the blackboard, Sultan was a student given the duty to write.

Cezmi who was third place in the table, was one of the academically achieved students. He warned his friends loudly when the teacher was in classroom, sometimes reminded the teacher about homework she was going to give, when they do a different lesson apart from the lesson timetable or if the teacher started an activity he did not like he would mumble, complain. When in classroom the teacher had problems with the usage of the computer and data-show, he would help the teacher technically.

* Only one of the students, who had difficulty following the activities, did not participate and was seen academically a failure, as seen in Table 13 (that student was Mehmet). Mehmet sat next to the teacher's table with Yusuf and

during the observations, only once was he seen changing seats in the same row.

The event below is important in terms of questioning the teacher's behavior and the message given to the students.

When Mehmet showed a fraction on a number line, the teacher from her teacher's desk leaned and looked at Mehmet's notebook, and got shocked. Firstly she says "well done Mehmet" two times then she asked "Did you do it yourself Mehmet?" Mehmet nodded his head as in yes, but the teacher was not convinced, and she asked Yusuf sitting next to him; "Did he do it himself?"

In this situation the teacher was surprised at Mehmet for answering the question right, then her asking whether he did it himself, and her trying to confirm it by asking Yusuf; can be interpreted as Mehmet doing that question correctly, shows that he gave a higher performance than what the teacher was expecting. This situation recalls how decisive the teacher's expectation can be on the student's performance in literature, Rosental and Jacobson's study called Pygmalion effect regarding In the teacher's perspective, a student who is labeled as a "failure", and who accomplishes a difficult question, the teacher being shocked gives clues about the teacher's expectations for the student. Moreover, in this situation the teacher was just not in shock even though the student (Mehmet) said he did it she still wanted confirmation from a student (Yusuf). The teacher shows that she did not expect Mehmet to answer correctly and gave the message that she was not sure if Mehmet was telling the truth, she indicated that she trusted Yusuf. The other students in the classroom witnessed this situation, as well. One of the most important factors that place every student in the other student's eye is the way the

relationship is built between the teacher and student. Accordingly, the teacher does not just give the message to two students; she gives it to the whole classroom as an authority figure. In the interviews the statements the students used for Yusuf, some examples of them are given below:

“Yusuf is very powerful. Because no one is going to hit him, Yusuf hits but the teacher does not say anything. He raises his hand in every lesson. He raises his hand every day. He tries to learn, everyone tries to learn, and he wants to learn more.”

(Demet)

“Yusuf gets the most stars because he always does his homework.” (Nazlı)

“There is Yusuf. Yusuf stays quiet, he does his homework, he gains a star, he has the most stars, and the teacher is going to take him to eat *lahmacun*.” (Ender)

“For example when we play, we play here at the desks, when the teachers are not here. Yusuf says play there and we play there, he says do not play there. We sit down, and look to see that they have gotten up and are playing. Then we play too.”

(Zeynep)

“Teacher, he is very successful in his lesson, that’s why. He likes to answer questions, teacher. He studies and he succeeds. The teacher...” (Duru)

“She sometimes sees what Yusuf is doing, and sometimes she does not. She says you are a smart student, you are not to do this.” (Duru)

“Yusuf has the most stars.” (Hatice)

“Yusuf always gives stars.” (Hasan)

“Yusuf has the most stars, because he studies his lessons, regularly.” (İpek)

“Yusuf has the most stars.” (Cemal)

“Yusuf is talented and powerful, in every lesson. He has the most stars. Because no one is going to hit him, Yusuf hits but the teacher does not say anything. He raises his hand in every lesson. He raises his hand every day. He tries to learn, everyone tries to learn, and he wants to learn more.” (Demet)

Esin who has her name on the list, due to physiological reasons (tongue shape) she had a speaking problem. Even though what she said was not completely understood she would get permission to speak, and even go to the blackboard in music lessons and sing. The teacher was very interested in Esin, even though it took time for her to express herself, the teacher would listen carefully. This situation could be seen as the teacher’s positive attitude towards Esin, who always wants permission to speak despite her speaking problem.

In schools where students come from the low social- economic classroom taking into consideration that in the primary school period for most of the lessons only a class teacher attends, unless there is a teacher change students finish primary school with one teacher. Taking into consideration that the class teacher’s expectation has an effect on the relationship with the students, and it is possible for the students to be exposed to the same behavior in their primary school life.

When the table above is analyzed it can be seen that none of the 9 Roma students name was listed in the table, whereas in The Teacher Warning section the first three students that were warned by the teacher were Roma, and they made up 7 of the 20 students. Jackson (1966) stated, “As a matter of fact, the relationship of the hidden curriculum to student difficulties is even more striking than is its relationship to student success” (p. 356).

Student Interviews

In the interviews the student gave these examples for behavior the teacher approved/appreciated: doing homework, being diligent, staying quiet, staying well-behaved, not speaking without raising hand, listening to the teacher, not throwing rubbish on the floor, emptying the bin in classroom when full, keeping the school clean, and airing out the classroom.

What the students stated about approved/appreciated behavior is shown in Table 14. It was stated that the students were most appreciated for doing homework. The distribution of classroom rules and teacher warnings had not changed here too. It is stated that the lesson process and the classroom process behaviors were the most appreciated behaviors by the teacher.

Table 14. According to the Students the Most Approved/Appreciated Behavior by the Teacher.

Academic	Doing homework	Kadir, Leyla, Hatice, Eda, Nazlı, Cezmi, Hüseyin, Cengiz, Cemal, Toprak, Dudu
	Solving problems at the blackboard	Kadir, Duru, Güven, Kemal, Ünzile, Duru
	Answering questions	Nehir, Mehmet
	Participating in class	Sevda
	Studying the lessons	Esra
	Doing homework	Esra
	If you complete the lesson nicely	Sinan
	When we study a lot she gets proud of us	Ünzile
	Bringing the activity material the teacher wanted	Eda
The regulation of classroom functioning	Staying quiet	Duru, Demet, Sevda, Ender, Cemal, Sultan
	Speaking by raising hand	Esra, Eda, Emel, Güven
	Staying calm	Demet
	Listening to the teacher	Esra
	Not interrupt when teacher is talking	Emel
	Staying quiet when the teacher goes outside to talk with someone	Sinan
	When you find money taking it to the principal	Cezmi
	Obeying the rules	Emel
	Being smart; thinking before doing something	Güven
Classroom cleaning	Not throwing rubbish on the floor	Demet
	Emptying the classroom bin when full	Yusuf
	Keeping the school clean	Sinan
	Airing the classroom	Sinan
Violent	Not fighting	Cemal
	Not hitting someone	Cemal
Ethics	Doing good for friends	Kadir, Leyla, Hatice, Hüseyin, Fatma, Cengiz, Ayşe
	Be respectful	Duru
	Being honest, being good	Toprak

(Appendix E, Table 14 in Turkish)

In the interviews some of the students said that when they stayed quiet, and didn't make any noise, when they prepared a present or card, and studied hard, the teacher would be happy and proud. Below are examples of student statements:

“When we do not talk in the lesson for 2-3 days the teacher immediately becomes happy, we are not speaking these days, that’s why she is happy.”

“When we study a lot, she feels proud of us.”

“When the teacher goes to talk outside with someone, we do not talk she gets happy.”

“I say be quiet in class to my friends so the teacher would like us.”

“The teacher congratulates, being trustworthy, being proper, talking properly.”

In the interviews most of the students stated that; when there is no desk to sit saying to sit next to you, at recess sharing your lunch with someone who does not have money, etc. were behaviors the teacher approved.

Cengiz: “For example when our friend has no money, the others give food then they get a star. Both of them go and say it together. She gives a star to the student giving money or lunch.”

The teacher giving a star to the student giving food to their friend is thought to motivate them to share, but this behavior can be discussed ways with its lots of perspectives. A student after sharing their lunch, going to the teacher with the student they shared lunch with explaining it and for the student to earn a star for this may lead to confusion as to what the behavior is serving. For the existence of sharing and cooperation culture among students and in order for it to spread the effort of the teacher is considerable. The sharing among the students and cooperation turning into a concrete star is proper for today’s world of standardization in every area.

According to the students, the behavior the teacher gave a prize and prize method is shown in Table 15.

Table 15. The Behavior the Teacher Gave a Prize

Prize	Behavior
Cutting out a star from carton and giving	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When we do our homework (Kadir, Leyla, Hatice, Eda, Nazlı, Cezmi, Hüseyin, Cengiz, Cemal, Toprak, Dudu) • When we do favors for our friends. (For example our friend has no place to sit, we ask them to sit next to us. For example when our friend has no we give food) (Kadir, Leyla, Hatice, Hüseyin, Fatma, Cengiz, Ayşe) • Students who were quiet. (Duru, Demet, Sevda, Ender, Cemal, Sultan) • Answering a question at the blackboard. (Kadir, Duru, Güven, Kemal) • To students answering questions. (Nehir, Mehmet) • When teaching material wanted by the teacher is brought to school Eda • Participating in class Sevda • Obeying the rules Emel
Giving food (ice-cream, halley, chocolate, lolly, cake)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Going to the blackboard and answering a question (Ünzile, Duru) • Being quiet (Ender, Duru) • Obeying rules (Emel) • Studying the lessons (Esra) • Listening to the teacher (Esra) • Being respectful (Duru)
Letting them go outside for sports	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Keeping the school clean (Sinan) • Airing out the classroom (Sinan) • Being quiet (Hüseyin) • Being respectful to older people (Esin) • Not throwing rubbish on the floor (Esin) • Doing everything the teacher says (Esin) • The classroom smelling nice (Esin)
Giving a book as a prize	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Obeying the rules (when naughty students fix themselves) (Sevda)

(Appendix E, Table 15 in Turkish)

There were some students who stated that they earned the most stars when they did their homework, acted nice to their friends, and when they were quiet. Food, being allowed outside for sports, and a book were stated by one student as presents. It was very interesting that 3 of the students stated going outside for sports as a prize.

Summary of the Findings

How the hidden curriculum works tried to be described with the help of classroom rules and the routine activities that characterize the daily life within the classroom in accordance with the findings gathered.

Routine Practices that Characterize Daily Classroom Experience

- In the classroom there was no connection made to the students' outside life.
- The teacher noticed some students' absences and asked for the reason; she did not ask other students. Especially the Roma's absences were perceived to be seen as a normal situation for the teacher and students.
- Students were not given the chance to decide for themselves and given responsibility. Even the teacher decided on whether the students were to wear their coats or not.
- In the lessons only tutoring and question-answer method techniques were used. There was no method or technique used for the students to work together.
- The lessons were given through course books and workbooks. The majority of the lesson passed with the students filling out the blanks with the answers in the course books.
- Mostly questions related to obtain information were asked; it was seldom that they were asked questions related to comment.
- The teacher tried to make the students follow the lesson by giving short imperative directives.

- The teacher expected the students to answer the questions or do the activities when she wanted them to, the teacher warned students who continued on to a new question or activity without the teacher saying so.
- The blackboard was used seldom by the teacher, the writing that needed to be written in their notebooks was written by a student with that duty.
- The same students were given duties by the teacher; the students who wanted a duty were rejected without any explanation.
- The teacher would ask questions to the students as a following the lesson.
- The teacher decided whether or not the students could go outside for the sports lesson. Sometimes she would use this as a threat and punishment method.
- The students sit back to back in rows facing the blackboard.
- The Roma students sat in the same row and sat with Roma students.
- The exams were given more importance to than the lessons.
- The teacher gave feedback in terms of academic expectations.

According to the framework of the findings, the students were in a passive situation in everyday routines in the classroom, the students were sentenced to activities given in a framework set by the teacher. The family's socio-economic features and ethnic origin affected the students' attending the school and the teaching/learning activities in class. The presentation of lesson context, the classroom management approach, and the demanding language shows similarity to Bowles and Gintis, Keddie (1971) and Anyon's (1980) studies on the presentation of the lessons given to children that came from families with low socio-economic status.

Classroom Rules

- Classroom rules were made by the teacher.
- Four of the classroom rules the teacher stated were related to classroom organization. When the teacher decided on the classroom rules, the school's socio-cultural environment and different ethnic groups in classroom were effective.
- Ninety-one of the rules stated by the students were about the regulation of classroom management, 25 ethics rules and 8 on security were seen. The classroom rules stated were more for in terms of their organization function.
- The teacher saw the students' families and her receiving the classroom new as a factor in the settling of the rules.
- It was noticed that the students had a perception that the rules were derived from unwanted behavior according to teacher.
- The classroom rules that were stated by students were made with negative suffixes, and they describe what they were not to do.
- The first rule the teacher said shows similarity with the rule the students had stated the most.
- The main rule the classroom agreed on, "not throwing rubbish on the floor", was stated by 4 out of 8 the Roma students.
- The students that were stated by the students as not having obeyed the rules 10 out of 17 stated were Roma. The students in which their names were given the most 8 out of 9 students were Roma.

- Among the students who were said not to be obeying the rules, all of the Roma students in classroom were included. There were even two students who gave a name of a Roma student who had left school for not obeying the rules.

Within the framework of the findings above; it was concluded that the determination of classroom rules and being put into practice indicated the teacher's anti-democratically approach. It reached to the conclusion that the students from different ethnic origins were in a more disadvantage situation.

Behavior Not Approved by the Teacher in the Classroom

- The teacher warned the students the most (61 times) for the regulation of function in classroom. Student behavior concerning ethnics and security was given less importance to and was warned the least by the teacher. This result shows parallelism with the classroom rules that overlapped the distribution of classroom rules. (Table 7)
- The teacher mostly warned the students negatively. Positive teacher warnings 5 times, negative teacher warnings 85 times were detected. (Table 8 - Table 9)
- Out of 20 students that got warned 7 were Roma students. The first three students who got the most warnings were Roma students. The student with the least warning was the class president. (Table 10)
- Some of the Roma students thought that the teacher discriminate against to the Roma students.

- The teacher used a method to hinder it instead of using a method to change the student's unwanted behavior. In order not to appear violent to her students, the "police" was used as a threat.
- According to the students the teacher mostly warned the students for classroom management purposes. This distribution shows similarity with the classroom rules the students stated. The students stated behavior the teacher did not accepted as rules.
- The classroom rules, the observed teacher warnings and according to the students the behaviors the teacher do not accept among themselves as a result of categorization the distribution appeared shows similarity.
- According to the students the teacher used methods such as; getting angry, threatening, punishing, showing violence and insulting when unwanted behavior occurred.

Within the framework of the findings above; the teacher gave more importance to giving the lesson rather than the students' progression, and that the students rule perception was shaped based on the teacher's unwanted behavior. The teacher's expectation effect (Pygmalion effect) was detected that had an effect on the students' behavior. The teacher's attitudes and behaviors towards the students deepened the conflict among students and conflicts much more.

Behavior Approved/Appreciated by the Teacher in the Classroom

- In the classroom 66 teacher warnings and 21 statements showing approval/appreciation were detected. In this classroom the negative behaviors

were emphasized and noticed more by the teacher. The teacher mostly gave statements of appreciation when the students found the right answers. Finding the right answer was more important than how they said it.

- While the teacher sometimes gave positive feedback to the students when they answered correctly, she did not give feedback to others.
- The teacher mostly gave positive feedback to the same students. Among the students the teacher approved/appreciated were not the Roma.
- The teacher had academic expectations for each student and these expectations affected the relationship between the student and the teacher.

Rosenthal and Jacobson's (1968), and Keddie's study supports this result. When taken into consideration the expectations that affect the teacher-student relationship it can be said that more likely the student will be exposed to the same behavior during their primary school life by the teacher.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This study examines the hidden curriculum in a classroom through the routine practices and classroom rules that characterize the daily life in a fourth-grade public primary school classroom. Qualitative data collected through participant observation and interview presented significant documentation about the operation of a hidden curriculum in a classroom. Instead of making a broader generalization, this study focused on the daily micro level analysis of a classroom reality and the operational mechanisms of a hidden curriculum. The results of the study provided an insight about to the reproduction and revival of social inequalities within the class through a hidden curriculum. It enabled researcher to think about the inequalities at macro level while analyzing the conditions at micro level. Moreover, the findings of this study revealed the critical role of the teacher in this reproduction process.

In contrast to the widely used public discourse claiming that schools raise awareness about democratic citizenship findings of this study revealed that the classroom that was observed was far away from this ideal. The teacher made all of the decisions on behalf of the students and students were expected to obey to these decisions. The teacher was the only one, who determined which task should be given to whom, when the students should wear and take off their coats, when they should go to the restroom, which courses they should study apart from the class program, whether they should attend the physical education class and

whether they should go on a break or not. The students faced certain sanctions and penalties in case they failed to obey.

The teacher did not only determine the rules but also which words the students should use while writing the answers to the questions in the workbook, how they should fill in the blanks and which pictures they should draw. Described as the banking education model by Freire (1970), the teacher in this study was the subject, whereas her students were the objects. The teacher, which represented the ultimate authority in the classroom, was dominant. The students, on the other hand, were passive; they were the ones who obeyed. The contents of the lectures were conveyed in a manner that was compatible with the students' passive positions. The future of the students was envisaged to hold working class jobs. The classroom atmosphere was far from allowing the students to make decisions on their own and to discover their uniqueness and creativity. The results about the teacher's characteristics and attitudes in relations to prior research that covered in the literature review of present study findings, it is clear that the observed teacher's behaviors and classroom practices constituted a typical example of how the teachers helped to reproduce the socio-cultural inequalities among students from lower economic classes (Keddie, 1971; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Anyon, 1980; Oakes, 1985).

Another finding of the study indicated that Roma children were apparently discriminated by the assistant principal, class teacher and their friends in the school where most of the students come from families that belong to lower socio-economic classes. Both the classroom observations as well as the interviews

conducted with the assistant principal, the class teacher and the students demonstrated that the Roma students were marginalized and discriminated against due to stereotypes about Roma people. In the same manner, it was observed that Roma students were described by non-Roma students as the “others” in the same classroom. It was found that the expressions used by the class teacher included an “us” vs. “them” distinction. Roma students were keenly aware of that exclusion based on the ethnicity and they believed that the teacher was favoring “the others”. As a result of exclusion and discrimination in this classroom the social stereotypes and attitudes about Roma people were consolidated. This study found that Roma students received the highest number of warnings and their names were not mentioned among those students whom the teacher praised and appreciated. Another striking conclusion of the study was that the teacher had very low academic expectations from Roma students. For instance, when these students mispronounced words or used them in the wrong places, it was observed that the teacher failed to intervene and correct. This attitude of the teacher was also consistent with the previous literature. As discussed by Apple (1995) “the low success levels of minority students, poor children, and other groups may be tolerated and they are less significant for the economy in comparison to the generation of knowledge.” Furthermore, this finding overlaps with the conclusion reached by Rubovits and Maehr (1973). They also found that the teachers had low academic expectations from low socioeconomic status (SES) African-American students.

In the present study Roma students were aware of the discrimination that they were facing on a daily basis. Two of the 11 Roma students in the classroom did not attend classes at all, while the rest of Roma students who continued coming to school were frequently absent. Most of these students felt disengaged from the classroom. They felt like they did not belong to the class, where they were alienated, their cultures disregarded, where they failed to connect and were imprisoned in their own group. Those students who continued the classes were observed as the students who could attain a certain unexpected empowerment in the classroom and the classroom turn into an area of struggle. Two female Roma students were an example of this situation, Nehir and Sevda. Both of them were older than the other children and they were also physically more developed. This allowed them to gain power over other students. It was observed that these students also developed certain resistance mechanisms against the teacher. Nehir showed leadership qualities among the Roma students, and it was observed that she organized fights after school to beat up those students in the classroom who made fun of them because they were Roma. She proudly declared that everyone was afraid of the Roma in the classroom even the most hardworking student, Yusuf. It was not a coincidence that these two Roma students had the least number of absences in the classroom when compared to the other Roma students. As they were older and more developed physically, they had superiority over the other students based on physical power and this way they had a way of attachment to the classroom. They were able to challenge the boys and even suppress them. These two female

students also shook the behavioral patterns in the classroom related to mainstream gender roles.

Another finding of this research is related to the reproduction of gender roles. While the teacher was assigning tasks to the students, those tasks such as distributing the school milk or A4 papers to the class, turning the data-show on and off, bringing room fragrance from the principal's office are assigned to male students. On the other hand, emptying the classroom trashcan was assigned to female students.

It was concluded that the hidden curriculum in this classroom caused the reproduction of the inequalities based on social class, ethnic identity, and gender in the same way the society reproduce them at the macro level. Instead of bringing out the child's potential and supporting their critical thinking and autonomy development, the hidden curriculum prioritized the continuation of the classroom processes and the already existing power hierarchies. It was mostly focused on negative behaviors of the students rather than on positive attitudes. It kept the children under control, did not allow them to take initiatives and expected unconditional obedience. It marginalized and excluded the cultures other than the dominant culture of the society. It took the gender roles for granted, while assigning tasks to students.

To conclude, what is needed is first of all to realize the mechanisms that serve this kind of reproduction at schools and to determine the conscious and unconscious contribution of the teacher to the hidden curriculum dynamics and processes. Classrooms can be saved from being those spaces where social

inequalities are reproduced. Education can be transformed into a liberating practice instead of playing the role of the ideological state device that serves the interests of the dominant groups in the society and reproduce inequalities. Moreover the hidden curriculum can serve a liberating education practices.

Limitation of the Study

The participants were limited to the class teacher, 30 students and the assistant principal in a public elementary school in the 2012-2013 school year. Only a fourth-grade classroom was for the study. Therefore, the results of this study were limited only to data collected from the participants as stated above. Although the results of the study cannot be generalized directly to all primary schools all over Turkey, the results can provide us with insights and different perspectives from this specific sample.

Another limitation of the study is that it included the lessons, which were directly observed by the researcher. The observations were performed during a total of 50 course hours in 2.5 months on the days which were appropriate for researcher's agenda. The expansion of the observations into a wider time period would have allowed richer and deeper data related to different time points of educational year.

In this study, interviews were conducted with students. One of the limitations of this study was the short and one-sentence answer of the students to some of questions, students' speech by using irregular sentence patterns, and their difficulties in expressing themselves.

Suggestions for Further Research

Further research should compare and contrast the hidden curricula process in two different classroom settings. The first class could be a democratic classroom where students are able to participate decision making processes and second one could be antidemocratic classroom where students are expected to be passive recipients of the ready made information and to comply with the class teacher's directives without questioning. The two different classroom atmospheres would provide deeper data to understand the process and the outcome of hidden curriculum. Furthermore, observations conducted in different courses taught by subject teachers (i.e., music, physical education, arts) would allow us to understand the role of teacher in the hidden curriculum application process.

More research should examine punishment methods in schools and classrooms as a function of the hidden curriculum, and the relation between micro level and macro level punishment policies. Finally, future research should examine the power hierarchies among students through the critical analysis of a hidden curriculum.

APPENDICES

A: A Student's Drawing

Researcher in a Student's Eyes (Researcher's Left Wrist is in a Plaster Cast)

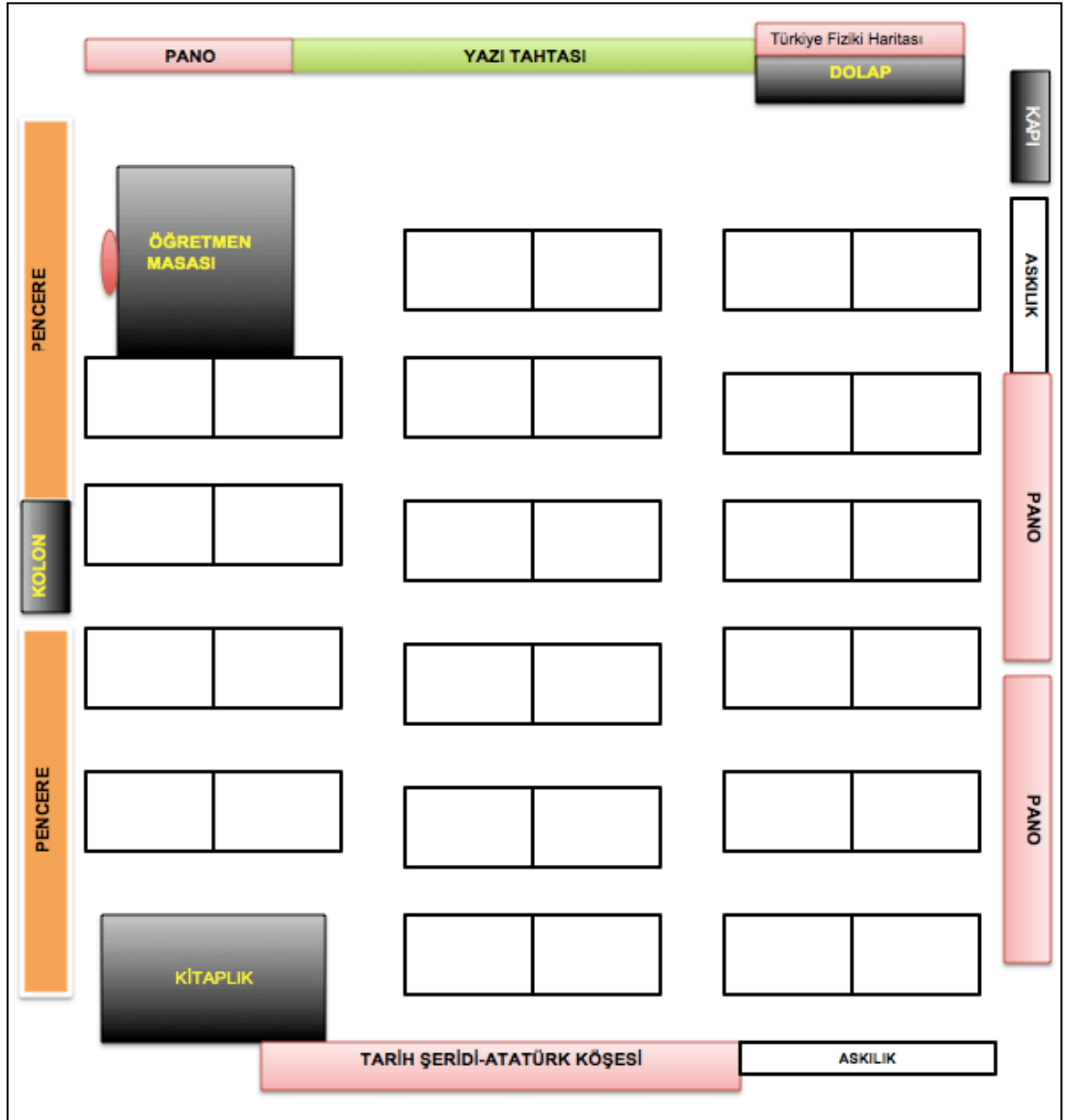


B: Oturma Düzeni Hareketliliği Formu

Gözlem No:

Gözlem Tarihi:

Gözlem Yapılan Dersler:



C: Yarı Yapılandırılmış Görüşme Formu

Görüşme No:

Görüşme Tarihi:

Görüşme Yapılan Ders:

Görüşme Süresi:

Görüşme Yapılan Öğrenci:

GÖRÜŞME SORULARI

1. Kendini tanıtır mısın?
2. Sınıf kurallarınız nelerdir?
3. Sınıfınızda, en çok hangi kurallara uyulduğunu düşünüyorsun?
4. Sınıfınızda, en çok hangi kurallara uyulmadığını düşünüyorsun?
5. Sınıfınızda, öğretmen tarafından onaylanmayan, uyarılan davranışlar nelerdir?
6. Öğrenciler, hangi davranışları yaptıklarında öğretmenden uyarı alırlar?
7. Öğretmen, öğrencileri nasıl uyarır?
8. Sınıfta, öğretmen tarafından onaylanan, takdir edilen davranışlar nelerdir?
9. Öğretmen, öğrencileri nasıl takdir eder?

D: An Example of the Data Analysis Process

The screenshot displays a software interface for document analysis. It consists of several panels:

- Document System:** A tree view showing the hierarchy of documents. The root is 'Documents' (730), which contains 'alan notları' (730) and 'Sets' (0).
- Code System:** A list of codes with their corresponding counts. The code 'arkadaşının gözüne girmeye çalışma' is highlighted in blue and has a count of 1.
- Document Browser:** A search bar and a list of codes with counts. The code 'arkadaşının gözüne girmeye çalışma' is highlighted in blue and has a count of 1.

The Code System list is as follows:

Code	Count
derste sınıfta dolaşma/ayakta olma	18
derse geç gelme	5
tahtaya çıkma	1
dialog/öğrenci-öğrenci	58
uyarı/tehdit	30
kinaye/söylenme	8
şakalaşma	9
küfür/hakaret/tehdit/kızdırma/kışkandırma-kıyaslama	9
fiziksel şiddet/vurma	22
dalga geçme/taklit	4
siz-biz	7
arkadaşının gözüne girmeye çalışma	1
özgüven	1
öğretmeninden izin alma	2
öğretmenin gözüne girmeye çalışmak/mutabakat	13
öğretmene soru sorma	9
öğretmene şikayet	6
öğretmene müdahale/sorgulama/uyarı/hatırlatma/yardım/istek	23
öğretmeninden özür dileme	2
teneffüs/öğle arası	22
rehberlik servisi/rehber öğretmen	4

The Document Browser list is as follows:

Code	Count
öğrencilere söz verr	1
..tahtaya çıkma	1
RED	1
..teşvik	1
..kinaye	1
..derse geç ş	1
..öğretmenir	1
..tehditli uyan	1
..öğretmene ş	1
..çingene öğre	1
uyarı/müdahale	1
..kinaye/söylenr	1
ÖĞRENCİ/oturma	1
..çingene öğrencili	1
benimle iletişim	1
öğrenci davranı	1
..öğretmene müdah:	1
..çingene öğren	1
uyarı/müdahale	1
..derse geç gelr	1

E: Tables in Turkish

Tablo 4

Öğrencilerin Söyledikleri Kurallar	Kuralı Söyleyen Öğrenciler	Söylenme Sıklığı
Yerlere çöp atmamak	Kemal, Nehir, Zeynep, Dudu , Demet, Yusuf, Ünzile, Eda, Nazlı, Önder, Sultan, Cemal, Toprak, Esin	14 kişi
Derste (birisiyle) konuşmamak	Zeynep, Rıza , Demet, Esra, Ender, Duru, Cemal, Cengiz	8 kişi
Parmak kaldırmadan konuşmamak.	Emel, Esra, Eda, Sultan, Yusuf, Güven	6 kişi
Kavga etmemek.	Nehir, Fatma , Leyla, Kemal , Hüseyin, Cengiz	6 kişi
Sınıfta oyun (top, ip atlamak) oynamamak	Nehir , Nazlı, Cezmi, Ender, Hüseyin, Esin	6 kişi
Sınıfı temiz tutmak, kirletmemek.	Nehir , Yusuf, Leyla, Kadir, Önder, Esin	6 kişi
Teneffüslerde camları açıp sınıfı havalandırmak.	Mehmet, Yusuf, Cemal, Ayşe, Esin	5 kişi
Sınıfta sakız çiğnememek	Sevda , Duru, Rıza , Ender	4 kişi
Derste, sınıfta, sınıfa girerken koşmamak.	Fatma , Duru, İpek, Güven	4 kişi
Arkadaşlarımıza iyi davranmak, kötülük yapmamak, üzmemek, hoşgörülü olmak.	Hatice, Sultan, Cengiz	3 kişi
Sıralara yazı yazmamak, karalamamak, çizmemek.	Kadir, Hüseyin, Önder	3 kişi
Öğretmen yokken ses yapmamak, öğretmeni sessiz beklemek	Sevda , Kadir	2 kişi
Derse geç kalmamak, zamanında gelmek.	Duru, İpek	2 kişi
Öğretmeni yerinde oturarak beklemek	Fatma , Ünzile	2 kişi
Ayağa kalkarak gezmek.	Emel, Ünzile	2 kişi
Yerdeki çöpü toplama	Nehir, Sinan	2 kişi
Öğretmen yokken tahtaya yazı yazmamak	Yusuf, Önder	2 kişi
Sıraların üstüne çıkmamak	Leyla, Toprak	2 kişi
Sıraları düzeltmek	Sinan , Ayşe	2 kişi
Cama çıkmamak	Sevda , Toprak	2 kişi
Bağırılmamak	Mehmet, Emel	2 kişi

Öğrencilerin Söyledikleri Kurallar	Kuralı Söyleyen Öğrenciler	Söylenme Sıklığı
Öğretmeni beklerken sınıf kapısının kapalı olması	Kadir	1 kişi
Sınıfa girerken kapıyı çalmak	Eda	1kişi
Derste öğretmeni (çok dikkatli) dinlemek	Cezmi	1kişi
Öğretmen konuşurken konuşmamak	Emel	1 kişi
Arkadaşı konuşurken yanından konuşmamak	Demet	1kişi
Terbiyesizlik yapmamak	Sevda	1 kişi
Akıllı uslu durmak, ses yapmamak	Zeynep	1 kişi
Öğretmenin bilgisayarını karıştırmama, hiçbir şeyiyle oynamama	Nehir	1 kişi
Sınıfta yemek yememek	Ender	1 kişi
Derste lavaboya gitmemek	Ender	1kişi
Derste oyun oynamamak	Kadir	1 kişi
Tebeşir bittiğinde tebeşir getirmek	Ayşe	1 kişi
Çöpleri boşaltmak	Yusuf	1 kişi
Sıranın altına çöp atmama.	Sinan	1 kişi
Öğretmenin eşyalarını karıştırmamak.	Nehir	1 kişi
Okulun örtülerini yırtmamak	Nehir	1kişi
Sıraların örtülerini dağıtmamak.	Kadir	1kişi
Okula saçı salık gelmemek	Nazlı	1kişi
Küfretmemek	Mehmet	1 kişi
Dalga geçmemek	Nehir	1kişi
Zil çalınca arkadaşımızı itmeme	Hatice	1kişi
Yerden bir şey bulunca öğretmene söylemek ya da kaldırıp söylemek	Kemal	1kişi
Hırsızlık yapmamak	Nehir	1kişi
Tehlikeli hiçbir şey yapmamak (kazalara yol açabilecek)	Cengiz	1kişi
Teneffüste sınıftan dışarı çıkmak	Mehmet	1 kişi
Koridorda koşmamak	Esra	1 kişi

* Roman Öğrenciler

Tablo 5

	Hangi Amaca Yönelik	Öğrencilerin Söyledikleri Kurallar	Söylenme Sıklığı
Sınıftaki İşleyişi Düzenleyen Kurallar (91 kişi)	Sınıf Düzenini Sağlama	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Derste (birisiyle) konuşmamak* (Zeynep, Demet, Esra, Duru, Rıza, Ender, Cemal, Cengiz) • Parmak kaldırmadan konuşmamak. (Esra, Eda, Sultan, Yusuf, Emel, Güven) • Öğretmen konuşurken konuşmamak (Emel) • Bağırılmamak (Emel, Mehmet) • Derste oyun oynamamak (Kadir) • Akıllı uslu durmak, ses yapmamak (Zeynep) • Terbiyesizlik yapmamak (Sevda) • Okula saçlı salık gelmemek (Nazlı) • Tebeşir bittiğinde tebeşir getirmek (Ayşe) • Sınıfta sakız çiğnememek (Sevda, Duru, Rıza, Ender) • Sınıfta yemek yememek (Ender) • Ayağa kalkarak gezmek. (Emel, Ünzile) • Derste öğretmeni (çok dikkatli) dinlemek (Cezmi) 	30 kişi
	Sınıf Temizliği	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yerlere çöp atmamak (Nehir, Dudu, Zeynep, Demet, Sultan, Ünzile, Eda, Nazlı, Esin, Kemal, Yusuf, Önder, Cemal, Toprak) • Sınıfı temiz tutmak, kirletmemek. (Nehir, Leyla, Esin, Yusuf, Kadir, Önder) • Teneffüslerde camları açıp sınıfı havalandırmak (Ayşe, Esin, Mehmet, Yusuf, Cemal) • Yerdeki çöpü toplamak. (Nehir, Sinan) • Çöpleri boşaltmak. (Yusuf) • Sıranın altına çöp atmamak. (Sinan) 	29 kişi
	Sınıf Eşyalarının Kullanımı	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Öğretmen yokken tahtaya yazı yazmamak. (Yusuf, Önder) • Sıralara yazı yazmamak, karalamamak, çizmemek. (Kadir, Hüseyin, Önder) • Sıraların üstüne çıkmamak. (Leyla, Toprak) • Sıraları düzeltmek. (Sinan, Ayşe) • Sıraların örtülerini dağıtmamak (Kadir) • Burada okulun örtülerini yırtmamak (Nehir) 	11 kişi
	Teneffüslerde Sınıfın Kullanımı	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sınıfta oyun (top, ip atlamak) oynamamak. (Nehir, Nazlı, Cezmi, Ender, Hüseyin, Esin) • Teneffüste sınıftan dışarı çıkmak (Mehmet) • Koridorda koşmamak* (Esra) 	8 kişi
	Sınıfa Giriş- Çıkışları Düzenleme	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Derste, sınıfta, sınıfa girerken koşmamak* (Fatma, Duru, İpek, Güven) • Derse geç kalmamak, zamanında gelmek. (Duru, İpek) • Sınıfa girerken kapıyı çalmak (Eda) • Derste lavaboya gitmemek (Ender) 	8 kişi
	Bürokrasi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Öğretmeni yerinde oturarak beklemek (Fatma, Ünzile) • Öğretmen yokken ses yapmamak, öğretmeni sessiz beklemek (Sevda, Kadir) • Öğretmeni beklerken sınıf kapısını açmamak. (Kadir) 	5 kişi
Etik Kurallar (25 kişi)	Şiddet ve Başkalarına Zarar Verme	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kavga etmemek. (Nehir, Fatma, Leyla, Kemal, Hüseyin, Cengiz) • Küfredmemek (Mehmet) • Zil çalınca arkadaşımızı itmemek (Hatice) • Arkadaşlarımıza iyi davranmak, kötülük yapmamak, üzmemek, hoşgörülü olmak (Hatice, Sultan, Cengiz) • Arkadaşı konuşurken yanından konuşmamak (Arkadaşının sözünü kesmemek) (Demet) • Dalga geçmemek. (Nehir) 	13 kişi
	Kişilerin Özel Alanına Saygı	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Öğretmenin bilgisayarını karıştırmama, hiçbir şeyiyle oynamama (Nehir) • Öğretmenin eşyalarını karıştırmamak. (Nehir) • Yerden bir şey bulunca öğretmene söylemek ya da kaldırıp söylemek. (Kemal) • Hırsızlık yapmamak. (Nehir) • Derste (birisiyle) konuşmamak* (Zeynep, Demet, Esra, Duru, Rıza, Ender, Cemal, Cengiz) 	12 kişi

	Hangi Amaca Yönelik	Öğrencilerin Söyledikleri Kurallar	Söylenme Sıklığı
Güvenlik (8 kişi)		<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Sınıfın camına çıkıp sarkmamak. (Sevda, Toprak) 2=1k+1e• Tehlikeli hiçbir şey yapmamak (kazalara yol açabilecek)(Cengiz)• Derste, sınıfta, sınıfa girerken koşmamak* (Fatma, Duru, İpek, Güven)• Koridorda koşmamak* (Esra)	8 kişi

Tablo 7

		Öğretmen Uyarıları
Sınıftaki İşleyişi Düzenleme	Derste Konuşma, Gürültü Yapma	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Öğretmen 5'e kadar saydı ve sayımı bittiğinde herkesin hazır olmasını istedi. Sayım bittiğinde "çeneni kapat ve kitaplarını aç" dedi. 2. Öğretmen elinde hoparlörle sınıfa girince herkes coşkuyla bağırdı. Heyoo! "Ya bu ne gürültü! Sus artık! Sınıfa girince ne yapman gerektiğini hala anlamadın!" "Çeneni kapat artık! Çeneni kapat." 3. "Sultan yerine geçer misin?" 4. "Kapat çeneni." 5. Öğretmen bilgisayardan izleyecekleri filmi hazırlarken sınıfta gürültü devam etti. Film başladıktan sonra da bir süre devam etti. "Sinemaya gittiğinizde böyle mi izliyorsunuz!" diye bağırdı öğretmen. 6. "3'e kadar sayıyorum artık kapansın çeneler. Arkana yaslan" 7. "Eveet." 8. "Yeter, kes artık kes." 9. "Rıza susar mısın!!" (Sert bir ses tonuyla) 10. "Konuşup durmayın artık!" 11. "Önüne döner misin Nehir, kendi kitabından!" 12. "Nehir devam ediceksin yani kararlısın öyle mi?" 13. Sevda ve Nehir'in yanından geçerken "kes" diye uyardı. 14. "Kes şunu ya!" (Konuşan bir öğrenciye) 15. "Şimdi kağıdını verenler çenelerinizi kapatıyorsunuz. Vermeyen arkadaşlarınıza saygılı oluyorsunuz." * 16. "Cırlama, cırlama" diyor bir öğrenciye. (Önder) "Bağırma!!" 17. "Acaba konuşmasanız nasıl olur?" 18. "Rıza önüne döner misin? Orada dörtlü oluşturmuşsunuz ya! Yeter artık!" 19. "Hadi tamam tamam konuşma!" 20. "Konuşmadan yavrum!" 21. "Yeter artık Sultan ya!" 22. "Önder lütfen!" 23. "Kapa çeneni! Laf atma birbirine!" 24. "5 dakika resimlerinizi yapmaya devam edemediniz!" (Çıkıştı.) 25. "Şşş! Kapa çeneni! Sessiz Emel!" 26. "Kes, kes!" 27. "Yeter! 3'e kadar saydığım da herkes yerine oturmuş olsun." 28. "Önder kapa çeneni!"
	Öğretmenden izinsiz Yer Değiştirme	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. "Sevda sen nasıl arkadaşını yerinden kaldırıp onun yerine oturursun!" 2. Rıza, orta sıranın en önünde oturan Önder'in yanına geçmişti. Öğretmen: "Kafanıza göre yer değiştirmeyin, yerine geç!" 3. Nehir yerinden kalkıp Rıza'nın yanına oturdu öne, öğretmen uyardı. "Yerine geç Nehir." 4. "Nehir yerine geç! Sevda, atıcam sınıftan şimdi seni!!" 5. "Yerlerinizi kafanıza göre değiştiriyorsunuz, sonra da nereye oturcam!! Ya benim sabah sabah sinirlerimi bozuyorsunuz bak!! Tamam artık kaldır kafanı bak buraya bak!!" "Yeter sinir ettiniz artık ya!!" (Yüksek sesle) 6. "Öğretmen: Sevda yerine geç! Sormadan yer değiştirme işinden vazgeçin." Sevda istifini bozmuyor. "Sevda!!!" Kitabına yazmaya devam ederek ayağa kalkıyor ve yerine geçiyor. 7. Öğretmen isteyen istediği yere gidebileceğini söyledi. Hemen bir kargaşa oluştu. Öğretmen yüksek sesle bağırarak "yeter" diye uyardı. "3'e kadar saydığım da herkes yerine oturmuş olsun!"
	Sırada Oturma Şekli	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. "Nehir bi şu yan oturmayı bırak önce, önüne dön, arkana yaslan!" 2. "Düzgün bir arkana yaslanarak oturur musun yerinde?" 3. "Evet, arkana yaslan! Matematik defterlerini aç bakalım." 4. "Sevda, Önder bu tarafa dön, bakma oraya." 5. "Emel yerleş artık." 6. "Dinliyoruz! Nasıl dinliyorduk?" (Çiçek olarak diyor bir öğrenci ve arkadaşlarını uyarıyor; "herkes çiçek olsun")
	Derste Ayağa Kalkma	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. "Önder oturur musun?" 2. Sevda öğretmenin yanına geliyor. "Yerine geçer misin!!!" 3. "Sultancım oturur musun?" 4. Nehir Sevda ayakta. "Napiyorsunuz Nehir ve Sevda!!" 5. "Geçer misiniz yerlerinize!" (Masanın etrafına toplanan öğrencilere)"Önder otur!" 6. "Önder yerine!" (Ayakta)

		Öğretmen Uyarıları
	Ders Araç- Gereçlerini Hazırlama	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. “Nerde kitaplarınız? Açsana Zeynep kitabını.” 2. “Nehir okusun.” Nehir; “Öğretmenim benim kitabım evde kaldı.” Öğretmen; “Çok güzel kitabının evde kalması..” 3. “Evet, arkana yaslan! Matematik defterlerini aç bakalım. Aç yavrum.” 4. “Rıza ve Önder kitaplarınızı açar mısınız?” 5. “Önce otur!! Kalemimi, silgini çıkar!! Konuşma!!!” 6. “Önder çıkar defterini! Neden yok!”
	Derse Geç Gelme	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Öğretmen, derse geç gelen 3 öğrenciyi de tahtaya kaldırdı.(Sevda, Nehir, Zeynep) “Size öğleden sonra cezanızı vericem. Tahtada yazı yazma cezası.” Yerine oturan 3 öğrenciden biri (Nehir) sevindi, alkışladı; “Yaşasın, yazı yazmayı çok seviyorum.” Öğretmen;“Vazgeçtim. Senin yıldızın var mıydı?” Nehir;“Hayır.” 2. “Nerdesin sen!!” Fatma açkılıyor;“Babam geldi.” 3. “Emel napıyorsun tuvalette!! Yine ıslatmışsın yüzünü, gözünü, saçlarını.” Öğrenciler: “Sonra da üşüdüm der.” Öğretmen; “Geç yerine, geç!! “
	Zamanı Kullanma	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. “Hadi bak süreniz azaldı.” 2. “Daha hiç yapmamışsın Hasancım, çok yavaşsın, bak mesela Duru nasıl çizmiş. Biraz Hasan’a yardım et Yusuf.” 3. “Eveet, zil çalana kadar resimlerinizi tamamlayın, bitirin.”
	Okunan Metni Takip Etme	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cengiz’e (sirasında sık sık ayağa kalkan bir öğrenci) sıra geldiğinde ayağa kalkarak okudu, Önder da.(ancak yanlış yeri okudular.) Öğretmen; “Devam et Yusuf, takip etselermiş.” 2. Takip et, bak kaçırmayın kaldığınız yeri!!!
Etik	Şiddet ve Başkalarına Zarar Verme	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Önder, Önder ile kavga ediyordu. Öğretmen geldiğinde Önder yerindeydi, Önder onu oturduğu yerde yumrukluyordu, Öğretmen ikisini de tahtaya çağırdı. “Ne yapayım şimdi sizi?” diye sordu. 2. Öğretmen, Önder ‘i yanına çağırdı. “Mehmet kafanı kaldır, bak Önder’in gözüne.” (Israrla bakmıyor, önündeki kitaba bakıyor.) “Bu nasıl bir sinir, ne kadar kızarsan kız taş atılır mı? Ya gözü çıksa, başına neler gelir biliyor musun? Bırak kitap yaprağı çevirmeyi, kaldır kafanı. Sana söylüyorum. Bu kadar sinir ne! Şimdi ailesi şikayet etse polis gelse okula bak ne oluyor o zaman!! Hepinize söylüyorum; sakın bir daha. Aynı şey Önder için de geçerli.” * 3. Sultan ağlıyordu. Cezmi yanlışlıkla koluna vurduğunu söyledi. Öğretmen; “Nasıl yanlışlıkla olurmuş, öyle şey olur mu? Ne oldu Sultan sen anlat” dedi. Sultan; “Sırada otuyordum, koluma vurdu.” dedi. Öğretmen; “Özür dile arkadaşından Cezmi!” dedi. Cezmi özür diledi. **
Güvenlik		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Öğretmen, Önder’i yanına çağırdı. “Mehmet kafanı kaldır, bak Önder’in gözüne.” (Israrla bakmıyor, önündeki kitaba bakıyor.) “Bu nasıl bir sinir, ne kadar kızarsan kız taş atılır mı? Ya gözü çıksa, başına neler gelir biliyor musun? Bırak kitap yaprağı çevirmeyi, kaldır kafanı. Sana söylüyorum. Bu kadar sinir ne! Şimdi ailesi şikayet etse polis gelse okula bak ne oluyor o zaman!! Hepinize söylüyorum; sakın bir daha. Aynı şey Önder için de geçerli.” * 2. Sultan ağlıyordu. Cezmi yanlışlıkla koluna vurduğunu söyledi. Öğretmen; “Nasıl yanlışlıkla olurmuş, öyle şey olur mu? Ne oldu Sultan sen anlat” dedi. Sultan; “Sırada otuyordum, koluma vurdu dedi.” Öğretmen; “Özür dile arkadaşından Cezmi!” dedi. Cezmi özür diledi. **

Tablo 8

Davranış	Öğretmen Uyarıları	Gözlenme Sıklığı
İsim Söylemeden Uyarma*	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Konuşmadan yavrum.2. Ders zili çaldı, herkes ayakta birbirleriyle el ve ayak hareketleriyle oynamaya devam ediyordu. Öğretmen geldi. "Oturl bakalım, sınav kâğıtlarınızı dağıtıcam. Önce otur. Kalemimi, silgini çıkar. Konuşma."3. Öğretmen sınıfa geldi. "Evet, arkana yaslan, matematik defterlerini aç bakalım. Aç yavrum."4. Şu kasanın arka kısmına dokunmuyorsunuz. Oraya dokunursanız onun dişleri kırılır ve komple değişmesi gerekir. O zaman da kullanamayız.	4
Zamanı Hatırlatma	<ol style="list-style-type: none">5. Öğrenciler, çalışma kitaplarındaki bir sorunun ilgili bölümüne resim çiziyorlardı. Öğretmen; "Hadi bak süreniz azaldı." diyerek zamanı hatırlattı.	1

Tablo 9

Davranış	Öğretmen Uyarıları	Gözlenme Sıklığı
İsim Söyleyerek Uyarma	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sevda senin elindeki süt mü? Neden o sütleri zamanında içmiyorsunuz, çantanızda bekletiyorsunuz! 2. Başla! Sevda, Sultan başlayın hemen. 3. Hasan çıkar defterini. Neden yok! 4. Esin topla saçlarını. (Esin saçlarını açmıştı) 5. Hasan kapa çeneni! 6. Nehir yerinden kalkıp Rıza'nın yanına oturdu öne, öğretmen uyardı; "Yerine geç Nehir." 7. Nehir yerine geç. 8. "Sevda yerine geç! Sormadan yer değiştirme işinden vazgeçin."Sevda istifini bozmadı. Öğretmen;"Sevda!" 9. Önder oturur musun? 10. Sevda öğretmenin yanına geliyor. Öğretmen; "Yerine geçer misin!!! " 11. Sultancım oturur musun? Geçer misiniz yerlerinize! Önder otur! (Masanın etrafına toplanan öğrencilere söylüyor.) 12. "Hasan yerine!" (Ayakta) Bu sırada sınıfta herkes birbiriyle konuşuyordu neredeyse. 13. Sultan yerine geçer misin? 14. Rıza susar mısın! (Sert bir ses tonuyla) 15. Önüne döner misin Nehir kendi kitabından! 16. Okunurken sınıf koridorunda dolaşıyordu. Sevda ve Nehir'in yanından geçerken "kes" diye uyardı. 17. "Yeter artık Dudu ya." Dudu'nun yerini değiştirdi. 18. Önder lütfen! 19. Sınıfta uğultu vardı. Öğrenciler 2.dersin sonunda bugün yapılacak İngilizce sınavına hazırlanıyorlardı. "Şşş! Kapa çeneni! Sessiz Emel!" 20. Hasan kapa çeneni! 21. Nerde kitaplarınız? Açsana Zeynep kitabını! 22. Rıza ve Hasan kitaplarınızı açar mısınız? 23. Sevda sen nasıl arkadaşını yerinden kaldırıp onun yerine oturursun! 24. Nehir devam ediceksin yani kararlısın öyle mi? Bi şu yan oturmayı bırak önce, önüne dön, arkana yaslan! 25. Önder, Hasan ile kavga ediyordu. Öğretmen geldiğinde Hasan yerindeydi, Önder onu oturduğu yerde yumrukluyordu. Öğretmen ikisini de tahtaya çağırdı. "Ne yapayım şimdi sizi?" diye sordu. 26. Ender: "Öğretmenim Emel benim yazdığımı yazıyor." (Slogan yazıyor)"Emel gel sen yanıma!" diyor öğretmen. "Ne zaman baksam Ender! Konuşuyorsun!" (Sertleşiyor) "Kızmaya başlıyorum duydun mu? Yerine geçiceksin, bir daha seni kimseyle konuşurken görmüycem!" 27. Öğretmen Dudu'yu yanına çağırdı, "Ne yapıyorsun!" dedi sert bir tonda. Sınıf: "Dün dağıttınız öğretmeninim." Öğretmen yüzüne baktı sert bir şekilde. Git! 28. Nehir Sevda ayakta. Öğretmen; "Napiyorsunuz Nehir ve Sevda!!" 29. Öğretmen Güven'ı yanına çağırıyor ve uyarıyor. "Bir daha görmüycem oraya buraya laf yetiştirdiğini!!" Güven yerine geçiyor, sessizce oturuyor. Üzgün olduğu belli. 	29

Davranış	Öğretmen Uyarıları	Gözlenme Sıklığı
Bağırma	<p>30. Öğretmen isteyenini istediği yere gidebileceğini söyledi. Hemen bir kargaşa oluştu sınıfta. Öğretmen yüksek sesle "Yeter!" diye bağırdı. "3'e kadar saydığım da herkes yerine oturmuş olsun."</p> <p>31. Takip et, bak kaçırmayın kaldığınız yeri!!</p> <p>32. Öğretmen 5'e kadar saydı ve sayımı bittiğinde herkesin hazır olmasını istedi. Sayım bittiğinde "Çeneni kapat ve kitaplarını aç" dedi.</p> <p>33. Öğretmen elinde hoparlörle sınıfa girince herkes coşkuyla bağırdı. "Heyoo" Öğretmen;"Ya bu ne gürültü! Sus artık! Sınıfa girince ne yapman gerektiğini hala anlamadın!" Anladık be! (bir öğrenci, başka bir öğrenciye) Öğretmen; "Çeneni kapat artık! Çeneni kapat."</p> <p>34. Öğretmen bilgisayardan izleyecekleri filmi hazırlarken sınıfta gürültü devam etti. Film başladıktan sonra da bir süre devam etti. "Sinemaya gittiğinizde böyle mi izliyorsunuz!" diye bağırdı öğretmen</p> <p>35. "3'e kadar sayıyorum artık kapansın çeneler. Arkana yaslan"</p> <p>36. Yeter, kes artık kes!</p> <p>37. Kes şunu ya! (Ses çıkaran bir öğrenciye.)</p> <p>38. Sınıfta uğultu oldu. Öğretmen; "Kes, kes!!!"</p> <p>39. Oturma sırasına göre sırayla şiir okuyor öğrenciler kıta kıta. "Kapa çeneni!" diye bağıyor öğretmen. "Laf atma birbirine!"</p> <p>40. Öğretmen sınav okurken etrafında toplanıyor öğrenciler. Bana izin verin diyor ama tekrar toplanıyorlar. Öğretmen:"Cırlama, cırlama" diye bağıyor bir öğrenciye. Bağırma!!"</p> <p>41. "Yerlerinizi kafanıza göre değiştiriyorsunuz, sonra da nereye oturcam!! Ya benim sabah sabah sinirlerimi bozuyorsunuz bak!! Tamam artık kaldır kafanı bak buraya bak! Yeter sinir ettiniz artık ya!!" bağıyor(Yüksek sesle) Çok kısa süren keskin bir sessizlikten sonra tekrar konuşmalar başladı.</p> <p>42. Hemen herkes ayağa kalktı. Teneffüste gibiydi, arbede oldu. Öğretmen;"5 dakika resimlerinizi yapmaya devam edemediniz" diyerek bağırdı.</p> <p>43. Öğretmen isteyenini istediği yere gidebileceğini söyledi. Hemen bir kargaşa oluştu. Öğretmen yüksek sesle "Yeter!" diye bağırdı. "3'e kadar saydığım da herkes yerine oturmuş olsun."</p>	14
İsim Söylemeden Uyarma*	<p>44. Filmi izlemeye devam ederken; bazı öğrenciler resim çiziyordu, öğretmen uyardı. "Herkes çizmeye başlıyor hemen, kaldırın onları!"</p> <p>45. Sınav kağıtlarını öğretmen masasına bırakan öğrencilere; "İsimler üst üste gelsin, şöyle karman çorman koyup gitme!"</p> <p>46. Öğretmen aralarda dolaşiyor. "Herkes resim yapıyor, herkes!!" diye uyarıyor resim yapmayan öğrencileri.</p> <p>47. Resimlerine bakalım "yağmur gözlü çocuk" metninin. Öğretmen metni okuyacağını söylüyor. "Çıt çıkmasın, konuşmayacaksınız."</p> <p>48. Bişey söylemek istiyorsan parmağını kaldır! Dön önüne!</p> <p>49. Konuşup durmayın artık!</p> <p>50. Şimdi kağıdını verenler çenelerinizi kapatıyorsunuz. Vermeyen arkadaşlarınıza saygılı oluyorsunuz. *</p> <p>51. Hadi tamam tamam konuşma!</p> <p>52. Dudu, Rıza, Nehir Sevda, Zeynep, Ceylan kendi aralarında konuşuyorlardı. Öğretmen uyarımadı. "Kitabını herkes önüne açsın bir." dedi ses tonunu yükselterek.</p> <p>53. Öğretmen sınıfa girdiğinde sınıfta çok gürültü vardı. Birkaç kez uyardı; "Oturun yerinize"</p> <p>54. Derse giriş zili çalmasına rağmen ayaktaydı öğrenciler.</p> <p>55. Teneffüste gibiydiler. Öğretmen derse girdiğinde ancak yerlerine oturdular. "Şimdi defterlerinizi açın." "Hangi defterlerimizi?" diye soranlar oldu öğrencilerden. "Şimdi anneyle ilgili 2 kıtalı bir şiir yazıyorsunuz. Uyumlu olsun birbirleriyle. Aklınızdan. Kendiniz olacaksınız şairi." Sınıfta kıpırdanma devam etti."Konuşma" dedi öğretmen isim belirtmeden. Bir öğrenci; "Öğretmenim fısıltıyla konuşabilir miyim?" diye sordu, öğretmen yanıt vermedi.</p> <p>56. "Eveet, zil çalana kadar resimlerinizi tamamlayın, bitirin." Bir öğrenci ciddi ciddi korkuyor; "Eyvahh, biz daha çiftlik yapıcız."</p>	13

Davranış	Öğretmen Uyarıları	Gözlenme Sıklığı
Gözdağı Verme/ Tehdit	<p>57. "Mehmet kafanı kaldır, bak Hasan'ın gözüne." (ısrarla bakmıyor, önündeki kitaba bakıyor.) "Bu nasıl bir sinir, ne kadar kızarsan kız taş atılır mı? Ya gözü çıksa, başına neler gelir biliyor musun? Bırak kitap yaprağı çevirmeyi, kaldır kafanı, sana söylüyorum!! Bu kadar sinir ne! Şimdi ailesi şikayet etse polis gelse okula bak ne oluyor o zaman. Hepinize söylüyorum; sakın bir daha! Aynı şey Hasan için de geçerli." 58. Hasan "topuna küfür etmiş". Cengiz söyledi. Öğretmen yanına geldi. "Diline sahip ol. Ondan sonra Hasan'ın gözü patladı, bilmem ne!" 59. Zeynep geç geldi. Neredesin Zeynep? Bi daha geç gelirsen almıycam seni sınıfa. 60. Sultan, Rıza, Sevda geç geliyor. Öğretmen bir öğrencinin yapmakta olduğu okumayı durduruyor. Öğretmen; "Kime sordunuz da rehberlik odasına gittiniz? Kantin mi orası. Bir daha aynı şeyi yaparsanız bir daha sizi almayacağım bu sınıfa! Duydun mu Rıza!" (Yükselen sert bir ses tonuyla!) 61. "Eğer çizgi film izlemek istiyorsanız dokunmayacaksınız, bu tarafa geçmeyeceksiniz". 62. Yanına gelmeyim Sevda, gel benimle.(Sınıfın dışına çıkıyorlar konuşmak için) 63. Öğretmen sınıfa geldi. Öğrenciler; "Beden, beden.." diye tempo tuttular. Sınıfta asılı programa göre ders Beden Eğitimi idi. Öğretmen: "Biraz matematik yapalım, sonra bakarız." dedi. Sınıfta bağışmalar oldu. Öğretmen; "Biraz, biraz " dedi. "Bir daha hiçbir zaman bedene çıkamazsın böyle yaparsan." Diye devam etti. Nehir: Allah korusun! 64. Sevda, atıcam sınıftan şimdi seni.</p>	8
Kinaye	<p>65. Acaba konuşmasanız nasıl olur? 66. Rıza önüne döner misin? Orada dörtlü oluşturmuşsunuz ya! Yeter artık! 67. Rıza sağlık ocağının görevlerini söylesin Rıza; "Öğretmenim yazıyorum." Öğretmen;"Zeynep" Zeynep; "Öğretmenim görevleri yazacak mıydık?" Öğretmen; "Aferin Rıza ve Zeynep'e." 68. Kitapları önlerinde açık ama neredeyse hiçbiri çalışmıyor sınıfa. "Çok güzel çalışıyorsun Cezmi." diyor öğretmen. ** 69. Öğretmen sınıfa girerken Nehir'i sıraların üstünde koşarken gördü. "Aferin Nehir" diye uyardı. (Cezmi ve Önder data-show'u açarken her zaman sıranın üstüne ayakbalarıyla basıyor.) 70. Nehir parmak kaldırdı, önündeki ayakta olan öğrenciye; "Otur da görsün beni öğretmen." dedi. Nehir, arkasındaki öğrenciyle konuşuyorken onu gören öğretmene dönüp; "Ben burda arkadaş buldum" dedi. Öğretmen; "Ben seni oraya arkadaş bul diye mi oturttum?" dedi. 71. "Nehir okusun." Nehir; "Öğretmenim benim kitabım evde kaldı." Öğretmen; "Çok güzel kitabının evde kalması."</p>	7

Davranış	Öğretmen Uyarıları	Gözlenme Sıklığı
Teşhir Etme**	<p>72. Derse geç gelen 3 öğrenciyi de tahtaya kaldırdı.(Sevda, Nehir, Zeynep) Tahtada 5 kişi oldu. Öğretmen;" Size öğleden sonra cezanızı vericem. Tahtada yazı yazma cezası." Yerine oturan 3 öğrenciden biri (Nehir) alkışladı; "Yaşasın, yazı yazmayı çok seviyorum." Öğretmen;" Vazgeçtim. Senin yıldızın var mıydı?" Nehir "Hayır." dedi.</p> <p>73. Sınıfta bir okuma parçası sesli okundu. Kemal-Rıza aralarında konuşuyorlardı. Öğretmen;"Kemal, gel bize anlat bakalım." dedi. Kemal; "Rıza'nın yüzünden dinleyemedim öğretmenim, elime kalem batırdı. Batırmadın mı Rıza?" dedi. Öğretmen bunun üzerine;"Rıza sen anlat." dedi. Öğretmen, parça okunurken konuşanlardan anlatmasını istedi; "Dudu anlatsın. Esra anlatsın."</p> <p>74. Öğretmen: "Mutluluk size neyi çağırıştırıyor?" diye sordu. Öğrenciler rahat ve katılımcıydı; çikolata, dondurma vs. diyenler oldu. O sırada başka bir şeyle meşgul olan Emel'e; "Emel sana neyi çağırıştırıyor mutluluk?" diye sordu sesini yükselterek (uyarı tonunda). Sınıfta gülüşmeler oldu, Emel yanıt veremedi.</p> <p>75. Fatma derse geç geldi. Öğretmen; "Nerdesin sen?" dedi. Fatma; "Babam geldi" dedi. Öğretmen; "Kim demişti bana dışarda oynuyor diye?" dedi. Öğrenciler; "Zeynep." dedi.</p> <p>76. Emel geç geldi.(Öğretmen nerede olduğunu sorduğunda arkadaşları tuvalette olduğunu söylemişlerdi). Öğretmen;"Emel napıyorsun tuvalette. Yine ıslatmışsın yüzünü, gözünü, saçlarını." Öğrencilerden birkaçı; "Sonra da üşüdüm der." dedi. Öğretmen; "Geç yerine, geç." diye azarladı Emel' i.</p> <p>77. Daha hiç yapmamışsın Hasancım (Hasan), çok yavaşsın, bak mesela Duru nasıl çizmiş. Biraz Hasan'a yardım et Yusuf. **</p>	6
Söylediklerini Dinlememe ****	<p>78. Bir öğrenci ağlıyordu. Başka bir öğrenci yanlışlıkla koluna vurduğunu söyledi. "Nasıl yanlışlıkla olurmuş, öyle şey olur mu? Ne oldu sen anlat" dedi ağlayan öğrenciyi. Öğrenci; "Sırada oturuyordum, koluma vurdu." dedi. Öğretmen; "Özür dile arkadaşından" dedi vuran öğrenciyi. Öğrenci özür diledi sınıfın önünde.</p> <p>79. Öğretmen koridorda dolaşırken Rıza bir şeyler söylemeye çalışırken; "Geç yerine, şikayet yok." dedi.</p> <p>80. Öğretmen ders anlatıyordu. Hüseyin ayakta, Cengiz, Hasan ile konuşuyordu. Bir ara öğretmenin yanına gidip Haan'ı şikayet etmeye çalıştı. Öğretmen duymamış gibi konuşmaya devam etti. Önder yerine gelip oturdu, arka sırasında outran Cengiz- Hasan ile konuşmaya devam etti.</p>	3
Küçük Düşürme	<p>81. Öğretmen bilgisayarını hazırlarken sınıf gürültülüydü. Öğretmen sınıfa bağırdı; "Kapat çeneni!!" Nehir; "Susarsanız çıkar" dedi sınıfa dönüp, sonra da "Öğretmenim ses." dedi. Öğretmen; "Ya tamam! Ben de farkındayım olmadığının Allah Allah." diye söylendi.</p> <p>82. Öğretmen sınıfa girdiğinde sınıfta horon oynayan öğrencilere; "Neden bahçede oynamıyorsunuz da sınıfta oynuyorsunuz ya!" diye çıkıştı. Horon oynayanlar arasında olan Cezmi yüksek sesle; "Damlalar H başlatıyor." dedi. (Sınıftaki Roma öğrencileri kastetti.)Öğretmen data-show dan arkadaşım eşek şarkısının videosunu açtı, bir öğrenciyi; "Ben açtım, sınıfın içinde tepindiğiniz için." dedi. Videonun sesi çıkmayınca Hasan; "Öğretmenim ses?" diye seslendi. Öğretmen çıkıştı; "Ya ben de farkındayım Allah Allah, yapmaya çalışıyorum." Önder; "Sanki bi tek senin kulağın var." Dedi yüksek sesle Hasan'a.</p>	2
Ötekileştirme	<p>83. Nehir, Sevda, Dudu'ya dönmüş konuşuyordu. Öğretmen Nehir dön, konuşma onunla dedi.</p> <p>84. Hüseyin'e öğretmen "Hüseyin, laf atma ona, lütfen" dedi yumuşak bir tonda. (Hüseyin ile ön sırasında oturan Hasan. atışıyordu. Hasan, Hüseyin'i sırasından doğrulup yumrukluyordu. Öğretmen bunun üzerine böyle söyledi.</p>	2

Tablo 10

Uyarılan Öğrenci	Uyarılan Davranış
Sevda 13 kez uyarı 2 kez görmezden gelme 3 kez tehdit	Derste konuşma, gürültü yapma (3 kez) Öğretmenden izinsiz yer değiştirme (3 kez) Derse geç gelme (1kez) Okul sütünü geç içme (1 kez) Yapılan etkinlikleritakip etmeme (1 kez) Derste kendi kendine yüksek sesle gülme (1 kez) Sırada arkasına dönme (1 kez) Derste ayağa kalkma (2 kez)
Nehir 7 kez uyarı 2 kez görmezden gelme 2 kez tehdit 2 kez kinaye	Derste konuşma, gürültü yapma (4 kez) Derse geç gelme (1kez) Derste ayağa kalkma (1 kez) Ders kitabını hazırlama (1 kez)
Rıza 6 kez uyarı 2 kez görmezden gelme 1 kez tehdit 1 kez kinaye	Derste konuşma, gürültü yapma (3 kez) Yapılan etkinlikleri takip etmeme (1 kez) Öğretmenden izinsiz yer değiştirme (1 kez) Ders kitabını açma (1 kez)
Hasan 7 kez uyarı 1 kez görmezden gelme 1 kez tehdit	Zamanı Kullanma (1 kez) Yapılan etkinlikleri takip etmeme (1 kez) Okunan metni takip etmeme (1 kez) Sırada arkasına dönme (1 kez) Derste ayağa kalkma (1 kez) Derste konuşma, gürültü yapma (1 kez) Kavga etme (1kez)
Zeynep 3 kez uyarı 1 kez görmezden gelme 1 kez tehdit 1 kez kinaye	Derse geç gelme (1kez) Okunan metni takip etmeme (1 kez) Ders kitabını hazırlama (1 kez)
Sinan 4 kez uyarı	Yapılan etkinlikleri takip etmeme (1 kez) Derste konuşma, gürültü yapma (1 kez) Ders kitabını, defterini hazırlamama (2 kez)
Emel 3 kez uyarı 1 kez tehdit 1 kez kinaye	Derse geç gelme (1kez) Sırada arkasına dönme (1 kez) Derste konuşma, gürültü yapma (1 kez)
Önder 4 kez uyarı	Derste ayağa kalkma (2 kez) Derste konuşma, gürültü yapma (1 kez) Kavga etme (1kez)
Dudu 4 kez uyarı 1 kez yok sayma	Derste konuşma, gürültü yapma (2 kez) Yapılan etkinlikleritakip etmeme (1 kez) Okul sütünü geç içme (1 kez)
Cezmi 3 kez uyarı	Sınav kağıdındaki soruyu eksik cevaplama (1 kez) Sınava çalışmama (1 kez) Arkadaşına fiziksel şiddet (1kez)
Mehmet 2 kez uyarı	Yapılan etkinlikleri takip etmeme (1 kez) Arkadaşına fiziksel şiddet (1kez)
Hüseyin 2 kez uyarı	Derste konuşma, gürültü yapma (2 kez)
Sultan 2 kez uyarı 1 takdir (Aferin Sultan, soruyu doğru yanıtlayınca)	Derste ayağa kalkma (2 kez)
Fatma 1 kez uyarı	Derse geç gelme (1kez)

Hatice 1 kez uyarı aldı.	Arkadaşlarına evden gazlı içecek getirme (1kez) (Anne-babası içecek geri dönüşüm fabrikasında çalışıyor, baktığımda tarihlerinin geçmiş olduğunu gördüm.)
Eda 1 kez uyarı aldı.	Dersi takip etmeme (1 kez) (Soru sordu)
Cengiz 1 kez uyarı aldı.	Okunan metni takip etmeme (1 kez)
Güven 1 kez uyarı aldı.	Derste konuşma, gürültü yapma (1 kez)
Esin 1 kez uyarı aldı.	Saçlarını açma (1 kez)
Yusuf 1 kez ipucu 2 olumlu mesaj	

Tablo 11

		Öğrencilere Göre Öğretmenin Onaylamadığı/Kızdığı Davranışlar	Öğrencilerin Söyleme Sıklığı
Sınıftaki İşleyişi Düzenleme	Sınıf Düzenini Sağlama	Derste konuşmak Öğretmene karşı gelmek (dinlememek, dediklerini yapmamak) Sınıfta bağırarak konuşmak Derse geç kalmak Dersleri dinlememek Parmak kaldırmadan konuşmak Derste mektuplaşmak Sınıfta söz dinlememek Derste ayakta gezinmek Sınıfta ısıklı öttürmek Öğretmen habersiz bir şey yapmak Öğretmen konuşurken konuşmak Ev ödevini yapmamak Şikayet etmek	Ünzile, Eda, Duru, Cemal Fatma , Toprak, Esin, Nazlı Mehmet, Sultan, Toprak Yusuf Yusuf, Sinan Esra Zeynep Hüseyin Hasan, Nazlı Kemal Sevda Önder Hasan Eda
	Sınıf Temizliği	Yerlere çöp atmak Sınıfı kirletmek Kağıtları kağıt çöpüne atmamak Sınıfı havalandırmamak	Demet, Zeynep , Cemal Leyla Kemal Cemal
	Sınıf Eşyalarının Kullanımı	Oynarken sırayı yere düşürmek Sıraların bozulması, yamuk olması Sıraların üstüne çıkmak Sıranın altını dağınık bırakmak	Zeynep Ayşe Leyla Sinan
	Teneffüslerde Sınıfın Kullanımı	Sınıfta koşmak Sınıfta ip atlamak Sınıfta oyun oynamak Koşturarak oynamak Cama çıkıp bakmak Sınıfta top oynamak Teneffüste tahtaya yazı yazmak	Fatma , Ünzile Mehmet, Hüseyin Cezmi İpek Duru Hüseyin Önder
	Bürokrasi	Teneffüste öğretmenler odasına gidip arkadaşını şikayet etmek, öğretmeni çağırmak Arkadaşlarına içecek getirmek Bir şeyi yıldız için yapmak Büyüklerine saygısız davranmak	Cengiz Ayşe Esin Esin
			Toplam: 47 kez
Etik	Şiddet ve Başkalarına Zarar Verme	Kavga etmek Arkadaşımıza vurmak, dövmek Arkadaşımızın kalemini kırmak	Kemal, Sinan , Leyla, Eda, Zeynep, Cengiz Nehir, Sinan, Zeynep , Güven Sevda
	Başkalarına Saygı Gösterme	Arkadaşıyla dalga geçmek Birisine terbiyesiz konuşmak Küfretmek Arkadaşını oynatmamak	Nehir Esin Fatma , Esin Esin
			Toplam: 16 kez

* Roman Öğrenciler

Tablo 12

		Öğretmen Uyarıları
Kurallara Uyulmadığı Zaman		<p>Kızma</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ceza almıyoruz, sadece öğretmen kızıyor. (Ayşe)
		<p>Tehdit</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Öğretmen diyor ki, böyle yaparsanız döverim sizi, öyle bir şeyler diyor. Müdüre göndermek var. Öyle diyor, ama göndermiyor. Kızıyor, uyarıyor, korku veriyor, annenizi çağırırım diyor. (Emel)
		<p>Ceza</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bazen tek ayak üstünde durur. (Mehmet) • Tahtada bekliyorsun, ders işlemiyorsun. Oturuyorsun. O yere çömeliyorsun, kenara çömeliyorsun, dersi dinlemiyorsun. (Yusuf) • Tek ayak üstünde ara sıra duruyoruz, kimseyle konuşmuyoruz. (Toprak) • Tek ayak üstünde durmak. (Cengiz) • Tahtaya çıkıp kimseyle konuşmamak, ee tek ayak üstünde beklemek zil çalana kadar. Yüzü tahtaya dönük. Yorulursa yine öyle oturacak orda. (Demet) • Öğretmenimiz ceza veriyor. Ayakta kalıyoruz, sıraya başımızı dönüyoruz, bakmıyoruz kimseye. Tek ayak üstünde. (Rıza) • Bizim öğretmen hiç vurmaz, bir de kötü şey yapanlara ceza verir. Hep tahtada tek ayak üstünde durmak, başka hiçbir şey vermiyor. (Cemal) • Ceza veriliyor. Cezalara uymayınca biz onunla konuşmuyoruz, sınıfta yokmuş gibi davranıyoruz. Öğretmen konuşmuyor. Bir-iki gün sürüyor. (Önder) • Yerden çöpleri tek başına toplamak, sınıftakileri. (Cezmi) • Çöp toplarım. Ben topladım, ama kendi isteğimle. (Nehir) • Defterine 10 defa “öğretmenim özür dilerim” yazar. (Mehmet) • Okullardan uzaklaştırma cezaları var. (Toprak)
		<p>Şiddet</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Böyle yavaş vuruyor. (Emel) • Yanına çağırıyor, omzunu sıkıyor yavaş, bir de tokat atıyor. Otur yerine diyor, uyarıyor, bir daha yaptığında dövüyor. (Cengiz)
		<p>Uyarı</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Öğretmen böyle bağıyor, bir de dışarı çıkarttırıyor, böyle konuşuyor onlarla, o kadarını gördüm sadece. (Fatma) • Yanına çağırıyor, konuşuyor, sonra gidiyor, bir daha öyle şeyler yapma diyor, uyarıyor bizi. (Kemal)
Sınıftaki İşleyiş Düzenleme	Öğretmeni dinlememek, karşı gelmek	<p>Kızma</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Öğretmen kızıyor. (Hüseyin) • Öğretmen kızıyor. (Önder) • Öğretmenle dalga geçici sözler konuşmak. Öğretmeni en çok sinirlendiren. (Ender) • Sınıfta ıslık öttürünce çok kızıyor. (Kemal)
		<p>Hakaret</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Öğretmen; “salak mısınız, nesiniz diyor. Dersi öğrenmeyeceksen bu sınıfa niye geliyorsun, başkalarını rahatsız etmeye mi geliyorsun” diyor. (Sinan)
		<p>Ceza</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mesela, biz bedene çıktık, o içeride kalabilir. (Esra) • Öğretmenimiz bazen kızıyor bir şeyleri yapmadığımız zaman, arkadaşlarımız da sinirleniyor, ondan sonra bazen bize küsüyor. Bana hiç ceza vermedi de, bir sefer verdi, o da eski, tahtada tek ayak üstünde durdum. Kızıyor. Arkadaşlarımıza da sinirleniyor, ondan sonra bazen bize küsüyor. (Kemal) • Bağırıyor, bize ceza veriyor. Sınıftan çıkmıyorsun diyor. Bir teneffüs, bazen tek ayak duruyoruz. (Zeynep) • Bazı zaman çok aksilik yaptığında kimseyi onunla konuşturtmüyor. Bir ders boyunca hiç kimse onunla konuşmuyor. Yerindeyken. O konuşmak isterse Havva Hoca kızıyor, o daha çok ceza veriyor ona. (Ender)

		Öğretmen Uyarıları
		<p>Şiddet</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Öğretmenlerin yani nasıl desem haberi olmazsa kesin o çıldırıyor, zaten öğretmen kolundan tutup şöyle yapar, bi de böyle vurur tamam, şöyle yapıyor. (Gösteriyor) (Sevda) • Bazen tokat atıyor, bazen sarsalıyor. Öğretmeni kızdıranlara yapıyor, bir de konuşanlara. Çok ceza vermiyor bize, bazen veriyor. (Sinan) • Bizim öğrencimiz vardı eski sınıfta, şu an 4/X'de, sınıfını değiştirdiler, ona hep bağırdı. O zaman ona kızıyor, bağırdı. Vuruyor, Eliyle, ama hızlı vurmuyor. (Toprak) • Öğretmen çok kızıyor. Öğretmenler toplantısı olduğunda Hasan öğretmenler toplantısına gidiyor. Öğretmen sınıfa geliyor, kızıyor. Yanaklarına tokat attı. (Esin) • Sınıfta sakız çiğneyince, öğretmen çöpe at diyor, gene geliyoruz oturuyoruz. Kızıyor, bazen koyuyor sıranın altına, gene çiğneyince, öğretmen bu sefer geliyor, iki-üç tane vuruyor. (Kemal) • Mesela, rehberlik öğretmeni geliyor okula, ona öğretmen bin defa söyledi izinsiz gitmeyin diye, diğerleri de hep gidiyorlar devamlı. Öğretmen de ona kızıyor, vuruyor. (Sultan) • Yaramazlık ettiğimizde döver, eliyle döver. Bazen yüze, bazen kola vurur. (Emel)
	Derste konuşmak	<p>Kızma</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Öğretmen kızıyor. (Leyla) • Öğretmen kızıyor. (Ünzile)
		<p>Ceza</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Romanlar bozuyor. Sınıfta öğretmen konuşmayın diyo onlar hayla konuşuyor, öyle bir şey yapıyo konuşuyo öğretmenin de sabrı taşıyo, onlarla konuşmuyo. Uzun sürüyor. 5-6 gün oluyo. Biz de konuşmuyoruz. (Demet) • Öğrenciler ceza alır. (Eda) • Sınıfta bağıarak konuşulduğunda, öğretmen bazen başı ağrıyor, sus diyor herkese, susun diyor, diğerleri daha da konuşuyorlar. Öğretmen onları sınıftan çıkartıyor, ders işlemiyorlar. Sınıfta hep böyle karışıyor her şey. Sınıftan dışarı çıkartır, tahtada tek ayak üstünde bekletiyor, sonra onunla hiç kimse ders boyunca konuşmuyor. (Sultan) • Bağırdı, bize ceza veriyor. Sınıftan çıkmıyorsun diyor bir teneffüs. Bazen tek ayak duruyoruz. (Zeynep) • Öğretmen kızar onlara. Öğretmenim şey bizim dolap var ya dolabın kenarına öğretmenim tahtaya bakarak arkasını dönerek onunla hiç konuşmuycaz öğretmenim. O tek ayak üstünde şeye zil çalana kadar durucak. (Duru) • Öğretmen bağırdı. Tahtada ayağını kaldırarak durma. (Cemal) • Tahtaya arkasını dönüp beklemek. Zil çalana kadar bekliyor. (Ayşe)
		<p>Şiddet</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Konuşuyoruz ya öğretmenim, bazıları da kavga ediyorlar, onun için dövüyor. Hafiften vuruyor, sopayla. (Rıza) • Bazen tokat atıyor, bazen sarsalıyor. Öğretmeni kızdıranlara yapıyor, bir de konuşanlara. Çok ceza vermiyor bize, bazen veriyor. (Sinan) • Konuşuyoruz ya öğretmenim, bazıları da kavga ediyorlar, onun için dövüyor. Hafiften vuruyor sopayla, üstünde Haydar yazıyor. (Rıza)
	Dersleri dinlememek	<p>Ceza</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Öğretmen bizi ayakta tutuyor tahtada. (Kadir)
		<p>Şiddet</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Biraz bağırdı, sonra o herkes de dinliyor sözünü, öyle yani. Çok sinirlenince öğretmen gidip birini döver. Tokat atmaz, kafasına şöyle bir tane vuruyor yavaş, öyle. (Yusuf) • Bayağı bir kızar. Diyelim ki yaramazı yanına çağırır kızar, tutar iter. (Kadir) • Hasan derslerini yapmıyor. Gidiyor öğretmenin yanına öğretmenler odasına, çağırıyor öğretmeni, öğretmen de vuruyor ona, ceza vermiyor, vuruyor, geç yerine filan diyor. Tokat atıyor, sarsalıyor. (Sinan)
	Derste ayakta gezinmek	<p>Kızma</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Öğretmen kızıyor. (Leyla)
		<p>Ceza</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Çöpün önünde (sınıfa arkasını) döndürüyor. Beden eğitimine gitmemek de var. (Sevda)
		<p>Şiddet</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bizim sınıfta Hüseyin var, ayakta dolaşıyor, öğretmen yanına çağırıyor, koluna vuruyor. (Nazlı)

		Öğretmen Uyarıları
	Parmak kaldırmadan konuşmak	<p>Ceza</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Öğretmen kızıyor. Öyle yaparsanız ceza vereceğim diyor. Tahtaya çıkıp arkamızı dönerek tek ayak üstünde durma cezası. Bedende çöp toplatıyor. Dışarıdakileri de, sınıftakileri de. Uslu durana kadar topluyorlar. (Esra) • Sadece öğretmen biraz kızıyor. Biz söz veriyoruz, bir daha yapmayacağız diyoruz. Arkadaşların bir daha seninle konuşmayacak bir günlük, o ceza var. Bir de çöp kutusunun önüne doğru duruyorlar, hiç kimseye bakmıyor, tahtada duruyorlar tek ayak üstünde. (Güven) • Çöpün önünde (sınıfa arkasını) döndürüyor. Beden eğitimine gitmemek de var. (Sevda)
		<p>Derste mektuplaşmak</p> <p>Ceza</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kızıyor öğretmen, biz mesela oradayken orada mektup yazıyorlar, konuşuyorlar, birbirine atıyorlar, öğretmen de onu bir kere görmüştü. Rıza oynuyordu, bir de Kemal oynuyordu. Attılar birbirine, öğretmen de gördü onları, onlara vurdu, ceza verdi. Bir ders tek ayak üstünde durdular. (Zeynep) <p>Şiddet</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Onlara vurdu. (Zeynep)
	Ödevini yapmamak	<p>Kızma</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Öğretmen kızar. (Hasan)
		<p>Şiddet</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ödevini yapmıyorlar, tahtaya çıkıyor. Öğretmen soruyor onlara niye yapmadınız? Bazı kişiler elektrik gitti diyor, unuttum diyor. Öğretmen de kızıyor. Ellerine vuruyor. Bizim sınıfta sopa var. Haydar Döver yazıyor. Yusuf'ta duruyor, öğretmen isteyince veriyor. (Esra)
	Yerlere, sıranın altına çöp atmak	<p>Kızma</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Öğretmen fazla kızıyor. (Leyla) • Kızıyor, sonra bir şey yapmıyor. (Esin)
		<p>Ceza</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Öğretmen bağırır. Tahtada ayağını kaldırarak durma. (Cemal) • Bağırıyor, bize ceza veriyor. Sınıftan çıkmıyorsun diyor. Bir teneffüs, bazen tek ayak duruyoruz. (Zeynep) • Öğretmen onları sınıftan çıkartıyor, ders işlemiyorlar. Sınıfta hep böyle karışıyor her şey. Sınıftan dışarı çıkartır, tahtada tek ayak üstünde bekletiyor, sonra onunla hiç kimse ders boyunca konuşmuyor. (Genellikle İngilizce dersinde.) (Sultan) • Yere çöp atınca vurmaz da, bağırır. Tahtada dikiliyor, ayaklarını böyle şey yapıyorlar. (Dudu) • Kızıyor. Niye sıranızın altını toplamadınız diyor. Tek ayak üstünde bekletiyor bizi bazen. Bağırıyor, vuruyor. (Sinan)
		<p>Şiddet</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kızıyor. Niye sıranızın altını toplamadınız diyor. Tek ayak üstünde bekletiyor bizi bazen. Bağırıyor, vuruyor. (Sinan)
	Sınıfta oyun oynamak	<p>Kızma</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Öğretmen kızıyor. (Hüseyin)
		<p>Ceza</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Öğretmen ceza veriyor. (Cezmi) • Sıraların üstüne çıkınca; onunla bir süre konuşmamak, öyle yapmaması için ona izin veriyor. (Leyla) • Sıralarla oynuyoruz ya biz ebelemecelik, sırayı böyle düşürdüğümüzde en çok ona ceza alıyoruz. Tek ayak duruyoruz, bir de öğretmen vuruyor. (Zeynep)
		<p>Şiddet</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sıralarla oynuyoruz ya biz ebelemecelik, sırayı böyle düşürdüğümüzde en çok ona ceza alıyoruz. Tek ayak duruyoruz, bir de öğretmen vuruyor. (Zeynep)
	Sınıfta koşmak	<p>Uyarı</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Öğretmenim, ben tam böyle ceza almadım ya, tam bilmiyorum. Öğretmen böyle bağırıyor, bir de dışarı çıkarttırıyor, böyle konuşuyor onlarla, o kadarını gördüm sadece. (Fatma)
		<p>Ceza</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sadece öğretmen biraz kızıyor. Biz söz veriyoruz, bir daha yapmayacağız diyoruz. Arkadaşların bir daha seninle konuşmayacak bir günlük, o ceza var. Bir de hiç kimseye bakmıyor, tahtada duruyorlar. (Güven)

		Öğretmen Uyarıları
	Zil çaldıktan sonra sınıfta olmak	<p>Ceza</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bazıları sınıftan dışarı çıkıyor, koridora çıkıyorlar, öğretmen gelmeden geziyorlar. Bazıları öğretmenin gelmesine az kala tuvalete gidiyor. <p>Öğretmen kızıyor, dışarı çıkartmıyor beden dersinde.</p> <p>Resim dersinde öğretmeni kızdırdıkları için bazen matematik yaptırıyor, yazı yazıyorsun. Matematik dersi yapıyoruz. Arada sırada yazı yazıyoruz. Uzun bir yazı, hikaye gibi. (Kadir)</p>
	Şikâyet	<p>Kızma</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hemen git yerine otur, git başımdan, git, senin şikâyetlerinden bıktım. (Mehmet) <p>Şiddet</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Çok şikâyet edince vuruyor, kavga edince. Yanağına vuruyor. (Eda)
Şiddet ve Başkalarına Zarar Verme	Arkadaşına vurmak	<p>Kızma</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Kızar. Bir daha yapma der. (Hasan) Öğretmen çok kızıyor. (Esin)
		<p>Tehdit</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mesela, Mehmet'le Hasan kavga ediyor ya, öğretmenin siniri geliyor o zaman, çünkü Hasan gidiyor öğretmenler odasına ağlıyor ya, hep çağırıyor öğretmeni. Mehmet'e kızıyor. Hasan'a da diyor ki, bir daha gelirsen sana ceza veririm. Çok kızıyor. (Cengiz)
		<p>Ceza</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ceza alıyoruz (Sevda) Müdüre gidebiliyor. (Ender) Hani böylesiniz, arkadan sizi itti. Yusuf geldi, beni itti, şimdi Yusuf cezalı oldu, mesela onunla konuşmayacağız. Konuşmak isterse sesimizi çıkarmayacağız. (Hatice) Bir arkadaşımız bir arkadaşımız vurduğunda öğretmen onu burada yok sayıyor bu sınıfta ve onunla konuşmuyoruz. Bir ders. (Hüseyin) Tahtaya arkasını dönüp beklemek. Zil çalana kadar bekliyor. (Ayşe) Arkadaşımızın kalemini kırınca ceza alıyoruz (Sevda)
Kavga etmek		<p>Şiddet</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mesela vuruyor bir çocuk arkadaşına, bir yeri kanıyor, o yüzden öğretmen vurabiliyor. (Ender) Yanına çağırıyor, itiyor, kızıyor. Bazen tokat atıyor. (Kadir) Öğretmen vuruyor, eliyle. (Zeynep) Öğretmen kızar, vurur. (Dudu) Öğretmen kızıyor. Bir çocuğu şimdi Hasan var ya, Cengiz şimdi Hasan'ın kalemi düşmüş, Cengiz vermiş ona, Hasan da koluna vurmuş, öğretmen tokat attı ona. (Güven) Öğretmen vurur. (Cemal)
		<p>Kızma</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Öğretmen çok fazla kızıyor. Onlar (Roman öğrencileri kastediyor) ağlıyor sonra kızdığı zaman. Onlar hiç... Öğretmenim bir keresinde Sevda, Nehir kavga etmişlerdi, öğretmen onlara ceza vermedi, ama kızmıştı. Onlara dedi ki öğretmenimiz, bir daha yapmayın, siz daha küçüksünüz. (Leyla) Çok kızıyor. (Kemal)
		<p>Ceza</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Öğretmen ara sıra müdüre gönderir. Anne-babalarını çağırır. (Leyla) Müdüre gönderiliyor, müdür de ona ceza vermezse okuldan uzaklaştırıyor. (Ender) Kavga edersek çok ceza alıyoruz. Ayakta duruyoruz, bazen öğlene kadar sınıftan çıkmıyoruz. Öğle arası çıkıyoruz. (Rıza)
		<p>Şiddet</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Çok şikâyet edince vuruyor, kavga edince. Yanağına vuruyor. (Eda) Öğretmen kızar onlara, vurur. (Duru) Konuşuyoruz ya öğretmenim, bazıları da kavga ediyorlar, onun için dövüyor. Hafiften vuruyor sopayla. (Üstünde Haydar yazıyor.) (Rıza) Öğretmen vurur. (Cemal)

		Öğretmen Uyarıları
	Küfretmek	<p>Kızma</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Öğretmenim, ben tam böyle ceza almadım ya, tam bilmiyorum. Öğretmen böyle bağıyor, bir de dışarı çıkarttırıyor, böyle konuşuyor onlarla, o kadarını gördüm sadece. (Fatma) • Öğretmene saygısızlık yapınca, mesela Hasan hep küfrediyor arkadaşlarına, ona öğretmen göz yumuyor. (Sultan)
		<p>Ceza</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mesela, Hasan'a çok oluyor, Hamdi geliyor, Hasan'a vuruyor, Hasan da küfrediyor ona. Öğretmen, onunla konuşmayın diyor. Uslu durana kadar (Esra) • Kızır, ceza verir. (Cemal)
		<p>Şiddet</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Öğretmen çok kızıyor. Küfürlere vuruyor. (Esin)
Güvenlik	Cama çıkmak	<p>Ceza</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Öğretmen kızır onlara. Öğretmenim şey bizim dolap var ya dolabın kenarına öğretmenim tahtaya bakarak arkasını dönerek onunla hiç konuşmuycaz öğretmenim. O tek ayak üstünde şeye zil çalana kadar durucak. (Duru) • Öğretmen kızır. Tahtada arkaya dönük, ayakta beklemek. Cezalı olanla konuşmamak, arkadaşınızla konuşmayacaksınız. (Hatice)

Tablo 13

Öğrencinin Adı	Davranış	Öğretmenin Kullandığı İfade
Yusuf	Tahtada kesri sayı doğrusunda gösterme.	Aferin Yusuf.
Yusuf	Metni okuma.	Evet güzel,
Yusuf	Yazdığını okuma	Çok güzel.
Yusuf	Sorunun yanıtını okuma.	Güzel.
Yusuf	Sorunun yanıtını okuma.	Çok güzel.
Sultan	Sorunun cevabını bulma.	Aferin Sultan.
Sultan	Sorunun cevabını okuma.	Aferin Sultan.
Sultan	Yazdığı yanıtı okuma.	Güzel.
Sultan	Soruyu yanıtlama.	Aferin Sultan.
Cezmi	Ses sorununu giderme.	Teşekkür ederim. Çok yaşa sen!
Cezmi	Yansıtıcıyı (data-show) kapatma.	Evet tatlım.
Önder	Yansıtıcıyı (data-show) kapatma.	Aferin.
Önder	Soruya doğru yanıt verme.	Aferin Önder.
Ünzile	Öğrenci çalışma kitabındaki etkinliği tamamlama.	Ünzile aferin, çok güzel.
Ünzile	Yazdığını okuma.	Ünzile çok güzel yazmış, dinle Ünzile'yi.
Mehmet	Defterinde kesri sayı doğrusunda gösterme.	Aferin Mehmet. (2 kez) Kendin mi yaptın Mehmet? Kendi mi yaptı? (Yanında oturan Yusuf'a soruyor.)
Mehmet	Davetiye hazırlama.	Mehmet'inki çok güzel olmuş.
Ayşe	Okunan metni anlatma.	Çok güzel, aferin.
Ender	Tahtada kalanlı bölme işlemini yapma.	Aferin Ender.
Esin	Sorunun cevabını okuma.	Aferin.
Eda	Sorunun yanıtını okuma.	Evet.

Tablo 14

Akademik	Ödevlerimizi yapmak	Kadir, Leyla, Hatice, Eda, Nazlı, Cezmi, Hüseyin, Cengiz, Cemal, Toprak, Dudu
	Tahtada soru çözmek	Kadir, Duru, Güven, Kemal, Ünzile, Duru
	Soru çözmek	Nehir, Mehmet
	Derse katılmak	Sevda
	Derslerimize çalışmak	Esra
	Ödev yapmak	Esra
	Dersimizi güzel yaparsak	Sinan
	Çalışkan olduğumuzda bizimle gurur duyuyor	Ünzile
	Öğretmenin istediği etkinlik malzemeleri okula getirmek	Eda
Sınıftaki İşleyiş	Uslu durmak	Duru, Demet, Sevda, Ender, Cemal, Sultan
	Parmak kaldırarak konuşmak	Esra, Eda, Emel, Güven
	Sessiz durmak	Demet
	Öğretmeni dinlemek	Esra
	Öğretmen konuşunca ortaya atlamamak	Emel
	Öğretmen birisiyle konuşmak için dışarı çıkınca uslu durmak	Sinan
	Para bulunca müdür yardımcısına götürmek	Cezmi
	Kurallara uymak	Emel
	Akıllı olmak; bir şeyi yapmadan önce düşünmek	Güven
Temizlik	Yere çöp atmamak	Demet
	Sınıf çöprü dolduğunda boşaltmak	Yusuf
	Okulu temiz tutmak	Sinan
	Sınıfı havalandırmak	Sinan
Şiddet	Kavga etmemek	Cemal
	Birisine vurmamak	Cemal
Etik	Arkadaşlarımıza iyilik yapmak	Kadir, Leyla, Hatice, Hüseyin, Fatma, Cengiz, Ayşe
	Saygılı olmak	Duru
	Dürüst olma, düzgün olmak	Toprak

Tablo 15

ÖDÜL	DAVRANIŞ
Kartondan yıldız kesip verme	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Ödevlerimizi yapınca (Kadir, Leyla, Hatice, Eda, Nazlı, Cezmi, Hüseyin, Cengiz, Cemal, Toprak, Dudu)• Arkadaşlarımıza iyilik yaptığımız zaman.(Diyelim bir arkadaşımızın oturacak yeri yok, onu yanımıza alıyoruz.Mesela, arkadaşımızın parası yok, ona diğer arkadaşımız yemek verdiğinde) (Kadir, Leyla, Hatice, Hüseyin, Fatma, Cengiz, Ayşe)• Uslu duranlara (Duru, Demet, Sevda, Ender, Cemal, Sultan)• Tahtada soru çözenlere veriyor Kadir, Duru, Güven, Kemal• Soru çözenlere Nehir, Mehmet• Öğretmenin istediği etkinlik malzemeleri okula getirince Eda• Derse katılınca Sevda• Kurallara uyunca Emel
Yiyecek (dondurma, halley, çikolata, şeker, kek) vermek	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Tahtaya çıkıp soruları yapınca (Ünzile, Duru)• Uslu durunca (Ender, Duru)• Kurallara uyunca (Emel)• Derslerimize çalışınca (Esra)• Öğretmeni dinleyince (Esra)• Saygılı olursak (Duru)
Beden dersine çıkarmak	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Okulu temiz tutarsak (Sinan)• Sınıfı havalandırırsak (Sinan)• Sessiz olursak (Hüseyin)• Büyüklere saygısız olmamak (Esin)• Yere çöp atmamak (Esin)• Öğretmenin dediklerini hep yapmak (Esin)• Sınıfın mis gibi kokması (Esin)
Kitap armağan etme	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Kurallara uyunca (Çok yaramazlık yapanlar kendini toparlayınca) (Sevda)

F: Quotes in Turkish

F1

3 katlı bir binamız var, bina fiziksel imkanlar açısından çok problemlili değil, yeni yapılmış. Devletin yaptığı standartlarda iyi denilebilecek bir okul binasına sahibiz. Onun dışında bahçemiz de gayet uygun, hani pek çok okulun sahip olmadığı geniş bir bahçeye sahibiz. Onun dışında okulun genel çevresi hakkında biraz bilgi versem bize, hani böyle sosyokültürel imkanlar yönünden birazcık, yani okulun sosyokültürel çevresi birazcık burası kenar mahalle okulu ve öyle olmaya da devam edecek, biraz mahkûm bırakılıyor. Bizler alt bölgedeki yerleşime hitap ediyoruz, o öyle devam edecek. Çünkü bu taraf çok göç alan bir yer, göçle gelen insanlar da işsiz, çalışma amaçlı gelmiş insanlar, bir de Roman Mahallemiz var, sürekli mevsimlik işçi olarak çalışıyorlar, oradan oraya taşınıyor, nakil alıyorlar ya da mesela ailenin köy kökeni var. Fındık işi ya da bahar işleri olduğunda gidiyorlar köye, çocuklar 3-4 ay burada okuyor, geri kalan sene başında ve sene sonunda köyde okuyanlar falan var. O da tabii eğitim öğretim ortamını etkiliyor bayağı, hani elle tutulur böyle esnaf, öğretmen, şöyle o tarz velilerimiz yok hiç, okul aile birliğine zor eleman buluyoruz, öyle bir sosyokültürel çevreye hitap ediyoruz maalesef, ama keyifli de bir yer, çok da öğretmenlik anlamında zor bir yer değil diye düşünüyorum.

F2

Velilerimizi, bu bölgede şu var: Hani öğrenciyi bahane edip bir şey göndermemesini engellemek için, her şeye göz yumuyoruz gibi bir şey oluyor. Diyor ki, benim çocuğum problemlili, ben burada durmazsam çocuğum okulda durmuyor. Eyvallah, her şeye açık, ama şunu yapıyorlar: Mesela, yiyecek yiyorlar, bahçeye çöpünü bırakıyorlar, bebek bezi topluyoruz, bebeğiyle geliyor mesela, orada altını değiştiriyor, bebek bezini orada bırakıp gidiyor. Hani bunun çocuğuna siz okulda çok fazla bir şey yapamıyorsunuz görgüsü o olduğu için çocuğun, annesiyle orada oturuyor mesela, her şeylerini yiyip bırakabiliyorlar. Uyarıyorsunuz, bazı yerlerde ilerleme böyle çok milim milimdir, burası da birazcık öyle bir yer.

F3

Bu sene ben bu şekilde olmasını istedim, çünkü süt iznim olacağı için boş derslerime denk gelmesi için. Çünkü 1 olsaydı bana çok zor olacaktı bu yıl, böyle olmasını istedim, ama tabii zor da bir süreç oldu.

F4

Çok ciddi devam sorunumuz var. Şöyle, bazıları imkansızlıklardan, mesela bu araka diyorlar, bezelye toplama işi çıktı geçen haftalarda, aile burada olmuyor. Anne çocuğu da götürmek zorunda, bir aylığına bir yere çalışmaya gidiyorlar mesela, izin yoluyla gidiliyor. Çocuğun akademik başarısı, yani okulda sadece bulunmuş olması

yetiyor onlar için, hani çocuğum benim okusun, bir başarı göstereyim, bir yerlere gelsin gibi bir kaygıları yok. Mecburuz, okutacağız, ne kadar gün çalabilirsek o kadar kâr diye düşünüyorlar. Burada resmen benden ay şu kadar göndermesen ne olur diye yalvaran insanlar var. Öyle olunca da haliyle okul başarısı oldukça düşüyor maalesef.... benim en çok takıldığım mesele küfürlü konuşma, çocukların günlük dili bu olmuş. En çok ihlal edilen kural anlamında ben küfür olayını çok böyle takılıyorum, çünkü diğer öğrencilere kötü örnek olmak gibi şey de var. Onun dışında küfürden başka temizlik çok ciddi problem oluyor toplu yaşanan bir yerde olduğumuz için özellikle lavabo kullanım yönünde çocuklar çok kıtlar. Tuvaletlerin tıkanması, çok sık yaşıyoruz onu, hani bir hizmetimiz açıyor, boruları yeniliyoruz falan, inanılmaz, kitabını, her şeyini atmış.

F5

Hani ben de bazen mesela şimdi diğerleriyle birlikte oturtmak istiyorum, ama onlar istemiyorlar çocuklar, bir de aileleri de belki de haklı olarak istemiyorlar. Çünkü gerçekten bir temizlik problemi var, yaşanıyor. Kendi içlerinde oturtuyorum, bazen hep aynı sıraya denk geliyorlar. O zaman sanki sınıfta bir ayırım, hani onu gözlemliyorum aslında, ama çok da ona şey yapamıyorum, kurtaramıyorum ondan sınıfı o ayırım durumundan. Veli oturmasını istemiyorum diye söylüyorlar onunla. Artık zaten hani oturtmuyorum ben, çünkü bu problem olduğu için artık böyle kendi o mahalleden olanlarla yan yana oturtuyorum onları.

F6

Sınıfta uyulması gereken kurallar işte sınıfımızı temiz tutmak, arkadaşlarımızın, öğretmenimizin sözünü kesmeden dinlemek, araç gereçlerimizi düzenli kullanmak, zarar vermemek, çok fazla bir kural da yok. Çözüm hani, kural sayısı fazla olunca uymak da güç oluyor, o yüzden daha az kural koyup, hani hepsinin uygulanmasını sağlamayı amaçlıyoruz, ama tabii sıkıntı oluyor. Bütün öğrenciler kurallara aynı şekilde uymuyorlar ve derslere geç kalmamak, zamanında gelmek, kurallarımız bunlar.

F7

Birinci sınıftan almış olsaydım o zaman kurallar belki daha net oturmuş olurdu. Çünkü bir önceki sınıfta ben 1'den 4'e kadar okutmuştum, daha farklıydı. Hani o kurallar üzerinden daha çok konuşup, böyle netleştiriyorduk, ama bu sene hani bu sınıfı 4'te aldığım için işte öğrencileri tanımak, o geçen süre filan açıkçası sınıf kurallarının üzerinde çok fazla böyle yoğunlaşmış durmadık da yani, ama uyulmasını istediğimiz belli şeyleri sadece zaman zaman üzerinde durmaya çalışıyorum. Dediğim gibi başka okullarda mesela nasıldır bu durum, onu da bilemiyorum, ama bu okulda kural oturtmak da zor bir şey. Çünkü böyle ailesinde de kurallarla büyümüş çocuklar değil. Her şeyi vaktinde yapan öğrenciler değil mesela.

1'den itibaren daha iyi çocuęu tanıyorsun, neyi istedięini, neyi anlatmak istedięini daha iyi bildięim için daha farklı oluyordu. Bunu bu sene anladım.

F8

Yani çocuęun yařam tarzında kural diye bir řey yok. Mesela, bir mahallemiz var, hani Roman Mahallesi diye bahsediyorum ya, mesela çocuk tamamen sokakta hi kural olmadan yařayan, istedięini konuřabilen, istedięi řekilde davranabilen bir ailede yetiřmiř. Haliyle okula geldięinde bu çocuęa birtakım kuralları benimsetmek gayet zor oluyor. Bırak onu mesela kural benimsetmeyi getim, normal gnlk hayatında kural yok çocuęun, mesela yařantıyla ilgili en basit temizlik kuralları, elini yıkamak, lavaboyu dzenli kullanmak, lavabolarımız tıkanıyor srekli, ayran řiřeleri, pet řiřeleri byle iine atıyorlar, o kadar ok sıkıntı var ki o anlamda. Bu çocuęun suu mu? Hayır, birinci sınıfa geliyor, ocuk evde de bunu yapmıř. Belki de mesela hi tuvalet yok, tuvalet alışkanlıęı da yok ocukta.

F9

Dalga geenler var aslında, bu hani Gkkuřaęı Mahallesinden gelen birkaç kiři dalga geiyor onlar Esin'le... Sevdalar, ingene kkenli olanlar. Esin, evet, o problemine raęmen byle hi o sıkıntısı yok yani, genel olarak da evet, dalga geilmiyor. Hatta Yusuf, Cezmi ok kızıyorlar onunla eęer biri dalga geerse hemen onu savunurlar hani Esin'e biri bir řey syledięi zaman. Esin'i ok seviyorlar, ama geiyorlar o mahalleden olanlar genelde.

F10

....onu grnce zaten ben řey oldum, okuldan soęudum ben, ondan sonra o bana kt davranıyor gibi geldi, ayrımcılık yapıyor gibi geldi ilk bařtan bana. Biz Romanız diye, nasıl desem, Gacı diyoruz, onlara ayrımcılık yapıyor gibi geldi. Onlarla biz kendi aramızda kızlarla konuřuyorduk ...yani ęretmenimiz ayrımcılık yapıyor diye dřnyorduk. ęretmenimiz bize kt de davranıyordu, daha sonra alıřınca biz de ona alıřtık. Bize mi yle geliyordu, bilmiyorum artık, ben derslere meraklı olunca sonra sonra bize iyi mi davranmaya bařladı. Bazıları Tahsin diye bir ocuk, Ceylan, Fatma, Kemal ęretmen derslerde soęuk durduęu iin kitap getiriyor, kitaplarını bile amıyorlar, o yzden. Gacı diyoruz, kız olanlara gacı diyoruz, erkek olanlara Gaco diyoruz. Yani biz kadınlara da, kızlara da Gacı diyoruz, erkeklere de, adamlara da Gaco diyoruz. yle ayırıyoruz, ama biz kendi aramızda konuřuyoruz tabii Romanlar olarak biz Romanca bildięimiz iin.

F11

Mesela ben baktım dosyaya, bir baktım, Ceylan yazıyor. Bu Ceylan'ın yazısı değil dedim, gittim onu sildim böyle yaptım Ceylan' la denkleştirdim, değil bu yazı, gittim ondan sonra öğretmenim masasına koydum. Kim bilir kim yazdı ... ama öğretmenim inanmaz işte ona. Hem de nasıl sessiz, hep derste de böyle sessiz durur. Ders olsun mesela, matematik dersi, onlara elini kaldırır. Hani böyle şeylerde, resim dersinde boş boş oturuyor böyle, yani hiç kimseye böyle olmuyor.

F12

Siz pislikler, mikroplar, Romanlar diyorlar. Bazen böyle çok üzülüyorum, ağlayacak duruma geliyorum. Cezmi de demişti mesela, ben ağladım gittim, öğretmene söyledim. Bıktım artık öğretmenim, hep bize Roman, Çingene diyorlar dedim.... Öğretmen de bağırdı ondan sonra, ben arada sırada söylüyorum, öğretmen de bu sefer bize bağıyor, şey etmiyor... Mesela, onları çok seviyor öğretmenim, belki bizi sevmiyor bu dedim, pisiz, bizi mikrop nereden görüyor bizi bu dedim.... Böyle herkes sınıfta ses yapıyor ya, o da bizi görüyor. Ondan sonra bize diyor ki, susun be mikroplar sizi, Rıza mikrop, Nehir mikrop diyor. Benim de gücüme gidiyor. Artık neredeyse böyle söyleyecektim, öğretmenim sen bizi nereden görüyorsun, banyo yaparken görüyor musun üstümüzü, başımızı diyecektim, bıraktım. Olsun dedim, büyüklük onda kalsın dedim. Gene bir şey söylemedim, kızdım yine. Arada sırada geliyor, çağırıyor beni, canım filan diyor bana, bazen seviyor, bazen ama onlara gülerken o bana kızgın bakıyor, kızgın bakarken gülüyor bana hane anneme söylerim diye onu. Ben biraz öğretmene güler yüz göstermiyorum, hani güler yüz göstersem hepten üstüne gelecek o benim bağırarak, ben de ondan sonra güler yüz göstermiyorum. Bana öyle bağırınca ben anneme giderim, söylerim.... Annem geliyor mesela, bağıyor öğretmenlere, geçende öğretmen beni merdivenlerden itmişti, annem geldi, bağırdı ona, az kalsın düşüyordum ben, arkadaşım tuttu beni de... Ondan sonra onlar bize pis diyor, hani onları bir gün evime götüreceğim, evimi görsünler, evim tertemiz, parfümler öyle dizili, makyajları, dolap öyle tertemiz, her yerimiz, hani onlar bize pis diyor ya, bir gün toplayacağım onları, bizim eve götüreceğim. Bakalım ne yapacaklar? Biz öyle pis duramayız.... Mesela, Kemal diye çocuk var. Diyorum ki ben ona, bak Kemal, bunlar bize mikrop diyorlar. Ben de ona diyorum ki, çıkışta dövelim şunları. Hani böyle kafam bozuluyor mikrop, pislik diyorlar ya, mesela şununla iyi oluyorum, o benim arama giriyor, onunla konuşma diyor, o pislik diyor, iğrenç Roman diyor. Ondan sonra o benimle konuşmuyor, ben de tek kalıyorum okulda, sonra gidiyorum söylüyorum onlara, arkadaşlarla toplanıyoruz, biz de bağıyoruz, ondan sonra bize bir şey yapamıyor. Bu sınıfta herkes bizden korkuyor... Öğretmene söylüyorlar, öğretmen de bize bağıyor bu sefer, ben de aldırış etmiyorum, dönüyorum, böyle yapıyorum (kafasını çevirdiğini gösteriyor). Ondan sonra öğretmen çağırıyor beni yanına, sarılıyor bana, hani güler yüz gösterirsem daha çok bağırarak bana, ben de böyle yapmıyorum, işte takmıyorum onu, ondan sonra beni çağırıyor, seviyor filan, ben ona güler yüz gösterdiğimde, sevdiğimde onu bana kötü davranıyor. Hani bu diyor ki, iyi annesine söylemez beni filan diyor.

F13

Okuldan korktum, işte gitmeyeceğim filan dedim. Korkuyordum, okulda çok sesler vardı. Ondan sonra Müdür Beye gittik, korkma kızım dedi, bak ne güzel bahçemiz var, çocuklar oynuyor, arkadaşların olacak dedi. İyi Müdürüm, ben de yazılacağım o zaman dedim. Burada temiz şey öğreniyoruz, terbiyeli şeyler öğreniyoruz mesela.

F14

Kavga ettikleri zaman çok kızıyorum, eğer zarar verdiyse, tartışmaları dışında ona tepki veriyorum, eğer yalan söylerlerse hani onlara daha çok kızıyorum, sinirleniyorum, tepki veriyorum... Aslında ceza olarak bazen bekletme oluyor, ayakta bekleyebiliyor, öyle bir tepki veriyorum. Ailesini, annesini çağırıyorum mesela görüşmek için, bazıları ondan epeyce korkuyorlar olumsuz bir şey söyleyeceğimi düşünüp, o şekilde. İşte bu tarz mesela dalga geçme konularında gerçekten çok sinirleniyorum, söylüyorum ve bazen hatta böyle hani nasıl diyeyim, o da herkesin canı yansın diye şey bile yaptığım oluyor, tahtaya çıkarıp hani gülün ona falan gibi böyle anlasın diye. Bazıları çünkü gerçekten sadece bir daha yapma gibi şeyle anlamıyorlar, öyle olduğu zaman zor duruma düştüğü zaman anlayabiliyorlar. Öyle de yaptığım oluyor, işe yaradığını görüyorum bazılarında, her çocuk onu kaldıramayabilir belki, hani her öğrenciye bu uygulanmaz, ama bazıları bunu yapıldığı zaman hani böyle dikkat ediyorlar tavırlarına, hareketlerine.

REFERENCES

- Akbulut, E. (2011). *İlköğretim okullarında örtük program faaliyetlerinin saptanması*. Unpublished master's thesis, İnönü University, Malatya, Turkey.
- Akgün, E. (2014). A study on morning routines in preschool education: The case of France. *Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 10(24).
- Aktay, Y. (2007). Pierre Bourdieu ve bir Maxwell Cini olarak okul. In G. Çeyin et al. (Eds.), *Ocak ve zanaat, Pierre Bourdieu derlemesi* (pp. 473-498). İletişim Yayınları. İstanbul.
- Althusser, L.(2010). *Devletin idelojik aygıtları*(4th ed.). İthaki Yayınları, İstanbul. (Original work published 1995: *Ideological apparatus of the state*).
- Anyon, J. (1980), Social class and the hidden curriculum of work, *Journal of Education*, 162, 67-92.
- Anyon J. (1981) Social class and school knowledge. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 11, 3-42.
- Apple, M. W. (1971). The hidden curriculum and the nature of conflict. *Interchange*, 2(4), 27-40.
- Apple, M. W. (1995). *Education and power* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Apple, M. W. (2004). *Ideology and curriculum* (3rd ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Başar, M.(2011) *Sınıf İçi İstenmeyen Öğrenci Davranışlarının Yönetiminde Örtük Program (Uşak İli Örneği)*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Marmara University, İstanbul, Turkey.
- Bates, R. J. (1982). Towards a Critical Practice of Educational Administration. <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED219839.pdf>
- Bernstein, Basil (1971). On the classification and framing of educational knowledge. In Michael F. D. Young (Ed.), *Knowledge and control* (pp. 47-69). London: Collier-Macmillan.
- Bernstein B. (2003) *Class, Codes and Control: Towards a Theory of Educational Transmission*, vol. 3. London: Routledge. (Original work published 1975).

- Boostrom, R. (2010). Philip W. Jackson. *Encyclopedia of curriculum studies* (Vol. 1, pp. 503-504). C. Kridel (Ed.). Sage.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The Forms of Capital. In J.G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology Education* (pp. 105-118). Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Bourdieu, P. (1998). *Practical reason: On the theory of action*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Carneiro, P., & Heckman, J. J. (2002). The Evidence on Credit Constraints in Post-Secondary Schooling. *The Economic Journal*, 112(482), 705-734.
- Çayır, K. (2012). Gruplararası ilişkiler bağlamında ayrımcılık. In K. Çayır & M. A. Ceyhan (Eds.), *Ayrımcılık Çok Boyutlu Yaklaşımlar* (pp. 5-16). İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul.
- Demirtaş-Madran, H. A. (2012). Temel beklenti etkisi: Kendini gerçekleştirirken kehanet. In K. Çayır & M. A. Ceyhan (Eds.), *Ayrımcılık Çok Boyutlu Yaklaşımlar* (pp. 29-40). İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul.
- Eskicumalı, A. (2002). Okul Bilgisinin Dağıtılması ve Eğitimde Gruplama. *Kuram ve Uygulamada Eğitim Yönetimi*, 29, 47 – 68.
- Fidan, M. (2013). *Ortaokullarda Bilişim Teknolojileri dersinde Örtük Programın Varlığına İlişkin Öğretmen Görüşleri: Bolu İli Örneği*. Unpublished master thesis, Abant İzzet Baysal University, Bolu, Turkey.
- Freire, R (2000). *Pedagogy of the oppressed (30th anniversary edition)*. New York: Continuum. (Original work published 1970).
- Gatto, J. T. (2005). *Dumbing us down: The hidden curriculum of compulsory schooling*. Gabriola Island, BC: New Society.
- Giddens, A. 2006. *Sociology* (5th ed.). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giroux, H.A. (2001). *Theory and resistance in education: Towards a pedagogy for the opposition*. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.
- Giroux, H. A., & Penna, A. N. (1979). Social education in the classroom: The dynamics of the hidden curriculum. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 7(1), 21-42.

- Glesne, C. (2010). *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction*. (4th ed.). Boston: Pearson.
- Gordon, D. (1982). The concept of the hidden curriculum. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 16(2), 187-198.
- Göregenli, M. (2012). Temel kavramlar: Önyargı, kalıpyargı ve ayrımcılık. In K.Çayır & M. A. Ceyhan (Eds.), *Ayrımcılık Çok Boyutlu Yaklaşımlar* (pp. 17-28). İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul.
- Hardee, S.C.(2010). Reproduction Theory. In C. Kridel (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of curriculum studies* (Vol. 1, pp. 742-744). Sage.
- Hemmings, A. (2000). The hidden corridor curriculum. *The High School Journal*, 83(2), 1-10.
- Hern, M. (2008). *Alternatif eğitim: hayatımızın okulsuzlaştırılması*. In M. Hern (Ed.), İstanbul: Kalkedon Yayınları.
- Horn, R. A. (2003). Developing a critical awareness of the hidden curriculum through media literacy. *The Clearing House*, 76 (6), 298-300.
- Hubbard, B. (2010). *Manifestations of hidden curriculum in a community college online opticianry program: An ecological approach*. Doctoral dissertation, University of South Florida.
- Jackson, P. W. (1966). The student's world. *The Elementary School Journal*, 345-357.
- Jackson, P. W. (1968) *Life in classroom*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Keddie, N.(1971). Classroom knowledge. In Michael F. D. Young (Ed.), *Knowledge and control* (pp.133-160). London: Collier-Macmillan.
- Keskin, R. (2009). *Sınıf öğretmenlerinin sınıf yönetimi ve istenmeyen öğrenci davranışlarıyla baş etmede kullandıkları yöntemlere ilişkin görüşlerinin belirlenmesi*. Unpublished master thesis, Yeditepe University, İstanbul, Turkey.

- Köse, M. R.(2001) Basil Bernstein: Kültürel üretim ve yeniden üretim sürecinde eğitim, dil ve dil biçimsel farklılıklar üzerine. *ODTÜ Gelişme Dergisi*, 28(3-4).
- Lynch, K. (1989). *The Hidden Curriculum: reproduction in education, a reappraisal*. London: Falmer Press.
- Margolis, E., Soldatenko, M, Acker, S., & Gair, M. (2001). Peekaboo: Hiding and outing the curriculum. In E. Margolis (Ed.), *The hidden curriculum in higher education* (pp. 1-20). New York: Routledge.
- Marsh, C. J. (1997). *Key concepts for understanding curriculum*. London: The Falmer Press.
- Marsh, C. (2004). *Key concepts for understanding curriculum* (3rd ed.). London: RoutledgeFalmer.
- McLaren, P. (2003) *Life in Schools: An Introduction to Critical Pedagogy in the Foundations of Education* (4th ed.) Publisher: Allyn & Bacon.
- Mehan, H. (1992). Understanding inequality in schools: The contribution of interpretive studies. *Sociology of Education*, 65(1), 1-20.
- Oakes, J. (1982). Classroom Social Relationships: Exploring the Bowles and Gintis Hypothes. *Sociology of Education*, 55, 197-212.
- Önen, S. (2011). Çingenelerin Sosyal Haklara Erişimindeki Zorluklar: Roman ve Dom Toplulukları Karşılaştırması. *Sosyal Haklar Uluslararası Sempozyumu III*, İstanbul: Petrol-İş.
- Özer, B., Bozkurt, N., Tuncay, A. (2014). İstenmeyen Öğrenci Davranışları ve Öğretmenlerin Kullandıkları Başa Çıkma Stratejileri. *Turkish Journal of Educational Studies*, 1(2).
- Özsöz, C. (2009). *Pierre Bourdieu sosyolojisi ve simgesel şiddet*. Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Ankara.
- Portelli, John B. (1993) Exposing the hidden curriculum, *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 25:4, 343-358. doi:10.1080/0022027930250404

- Rosenthal, R. (1993). Interpersonal expectations: Some antecedents and some consequences. In P. D. Blanck (Ed.), *Interpersonal expectations: Theory, research, and applications* (pp. 3-24). Paris: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosenthal, R., & Jacobson, L. (1968). Pygmalion in the classroom. *The Urban Review*, 3(1), 16-20.
- Rubovits, P., & Maehr, M., (1973). Pygmalion black and white. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 25(2), 210-218.
- Sadık, F., & Doğanay, A. (2007). Sınıf içi istenmeyen davranışlarla ilgili öğretmen, öğrenci ve veli görüşlerinin karşılaştırılması. *Çukurova Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 16(1).
- Sarı, M. (2007). *Demokratik değerlerin kazanımı sürecinde örtük program: Düşük ve yüksek okul yaşam kalitesine sahip iki ilköğretim okulunda nitel bir çalışma*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Çukurova University, Adana, Turkey.
- Sarı, M., & Doğanay, A. (2009). İnsan onuruna saygı değerinin kazandırılmasında örtük program: Düşük ve yüksek okul yaşam kalitesine sahip iki ilköğretim okulunda nitel bir çalışma. *Kuram ve Uygulamada Eğitim Bilimleri*, 9(2), 877-940.
- Sayan, S. (2007). *Kız öğrencilerin okul yaşantılarına ilişkin nitel bir araştırma*. Unpublished master thesis, Ankara University, Ankara, Turkey.
- Sayılan, F., & Özkazanç, A. (2009). İktidar ve Direniş Bağlamında Toplumsal Cinsiyet: Bir Okul Etnografisi. *Toplum ve Bilim*, 114, 51-73.
- Sayılan, F. (2012). *Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Eğitim: Olanaklar ve Sınırlar*. Dipnot Yayınları, Ankara.
- Skelton, A. (1997). Studying hidden curricula: Developing a perspective in the light of postmodern insights. *Curriculum Studies*, 5(2), 177-193.
- Şimşek, A. (2001). Özgürlükçü öğrenme. In A. Şimşek (Ed.), *Sınıfta demokrasi* (pp. 26-52). Ankara: Eğitim Sen Yayınları, 3.

- Tan, M. (1990). Eğitim Sosyolojisinde Değişik Yaklaşımlar: İşlevci Paradigma ve Çatışmacı Paradigma. *Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Fakültesi Dergisi*, 23(2), 557-571.
- Tan, M. (1993). Eğitim Sosyolojisinde Değişik Yaklaşımlar: Yorumcu Paradigma. *Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Dergisi*, 26(1), 67-89.
- Temir, R. (2013). *M. Foucault'un Disipliner İktidar Bağlamında Gizli Müfredat ve Disiplin Üzerine Bir Araştırma: Sait Sabri Ağaoğlu Anadolu Lisesi Örneği*. Unpublished master thesis, Uşak University, Uşak, Turkey.
- Thornberg, R. (2009). The moral construction of the good pupil embedded in school rules. *Education, citizenship and social justice*, 4(3), 245-261.
- Tuncel, İ. (2008). *Duyuşsal özelliklerin gelişimi açısından örtük program*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Hacettepe University, Ankara, Turkey.
- Vallance, E. (1973 -1974). Hiding the hidden curriculum: An interpretation of language of justification in nineteenth century educational reform. *Curriculum Theory Network*, 1, 5-21.
- Wragg, E. C., & Wragg, C. M. (1998). Classroom Management Research in the United Kingdom. ERIC Document, 418 971.
- Veznedaroğlu, R. L. (2007). *Okulda ve sınıfta örtük program (Bir özel ilköğretim okulu örneği)*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ankara University, Ankara, Turkey.
- Yıldırım, A. & Şimşek, H. (2006). *Sosyal bilimlerde nitel araştırma yöntemleri* (6th ed.). Seçkin Yayınevi, Ankara.
- Yüksel, S.(2004). *Örtük program: Eğitimde saklı uygulamalar*. Nobel Yayın, Ankara.
- Yüksel, S. (2007). Örtük programın öğretmen adaylarının öğretmenlik meslek derslerine yönelik düşüncelerindeki etkisi. *Kuram ve Uygulamada Eğitim Yönetimi Dergisi*, 13(2), 321-345.

