

DIFFERENTIATING CHILDREN THROUGH EDUCATION:
SCHOOL CHOICES AND EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES OF MIDDLE-CLASS
FAMILIES IN NEOLIBERAL TIMES

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BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

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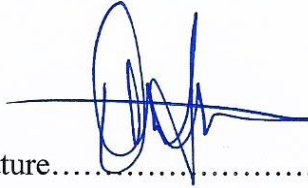
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ABSTRACT

Differentiating Children Through Education: School Choices and Educational Practices of Middle-Class Families in Neoliberal Times

This research examines school choices and educational practices of middle-class families within the context of neoliberalization. The aim is to understand the ways in which their dispositions in education contribute to the creation of class advantage, class distinctions and increasing inequalities in a society. The data was collected mainly through in-depth interviews with parents, administrators and teachers in two selective high schools –one public and one private high school–in Istanbul. The findings indicate that reproduction of the middle class on the basis of education is highly dependent on the mobilization of economic, cultural and social capital of the families with extensive efforts of mothers. Since families have a high sense of responsibility for directing children’s education in the right way and making up differentiated children, they become more responsive to market signals in trying to find the best schools and the best ways to support the academic and individual development of their children. In this process, parents’ desires, dispositions and choices are shaped by the rationality of neoliberalism and those who continuously invest in children for enhancing their economic and social well-being turn into “active, responsible, competitive and entrepreneurial” subjects. After all, since their educational strategies and practices contribute to a social boundary-making process, middle-class families continue to retain their key roles in the creation and reproduction of class-based distinctions within the context of neoliberalization.

ÖZET

Eğitim Aracılığıyla Çocukları Farklılaştırmak:

Neoliberal Zamanlarda Orta Sınıf Ailelerin Okul Tercihleri ve Eğitim Pratikleri

Bu çalışma, eğitimde neoliberalleşme bağlamında orta sınıf ailelerin okul seçimleri ve eğitim pratiklerini incelemektedir. Amaç, ailelerin eğitim alanındaki eğilimlerinin çocukları için nasıl avantaj yarattığını ve sınıfsal ayrımları artırarak sosyal eşitsizliklerin üretimine ne şekilde katkıda bulunduğunu anlamaktır. Çalışmanın verileri temel olarak İstanbul’da biri devlet, diğeri özel olmak üzere iki lisenin velileri, yöneticileri ve öğretmenleri ile yapılan derinlemesine görüşmeler aracılığı ile toplanmıştır. Araştırma sonuçları, orta sınıfın eğitim yoluyla yeniden üretiminin ailelerin ekonomik, kültürel ve sosyal sermayelerinin kullanımı ile annelerin yoğun emek harcamasına bağlı olduğunu göstermektedir. Ebeveynler, çocuklarının eğitimini en doğru şekilde yönlendirmede ve farklılaşmış orta sınıf çocuklar yaratmada büyük sorumlulukları olduğu düşüncesiyle hareket etmektedirler. Bu nedenle ailelerin bir yandan en iyi okulları bulmaya, diğer yandan çocuklarının akademik ve kişisel gelişimini desteklemeye çalışırken piyasanın çağrılarına cevap verme eğilimleri de artmaktadır. Bu süreçte istekler, eğilimler ve tercihler neoliberal akıl doğrultusunda şekillenirken, çocuklarının ekonomik ve sosyal refahını eğitim yatırımları ile sürekli artırmaya çalışan ebeveynler “aktif, sorumlu, rekabetçi ve girişimci özneler”e dönüşmektedirler. Sonuç olarak, orta sınıf ailelerin eğitim stratejileri ve pratikleri toplumsal sınır çizme sürecine katkıda bulunurken, neoliberalleşme bağlamında sınıf temelli ayrımların yaratılmasında ve yeniden üretilmesinde sahip oldukları kilit rolü de sürdürmelerini sağlamaktadır.

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For equality, justice and peace...

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“For the middle-classes it is the best of times and the worst of times; a time of affluence and risk, opportunity and congestion, celebration and anxiety. As always by definition this is a class between, a class beset with contradictions and uncertainties” (Ball, 2003a, p. 4).

Since the 1980's, global economic restructuring, together with the rise of neoliberalism as its driving ideology, policy framework and forms of governance, has exercised tremendous influence over economic, political, social and cultural structures of the societies. This restructuring has not only demanded that nation-states provide more flexible environments in which global economic processes could easily be proceeded with fewer obstacles (Morrow & Torres, 2000), but also forced them to adjust their policies to the rhythms of the new world order (Burbules & Torres, 2000).

While neoliberal policies have been cascaded, the logic of the market has diffused into different social areas that were previously directed by the logic of the social welfare, such as education, health and social security. For legitimizing the expansion of the markets or the creation of the new ones if they do not exist, neoliberals have used a specific rhetoric to prove that welfare politics are the main reasons for “the problems of waste, rigidities, lack of choice, and generally inefficiency that are the opposite of the neo-liberal imaginary” (Clarke, 2004, p. 92).

On the basis of this view, education has become one of the mostly contested terrains of this transformation in which the impact of neoliberal agenda has been

extensively observed, experienced and responded to. This is mainly because it plays a significant economic role in influencing the well-being of nations and individuals (Lauder, Brown, Dillabough & Halsey, 2006). However, since standards and aspirations for education change along with changes in the society (Lauder et al., 2006), the rise of neoliberal ideology has redefined the meaning and purpose of education, together with intensifying the struggle between nations and individuals for increasing their economic advantage by means of education. On the other hand, while education has been affected by the rise of neoliberalism, it has also become one of the most significant driving forces behind its global expansion. This results mainly from the fact that national education systems are generally recognized as key fixed social institutions that provide infrastructural support for continuous global capital accumulation, bringing about necessary social order and providing a legitimation for the system as a whole (Robertson, Bonal & Dale, 2006).

During the 1980's, having accepted increasing importance of the economic role of education, nation states began organizing their education systems to respond effectively to the demands of global neoliberalism. Similar to other examples in the world, Turkey followed the same path and, as Gök (2014) asserts, privatization in education has increased, the selective and elective character of the system has deepened and the quality of public education has decreased considerably. However, even though the first steps towards neoliberalization in education were taken in the 1980's, the main shift began when the Justice and Development Party¹ came to power in 2002. Since then, the implementation of neoliberal policies has intensified, and privatization and instrumentalization have constantly increased in different sections of the national education system (İnal & Akkaymak, 2012; Okçabol, 2013).

¹Turkish translation is Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP).

As Kurul (2012) summarizes, the main transformations have been observed as:

the commodification of education, the generation of income through PTAs [Parent-Teacher Associations], the polarization of schools, the manipulation of teacher employment, incentives for private-sector schooling, the violent competitiveness in education, the privatization of special education, the widespread proliferation of charitable giving through school channels. (p. 93)

All of these mean that both the languages of economics (İnal, 2012) and the private investment paradigm (Keskin, 2012) have gained dominance in the field. Moreover, all of these “reformist policies” have been supported by the ideology presenting neoliberal programs as the only alternative to the failure of public education (İnal, 2012).

At this point, it would be useful to have a quick glance at related statistics for providing a general framework to understand the scope of neoliberalization in education during the period of the Justice and Development Party governments. For this purpose, the academic years 2001-2002 and 2014-2015 are compared for tracking the numbers of private schools, private universities and *dershanes* (private teaching centers) in the national education statistics of the Ministry of National Education (MoNE).² First, while there were 1,100 private schools (including primary and secondary education) and 245,838 students in the academic year 2001-2002, these numbers increased to 3,919 and 651,867 respectively in the academic year 2014-2015. Second, in terms of higher education, while the first private university³ was established in 1984, there were 23 private universities at the end of 2001 and this number increased rapidly reaching to 76 in 2015 according to the Council of Higher Education.⁴ Third, there were 1,920 *dershanes* and 608,716 students in the academic

²Turkish translation is Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı (MEB).

³In Turkey, private foundations are allowed to establish universities with non-profit nature. Even, they are not called private; it is known that they have being managed on the basis of profit maximization.

⁴Turkish translation is Yüksek Öğrenim Kurumu (YÖK). The higher education system in Turkey is supervised by the YÖK.

year 2001-2002 and these numbers increased to 4,026 and 1,091,673 respectively including private etude training centers in the academic year 2014-2015.

As one of the most significant indicators of neoliberalization in education, it is obvious that the private sector has gained increasing visibility over the years. This also means that there has emerged a shift in both demand and supply sides of education (Plank & Sykes, 2003, as cited in Reay, Crozier & James 2013). On the demand side, parents have been provided more alternatives in choosing a school, university or *dershane* for their children; on the supply side, explicit or implicit competition among institutions has increased for student enrollment and revenues.

Related to this issue of choice, it is important to note that, within the political rationality of neoliberalism, “the notion of the self as chooser and consumer of commodities” (Peters, Marshall & Fitzsimons, 2000) has played a prominent role in the creation of active and individualistic neoliberal citizens. This citizen has now become defined in new terms, such as the language of freedom, enterprise, autonomy and choice rather than “as a social being whose powers and obligations were articulated in the language of social responsibilities and collective solidarities” (Miller & Rose, 2008, p. 48). In other words, in neoliberal times, the citizen has been reconceived as “an active agent primarily responsible for making a success of their own life, the self actualising citizen of choices, opportunities and self-fulfillment” (Doherty, 2009, p. 161). And the main motive behind this redefinition is related to the aim of individualizing social success or failure (Harvey, 2005).

In the field of education, even the notion of choice has become a significant tool for facilitating the creation of neoliberal parents, who are expected to take more responsibilities in shaping their children’s future by making educational investments, as Giddens explains; choice is not equally distributed among different classes

(1998), but rather bounded by the framework of opportunities and constraints of the class positions (Reay, 2004). Therefore, it is not a neutral phenomenon, but has a classed character. It has generally been accepted that choice and an ability to make choice is particularly related to middle-class identity (Reay et al., 2013). This is mainly because middle-class families possess the necessary economic, cultural and social capital to increase life chances of their children and to reproduce middle-class positions by means of education (Bourdieu, 2006). Moreover, they have the required knowledge and skills to decode and manipulate the complex and deregulated system of education (Apple, 2001). For these reasons, they have generally been placed in an advantageous position when their relationships with education are considered.

However, portraying middle-class families as the pursuers of advantage does not mean that they are free of difficulties. In neoliberal times, they have also had more contradictions and anxieties due to an increasing sense of risk and uncertainty (Ball, 2003a; Reay et al., 2013). As competition in education has increased for gaining positional advantages, making the right choices for children's education and developing new strategies for differentiation have become more significant than ever. Consequently, during the era of rapid economic, social and cultural changes, the struggle of middle-class families to provide qualified education for their children to reproduce their class positions has become more apparent. Given this rationale, the analysis of their perspectives, lived experiences, classed dispositions and practices has gained significance to understand the current competitive relationships within the field of education.

Studying middle-class relationship to education requires considering the debates around the concept of the middle class. In general, the new middle class is differentiated from the old middle class, also referred to as the industrial core middle

class (Rutz & Balkan, 2009) or the traditional middle-class (Karademir, 2009; Şimşek, 2014b; Akcan & Coşkun, 2015) in Turkey. The first one is generally defined as highly educated and qualified people who are working as white-collar employees in the private sector in the era of neoliberal economy. It is composed of individuals who are more concerned with sustaining their lifestyles through consumption. The second one is mostly associated with the period of a welfare state economy and state enterprises. However, as Karademir (2009) emphasizes, the new middle class does not imply the emergence of new class positions, but rather refers to “the formation of a demographic block that constitutes the largest part of the class structure especially in the urban centers today” (p. 13). In that respect, the definition of “new” comes from its self-reproducing settled position in the class structure (Karademir, 2009). Similarly, Rutz and Balkan (2009) define the new middle-class members who “are in competition with each other under conditions of globalizing neoliberal markets” (p. 11).

Related to the social and economic situation explained above, the main focus in this study is directed towards the members of the middle class in this demographic block who are accepted as significant actors in the field of education for their school choices and educational practices. However, while accepting the heterogeneous character of the middle class, this study does not focus on the refinement of class theory or class categories, but rather takes class practices into the core, as in the studies of Ball (2003a) and Reay et al. (2013).

1.1 Aim of the research

In the light of these propositions, this research aims to explore school choices and educational practices of middle-class families in the broader context of

neoliberalization in Turkey. The main concern is directed towards understanding how middle-class families as key subjects in social reproduction of class respond to neoliberal policies. In this way, another aim is to understand the ways in which their dispositions in education contribute to the creation of class advantage, class distinctions and increasing inequalities in society.

1.2 Research questions

In accordance with this aim, the following questions guide the research:

- How do middle-class families choose schools for their children? What factors influence their decisions?
- How do they support their children to ensure their academic success?
- What are their attitudes and preferences for enrichment activities?
- What is the gendered character of middle-class involvement in education?
- In relation to the field of education, what kinds of particular subjectivities are invoked for middle-class parents according to the governmental rationality of neoliberalism?
- What are the broader social and political implications of educational choices, practices and dispositions of middle-class families?

1.3 Theoretical framework

Throughout the study, theoretical approaches and thinking tools of two influential French intellectuals guide the inquiry, as these provide different ways of looking at the issues of neoliberalism and social class. In that respect, Foucault's notion of neoliberal governmentality and Bourdieu's notions of habitus, field and capital were chosen as the most useful concepts for exploring the engagement of middle-class

families in the field of education during an era of significant economic and social transformations occurring in neoliberal times.

1.3.1 Neoliberal governmentality

With the 1990's, through providing a different research perspective to the work of government, governmentality as a theoretical tool has gained increasing interest from scholars from different disciplines in social sciences. This has resulted mainly from their attempts to understand the period of profound changes occurring in the "uncertain present" (Dean, 1999).

In general, governmentality is a concept first developed by Foucault to understand "the art of government" and the question of the "how of governing" (Dean, 1999). Therefore, studying governmentality requires focusing on "the process of *conducting conduct*, whereby conduct means both the power of states and institutions to shape and lead individuals and the power of individuals to shape and conduct themselves and others" (Foucault, 2002, as cited in Savage, 2013, p. 86). From that perspective, studying government goes beyond state structures and focuses on diverse ways in which governmental rationalities are infused into daily lives (Binkley, 2007).

On the basis of these arguments, neoliberalism has been accepted as "a new mode of governmentality" (Read, 2009) and as "a new rationality" (Dardot & Laval, 2012) that govern the actions of people. With this new rationality, a shift has been observed in the idea of "governing through society to governing through the action of individuals" (Fejes, 2008, p. 97). The main aim here is to encourage not only institutions but also individuals to conform to the norms of the market (Larner, 2000). Thus, as Nicoll and Fejes (2008) state, it "constitutes a particular relationship

between government and the governed” (p. 13) through regulating the behaviors of the governed on the basis of supporting their freedom to choose. As Read (2009) further explains:

Neoliberalism constitutes a new mode of “governmentality,” a manner, or a mentality, in which people are governed and govern themselves. The operative terms of this governmentality are no longer rights and laws but interest, investment and competition...As a form of governmentality, neoliberalism would seem paradoxically to govern without governing; that is, in order to function its subjects must have a great deal of freedom to act—to choose between competing strategies. (pp. 5-6)

Madra and Yahya (2010) assert that neoliberalism as a form of governmentality “entails the ‘economisation’ of the social” (p. 1084). According to this new rationality, people have been expected to develop new forms of conduct for becoming active, responsible, self-governing, and entrepreneurial subjects in different social areas that have been opened to market relations. In that context, since education has become one of the most prominent areas of neoliberalization, new subjectivities have also been targeted for those who actively engaged in the field — administrators, teachers, students and parents, for example.

1.3.2 Theory of practice: Bourdieu’s notions of field, capital and habitus

In the analysis of the relationship between class and education, Bourdieu’s “theory of practice” is identified significant since it aims to analyze common trends formed by hybrid activity of socially shaped strategic, but individually constituted personal practice (Grenfell, 2008). Thus, the concepts of field, capital and habitus are central to understand the relationship between “objective structure and internalized structures” (Grenfell, 2008, 44). A field, in Bourdieu’s sense, is defined as “a social arena within which struggles or maneuvers take place over specific resources or stakes and access to them” (Jenkins, 2002, p. 84). Agents in the field use strategies

for “the preservation or improvement of their positions with respect to the defining capital of the field” (Jenkins, 2002, p. 85). In the case of the field of education, production of life chances on the basis of education is based on what families possess in terms of economic, cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu, 2006). In his own words, “economic capital is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; cultural capital which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and social capital, made up of social obligations (connections) which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility” (p. 106).

On the other hand, habitus is defined as ways of being and doing, dispositions, which are conceived as right and natural (Bourdieu, 1986, 1990). It refers to an “open system of dispositions that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structures” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 133). Since it is continually restructured by individuals on the basis of different social experiences and expectations, it not only generates a repertoire of possible actions, but also predisposes individuals towards certain ways of behaving (Reay, 2004). Accordingly, as Vincent, Rollock, Ball and Gilborn (2012) underline, “individuals can make choices, but the ‘rightness’ and the ‘naturalness’ of these choices is likely to be (‘durable’ but not ‘eternal’) circumscribed by the structural constraints that produce and define individuals” (p. 342).

1.4 Definition of terms

Since the following terms are used frequently in the research, their definitions are provided here:

Accomplishment of natural growth: It refers to a childrearing approach where parents provide only necessary conditions for children to grow rather than focusing on developing their special talents (Lareau, 2002).

Concerted cultivation: It refers to a process of fostering children's talents, skills and opinions through extra-curricular activities (Lareau, 2002).

Shadow education: It refers to educational activities occurring outside of formal schooling which are designed to enhance student's academic success (Stevenson & Baker, 1992).

1.5 Significance of the study

While exploring neoliberalization in education, it emerged that examination of state policies has always taken more attention (Gök, 2002). Although it is not possible to undermine their importance, it is also necessary to explore the ways in which choices and practices of people have contributed to this process. In other words, as Brantlinger (2003) points out, besides asking the "who benefits" question, understanding "how intentions or actions of people create social hierarchies in education system" is found equally important. Thus, with the guidance of neoliberal governmentality perspective, the main motive behind this study is directly related to the aim of exploring the process of neoliberalization in education, not only at the level of state reforms and policies, but also at the level of individuals and subjectivities. In this way, I hope to understand the ways in which neoliberal

governmentality as a specific form of rationality works through middle-class families to accomplish transformation in education.

Exploring the relationship between the middle class and education in Turkey also appears as a neglected subject of study. Except for the studies of Rutz and Balkan (2009) and Balkan and Öncü (2013), which investigate the reproduction function of education for middle-class families, there are no specific studies focusing on this relationship. Therefore, by focusing on the whole range of educational dispositions of middle-class families, including school choices, shadow education practices and enrichment activities, it is aimed to provide a deeper understanding of middle-class relationship to education.

It is also hoped that this research will contribute to the field of education by indicating how the interplay between class and education create an impact on class reproduction, class based distinctions and social inequalities within the context of neoliberalization.

1.6 Evolution of the focus of this thesis

My interest in studying the relationship between the middle class and education first started with informal talks with friends, colleagues and neighbors. Although we had only short conversations, they generally started to talk about their experiences with the education system: how they choose schools, how they prepare children for the exams, how teachers behave towards their children, how public schools are in terrible conditions, how much money they give to private schools and how much time they spend on the weekends for transporting their children to different social activities, and so on.

On the basis of our conversations and my observations, I realized that they

are very active in the field of education since they put children at the center of their lives and do not hesitate to use all their resources for the purpose of providing the best education. In that respect, I also realized that they have very similar dispositions and attitudes towards education. Thus, for the purpose of turning everyday talks into academic research, I decided to focus on school choices and educational practices of middle-class families and their broader implications for the field of education and the society within the period of rapid neoliberal transformational changes.

1.7 Organization of the research

This study consists of six chapters. In chapter one, the background, the aim of the study, the research questions, the theoretical framework, the significance of the research, the evolution of the focus of the research subject, and organization of the research are introduced. In chapter two, the related literature on neoliberalism, the neoliberal transformation of education, social class, the middle class, and the middle-class relationship to education within the context of neoliberalization are reviewed. In chapter three, research methodology is described for purposes of explaining the research design, data collection procedure and instruments, research sites, research participants and data analysis. In chapter four, the researcher's self and identity in the research is elaborated upon. In chapter five, the findings are presented and discussed. In the final chapter, the conclusion and final remarks are provided. At the end of the chapter, limitations are given and recommendations for further research are suggested.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, two main concepts are explored in order to provide a theoretical framework for the research: neoliberalism and class. In the first part of the chapter, the concept of neoliberalism is explored through taking into account different perspectives. And then, the impact of neoliberalism in the transformation of education is examined. In the second part of the chapter, the concept of class is examined with a special emphasis on the middle class. Finally, the relationship between the middle class and education in the era of neoliberalization is reviewed through related research. For each of these issues, the Turkish context is also considered in relation to class analysis and neoliberal transformation of education.

2.1 Neoliberalism as a key concept in social analysis

“It might be said about dominant policy paradigms like neoliberalism that it can be difficult to think about them when it has become so commonplace to think with them” (Peck, 2010, p. xi).

In the post-1980 period, neoliberalism has become a very popular concept in social sciences for analyzing economic, political, social and cultural transformations in the societies. Whether it is defined as “neoliberalism”, “neoliberal globalization” or “neoliberal capitalism”, it has almost become a “magic key” (Yazıcı, 2013) which “manifests itself everywhere and in everything” (Gamble, 2001, p. 134). However, as opposed to use of neoliberalism as promiscuous, omnipotent and omnipresence

concept (Clarke, 2008), we know that it is currently perceived as a more complex phenomenon (Larner, 2000). While the volume of research has increased, as Clarke (2008) puts forward, the repertoire of neoliberalism has changed over time, there have emerged variations of discourses, technologies, interventions and the effects of appropriation/articulation strategies. Springer (2012) emphasizes that the consensus on the meaning of neoliberalism has diminished. Thus, before starting to work with this concept, it is important to consider that neoliberalism is itself needed to be defined, explained and explored in concrete terms and contexts, as there are different interpretations which in turn provide different implications for the analysis (Yazıcı, 2013). However, as Springer (2012) further underlines, it is important to keep in mind that each interpretation of neoliberalism is actually connected to and is recursive of the alternative views. Therefore, a “hybridized approach” (Springer, 2012) that attempts to move beyond abstract and totalizing approach (Kingfisher & Maskovsky, 2008) is more valuable and meaningful for an understanding neoliberalism.

Historically, the idea of neoliberalism was first developed with a small group of people who came together under the name of the Mont Pelerin Society in 1947. The leading figures were Friedrich Von Hayek, Karl Popper and Milton Friedman. Their purpose was to propose a new economic and social order after World War II on the basis of economic liberalism. They perceived economic liberty as the safeguard of all freedoms. As Friedman (1955) wrote that:

I shall assume a society that takes freedom of the individual, or more realistically the family, as its ultimate objective, and seeks to further this objective by relying primarily on voluntary exchange among individuals for the organization of economic activity. In such a free private enterprise exchange economy, government's primary role is to preserve the rules of the game by enforcing contracts, preventing coercion, and keeping markets free. (as cited in Manski, 2013, p. 29)

While utmost importance was given to “individual freedom”, “free market” and “free trade”, it referred mainly to enterprising activities, autonomy and choices where each individual tries to maximize their own advantage based on a calculation of strategies, cost and benefits (Hayek, 1976; Friedman, 1982). This theory gained more respect with the Nobel prizes of Hayek in 1974 and Friedman in 1976. In the late 1970’s, together with the global capitalist crisis, neoliberal ideals found suitable conditions to flourish in different parts of the world. Neoliberalism has become almost synonymous with the market-oriented philosophy diffused by Washington Consensus agencies, like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (Peck, 2010). Since then, the process of neoliberalization has evolved globally and created enormous impacts on nation-states, societies and individuals.

Even though it was first defined as an economic theory, the theory of neoliberalism has evolved over time and there has emerged a significant shift in the literature from more structural analyses (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Peck & Tickell, 2002; Harvey, 2005) to cultural ones (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2000; Ong, 2006; Kingfisher, 2002; Kingfisher & Maskovsky, 2008). In other words, neoliberalism has increasingly been explored in relation to culture, power and subjectivities as well as analyzed in terms of economic, political and geographical transformations. Specifically, anthropological studies have contributed significantly to this shift since they have provided critical insights to understand the uneven, uncertain, fragmented and incomplete process of neoliberalization by focusing on indigenous experiences, differences and similarities, resistances and challenges in different geographical configurations (Kingfisher, 2002; Ong, 2006; Peck, 2010). As a result of this shift, neoliberalization is increasingly being portrayed as a lived phenomenon (Peck, 2010) and as a process rather than as an end-state (England & Ward, 2007; Kingfisher &

Maskovsky, 2008). Thus, there is an “actually existing neoliberalism” embedded into the context (Brenner & Theodore, 2002) and we live in “neoliberal worlds” (Peck, 2010), rather than in a single neoliberal world.

2.1.1 Neoliberalism is more than an economic theory

Peck and Tickell (2002) propose that we currently know more about institutions, places and individuals involved in neoliberalization process compared to the times of the emergence of abstract neoliberal theory of Hayek and Friedman and state-led neoliberal restructuring projects of Thatcher and Reagan. Accordingly, it is now possible to talk about a consensus in social sciences in terms of defining neoliberalism with social and political practices as well as economic transformation.

Related to this shift in the literature, in recent years, the conceptualization of neoliberalism itself has taken increasing attention of scholars (Larner, 2000; England & Ward, 2007; Clarke, 2008; Springer, 2012; Yazıcı 2013; Flew, 2014). In all of these analyses, it has been accepted that the term neoliberalism has no single definition. Moreover, neoliberalism as a theory or policy doctrine is mainly differentiated from neoliberalization as a practice or process. Related to this, within the existing literature, it is possible to identify four different but connected understandings of neoliberalism, specifically on the basis of the work of England and Ward (2007): neoliberalism as an ideological hegemonic project, neoliberalism as policy and program, neoliberalism as state form and neoliberalism as governmentality.

First, when neoliberalism is defined as an ideological hegemonic project, it is argued that there is a class-based alliance aiming to create a world where subordinated groups accept the current economic and social order as common sense

or natural. Second, when neoliberalism is conceptualized as policy and program, it refers to a change in ownership — from state/public to the private — through policies of deregulation, liberalization and privatization. In other words, there is a shift from Keynesian welfare policies towards market-oriented policies. Third, when neoliberalism is defined as state form, it refers to restructuring of nation-states in a way to redraw the boundaries between state, market and civil society. In that context, while earlier political settlements, institutions and forms of citizenship dismantle, there emerge new institutional forms, new political formations and new ways of thinking. Fourth, when neoliberalism is defined as governmentality, this means that there is a desire for the construction of autonomous and responsible subjects through governing everyday aspects of life. In that case, different technologies are used as the management of risk and security, the rise of non-governmental organizations and the economization of the calculating self. This categorization is summarized by Springer (2012), indicating that neoliberalism does not exist in isolation and can be understood as a circulating discourse in Figure 1.

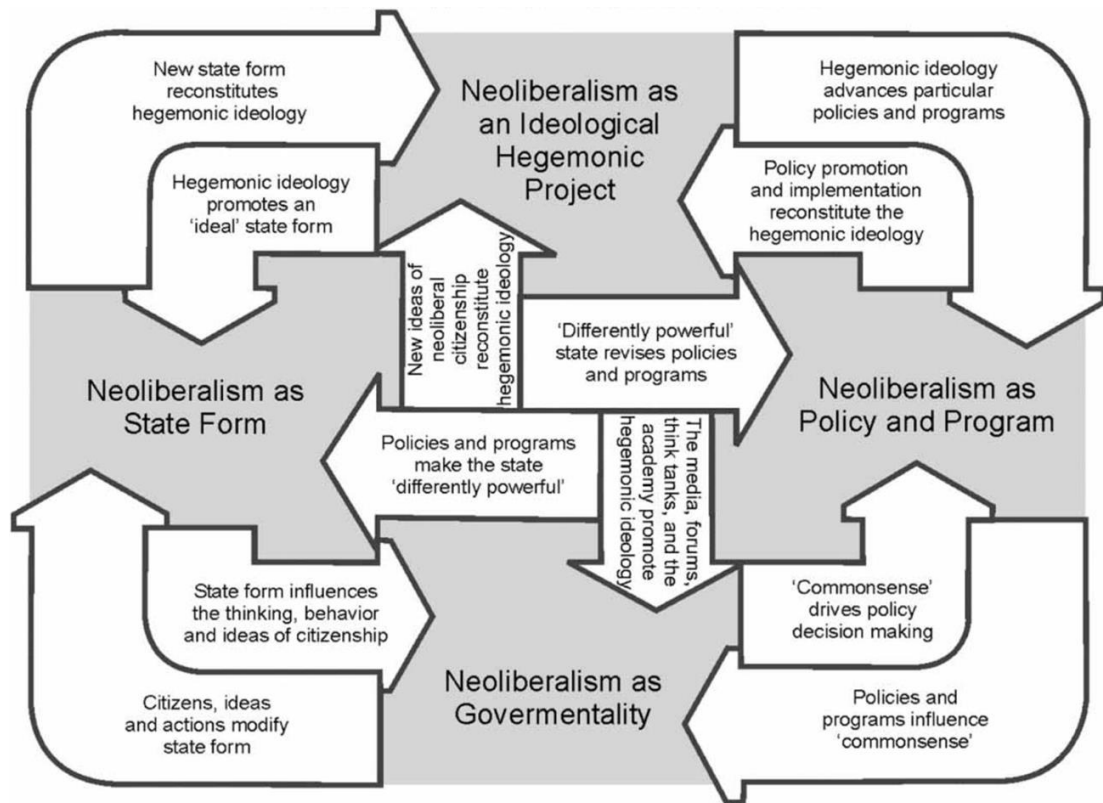


Figure 1. Neoliberalism as discourse: a circuitous understanding of neoliberalism.

Source: Springer (2012, p. 138).

As Clarke (2008) argues, the distinctiveness of neoliberalism comes from the combination and interplay of all of these perspectives, which in turn provide flexibility in appropriation/articulation of neoliberalism. I also believe that all are mutually complementary and that there are overlapping issues. It is not possible to understand the political consequences of the neoliberalization process or emergence of new subjectivities without exploring neoliberal programs and policies, which also serve as mechanisms of state restructuring.

All of these understandings are very helpful to frame my views on neoliberalism. The present research, however, is deliberately focused on Harvey's hegemony and Foucault's governmentality perspectives, as these enable us to theorize both neoliberal transformation and market-oriented subjectivity formation.

2.1.2 Neoliberalism as an ideological hegemonic project

In his well-known book, *The Brief History of Neoliberalism*, David Harvey (2005) makes a distinction between neoliberalism as an economic theory/doctrine and neoliberalization as a political project. For him, “neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices proposing that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade” (p. 2). He explains that the main achievement of neoliberalization process is related to its success in the redistribution of wealth and income through “accumulation by dispossession”, where mechanisms of commodification, marketization, privatization and financialization are used. Here, states play significant roles in terms of providing necessary legal regulations and security structures, together with securing private property rights for the proper functioning of the markets. Furthermore, if no market exists, states even create markets in the areas of land, water, education, healthcare and social security. As he claims, there is also “creative destruction” of old institutional frameworks and powers, welfare policies, division of labor, social relations and reproductive activities. Harvey (2005, 2009) further argues that the hegemonic discourse of neoliberalism influences our interpretation and understanding the world through incorporation into our common sense.

This ideological hegemonic project is related to the destruction of collective structures that are seen as obstacles to the implementation of market logic and their replacement by possessive individualism (Bourdieu, 1998). Thus, the social power of neoliberalism comes from the political and economic power of the people who have interests in the system. Similarly, Clarke (2004, 2008) perceives neoliberalism as a

political and cultural project aiming at transnational hegemony trying to make the world conform its desires and command the fields of common sense by re-making political and cultural formations, constructing political blocs and colonizing social and political institutions.

2.1.3 Neoliberalism as a new mode of governmentality

“Neoliberalism is merely the most recent development of techniques that govern human life” (Ong, 2006, p. 13).

Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of Great Britain between 1979 and 1999, is regarded as one of the main figures in the history of neoliberalism; she stated in 1987 that “... there is no such thing as society. There are individual men and women, and there are families. And no government can do anything except through people, and people must look to themselves first” (as cited in Dean, 1999, p. 151).

In this statement, she strongly emphasizes a need for a new governmental mode where welfare society ideally comes to an end and individuals are expected to turn into responsible subjects in directing their lives. Here she implicitly defines neoliberal governmentality; long before her statement, Foucault (2008) had already drawn attention to a new rationality of government called neoliberalism during the times of a shift from Keynesian welfare state towards revitalization of classic liberalism in his lessons delivered at the Collège de France in 1978-1979. Therefore, analyses of Foucault are essential for providing a comprehensive framework to understand neoliberal governmentality.

In his lectures, Foucault (2008) mainly aims to analyze the exercise of power in modern societies, the genealogy of the modern state and the process of modern

subjectivity. Starting from the ancient Greek and Roman focus on Christian pastoral guidance, continuing with the notion of state reason and the science of the police, and finally focusing on the liberal and neoliberal forms of government, he focuses on the ways in which the modern state and the modern individual codetermine each other's emergence (Lemke, 2001). In this way, he makes a link between both technologies of domination and technologies of the self and the formation of the state and the constitution of the subject.

Foucault distinguishes “the political form of government” from “the problematic of government in general” (Dean, 1999; Lemke, 2001). While in its first meaning, the question of government is identified with the state and deals with the issues of legitimacy, ideology, sovereignty; in its second meaning, it is used for any calculated direction of human conduct. In other words, it refers to the “conduct of conduct” which ranges from governing the self to governing of others. It includes self-government, heading a family, management of the household, raising children, guiding the soul, leadership of a community or business.

In relation to this definition, governmentality is seen as an effort to create governable subjects (Fimyar, 2008) through “the processes by which the conduct of a population is governed: by institutions and agencies, including the state; discourses, norms, and identities; and by self-regulation, techniques for the disciplining and care of the self” (Ferguson & Gupta, 2002, p. 989). In this respect, analyzing government means to analyze processes and practices that “try to shape, sculpt, mobilize and work through the choices, desires, aspirations, needs, wants and lifestyles of individuals and groups” (Dean, 1999, p. 12).

Before analyzing governmentality, Foucault (2008) first examines the use of disciplinary power on the individual body. In this work, since he does not yet

examine the process of subjectification, subject formation has a one-way direction. In his later works, he argues that subjects also have self-will and agency, and they take part in power relations by both reproducing and transforming them. Therefore, in relation to the analysis of power, Foucault's attention in his later works shifts from "force" to "will" (Neumann & Sending, 2010).

In the light of these propositions, neoliberal governmentality helps to understand governance as a practical activity at the level of rationalities, programs, techniques and subjectivities rather than a set of institutions and certain ideologies (Walters, 2012). Under neoliberalism, we see the rise of the "new regime of the self" (Rose, 1996) and "return of individualism" (Bourdieu, 1998). They are characterized by responsabilization, individualism, autonomy and self-regulation, where individuals are made responsible through their choices for themselves (Rose, 1996). In that sense, it is defined not only as an ideology or a political-economic reality, but also as a political project (Lemke, 2001).

From the perspective of neoliberal governmentality, neoliberalism is presented as a discourse that constitutes practices; institutions and identities whose macro processes are mediated through micro-processes of calculation, regulation, and subjectification (Barnett, Clarke, Cloke & Malpass, 2008). Since the success of neoliberalism depends on the creation of an alignment between its "objectives and the motivations and identifications of individuals" (Barnett et al., 2008, p. 3); individuals are aimed to be transformed into entrepreneurial subjects who are responsible for enhancing their own well-being (Larner, 2000, England & Ward, 2007).

This perspective makes important contributions to the analysis of neoliberalism in terms of exploring governance as a practical activity at the level of

rationalities and subjectivities (Walters, 2012). However, it is also subjected to some criticisms. Ferguson and Gupta (2002) criticize this perspective, underlining some extensions of neoliberal governmentality that remain Eurocentric and tied to the nation scale. Second, as Clarke (2004) argues, the analytical weaknesses of governmentality paradigms lie in the fact that there may not be an overlap between intention and outcome or theory and practice. Therefore, as Yazıcı (2013) explains, we have to be careful while we are in a search process of finding neoliberal subjects described in self-development discourse since subject formation is a more complicated process and may not be as consistent as the theory.

It is also important to note that anthropological studies have provided mainly new critical insights (Kingfisher, 2002; Ong, 2006). They use the concept of neoliberal governmentality for explaining “how people’s actions and thoughts are disciplined and how subjects are ‘harnessed’, ‘managed’, ‘administered’, and ‘regulated’, their self-governing induced” (Ellison, 2009, p. 83).

Among anthropologists, Kingfisher (2002) focuses on the ways in which specific types of subjectivities have been constituted through neoliberalism. She starts her analysis by looking at the definition of both personhood and non-personhood in neoliberal era. She defines neoliberalism as a cultural system and the product of certain historical and material conditions and practices. In that respect, neoliberalism is not just an idea about economics, but also a socially constructed way of understanding and looking at the world. It has a constructed, contingent and contradictory nature. She further argues that, for its continuous existence as a system, neoliberalism aims to create major institutional changes that result in the establishment of a minimalist state and define “what kinds of subjects we should be” (p. 13). In order to achieve its objectives, neoliberalism provides certain

prescriptions for individuals to inform their practices in both the public and private spheres. While a liberal, rational and independent individual is defined as a proper person, the poor, women, children and the elderly are seen as nonpersons. Since non-personhood represents dependence, immorality and irrationality, a person with these characteristics is not categorized as “normal” in a Foucauldian sense. As they do not fulfill the prescriptions of neoliberalism, these people have to be reformed or disciplined. Moreover, since they are the ones who depend on the welfare politics of the state to survive, they are required to be turned into independent subjects through the help of market mechanisms.

Another anthropologist, Ong (2006), conceptualizes neoliberalism as a technology of government which reconfigures and reorganizes the “relationship between the governing and the governed, power and knowledge, and sovereignty and territoriality” (p. 3). In that sense, neoliberalism is seen as a historical process and an active way of rationalizing governing and self-governing practices in the domain of citizenship in order to establish market-driven calculation, rationality and optimization. According to Ong, neoliberalism applies to two different optimizing technologies: technologies of subjectivity and technologies of subjection. The former depends on knowledge and expert systems in which citizens optimize their choices, competitiveness and efficiency through governing themselves and the latter depends on political strategies that regulate different segments of the populations using different spatial practices to have optimal productivity. Based on Foucault’s notion of governmentality, she argues that while neoliberalism creates new forms of inclusion for people with political benefits and economic gains, it can also exclude people who are seen as “excludable subjects”.

As a summary, in this section, in my attempt to provide a main framework for the literature on neoliberalism, I tried to present that there are different perspectives used in analyzing this complex phenomenon. And, I want to conclude this section with arguments of Clarke (2008) who well defines the current views for the process of neoliberalization:

As a composite ideological structure, neoliberalism cannot be reduced to any one of its constituent elements. The state project of neoliberalism was not constructed solely in the global North, nor exclusively in the South, but in *both*. Neoliberalism is not solely an expression of free-market libertarianism, nor is it just an outgrowth of neoconservative moral authoritarianism, but it reflects both. Neoliberalism is not only a reactionary response to fiscal and debt crises, nor it merely a handmaiden of financialization and corporate globalization, but it is both...So, neoliberalism does not, and cannot, exist in pure form, but only manifest itself in hybrid formations. (p. 140)

2.2 The impact of neoliberal ideology on the transformation of education

National education systems have undergone a period of significant transformations with the neoliberal agenda, explained in the previous section. The main theory behind this process was proposed by Friedman (1962), who is very influential in directing neoliberal ideas and policies in education:

Education is today largely paid for and almost entirely administered by governmental bodies or non-profit institutions. This situation has developed gradually and is now taken so much for granted that little explicit attention is any longer directed to the reasons for the special treatment of education even in countries that are predominantly free enterprise in organization and philosophy. The result has been an indiscriminate extension of governmental responsibility.

On the basis of this ideology, together with neoliberalization in education, the relations between state, education and individual have changed considerably. It is mainly because, as Burbules and Torres (2000) explain, national education policies have required shrinking the state sector with the rationality of “doing more with

less”, promoting market approaches to school choice, rational management of schools, testing and encouraging new educational providers to enter into the market.

Commodification, marketization and privatization have become the main drivers in this transformation. Related to the issues of commodification, Connell (2013) argues that it is not the education itself that is commodified, but rather access to it. In other words, it is claimed that if you want to create a market in education, you need to restrict the service so that you can *ration* education. In that case, what is sold “is a privilege – something that other people cannot get” (p. 105). Here, rationing itself is marketized as she asserts:

The marketing brochures of private schools, and the mass media advertizing in the case of richer schools, create an image of an orderly, disciplined, clean and uniformed little world, which the parents are invited to contrast with the undisciplined, dirty and dangerous world outside – ‘outside’ being understood to include the public schools. (Connell, 2013, p. 105)

On the other hand, as Whitty and Power (2000) propose, privatization refers to “a decline in state provision, a reduction of state subsidies and more deregulation, as well as straightforward transfer of services from the public to the private sectors” (p. 94) and marketization refers to “the development of “quasi-markets” in state funded and/or state provided services” (p. 95). On the basis of these definitions, they further argue that some aspects of marketization contribute to privatization in terms of fostering the belief that the private sector approach is superior to the public sector, requiring public sector institutions to operate more like those in the private sector and encouraging private (individual/family) decision-making.

Robertson and Dale (2013) contribute to privatization debates in education asserting that in the current context, “the private in education is overwhelmingly constituted out of market relations that in turn redefine the nature of individuals and

their relationships to each other, to education as an institution, and to society (p. 427). Therefore, privatization does not only indicate structural changes, but also refers to a new form of governmentality:

The choice/competition/markets governance framework emerged following the triumph by the moment of the politics of education with its neo-liberal principles over more 'collectivist' conceptions of the nature of society. What is being privatised here is the idea that the individual, rather than society/state, is responsible for both decisions and the outcomes of decisions; it represents the privatisation of aspirations and of the means of attaining them. In this framework, competition -between children, schools, employers, parents, and (especially private) education providers- also becomes the central driver of the system in order to deliver not only efficiencies and profits, but also organisational reputation and parental influence. (Robertson & Dale, 2013, p. 435)

On the basis of the new forms of governance in education, neoliberals have insisted that the state should not intervene in the selection process and parents have to get the right to choose among alternatives on how their children are to be educated (Lauder et al., 2006). Thus, the ideology of parentocracy has replaced the ideology of meritocracy as an indication of the beginning of the "third wave" in the history of education after the first wave of development of mass schooling and the "second wave" of a meritocratic system (Brown, 1990). As stated by Brown, in educational parentocracy, a "child's education is increasingly dependent upon the wealth and wishes of parents, rather than the ability and efforts of pupils" (p. 66) and therefore, the social basis of the organization of education is more important than the amount of education given. Within this context, the regime of choice has also gained increasing support on the basis of a premise that the individual choices of parents can provide a better mechanism for increasing performance of the schools (Ball, 2003a).

On the other hand, there has emerged "a significant shift away from an emphasis on administration and policy to an emphasis on management" (Peters et al. 2000, p. 109), which is referred to as new managerialism. Furthermore, while schools

and universities have become redefined as firms, private schools have become funded with public resources, teachers have been placed under performative pressures and the workforce in the sector has also become more insecure (Connell, 2013). Apple (2001) argues that this transformation is based on a new alliance which is combined with:

multiple fractions of capital who are committed to neo-liberal marketised solutions to educational problems, neo-conservative intellectuals who want a 'return' to higher standards and a 'common culture', authoritarian populist religious conservatives who are deeply worried about secularity and the preservation of their own traditions, and particular fractions of the professionally and managerially oriented new middle class who are committed to the ideology and techniques of accountability, measurement, and the 'new managerialism'. (p. 410)

Within this alliance, middle-class parents are portrayed as the most advantaged group, because they "are more likely to have the knowledge, skills and contacts to decode and manipulate what are increasingly complex and deregulated systems of choice and recruitment" (Apple, 2001, p. 415).

With the diffusion of neoliberal ideology, both the organization and the meaning of education have also been exposed to change. While new forms of provision and organization of educational services have been created together with the emergence of new actors in directing educational policy (Amos, 2010), education has become defined as human capital formation (Connell, 2013). Accordingly, it has been turned into a creative process oriented to the future for "forming the skills and attitudes needed by a productive workforce" (p. 104). At the end of this process, only those who are able to educate themselves according to the expectations of the complex industrial world have been able to survive according to the philosophy of "the survival of the fittest" (Lauder et al., 2006). Hence, within a broader framework of neoliberalism, while education has become linked with employability, self-worth

has been reduced to market worth, citizens have turned into consumers and social solidarity has been replaced with the self-interest of individuals (Lauder et al., 2006).

2.3 Neoliberal transformation of education in Turkey

Since the establishment of the new nation-state, Turkey has undergone a series of drastic social, political, cultural and economic changes. During this process, education was attributed significant roles in the modernization and Westernization of the new nation-state (Gök, 1999, 2002, 2007) and creation of new citizens (Sayılan & Yıldız, 2009). In relation to this, even before the declaration of the Republic in 1923, some institutional changes had been implemented in the education system. First of all, the Ministry of Education was established in 1920. After that, the *Maarif Kongresi* (National Education Congress) was held in 1921 and three *Heyet-i İlmiye* (Science Councils) were organized, the first of which was held before the declaration of the Republic in August 1923, and other two were organized in 1924 and 1925. All of them were realized for the purpose of defining the problems in education and regulating the education system (Göktürk, 2006). Then the *Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu* (the Law on the Unification of National Education) was passed in 1924 for the unification and the secularization of the system. Finally, starting from 1939, National Education Councils have been organized as the continuation of Science Councils.

While the first restructuring period in education started with the aim of replacing the Ottoman Empire's traditional system with a modern one, by applying a "public service paradigm", education was also expressed as a right in the Constitution, aiming to create good citizens (Keskin, 2012). In this period, as Gök (2002) states, the "education system was regulated, organized, controlled and financed by the government" (p. 95) where there were few private schools, and these were either

special foreign schools or minority schools. However, in the academic year 1955-1956, new schools were established under the name of *Maarif Kolejleri* (Educational Colleges). Gök (2002, 2007) describes these schools as the state's own private schools or as quasi-private schools, since for the first time in the education history of Turkey they started to admit their students on the basis of national selective exams. Furthermore, they offered privileged education for students through seven years of education (with one year of preparation for instruction in a foreign language, three years lower secondary and three years upper secondary education). In 1975, the name of these schools was changed to Anatolian high schools and one year later, it was also decided to increase their numbers. Gök (2002) underlines that although it was called public, the education provided by the state had gained an elitist character. In addition to these developments, the first steps towards privatization in education started in the mid-1960's as the number of private schools increased. In the academic year 1940-1941, there were 134 private primary schools with 14,223 students, 51 private lower secondary schools with 7,652 students and 35 private high schools with 4,501 students. On the other hand, in the academic year 1965-1966, these numbers were 164 and 25,727, 107 and 21,300, 76 and 12,687 respectively (Gök, 2002).

In the 1980's, the impact of neoliberalism further influenced this picture for the benefit of the private sector, where the second restructuring period in education started. There has emerged a shift from a public service paradigm to a private investment paradigm characterized by increasing privatization and marketization of education together with the rise of a shadow education system (Keskin, 2012). The restructuring process in the second period accelerated in the 2000's under the governments of the Justice and Development Party (İnal & Akkaymak, 2012). According to the new language, the ideology and the paradigm of neoliberalism in

education, significant changes were observed in the 2000's with the subcontracting of services to private firms, such as maintenance, transportation, cafeteria, and so on (İnal & Akkaymak, 2012), the abolishment of laws restricting religious education (İnal & Akkaymak, 2012; Okçabol, 2013), the marketization of primary and secondary school curricula (Özmen, 2012), the enactment of the Private Education Institution Law, the privatization of special education with a voucher system (Kurul, 2012), the integration of flexible employment profiles for teachers (Kurul, 2012; Okçabol, 2013; Güvercin, 2014), performance assessment of teachers (İnal & Akkaymak, 2012; Gök, 2014), the redefinition of placement exams, the introduction of the “4+4+4” system for formal education (Okçabol, 2013) and finally the development of an incentive program for supporting the development of the private sector and directing parents to private schools. Accordingly, the MoNE has announced different amounts of incentives for each student at every level of education since the academic year 2014-2015, and in the first year of implementation, 167,942 students were paid a total of 534,326,500 TL. In the next academic year, these numbers increased to 230,000 and 809,240,110 TL respectively. Tables 1 and 2 provide the yearly amount of incentives for each student at every education level, the quotas, number of accepted applications and total amount of state payment for incentives.

Table 1. MoNE Incentives for Students Who Enrolled in Private Schools in the Academic Year 2014-2015

Education Level	Academic year 2014-2015			
	Amount of incentive (Yearly-TL)	Quota for students	Numbers of accepted applications	Total Amount of Payment (TL)
Pre-primary	2,500	50,000	27,938	69,845,000
Primary	3,000	50,000	47,627	142,881,000
Lower secondary	3,500	75,000	54,908	192,178,000
Secondary	3,500	75,000	34,031	119,108,500
High school	3,000		3,438	10,314,000
TOTAL	-	250,000	167,942	534,326,500

Source: e-guide for students who are given education incentive for private schools according to the law (no. 5580) – MoNE 2014, and <http://aa.com.tr/tr/egitim/tesvikle-ozel-okula-kayitlar-yuzde-16-artti/98052> (2014).

Table 2. MoNE Incentives for Students Who Enrolled in Private Schools in the Academic Year 2015-2016

Education Level	Academic year 2015-2016			
	Amount of incentive (Yearly-TL)	Quota for students	Numbers of accepted applications	Total Amount of Payment (TL)
Pre-primary	2,680	20,000	20,000	53,600,000
Primary	3,220	50,000	50,000	161,000,000
Lower secondary	3,750	50,000	50,000	187,500,000
Secondary	3,750	110,000	99,887*	374,576,250
High school	3,220		10,113*	32,563,860
TOTAL	-	230,000	230,000	809,240,110

Source: e-guide for students who are given education incentive for private schools according to the law (no. 5580) – MoNE 2015, and MoNE press release retrieved from <http://www.meb.gov.tr/egitim-ve-ogretim-destegi-ek-yerlestirme-sonuclarina-iliskin-basin-aciklamasi/haber/9605/tr> (2015).

*Total numbers of accepted applications for secondary education and high school for 2015-2016 was 110,000 but the breakdown was not declared. Thus, 2015-2016 is assumed to be the same as 2014-2015 and the percentage for 2014-2015 was used to calculate the breakdown for 2015-2016.

It is obvious that by distributing significant amounts of incentives to students, the government has chosen to support private schools rather than using the budget for improving the education quality in public schools. In other words, the private sector in education has tried to get funding from the public budget and parents have been attracted by the incentives distributed by the MoNE. In the academic year of 2014-2015, yearly incentives for students ranged from 2,500 to 3,500 TL. However, as of September 2014, the average enrollment fee was 13,219 TL for private primary schools and 15,979 TL for high schools (Education Monitoring Report, 2014-2015). Therefore, families were still expected to pay a significant amount of money to private schools even though they received part of the fee from the state. In that context, it is not wrong to expect that incentive programs can only serve middle-class families who already possess a certain economic capital to be able to enroll their children in private schools.

While significant neoliberal restructuring policies have been implemented, the quality of public education has decreased since classes have become more crowded, educational equipment has become insufficient and there have emerged problems related to water, electricity, heat and security, and these public schools have been expected to generate their own funds to meet their needs. It is mainly because, the “budget of education is not increased proportional to the increase in need” (Kurul, 2012, p. 89) as the ratio of public expenditures on education nearly stabilized between the years of 2002 and 2012 (Özdoğan, 2013). Accordingly, with the concept of good governance, schools have turned to charity organizations, (Kurul, 2012).

The decline in the quality of public education together with the selective and exam-oriented future of the system has also increased the demand for shadow education practices (Gök, 2005; İnal, 2012; Tansel, 2013; Koşar-Altınyelken, 2013;

Ural, 2013). As emphasized by Gök (2005), central examinations coming through the restructuring process of education have become a “measuring fetishism” and deepen the pre-existing inequalities of the educational system.

For providing a general framework for shadow education practices in Turkey, it would be useful to look at the organization of the education system and central examinations. Before 1997, the compulsory education was five years, the system was organized as 5+3+3 years, with two main educational transition periods for which students entered national selection exams: the transition from primary education to secondary education and the transition from secondary education to higher education. In 1997, compulsory education increased to eight years and the system was organized as 8+3 years and then as 8+4 years in 2005. Accordingly, transition periods have been organized as from lower secondary education to upper secondary education and upper secondary education to higher education. During the time of the field research, the high school placement exam was called the Level Determination Examination⁵ and students were required to enter the exam each year at the end of the sixth, seventh and eighth grades of primary education. One year before the field study, in 2012, 1,075,533 eighth grade students entered the exam.⁶

In 2013, compulsory education increased from eight to 12 years as the system was organized as 4+4+4 years. However, this change did not affect the transition periods. Nevertheless, whatever the name or the system of transition, students have continued to enter national exams in considerable numbers in trying to win a place in the high-ranked systems of high schools and universities. While high competition among students has persisted, the demand for shadow education has also increased.

⁵The Turkish name is Seviye Belirleme Sınavı (SBS).

⁶<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/sbs-sonuclari-2012-sbs-sinav-sonuclari/gundem/gundemdetay/14.07.2012/1566954/default.htm>

Tansel (2013) argues that three main forms of shadow education practices have emerged: one-to-one private lessons delivered by university students or teachers, private tutoring offered by volunteer school teachers for a nominal pay, and *dershanes*. As the most formal and prevalent forms of shadow education, the number of *dershanes* has continued to increase since 1965, when they first gained a legal status. Ural (2012) indicates that there were 74 *dershanes* in 1965. In the academic year 2014-2015, there were 4,026 *dershanes*, including the private etude training centers. This increasing marketization in education through shadow education practices has made it difficult to talk about education rights and social equality issues in education (Gök, 2005).

With neoliberal transformation, education has become defined as a sector, schools have turned into education service providers, teachers and administrators have started to resemble to white-collar employees. On the other hand, the meaning of education has also changed. As İnal (2012) implies, within this context, the neoliberal model of individual has been promoted. For instance, through analyzing the content of post-2005 fourth- and fifth-grade textbooks, Koşar-Altınyelken and Akkaymak (2012) indicate that there is more emphasis on “individualism, welcome participation of the private sector in public services, and representing citizens as consumers, salespersons, and entrepreneurs” (p. 63). Moreover, as they argue, there has been less emphasis on working for society and more appreciation for successful individuals. Accordingly, the citizen is represented as a producer, consumer, and entrepreneur. In that respect, it is indicated that students are also directed towards production, marketing, advertising, consumption and entrepreneurship. As Kurul (2012) emphasizes, all of these transformations have gradually eliminated the possibilities of developing education on the basis of solidarity.

2.4 Class analysis

“...class is a fundamental organizer of social experience, both “objective” and “subjective” (Weis, 2008, p. 3).

With the development of modern industrial society, class has become a major concept in analyzing the systematic structures of social inequality. Since then, enormous debates have emerged around “class” in terms of its definition, conceptualization and importance. Despite post-modern claims that class has lost its explanatory power due to increasing complexities in the societies under “the death of class thesis” (Pakulski & Waters, 1996) or “the classless society” arguments (Kingston, 2000), Wright (2000) considers class as “a relevant and powerful concept, not in spite of these complexities but in part because of the way these complexities be incorporated into class analysis” (p. 27). Therefore, he argues that it is still regarded as a common explanatory factor in attempting to explore its relationship with all sorts of social phenomena.

We know that class has always been a controversial concept, since there are different definitions, usages and explanations. As a very broad generalization, it is either conceptualized as an objective position in the social stratification system or a subjective identification of people in class locations. Within the first perspective, it is defined as a phenomenon that opposed to traditional structures of inequality, based on ascribed or natural characteristics of people (Crompton, 1998). In that definition, class is a gradational concept. For the second perspective, class is defined according to lifestyles, identities, and perceptions of people and constructed through everyday experiences of people rather than being determined by predetermined categories.

According to these two different perspectives, class is either defined with “how people earn their money, how much money they have or what they do with their money” (Lareau & Conley, 2008, p. 26). The arguments of Bourdieu (1986) integrate these two perspectives, proposing that there is a false opposition between them since social agents are not only classified but are also classifiers; they classify according to their positions within classifications. In other words, classes are constructed with the actions of people depending on their positions in the social space.

In relation to these arguments, Wright (2008) proposes that there are six important general questions for which the answer is related to class analysis:

1. Distributional location: How are people objectively located in distributions of material inequality?
2. Subjectively salient groups: How do people, individually and collectively, subjectively locate themselves and others within a structure of inequality?
3. Life chances: What explain inequalities in life chances and material standards of living?
4. Antagonisms and conflicts: What cleavages in society systematically generate overt antagonisms and conflicts?
5. Historical variation: How should we characterize and explain the variations across history in the social organizations of inequalities?
6. Emancipation: What sorts of transformations are needed to eliminate oppression and exploitation within capitalist societies? (p. 330)

After this general introduction to the concept of class, it would be helpful to explore main theories on class.

2.4.1 Theories of class

As it is not possible to go over the entire corpus of class theories, for the purposes of this study, I try only to provide a general framework before going into discussions on the middle class.

As is well known, Marx and Weber are historically considered the founders of class theory and analysis. According to Pakulski and Waters (1996), class theory begins with Marx and class analysis begins with Weber. In Marxist theory, classes determine the entire topography of society and class conflict is seen as the major motor of historical change (Crompton, 1998). In Marxist theory, class is defined in relation to the means of production, and in Weberian analysis, in relation to market capacities. Even though there are differences between these two perspectives, as Wright (2000) puts forward, it is misleading to view them as polar opposites since both of them put “the control over economic resources” at the center of their analysis.

In the Marxist tradition, class analysis depends on the examination of the social relations of production where classes are defined according to their distinctive relationship to the means of production. Throughout history, social inequalities have existed; however, as written in *The Communist Manifesto*, new contradictions of oppression and new forms of struggles have emerged with the establishment of modern capitalist society. In capitalist societies, there is a capitalist class that owns the means of production and that purchases the labor power of the working class, who do not possess a means of production and therefore sell their labor power. There is also the petty bourgeoisie, who neither sell their labor power, nor purchase the labor power of others (they may purchase in a very limited way). In this class structure, antagonistic relations emerge between two great hostile classes: capitalists and workers. In other words, class struggles are portrayed as a battle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Accordingly, the most distinguishing characteristics of the Marxist conceptualization of class are related to the concept of “exploitation”.

In a Marxist analysis, class consciousness has an important place, since it makes a connection between class and collective action. According to Marx, if a

group has an awareness of sharing common interests, then there is the possibility of taking collective action. Accordingly, he defines two different situations for class: *class in itself* and *class for itself*. In the first case, class refers to formal definition of social positions and the second refers to a group of people who share common interests.

Weber differs from Marx in terms of his differentiation of economic, social and political aspects of the stratification system where he distinctively defines class, status and party. For Weber, class refers to an objective dimension and status refers to a subjective dimension of stratification. In Weber's own words, "classes are stratified according to their relationship to the production and acquisition of goods, whereas status groups are stratified according to the principles of their consumption of goods as represented by special styles of life" (Weber, 1978, p. 937). Accordingly, class is more related to how people produce and earn money, while status is more concerned with how people consume.

Rather than analyzing the concept of class with purely economic terms, Weber introduces the concept of "social class" by focusing on the class situations that are differentiated according to the kind of property and the kinds of services that can be offered in the market (1948). For Weber, class does not refer to communities, but a group of people who have common life chances. Because, "the kind of chance in the market is the decisive moment which presents a common condition for the individual's fate, class situation is ultimately market situation" (Weber, 1948, p. 182). Based on this proposition, three different class situations are defined: "property class", determined by property differences; "commercial class", determined by the marketability of goods and services; and "social class", formed by these class situations in which individual and generational mobility is easy and

typical. In his class analysis, each particular class situation is constituted by the various controls over consumer goods, means of production, assets, resources and skills.

In Weberian class analysis, there are four different types of social classes: the working class, the petty bourgeoisie, a class of propertyless intelligentsia and specialists (technicians, various kinds of white-collar employees, civil servants), and the classes which are privileged through property and education. As summarized by Wright (2000), “the kind and quantity of resources you own affects your opportunities for income in market exchanges” (p. 29). Since access to market-derived income affects life experiences and opportunities, life chances of children are also based on their parents’ market capacities.

Weber’s ideas on class solidarity, class interest, and class consciousness also differ from those of Marx, as he believes that class is not a cohesive and self-conscious community, and class interests are less binding than Marx thinks. Furthermore, there are no strong bonds between class members and, as opposed to what Marx expects, the possibility of collective action is limited.

After Marx and Weber, class theorists formed a more complicated class structure by adding new divisions. Kingston (2000) provides an analysis of the works of prominent neo-Marxists and neo-Weberians. Although they differ from each other on the basis of their class divisions, in the most simplified framework, they all refer to three main classes: the upper class, the middle class and the working class. Accordingly, at the top of the class structure, there is the upper class/bourgeoisie/capitalist class/service class distinguished from other classes in terms of ownership and/or high-level positions. Below this class, people who are in white-collar positions or petty bourgeoisie are generally portrayed as the middle

class. It is further categorized as upper or lower on the basis of the levels of skills, credentials and levels of income. Below the middle class, the working class is defined by blue-collar positions. In neo-Weberian analyses, underclass/lower class distinction has also been added. In Table 3, Neo-Marxist class analysis in Table 4 and neo-Weberian class analyses are provided on the basis of the work of Kingston (2000).

Table 3. Class Maps for Neo-Marxist Class Analysis

Class Theorists	Class Divisions	Relation to Occupation/Property Categories	Est. Size (%)	Conceptual Basis
Poulantzas (1975)	Bourgeoisie	Owners, upper and middle managers	6	Groupings of social agents in the productive process, but also by political and ideological considerations
	Traditional Bourgeoisie	Small owners	14	
	New Petty Bourgeoisie	All other white-collar and “unproductive” workers	53	
	Working Class	Blue-collar (material “productive” work)	27	
Wright (1985)	(a) Capitalist	Owners distinguished by size	1.8	Location determined by relations of exploitation – i.e., ownership- and secondarily by expertise (education) and organizational assets (authority)
	(b) Small Employer		6	
	(c) Petty Bourgeoisie		6.8	
	(d) Expert Manager	Managers and professionals with varying levels of education and authority	5.5	
	(e) Expert Supervisor		3.1	
	(f) Expert (Non-manager)		2.9	
	(g) Skilled Manager		3.7	
	(h) Skilled Supervisor		6.3	
	(i) Skilled Worker		13.1	
	(j) Non-skilled Manager		2.8	
	(k) Non-skilled Supervisor		4.2	
	(l) Non-skilled Worker	Low level office of workers (no authority or expertise), blue-collar workers)	40.6	

Source: Kingston (2000).

Table 4. Class Maps for Neo-Weberian Class Analysis

Class Theorists	Class Divisions	Relation to Occupation/Property Categories	Est. Size (%)	Conceptual Basis
Giddens (1973)	Upper	Large property owners/top executives	1	Shared market capacity shaped by ownership, skill, and manual-labor power – reinforced as distributive and sociocultural groupings
	Middle Old Upper Lower	White-collar positions Small proprietors Managers, professionals Routine office, sales	54-59	
	Working Upper Lower	Blue-collar positions Skilled Unskilled	40-45	
Goldthorpe (1987)	Service Class (Class I)	Higher-grade professionals, high-level managers, large proprietors	28	Broadly shared market and work situations: sources and amount of income, job security, and location within the systems of authority and control
	Cadet Service Class (Class II)	Lower-grade professionals and administrators, higher-grade technicians, small business managers, supervisors of non-manual workers		
	Routine Non-Manual (Class III)	Routine administration; routine sales, service	11	
	Petty Bourgeoisie (Class IV)	Small proprietors, self-employed artisans	7	
	Farmers (Class IVc)	Farmers and other self-employed in primary production	3	
	Skilled Workers (Class V, VI)	Skilled manual, lower technicians, supervisors, supervisors of manual	24	
	Nonskilled Workers (Class VIIa)	Semi- and unskilled manual workers	26	
	Agricultural Laborers (Class VIIb)	Agricultural and other workers in primary production	1	

Table 4. Class Maps for Neo-Weberian Class Analysis (cont'd)

Class Theorists	Class Divisions	Relation to Occupation/Property Categories	Est. Size (%)	Conceptual Basis
Rossides (1990)	Upper	Large owners		Shared levels of benefits across dimensions of economic standing, prestige, and power
	Upper-Middle	Substantial proprietors, upper-level managers and professionals	10-25	
	Lower Middle	Smaller proprietors, marginal and semi-professionals, middle management, sales, clerical	30-35	
	Working	All blue-collar	40-45	
	Lower	Economic marginality/poverty	20-25	
Gilbert and Kahl (1993)	Capitalist	Large owners	1	Clusters of shared status defined by source of income, occupation, and education, plus related processes of symbolization
	Upper-Middle	High-level managers, professionals, medium owners	14	
	Middle	Lower managers, semiprofessionals, sales (nonretail), craftsmen, foremen	60	
	Working	Operatives, low paid craftsmen, clerical, retail sales		
	Working Poor	Service, laborers, low paid operatives	25	
	Underclass	Unemployed, welfare recipients		
Kerbo (1996)	Upper Corporate	Large owners Very high-level managers (non-owners)	1	Groups with common interests with respect to occupational, bureaucratic, and property structures
	Middle Upper Lower	All other non-manual positions Unspecified distinctions of income and authority	43	
	Working Upper Lower	Manual positions Skilled blue-collar Unskilled blue-collar	43	
	Lower	Poverty	13	

Source: Kingston (2000).

2.4.2 “Cultural Turn” in class analysis

For a long time, debates on class have continued around the Marxist and the Weberian perspectives until the cultural turn. Specifically from the 1940's up to the late 1970's and after late the 1990's, there has been a shift in studies of class due to an increasing interest in the cultural dimensions of class as opposed to the conventional stratification theories (Devine & Savage, 2005). Scholars assert that, in order to understand the broader forms of social inequality, class analysis needs to be re-mapped by giving importance to cultural issues. They criticize stratification theories since class is seen “a division marked by material difference, and inequality of positioning around material resources, whether conceived in the area of production or distribution, determined by relations of exploitation or by relations of the market” (Anthias, 2005, p. 31). Thus, taking the works of Bourdieu as a central point of reference, they have started to study the issues of subjectivity, awareness of class, perception of class and feelings towards class (Devine & Savage, 2005).

According to Bourdieu, one's location in the economic structure does not depend solely on the possession of economic capital but also on the possession of cultural and social capital (1986b). Unlike Marx's concept, economic capital does not have a privileged position in class analysis. Relationships of domination do not involve exploitation or conflict but rather social power emerging from the possession of different forms of capital. Therefore, class refers to categories of agents who share a similar location in the social space where they have similar interests and dispositions (Pakulski & Waters, 1996).

How does Bourdieu define different forms of capital? In his own terms, “economic capital is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; cultural capital which is convertible,

on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and social capital, made up of social obligations (connections) which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility” (2006, p. 106). What is important for Bourdieu’s analysis of class is the cultural dimension of reproduction in which different class strategies are compared. As Devine and Savage (2005) also underline, Bourdieu perceives “economic position, cultural taste and social networks as a resource that people can instrumentally deploy for self-advancement” (p. 13). According to this perspective, class is “an identity and a lifestyle, and a set of perspectives on the social world and relationships in it, marked by varying degrees of reflexivity” (Ball, 2003a, pp. 6).

Recently, Savage et al. (2013) published the results of a social class survey which was presented as the largest ever conducted in the United Kingdom (UK). There were 161,400 web respondents, complemented by a parallel national representative survey. They were asked questions about their social, cultural and economic capital based on Bourdieu’s classification. According to the survey results, there emerged seven classes composed of elite, established middle class, technical middle class, new affluent workers, traditional working class, emergent service workers and precariat, all of which are described in Table 5.

Table 5. Summary of Social Classes in UK

Social Class	Description
Elite	Very high economic capital (especially savings), high social capital, very high highbrow cultural capital
Established middle class	High economic capital, high status of mean contacts, high highbrow and emerging cultural capital
Technical middle class	High economic capital, very high mean social contacts, but relatively few contacts reported, moderate cultural capital
New affluent workers	Moderately good economic capital, moderately poor mean score of social contacts, though high range, moderate highbrow but good emerging cultural capital
Traditional working class	Moderately poor economic capital, though with reasonable house price, few social contacts, low highbrow and emerging cultural capital
Emergent service workers	Moderately poor economic capital, though with reasonable household income, moderate social contacts, high emerging (but low highbrow) cultural capital
Precariat	Poor economic capital, and the lowest scores on every other criterion

Source: Savage et al. (2013)

They argued that measures of economic, cultural and social capital can be combined to provide a powerful way of mapping contemporary class divisions. In other words, it has now come to a point where class analysis provides a broader perspective about one's position in the social inequality. Therefore, as Flemmen (2013) suggests, it is now possible to use some elements of Bourdieu's ideas while retaining a perspective on the fundamentals of class relations in capitalism. In the light of these propositions, the middle class is further elaborated in the next section.

2.5 Conceptualization of the middle class

“As always by definition this is a class between, a class beset with contradictions and uncertainties” (Ball, 2003a, p. 4).

Although the middle class has been used as an analytical tool for understanding social structures, it is generally accepted as a fact that it is not a concept with well-defined borders (Wacquant, 1991; Lopez & Weinstein, 2012). In general, it is defined in a relational perspective where it is compared and contrasted with other classes.

Savage, Barlow, Dickens and Fielding (1992) argue that since the analysis of social division has generally been based on binary positions such as propertied and propertyless, exploiters and exploited, powerful and powerless, functional for society and non-functional, there emerge some problems when they are applied to people who do not fit into any of these binary positions. As the middle class is neither powerful nor excluded from power and appears to exploit anyone and do not seem to be exploited in a particularly obvious way, it is placed in an intermediate position.

The middle class as it first appears in *The Communist Manifesto* is composed of small traders, shopkeepers, retired tradesmen, handicraftsmen and peasants. They are believed to have gradually sunk into the proletariat since they have neither enough capital to compete with capitalists nor specialized skills that become worthless with the advent of new methods of production.

One of the most influential Marxist theorists, Poulantzas (1978), conceptualizes the middle class as the dominant group in contemporary capitalist societies, as a mediating pillar, as the basic stabilizing factor between the

bourgeoisie and the working class and as the central axis of social development. In defining, he prefers to use the term “group”. In that respect, new wage-earning groups such as commercial and bank employees and office and service workers are commonly referred to as the “new petty bourgeoisie”. As he explains, they are “wage-earning employees who do not belong to the working class but are themselves exploited by capital, either because they sell their labour-power, or because of the dominant position of capital in the terms of exchange (services)” (p. 251). On the other hand, the traditional petty bourgeoisie involves small-scale production and ownership, independent craftsmen, and traders.

Another neo-Marxist class theorist, Eric Olin Wright, also tries to provide an answer to the problem of the middle class. His significant contributions to class theory come from his ability to incorporate the middle class into the class system while retaining the Marxist conception (Kingston, 2000). Wright (2000) does not limit the analysis of class structure in capitalist society to the ownership of and exclusion from the means of production. He asserts that it is an inadequate conceptual framework where we end up with a class structure composed of the capitalist class, the working class and the petty bourgeoisie, where most of the labor force falls into a single class.

Wright (1994) explains that Marxists have adopted four different strategies while dealing with non-polarized class positions. The middle class is seen either as an ideological illusion, a segment of some other class, as a new class in its own right or not as a class at all. He definitely does not accept the idea that the middle class is not a class. Rather, it is defined as a contradictory class location which includes managers and supervisors, small employers, and semi-autonomous employees. Wright (1994) defines the petty bourgeoisie and the self-employed

producer as “traditional” or “old” middle class since they are neither exploiter nor exploited. On the other hand, highly skilled wage earners are defined as the “new middle class”, mainly because they are like workers in terms of being excluded from the means of production and at the same time they are different from workers in having effective control of organization and skill assets. This is why they are in a contradictory location in exploitation relations.

On the basis of Weberian class analysis, Giddens (1973) recognizes two major sources of differentiation within the middle class: one has its origins in market capacity (technical knowledge and general symbolic competence) and the other is derived from the division of labor. In the analysis of Savage et al. (1992), the middle class is defined as stable social collectivities that share similar levels of income, lifestyles, cultures, and political orientations. There is also a horizontal differentiation within the middle class in terms of distinctive types of assets that they possess. Accordingly, there are three distinct middle classes: the petty bourgeoisie holding property assets, managers holding organizational assets, and professionals holding cultural assets.

Very similar to that distinction, Mann (1993) also makes a three-fold division within the middle class in terms of proprietors of small, familial business who are called petty bourgeoisie, employees moving up corporate and bureaucratic hierarchies who are called careerists, and learned, collectively organized occupations licensed by the state who are called professionals (as cited in Power & Whitty, 2006). On the other hand, Dunleavy (1980) and Perkin (1989) argue that main distinction in the middle class is based on sector of employment as public and private (as cited in Power & Whitty, 2006).

Gilbert and Kahl (1993) define the middle and upper-middle class in terms of three main criteria: education, occupation of the family head, and family income. The middle class is composed of people who are at least high school graduates and often have some college or apprenticeship experience who work as operatives, such as low-paid craftspeople, clerical workers and retail sales workers. On the other hand, upper-middle class includes graduates of college, often with post-graduate study, who work as upper managers and professionals or medium-sized business owners.

As Power (2000) summarizes, in most of the middle class related analyses, the middle class is mostly defined according to some generally shared criteria. The first one is related to the asset-basis of occupational groups, which include professionals, managers and entrepreneurs; the second one is related to the fields of production, where people work in material or symbolic fields (which can be defined also as old and new middle classes), and the third one is related to the sectors of employment differentiated as the public and the private sector.

2.6 Debates on class and the middle class in Turkey

The middle class has remained among the least empirically researched subjects in Turkey. One of the reasons for this lack of interest is related to the dilemma of Marxist analysis for defining the class positions of those who remain between the capitalist class and the working class (Balaban, 2013). Even though there is increasing interest by scholars in the issue of social class after the Gezi protests in Istanbul, in June 2013, these discussions have remained limited around whether the main actors in the protests were from the middle class or not. In the interviews with the scholars who try to analyze the profile of the protestors, the middle class or the new middle class participation was highly emphasized (Çetinkaya, 2013; Keyder,

2013; Lüküslü, 2013; Şimşek, 2014a). Furthermore, one of the well-known sociologists, Luic Wacquant (2014) described the protests as a revolt of the middle class who has cultural capital. However, Yörük and Yüksel (2014) oppose these ideas through proposing that the largest group in the protests was the proletariat.

Despite these arguments, as Karademir (2009) points out, researchers who are interested in studying social class might feel desperate when conducting an initial literature review on class structure in Turkey since empirical class analysis has remained limited except some prominent studies. It is argued that there are two main reasons behind this situation. First, there is a difficulty in developing a powerful measurement tool to cover all the class positions in urban and rural settings. Second, there is not only a complex occupational structure, but also existence of informal labor market which even makes it more difficult to study class fractions. As a third reason, I argue that post-modernist thought has also directed social researchers for focusing specifically on the subjects of ethnicity, gender, identity, etc. rather than analysis of social class.

From a macro-sociological perspective, class related research focuses on the relations between state and class formation from a historical point of view. In that respect, Keyder (1989) investigates the process of class formation and the state-class relations in Turkey starting from late Ottoman period. Similarly, Gülalp (1993) looks at the role of the state in the process of capital accumulation and the formation of class coalitions from a Marxist perspective. While these macro perspectives are very valuable for understanding the role of the state in class formation, they mostly make an analysis with abstract terms and do not provide a class structure for Turkey. On the basis of this criticism, Boratav (1995, 2005) provides a comprehensive class schema for urban and rural sites of Turkey. In this analysis, classes are defined from

a Marxist perspective where relations of production and relations of distribution are taken into consideration. Furthermore, social groups/strata are differentiated from social classes which are defined within the redistribution process. In other words, redistribution of the surplus through market mechanisms creates a secondary process where social groups/strata come into existence. In capitalist society, surplus is transferred to the bureaucracy or self-employed employees. Through using this structuralist perspective, Boratav provides a class structure based on three different relations of production: the capitalist, the semi-feudal and petty commodity production. Accordingly, there emerge six main classes as bourgeoisie and the worker in the capitalist mode of production, the sharecropper peasant and the big land owner in the semi-feudal mode of production, the petty commodity producer and the trader in the petty commodity production. There are also social groups/strata which are formed by professionals, bureaucrats and craftsmen.

Related to this aim of making a class analysis based on a schema, Aktaş (2006) asks three significant questions. First, is it possible to talk about specific class relations or class attitudes in Turkey; second, to what extent we can understand classes using Western class maps and finally and third, if we cannot understand, is it possible to have a unique class schema for Turkey? On the basis of these three questions, through using the data obtained from the World Values Survey of 1990 and 1995, having 1030 and 1907 participants respectively, he mainly aimed to understand Turkish situation using different class schemas proposed by Wright (1985), Goldthorpe and Erikson (1992) and Boratav (1995). For analyzing the data, he argued that class analysis is more meaningful when the unit of analysis is taken as “household” rather than “individual”. Accordingly, class positions of housewives were decided according to class positions of their husbands and class positions of

retired or jobless people were decided according to their last employment. On the other hand, students were excluded from the data. At the end, the sample consisted of 2.492 people. What he calculated that while the highest percentage belongs to working-class positions in the schemas of both Wright and Boratav which was 52% and 47% respectively; in the schema of Goldthorpe, they constituted almost 40% of the sample. On the other hand, middle-class positions constituted 47.04%, 51.48% and 42.98% in the schema of Wright, Goldthorpe and Boratav respectively. Accordingly, he categorized distribution of class locations in Turkey as demonstrated in Table 6.

Table 6. Distribution of Class Locations in Turkey

Wright Schema for Classes	%	Goldthorpe Schema for Classes	%	Boratav Schema for Classes	%
Capitalist	1,24	Service Class	14,49	Capitalist	1,24
Petty Bourgeoisie	31,50	Routine White-Collar Employees	16,17	Small Employers	20,83
Expert Managers	0,40	Petty Bourgeoisie	20,82	High Qualified Employees	10,59
Expert Supervisors	1,69	Farmers	8,47	White Collar-Employees	9,35
Experts	8,63	Skilled Workers	17,78	Professionals	2,21
Skilled Manager	0,36	Non-skilled Workers	19,90	Farmers	8,47
Skilled Supervisor	1,93	Agricultural Laborers	2,37	Non-skilled Service Workers	7,34
Skilled Worker	19,98			Blue-Collar Employees	37,60
Non-skilled Manager	0,64			Agricultural Laborers	2,37
Non-skilled Supervisor	1,89				
Workers	31,74				

Source: Aktaş (2006).

Here, he mainly searched for the possibilities of creating a specific schema for Turkey. He concluded that there were seven different class positions as employers, professionals, managers/supervisors, petty bourgeoisie, white-collar employees, workers and farmers. In terms of class coalition and attitude, he argued that class structure mainly consists of the bourgeoisie, the working class and the middle class. In his analysis, while white-collar employees are placed in the border of the working class and the middle class, managers/supervisors are placed in the border of the bourgeoisie and the middle class. Accordingly, the bourgeoisie is 3%, the middle class is 49% and the working class is 48% of the population.

In a very recent work of Akcan and Coşkun (2015), rather than dealing with the problem of whether a middle class exist or not in Turkey, it was focused on examining the function of middle-class discourse. For this purpose, the content of different middle-class discourses was studied in three separate periods starting from the establishment of the Turkish Republic. It was argued that in each period, different economic, political, ideological and cultural policies were implemented so that the class discourse was changed. For the first period of 1923-1960, there was a denial of classes as the “myth of a Turkey with a classless society” was prevalent ideology. In the second period of 1960-1980, which was based on “national developmentalism” ideology, there was the recognition of classes, however only a society of middle class was embraced. And, after 1980’s with the diffusion of neoliberal ideology, there was the replacement of the discourse of old or conventional middle class with the new middle class. As they assert, “this new middle class consisted of company managers, self-employed people, and high ranking civil servants and included university graduates in the broadest sense” (p. 19). Different than the old middle class which was developed under state protection, the new middle class has been flourished with

the global neoliberalization process where they have also become identified with their different lifestyles, consumption patterns and cultural activities. On the basis of this analysis, they concluded that the category of the middle class as an ideological construct is redefined according to the status of the capital accumulation regime.

In relation to this changing discourse of the middle class, in recent years, studies have also begun to focus on dispositions, life styles and social relations of the new middle class. In other words, subjective experiences have gained increasing attention. In that respect, new studies were conducted especially within two big cities of Turkey; in Ankara (Ayata, 2002; Karademir, 2009; Yaran, 2009) and in Istanbul (Canpolat, 2010; Bayrak, 2011; Kosukoğlu, 2011).

Ayata (2002) analyzed community and culture in the new middle class suburban areas in Ankara through focusing on subjective experiences of individuals and families, practices, activities and changing power relations. In the study, two sets of data were used; 116 interviews and 26 family interviews were conducted in 1993 and in 1998 respectively during an ethnographic fieldwork. Accordingly, it was concluded that while the middle class give importance to family intimacy and rule-bound society and order, they also have a powerful desire to escape from pollution, street life and social heterogeneity. It was also emphasized the importance of shopping for the middle class as a public activity which become a major factor in identity formation. Furthermore, gendered characteristic of middle-class urban life was underlined where women were seen as the main figures in displaying family wealth to others.

Another study conducted in Ankara, Karademir (2009) explored the class character of the new middle class by looking at both objective dimensions (economic capital, cultural capital, gender/age composition and class background) and

subjective dimensions (class experience/class practices). As a research design, she used both quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative part of the research aimed to present the profile of the new middle class which is defined structurally as the white-collars in Ankara. For this purpose, she focused on the patterns of differentiation in terms of volume/composition of overall capital and social class background. From quantitative data, it was shown that the middle class in Ankara is composed of two major groups: a lower one which is poorer in terms of economic and cultural capital and an upper one which is richer in terms of economic and cultural capital. In qualitative part, 31 new middle-class people in the neighborhood of Ayrancı were interviewed in order to understand the daily life practices and the values attached to those practices, tastes and attitudes towards others. Accordingly, it was identified four milieus with the habitus types that Bourdieu defines; cultural excluders, intellectuals, trapped and first generation which are placed in terms of the cultural and economic capital they possess. It was also highlighted the problems of attributing certain values, lifestyles and attitudes to the whole new middle class that is defined within the occupational structure.

Yaran (2009) investigated the ways in which how upper-middle class in Ankara accumulates and transfers their economic and cultural capital, and differentiates itself in the realm of reproduction. It was mainly focused on the reproduction strategies and differentiation propensities of upper-middle class. For this purpose, 13 upper-middle-class women were interviewed to learn their residential preferences, way of using urban space, consumption practices, social relations, leisure activities, cultural tastes and everyday life practices. Their close family relations, investment strategies in education, housing and living space strategies were also analyzed. It was found that constituting strong family ties for the

transmission of inherited capital, investment in education and establishing distinctive segregated space of life-styles are some of basic strategies of upper-middle class people.

When considering the studies conducted in Istanbul, Canpolat (2010) interviewed 24 white-collar employees working in multinational companies for examining the subjectivities the new middle classes. It showed that their subjectivities in neoliberal work environments are shaped by the market rationality, knowledge and calculation. And, through the process of subjectivation, they are turned into subjects of neoliberalism and enterprising selves who are defined as rational, competitive, autonomous, calculating and responsible individuals, and who need to continuously improve themselves. However, it was also demonstrated that subjectivity formation is not a smooth process and that the reproduction of the self is possible by paying certain costs. It was indicated that they both experience anxieties and insecurities, and have a cynical attitude due to the existence of a distance between their critical consciousness and practices. Nevertheless, the formation of new middle-class subjectivities was found significant for global capitalism, as it decreases the possibility of collective action and solidarity among employees.

Bayrak (2011) explored the relationship between the new middle class and food consumption in order to understand how consumption is instrumentalized as a tool for class differentiations and hierarchies. For this purpose, a qualitative research was made in the Beyoğlu district of Istanbul, focusing on certain restaurants which have been identified as markers of social and cultural trends. In-depth interviews, participant observations and an internet-based survey of mainstream newspapers were used for data collection. The study revealed that cultural capital manifests itself in displaying tastes and consumption practices but also that food and eating out

become significant parts of lifestyle consumption contributing to class differentiations.

Kosukoğlu (2011) focused on an increasing demand of the middle classes in Istanbul to live in gated communities and securitization process. For this purpose, mainstream newspapers, activity reports of the Turkish National Police, press releases and the websites of related institutions and company profiles and advertisements of security firms were screened, and 22 in-depth interviews were conducted with 33 middle-class professionals living in Istanbul. The study revealed how the fear of crime has transformed everyday lives, and it demonstrated that status and security are complementary elements for the middle class of Istanbul, whose members differentiate themselves from the urban poor not only through their socio-economic positions, but also through their imagined position in the dichotomy between the criminal and the victim.

Similarly, Aydın (2012) analyzed the ways in which the gated community has become the ideal type of middle-class residence within the broader framework of neoliberal urban transformation. For this purpose, 20 in-depth interviews were conducted with residents of gated communities, and marketing advertisements were screened, revealing that middle-class residents of gated communities form imagined communities which ideally consist of rational and ambitious consumers who work very hard and always ask for more in life.

Karademir (2013) aimed to provide an analytical framework for the diversity within middle-class identities in Turkey. For this purpose, by drawing on data gathered in 2008 and 2009 for her previous (2009) study, she challenged the homogeneous and strictly hierarchical reading of class/cultural distinctions. It was argued that neoliberal transformation has had varying impacts on the remaking of

middle-class subjectivities. The cultural boundaries were found important for middle-class fractions that are employed in the private sector who are more prone to neoliberal values of profit-making and individualism.

As shown in all of these studies, within the broader context of neoliberal transformation, middle-class individuals try to differentiate themselves and their lifestyles from others through their choices and practices, which in turn create physical and symbolic boundaries. As education is one of the most prominent ways for this differentiation, the next section focuses on the middle-class relationship with education by taking into account the studies conducted.

2.7 The middle-class relationship with education in the context of neoliberalization

During the 2000's, the relationship between the middle class and education increasing gained the attention of scholars. Some of the research focused on the reproduction function of education for the middle class and an understanding how education paths and school choices contribute to creation of class advantage and increase inequalities in society (Ball, 2003a; Brantlinger, 2003; Power et al., 2003; Devine, 2004; Rutz & Balkan, 2009). Other researchers investigated school choice processes of families in order to understand their motivations, ethical dilemmas and identity constructions (Taylor & Woollard, 2003; Raveaud & van Zanten, 2007; Oría et al., 2007; Crozier et al., 2008; Reinoso, 2008; Boyd, 2011, Vincent et al., 2012; Reay et. al, 2013, Cucchiara & Horvat, 2014). There was also research exploring children's participation in enrichment activities organized by middle-class families (Lareau, 2002, Vincent & Ball, 2006, 2007, Holloway & Pimlott-Wilsona, 2014). Furthermore, there were studies focusing on the gendered character of middle-class parental involvement in education, where mothers were presented as the main figures

who deal with the education work of their children (Reay, 2005; Golden & Erdreich, 2014).

On the basis of this categorization, in the next section, studies conducted with middle-class families in different parts of the world are further investigated.

2.7.1 The reproduction of the middle class by means of education

When the relationship between the middle class and education is considered, one of the most-discussed subjects emerges as class reproduction by means of education. In one of the well-known ethnographic studies in the field, Brantlinger (2003) looked at the ways in which educated middle-class parents in the United States reproduce social inequalities in society by actions advocating for their children. For this purpose, eight mothers and 31 school personnel, including administrators, teachers, principals and secretaries were interviewed. The main aim was to explore parents' perceptions of education, values and goals regarding education and their views of the relations between social classes and schools. It was found that while middle-class mothers (the terms affluent mothers and middle-class mothers were used interchangeably by the researcher) had sympathy for poor children, they also felt compelled to distinguish their children from lower classes. In other words, on the one hand, mothers believed in integrated and inclusive education; on the other hand, they preferred segregated and stratified schools for their children. Accordingly, it was concluded that "mothers were mostly unaware of the inconsistencies between their liberal verbalizations and their deeper conservative self/class interests" (p. 56).

While this study was accepted as an illuminating research for guiding people to think about the consequences of their actions, it was criticized by Teitelbaum (2007) in terms of its method for not meeting the expectations of ethnography. Three

main criticisms were directed toward the study. First, it was stated that even though there were relatively homogenous and limited numbers of participants and few formal observations of actual behaviors, very powerful conclusions were drawn from the data. Second, it was underlined that the research did not pay enough attention to current economic and social structure shaped by global neoliberalization. Third, it was suggested that the complexities of middle-class life and parenting could have been elaborated more.

Power et al. (2003) focused on exploring the relationship between education and the middle class in the changing landscape of education provision. Their main aim was to outline how the middle class expanded and preserved its educational advantages. At the time of the research, their participants were choosing a secondary school. The data was collected from 18 different secondary schools, nine private and nine state-maintained, all of which were represented in a hierarchy on the basis of prestige and academic and social exclusiveness. A questionnaire was collected from 584 and 347 parents in two cohorts. The data was gathered on basic socio-economic indicators, educational achievements, school experiences, subsequent careers and cultural and political dispositions. It was found that educational success was crucial for parents in determining children's prospects. In that respect, choosing the right secondary school was significant. However, it was argued that there were wide differences between the old and the new middle class in terms of the definition of the right kind of school. Accordingly, while old middle-class parents were more likely to choose schools that were clearly bounded, closed and hierarchical, new middle-class parents were more likely to select schools that were horizontally differentiated and more open and inclusive. Furthermore, old middle-class parents looked for academic selection and valued discipline and high achievement. Therefore, individuality and

individual effort was highly emphasized.

Devine (2004) did a comparative study in order to understand how middle-class parents retain and reproduce their positions related to power and privilege across generations. In other words, she tried to study how they guided their children through education system for good jobs. For this purpose, she interviewed both British and American doctors and teachers, together with their partners. There were 41 interviewees from America and 45 from Britain. She selected doctors as an example of high level of occupational inheritance and teachers as a typical low-level middle-class occupation. For intensive interviews, she used life histories for collecting data. The parents were asked to explain their early childhood, their own experiences related to education and their work histories. Then, they were asked about their ways of guiding their children in the education system. As a result, regardless of their country, middle-class parents were found extremely skilled at using their social, cultural and economic capital to ensure their children attain middle-class positions. American parents were more comfortable identifying themselves as the middle class than their counterparts in Britain. They mentioned not only the ways in which how class shaped their cultural values and lifestyle practices while growing up, but also how class was shaping their children's life experiences.

Even though this was a significant study in terms of providing comparative analysis, it had a major weakness. While it claimed to examine the ways middle-class parents mobilized their resources to help their children through the education system in order to have good jobs in the harsher economic and political climate, this context was never specified as neoliberalism. Throughout the study, terms such as “harsher”, “less favorable” adjectives were repeatedly used for describing the economic and political context. Moreover, in all of these studies, the impact of neoliberal ideology

on the choices and practices of the parents was not clearly explained, although it was described in different words. Nevertheless, these studies are significant to understand parents' classed perceptions, values and actions for understanding the ways of creating advantage for children.

As one of the leading social researchers in Britain who analyzes the relationship between the middle classes and education, Ball (2003a) aimed to understand the actions of the middle classes in education together with their consequences for class analysis, social policy and social justice under the circumstances of neoliberal transformations. Through keeping in mind that there is no longer typical middle-class family, the sample was selected on the basis of three criteria: those parents who were in the service class, who had a high level of education, and who owned a house. The data was extracted from four different studies conducted over a ten-year period between the 1991 and 2001. In the school choice study, the sample consisted of 36 families. Parents were asked about the choices, reasons, constraints, sources of information, influences, decisions, and so on. At the same time, the market behavior of the schools was also monitored in terms of how they attracted their parents and their responsiveness to market signals. On the basis of the findings, it was argued that middle-class families consider themselves responsible for evaluating all alternatives and all possibilities in choosing a school. This responsibility includes knowing what is best for their children. School choice is not a simple and one-moment action, but rather is part of a construction of a trajectory of achievement and advantage. Therefore, parents were fearful, alert and strategic in the context of increasing demands of the market rules of neoliberal times. In choosing a school, even though they positioned themselves differently in relation to the private sector, private schools were nevertheless perceived as an escape route.

It was also deemed important to make it possible for the children to accumulate the right capitals in the right amounts. In that respect, differentiation and development worked with the specific logic of distinction. By using the capitals which defined them as the middle class, parents made and protected their boundaries and continued to reproduce themselves strategically. However, the research underlined the point that being in a middle-class position does not guarantee success. It was also significant to know how to act at the moment of crisis and how to mobilize different resources to support the child. Ball (2003a) claimed that increasing the marketization of education has created new arenas for middle-class parents for class struggle where they try to secure a positional advantage for their children. Moreover, class struggle through education is understood as strategy, competition, exclusion and symbolic violence in the world of increasing risk and uncertainty. Therefore, individualism and responsibility are highly emphasized. In sum, the actions of middle-class parents were described as the workings of a “hidden hand”.

Although these studies on reproduction are valuable to understand the complexity of education market, they were also subjected to some criticisms. For instance, Beck (2007) questioned social researchers such as Stephen J. Ball, who engaged in moralistic critiques of middle-class parents in relation to their choices and actions. He argued that such arguments may involve reductionism, which in turn can cause alienation of middle-class parents in supporting progressive political efforts within and beyond education. At the same time, he was criticized in terms of not providing a clear and self-consistent definition of the middle class.

When considering Turkey, there are only two studies exploring the middle-class relationship with education in the context of neoliberal transformation. While the first one was an ethnographic study emphasized on middle class-formation

through selective education (Rutz & Balkan, 2009), the second one was a quantitative study that centered on the new Islamic middle class that reproduces itself through education (Balkan & Öncü, 2013).

In the first study, (Rutz & Balkan, 2009), using a multidisciplinary approach, focused on the struggles of new middle-class families in reproduction by means of education. This urban ethnography was conducted in 1996 with 26 parents, four private school owners or administrators, and three private tutors, one of whom was a high school teacher, one a journalist and one who was a partner and administrator of a *dershane*. The study focused on the ways in which families planned for the education of their children. In 2006, follow-up interviews were conducted with families to track education destinations and compare them with the earlier aspirations, expectations and understandings of the families. At the time of the interviews, the children were entering the national Selective School Examinations at the end of the primary education cycle. It was argued in the study that “the state created the structure by setting rules and regulations for competition among families, but left it to families how they would compete” (p. 71). In this context, since there was a high competition among parents for preparing their children for these exams and winning a place in the most prestigious middle schools in the country, it was observed that they increasingly entered into the market for test services, and “the test became a commodity fetish” (p. 87). On the basis of these arguments, Rutz and Balkan (2009) summarized three material phenomena which influenced the rise of the promotional culture around the selective exams. First, there was the nationalization of elite middle school selectivity. Second, there emerged an intensification of competition within the middle class over the demand for quality education and their ability to pay high prices for reproduction. And finally was the

depiction of hyper-realization of all aspects of the exam process by the media.

Even though the interdisciplinary efforts of Rutz and Balkan (2009) are appreciated for raising and formulating the issues regarding education and social reproduction, Duben (2011) argued that there were some major limitations regarding this ethnographic project. In the first place, it was emphasized that the most important concept of the research, social class, was not clearly defined. In other words, references were made to the “core middle class”, the “new middle class”, the “industrial core middle class”, “core fragments of the middle class”, the “national middle class”, the “upper-middle class” and the “national upper-middle class”, none with clear definitions. Second, it was indicated that the Anatolian-based new Islamist middle class also needed to be included into the research. The research was also criticized for its use of theoretical statements as substitutes for empirical grounding. Finally, it was proposed that the research should have been updated, as it was based primarily on data collected in 1996.

To provide an insight into the new Islamic middle class, Balkan and Öncü (2013) conducted a quantitative study focusing on a sample consisting of 278 Islamic and 156 new secular middle-class families. The participants were defined as the members of the new middle class. It was found that more parents in the secular group had received their education in the most successful high schools, such as private schools or Anatolian high schools, than parents in the Islamic group. There were also more Islamic middle-class parents who completed their education in *Imam-Hatip* high schools, as there were no graduates of these schools among the secular ones. In both groups of parents, their main reason for saving was indicated as their children’s education expenditures. The most interesting finding was that more Islamic families were found eager to send their children to private primary schools than secular ones.

Furthermore, it was not surprising to see that there were no secular families who desired to choose *Imam-Hatip* high schools for their children. And, this desire was also very low among the Islamic families, as only 9% of them had a tendency to send their children to these schools for high school education. They were also as willing as secular families to send their children to a university which provides education through a foreign language. There were also no differences between these two groups of families in terms of their attitudes toward university education abroad.

2.7.2 School choices of middle-class families

In addition to attempts at exploring the reproduction function of education for the middle class, other researchers focused on understanding middle-class families' motives, concerns, ethical dilemmas and identity issues during processes of school choices. In that respect, Taylor and Woollard (2003) focused on the ways middle-class parents and their children in Alberta, Canada respond to the risks associated with choosing a high school and the way parents construct their identities through their choice process. They defined their participants as the middle class if they had college or university qualifications and worked in managerial or professional occupations. They interviewed six teenagers and six parents who were active in their children's schooling and conducted four focus groups. Their analysis showed that middle-class parents are interested in finding a school that fits not only their own values but also their children. They also observed that pressures on parents and students in terms of individualizing risk create a tendency to reinforce socially structured inequalities and encourage the commodification of social relations. Although there emerged "varying degrees of reflexivity among middle-class parents "towards and resistance to market rules and the discourse of positional competition"

(p. 627), it was found that the dominant tendency is still related to the idea of colonizing the future by drawing on the social and cultural capital of the families.

In Spain, Bernal (2005) carried out an ethnographic research project that focused on parental choice, social class and market forces. Its main objective was to evaluate the school choices of parents and the consequences for social exclusion and inequality. For this purpose, 13 private and public schools in Zaragoza were studied. It was found that while the middle and upper classes go to private schools, ethnic minorities, economically disadvantaged groups and immigrants attend public schools, as middle-class families have more chances to choose a school due to their greater resources. Therefore, it was indicated that a market system is not necessary for social inequalities to take place. Rather, they can occur when the possibility of choice arises in which the middle class is favored and the working class is put into a disadvantaged position. Within this context, a very significant question was asked as “everybody would have the same rights, but would everyone enjoy the same conditions or possibilities?” (p. 779). Finally, it was predicted that the struggle between public education and a market system would produce greater differences between social classes.

In the United Kingdom (UK) and France, Raveaud and van Zanten (2007) and Oría et al. (2007) analyzed the choice of the local school by the middle class characterized by high cultural capital and liberal political orientation. Twenty-eight interviews were carried out in London and 38 interviews in Paris. It was found that all of the parents shared a very similar view about the characteristics of good education; “intellectual development, academic results and happy school experience at the individual level, as well as a concern for equality and integration at the collective level” (p. 122). On the other hand, they had different views about the

importance given to each of these factors. They all shared “tensions and dilemmas between being a good citizen, which implies in these parents’ perspective sending them to the socially and ethnically mixed local school, and being a good parent, which for them implies that they should provide their children with the best education for individual development and success” (p. 122). For solving them, they used their cultural and social resources to decrease the anticipated negative effects of choosing local schools and to retain their advantages.

In Spain, Reinoso (2008) analyzed middle-class families’ process of school selection to explore the principles and motives behind their decisions. For this purpose, 24 interviews were carried out in the city of Granada. For analysis, he used grounded theory methodology and Bourdieu’s concept of social class. Accordingly, in the first place, the welfare of the children appeared as the main significant factor influencing parents’ school choice practices. Besides, they wanted to have the freedom to choose the school which they considered best for their children. Since parents gave the utmost importance to their children’s happiness, the emotional well-being of the children was considered by the parents as the first indication of the correct school choice. For the parents, school population was thought to influence their idea of social prestige. And, when they chose a private school, they wanted to choose or control the type of social relationships that their children would encounter.

In the UK, Crozier et al. (2008) examined the thinking and acting processes of white middle-class parents who committed to the local comprehensive schools during the era of increasing marketization and commercialization of education. For this purpose, at least one parent from 125 white middle-class households who chose inner-city comprehensive schooling was interviewed. The findings of this study were published in a book and further discussed (Reay et al., 2013). In order to deepen their

understanding about the influence of the family histories of the parents, they identified three types of “historical class locations”:

established middle-class, parents who attended private schools as well as university and whose parents and grandparents went to private schools and university, including elite universities, at a time when few people in the United Kingdom went to university –they had wealth and positions of power, status and influence; *second-generation middle-class*, parents who went to grammar school or a minor private school and were the first in their family to achieve so highly educationally – they went to university and were the first in their family to do so, their parents might be described as ‘self-made’ (small to medium business people (mainly men) or had managed to improve their qualifications through evening classes), and a minority were public-sector workers; *first-generation middle-class*, parents who went to grammar school and were the first in their family to achieve so highly educationally; they went to university and were the first in their family to do so, their parents were working class and in most cases supported and encouraged their children to continue with their education, regarding this as a means to social mobility. (Crozier et al., 2008, p. 263)

Their research demonstrated that middle-class parents experienced anxieties due to risks and dilemmas regarding their choices, specifically when they made “against the grain” choices as opposed to “mainstream choosing” (Reay et al., 2013). By mainstream choosing, they refer to “the more excluding and exclusive white middle classes using conventional measures of academic examination results, league tables and school reputations, and of course the independent sector, to secure advantage and avoid whole swathes of school provision” (Reay et al, 2013, p.viii). The main reasons parents experience anxiety is that they tried to perform “the good/ethical self” while trying to ensure the best for their children (Crozier et al., 2008).

Boyd (2011) conducted a multiple case study of three schools to explore the factors influencing middle-class African American parental choice in education in Alabama, in the United States. In her study, the middle class was defined by either income above the median for families in Central Alabama or employment in a white-collar or professional job requiring higher levels of education. Based on this

definition, six individuals were interviewed from each school. In addition, current conditions in each school were documented through observations and field notes. It was found that there were different factors influencing parents' decisions when choosing these schools; while some factors push parents away from a particular environment, others pull them toward another environment. On the other hand, there were also mediating factors influential in parents' decisions, such as their personal history and context. For the first school, push factors for parents were identified as institutionalized racism and identity formation in adolescence; pull factors were strong collective identity, participation in social justice and challenging the status quo; mediating factors were school leadership and consistent values between school and home. For the second school, push factors were identified as isolation from certain type of student population and viable city school options; pull factors were experience with or need for a magnet program and the quality of the teachers; mediating factors were recognition of education as a partnership between home and school, and an ability to negotiate the political aspects of schooling. For the last school, push factors were identified as negative connotations associated with one-race schools; pull factors were purposeful choice of diversity and consideration of overall community environment; mediating factors were a belief in identity formation as a parental responsibility and a desire to challenge structural constraints.

In another research, Vincent et al. (2012) focused on the educational strategies of Black Caribbean middle-class parents living in London. Using Bourdieu's key concepts of habitus, capital and field, they investigated the differences between parents' level of school involvement. They defined participants as the middle class — those working in professional or managerial occupations — and interviewed 62 parents. Analysis of the data on orientation toward schooling

showed that there are differences in practices of parents which were understood as strategies, priorities, actions and intensity of involvement. Accordingly, a continuum was created to map these differences, and four main groupings were identified. Along this continuum, parents were described as “determined to get the best”, “being watchful and circumspect”, “a fighting chance” and “hoping for the best”. In the first group, there were parents who were “clear about their long-term planning, tutoring, or moving house to get their children into particular schools, or perhaps moving when children were small into an area with lots of “good” schools” (p. 344). Other two groups, who placed in the middle of the continuum, were labeled as ‘watchful’ and ‘fighters’. These groups were thought to “show a mixture of occupations, incomes, educational qualifications and attitudes towards being class identity” (p. 347). Even though achievement was important for them, they were not as determined as the first group of parents. In other words, they did not see any need to take radical action. A third group, ‘fighters’, consisted of parents who had “stepped outside the boundaries of what most schools judge to be appropriate teacher–pupil relationships by challenging the school directly, sometimes in connection with their own child, but also on wider issues to do with inequality” (p. 349). For the last group, even though academic achievement was important, “the parents are pro-active with regard to education, and the child’s achievement and well-being, but less focused on school and schooling” (p. 345).

In an another ethnographic research with middle-class parents in the United States which aimed to understand the decision making processes of parents choosing a public school, it was found that choice was not only a search for the best school, but also a way of constructing, expressing and enacting a particular identity (Cucchiara & Horvat, 2014). They categorized parents as the middle class if they had

a college degree and/or worked in a professional or managerial capacity. On the basis of their school choices, identity of middle-class parents was defined as liberal and open-minded city dwellers. Similar to what Taylor and Woollard (2003) found, Cucchiara and Horvat (2014) concluded that parents made decisions for public schools which would affirm or undermine the identity they valued. Accordingly, parents allied themselves with others who had made the same choice and differentiated themselves from others who had made a different choice with undesirable traits. As a conclusion, Cucchiara and Horvat (2014) proposed that middle-class parents' school choice is a very political and symbolic act.

2.7.3 Middle-class preferences for enrichment activities

Recent studies revealed that social class is a significant factor in distinguishing parenting practices and the ways parents define their roles in their children's lives (Lareau, 2002; Vincent & Ball, 2007, Holloway & Pimlott-Wilsona, 2014).

Accordingly, there is a significant divergence between middle-class and working-class parents in terms of their cultural logic of parenting (Lareau, 2002; Vincent & Ball, 2007). It is generally argued that middle-class parents are more concerned about developing their children's talents, beyond the education curriculum. It is mainly because middle-class identity is related to development and realization of potential (Ball, 2003a). In line with this, middle-class parents try to arrange as many different activities as possible for their children (Lareau, 2002; Vincent & Ball, 2007) in supporting them in self-development and the realization of their potential.

Among the most cited researchers on this issue, Lareau (2002) argued that there is an invisible inequality in the society stemming from childrearing logic and practices of different social classes. In her study, comparative data was collected for

working-class and middle-class children and their families by making observations in the schools, interviewing mothers and fathers separately, and home observations. On the basis of the analysis, it was concluded that, while middle-class parents tend to conform to “concerted cultivation” approach in childrearing, working-class and poor parents use the “accomplishment of natural growth” approach. According to her conceptualization, concerted cultivation refers to the process of fostering children’s talents, skills and opinions through extra-curricular activities. Within the “accomplishment of natural growth” approach, working-class parents provide only the necessary conditions for their children to grow and leave leisure activities to the children. In other words, they generally “do not focus on developing their children’s special talents’ (Lareau, 2002, p. 748). When comparing these two approaches, it is obvious that concerted cultivation requires more parental commitment, especially commitment from mothers, as the process requires allocation of considerable amounts of time and energy.

Lareau’s distinction between “concerted cultivation” and “accomplishment of natural growth” was supported by different studies focusing on the preferences of middle-class parents for enrichment activities. In that respect, the studies of Vincent and Ball (2006, 2007) are significant. They utilized mainly data obtained from the interviews with 57 mothers and 14 fathers from 59 different middle-class families in London. Their main purpose was to understand parents’ reproduction strategies in the context of “consumer culture, parental awareness of fluctuations in education and labour markets, and parents’ perceptions of congestion and competition” (Vincent & Ball, 2007, p. 1062). On the basis of data analysis, they claimed that middle-class parents have higher enthusiasm for enrolling their children in enrichment activities since these are expected to serve for “making up” middle-class children. Moreover,

while middle-class parents perceive the child as a project to be developed, for working-class parents, “the children just are, with characteristics, skills and talent being understood as more fixed and static” (Vincent & Ball, 2007, p. 1068).

Therefore, focusing on Bourdieu’s notions of taste and distinction, they proposed that enrichment activities are highly classed parental strategies for middle-class reproduction and transmitting social advantage. Vincent and Ball (2007) also state that middle-class parents’ interest and involvement for enrichment activities have increased recently, as they have started to experience more anxiety, a sense of urgency and responsibility, resulting in reproduction becoming more difficult and uncertain. Hence, they concluded that besides educational qualifications, extra-curricular activities are integral to the process of cultural capital acquisition.

Within a concerted cultivation approach related to the idea of creating a project child, “the pursuit of self-making” (Jordan et al., 1994, as cited in Vincent & Ball, 2007) “is a particular kind of individualism, and a particular kind of freedom, embedded in the specialness and particularity of the young child, and the idea that the child should be able to realize their inherent capabilities or potential and become a self-developing subject, a person of categoric value” (Vincent & Ball, 2007, p. 1070). Skeggs (2004) defined this process of enhancing the overall value of the personhood through activities, practices and dispositions where they are all assumed to have an exchange value for later life as “self-accrual”. In line with this definition, he further argued that “the cultural resources for self-making and the techniques for self-production are class processes and making the self makes class” (p. 75).

As opposed to what was suggested by these studies, Irwin and Elley (2011) argued that internal homogeneity of middle-class and working-class experiences for childrearing have been overstated. They asserted that, while some middle-class

parents think quite strategically about their children's education and future, others are less inclined to support their children's educational success and individual development. They also concluded that parental orientations for childrearing and education of children are diverse not only across classes, but also within the same class.

Nevertheless, as there are significant differences between the economic and cultural capitals of middle-class and working-class families, middle-class children have higher participation rates for different enrichment activities compared to their working-class counterparts (Holloway & Pimlott-Wilsona, 2014). In their study in England, they found that 98 percent of middle-class children participate in enrichment activities and 79 percent take part in three or more activities per week. On the other hand, only 74 percent of working-class children are involved in two or fewer activities per week and 22 percent do not participate any such activities at all. On the basis of these findings, they suggested that although there might be similarities between middle-class and working-class parents' attitudes toward enrichment activities, financial constraints decrease the accessibility of working-class children to different activities.

2.7.4 The gendered division of labor in educational involvement

In recent years, the workload and the spending of all families have increased with the impact of the market economy in education (Reay, 2005). On the other hand, there has not been emerged a change in the situation of gendered character of educational involvement in education. It is mainly because mothers are still the primary figures in the family who extensively deal with the educational work of their children (Ball, 2003a; Reay, 2005; Golden & Erdreich, 2014). In other words, they are still "doing

the dirty work of social class” (Reay, 2005). This extensive work of mothers is highly visible during the processes of schooling (Reay, 2005) and concerted cultivation (Lareau, 2002; Vincent & Ball, 2006, 2007).

On the basis of the findings of two qualitative research conducted on mothers’ involvement in their children’s schooling, Reay (2005) found that mothers were the main figures in making cultural capital work for their children. Thus, compared to fathers, they work more actively in the process of social class reproduction. Furthermore, it is the mothers who undertake the bulk of emotion work while supporting children’s education (Reay, 2000).

The findings of Vincent and Ball (2006, 2007) focusing on the role of enrichment activities in making up middle-class children demonstrated that arrangement of enrichment activities is perceived as a sign of good parenting and specifically good mothering, since mothers have more responsibilities for researching, arranging and monitoring the care, education and activities of their children. Similarly, Lareau and Weininger (2008) underline that efforts and work required by concerted cultivation involves parents, especially mothers for preparing children, organizing transportation and children’s attendance.

In a very recent study, Apak-Kaya (2014) pointed out how mothers in Turkey started to take part in the running of the schools with the discourse of “parental participation” in the context of neoliberalization in education. Her analysis indicated that mothers have started to locate themselves in power positions such as Classroom Motherhood or Parent-Teacher Associations in the school system. However, as she further asserted, middle-class mothers have advantageous positions for occupying the power positions in the school due to having relatively more economic and cultural

capital, compared to working-class mothers. She concluded that the maternal participation in education is patriarchally designed in the neoliberal system.

None of these findings are surprising, since it was proved that mothers have been acting in line with the rationality of “intensive mothering” which requires living a child-centered life for fostering children’s education and development (Hays, 1996).

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research aims to explore school choices and educational practices of middle-class families within the context of neoliberalization in Turkey. The main intent is to unveil the ways in which the class disposition of families in the field of education create advantage for their children, increase class distinctions and reproduce inequalities in this given social context. For this purpose, a qualitative research was conducted in two selective high schools – one public and one private – in Istanbul. The data were collected mainly through interviewing parents, teachers and administrators. Observations were also made during parent meeting days and school presentation days, to be used as complementary data. Case-oriented, narrative and constant comparison methods were used for data analysis.

On the basis of this introduction, this chapter is organized to provide detailed information about research design, data collection procedure and instruments, research sites, research participants, data analysis approach.

3.1 Research design

While trying to shape the research design, it was first decided to conduct in-depth interviews with middle-class parents to explore their subjective experiences throughout the education trajectories of their children. To select the participants, two main criteria were used. First, parents who had at least one child attending a public or private high school at the time of the interviews were chosen. The main reason for decision was the expectation that more data-rich participants would be identified. As these parents had already actively engaged in their children's education up to the

high school years, it was thought that they would already have taken many decisions, acted in a particular way and become involved in the future plans. In other words, I expected to get extensive information about their experiences during the education life of their children.

Second, after exploring different theoretical arguments on the middle class, the education level and occupation were used as main criteria, in line with the arguments of Power et al. (2003), who emphasize that middle-class occupations are generally closely tied to education credentials. Thus, on the basis of their education level and occupation, I expected to reach parents who had substantial amounts of economic and cultural capital. Thus, parents who had at least a high school degree and worked either as self-employed, careerists (managers, supervisors and white-collar employees) or professionals (doctors, lawyers, teachers, etc.) were targeted. No differentiation was made on the basis of the sector of employment, public or private. Class positions of housewives were categorized according to the class position of their husbands and retired or the jobless people were categorized according to their last employment.

After defining the sample, application was made to the Committee on Ethical Conduct in Extramural Academic Relations in Boğaziçi University in August 2012 in order to get the necessary approval for the research. The research proposal was accepted and three pilot interviews were immediately conducted with middle-class parents in September and October 2012. Although it had originally been decided to conduct the research with parents, this decision was changed after the last pilot interview. In that interview, questions were asked of a mother who was working as an assistant administrator in one of the well-known private high schools of Istanbul. What she was excitedly sharing about parents' intensive involvement and

intervention in educational issues made me consider collecting data not only from parents, but also from teachers and administrators. In this way, their narratives would be expected to enrich the data and findings. Moreover, as the interviews with administrators and teachers were planned to be done in the schools, the possibility of making direct observations on the visiting days are thought to provide supplementary data.

After the research design was reconsidered, rather than trying to reach parents who had children in different high schools, specific high schools were chosen as research sites. It was also planned to participate in parent meeting days of the schools for observations to collect complementary data. Having decided on the research sites, the next step was to select the high schools that were going to be included in the research. Purposeful sampling was used and two selective high schools – one public and one private – were chosen. At the time of the field study, selective high schools were the ones who accepted their students on the basis of their scores in Level Determination Examination.

After finalizing all the steps explained above, an application was made once more to the Committee on Ethical Conduct in Extramural Academic Relations in Boğaziçi University in February 2013. The committee approved the research in the same month. The approval document is given in Appendix A. As a final step, an application was made to the Province of Istanbul Governor's Office of Director of National Education in order to get official permission to conduct the field study in the specified high schools.

3.2 Data collection procedure and instruments

Data for the study was collected mainly through semi-structured interviews. For this purpose, interview forms were prepared for parents, teachers and administrators.

There were two main parts in the interview forms: the first part was prepared for gathering demographic information and the second part was reserved for open-ended questions in order to explore parents' decisions, choices and practices with respect to education of their children. Turkish and the English versions of the forms are provided in Appendix B and Appendix C.

3.2.1 Interview form for parents and pilot interviews

The demographic information part of the interview form included questions concerning gender, age, marital status, level of education, occupation, work experience, current work status, number and age of children, foreign language knowledge, yearly household income, place of living, and house and car ownership. Their spouses' level of education, occupation, work experience, current work status and foreign language knowledge were also investigated.

In the second part of the interview form, open-ended questions were used for exploring the personal education histories of the interviewed parents together with their spouses, their parents educational levels and occupations, decisions and actions that were taken regarding education of their children, relations with the schools, university plans, extracurricular activities of the children, their expectations about the future of their children, education costs, comparison of their own educational history with that of their children, and their general views on the education system in Turkey. The interview form was first checked with a colleague of the researcher who had a daughter recently graduated from high school. Her comments were very

valuable for reorganizing questions and starting with a question to explore parents' own education life.

For checking the interview questions and conducting the pilot interviews, three middle-class families were found through social network. The first family who accepted to interview had a 15-year-old son in a selective private foreign high school. In August 2012, he was about to start the ninth grade after finishing his preparatory year. His mother was working as an assistant professor in a public university and her father was working in the army. Since it was suitable for the couple, the interview was made in my house. Both parents answered my questions and it took two hours to complete the interview. After finishing the interview, their feedback was requested. They stated that they would have felt more comfortable if they had filled the demographic information part of the form themselves. Thus, in remaining interviews, the participants filled the first part of the form themselves.

The second interview was realized with a family who had a 15-year-old daughter in a selective public high school. In September 2012, she was about to start the tenth grade. Her mother and father were dentists. The interview was in the working place of the father. Even though both parents seemed to volunteer for the conversation, just after starting the interview, the father left the room stating that his wife could continue to answer my questions since she had more responsibilities in education life of their children and could be more informative. It took one hour to complete our conversation.

The third pilot interview was made with a family who had a 15-year-old son in a selective private high school. In October 2012, he had just started the ninth grade. As mentioned before, his mother was working as an assistant administrator in a private high school and his father was retired teacher. We arranged a meeting in a

restaurant. Even though both parents participated to the interview, the mother was more informative, as was the case in the second interview. Also the mother was very willing to share her experiences with the parents that she met in the school.

Accordingly, it took one and a half hours to complete the interview. As I explained before, this was a very significant interview since the statements of the mother made me reconsider my research design in terms of expanding the scope and including teachers and administrators as well. Due to this change, interview forms for administrators and teachers were prepared.

3.2.2 Interview forms for teachers and administrators

Similar to the interview form of parents, the form for teachers and administrators consisted of two parts. The first part included questions about gender, age, marital status, the number and age of children (if any), the education history of the children, graduation, area of expertise in teaching, years of experience in teaching and the number of years in the current school. In the second part of the form, open-ended questions were prepared for investigating the profile of the parents in the school, reasons for choosing the current school for their children, the impact of expectations of the parents from the school, administrators and teachers, parents' involvement levels, internal communication between parents, their own views among parents and general views on the education system in Turkey.

Before using the forms, the questions were checked with friends of the researcher who were working either as teachers or administrators in schools and with the assistant administrator of the private school that I had already interviewed.

3.2.3 Observations in parent meeting days and school presentation days

In order to explore school-parent relationship, parent meetings were attended. The meetings were on the 30th of March, 2013 in the private school and on the 14th of April, 2013 in the public school. The most significant difference between private and public school parent meetings was related to the structure. While parents had an individual meeting with each teacher and assistant administrator in the private school, a class meeting was held in the public school. In other words, while private school parents had a chance to visit each teacher in separate classes and had one-to-one meeting, public school parents waited in their children's classes for teachers to come and gave feedbacks about their children.

Besides meetings, school presentation days were also attended where the education philosophy, success stories and social activities of the schools were explained to parents for the purpose of attracting new students.

3.2.4 Dialogues with teachers and administrators

During the days of interviews, I also found a chance to talk with teachers and administrators informally during lunch or coffee breaks. These informal conversations were very valuable since they willingly shared what they experienced during school hours and their everyday problems related to parents, students and the school administration in general.

3.2.5 Field notes

After completing the school visits and the interviews, I took notes about my thoughts, feelings and reflections as a researcher. While writing the field notes, I considered my subjective position as an outsider and the way the participants positioned me

during our conversations. In this way, I aimed to understand how “the researcher’s self, issues of emotion and unconscious interference have come under scrutiny for the part they play in the subjectivity of the researcher, the researched and in the space they both share” (Walshaw, 2010, pp. 591-592).

3.3 Research sites

The high schools selected for the research are very-well known schools with big campuses located in one of the biggest middle-class districts of Anatolian side of Istanbul. Due to confidentiality reasons, names of the schools are kept confidential and referred as the public school and the private school throughout the research.

While the private school provides education starting from the kindergarten, the public school has only a high school section. There are almost equal numbers of high school students in both schools. There is a one-year English preparation class in both before the 9th grade if students are not able to pass the proficiency exam. The public school is academically more successful than the private school as it does not only accept students who take higher scores in Level Determination Examination, but also has more successful results in the university entrance exam.

There are significant differences between these two schools in terms of their physical conditions. The private school is not only more colorfully designed, but also more organized and well-arranged when compared with the public school. As expected, the private school has better looking buildings, classrooms, gymnasium, cafeteria, toilets, and so on.

During the interviews with teachers and administrators, both schools were described as middle-class oriented schools. In other words, it was emphasized that

parents are composed mostly of highly educated people who work as white-collar employees, managers, professionals or are self-employed.

3.4 Participants

The field research started in March 2013 and 31 participants were interviewed until the end of May 2013. Among them, there were 16 parents, nine teachers and six administrators. While eight parents, five teachers and four administrators were from the private school, eight parents, four teachers and two administrators were from the public school. In terms of gender distribution, there were 24 females and seven males. While 13 parents, seven teachers and four administrators were female, three parents, two teachers and two administrators were male as shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Number of the Participants by School and Gender

Participants	Private School			Public School			Total		
	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total
Parents	6	2	8	7	1	8	13	3	16
Teachers	3	2	5	4	-	4	7	2	9
Administrators	4	-	4	-	2	2	4	2	6
TOTAL	13	4	17	11	3	14	24	7	31

In order to find the participants, a meeting was arranged with an assistant administrator in each school. They were very helpful and supportive throughout the field research. They not only helped me meet other teachers and administrators but also communicated with the parents in order to ask their availability to participate in my research. In addition, snowball sampling was used for reaching the participants.

As I mentioned before, during the pilot interview with parents, I encountered difficulty in terms of interviewing mothers and fathers together. This was specifically related to fathers, since mothers seemed to respond my questions more willingly.

This difficulty continued when I tried to arrange an interview with both of the parents. Therefore, I could realize interviews only with one parent. Except for one telephone interview, all interviews with parents were held in any place that was convenient for them: their work place, the house of the parent, the school's meeting room or cafeteria. On the other hand, all interviews with teachers and administrators were conducted in the meeting rooms or cafeteria of the school.

Before starting the interviews, the participants were given an informed consent form to share detailed information about the scope of the research, the ways in which they contribute to the study and confidentiality rules. The examples of the informed consent form in Turkish and in English are provided in Appendix D and Appendix E, respectively. Prior to the interviews, they gave their approval to participate the research by signing the form. While interviews with the parents lasted almost sixty to ninety minutes, interviews with teachers and administrators lasted thirty to sixty minutes. No difficulties were experienced in recording the interviews. Therefore, all of the interviews were tape recorded with the permission of the participants.

For confidentiality reasons, a code system was prepared for naming the participants. Accordingly, throughout the study, a selective public high school is referred to as "public school" and a selective private school is referred to as "private school". While P refers to parent, T refers to teacher and A refers to administrator; PR refers to private school and PU refers to public school. On the basis of this system, private school parents were coded as P-PR and a number, such as P-PR1, P-PR2, and public school parents were coded as P-PU and a number, such as P-PU1, P-PU2. Similarly, while private school teachers were coded as T-PR and a number; such as T-PR1, T-PR2, public school teachers were coded as T-PU and a number,

such as T-PU1, T-PU2. Finally, private school administrators were coded as A-PR and a number such as A-PR1, A-PR2 and public school administrators were coded as A-PU and a number, such as A-PU1, A-PU2. Codes for the participants are given in Table 8.

Table 8. Codes for the Participants

Interviewed Groups	Private School	Public School
Parents	P-PR	P-PU
Teachers	T-PR	T-PU
Administrators	A-PR	A-PU

Among the parents, the lowest degree of education was high school. University graduates were in majority and there were considerable numbers of parents who had graduate degrees. In terms of work status, except eight retired people and two housewives, all of the parents were currently working as teachers, doctors, white-collar employees, managers, and civil servant employees or self-employed. While mothers were in between 37 and 53 years old; fathers were in between 43 and 56 years old. Except one participant, all of them were married. Among the teachers, there were seven females and two males. Their ages were between 35 and 50. In general, they were very experienced as except two teachers who had eight years of experience in teaching; all of them had experiences over 10 years. Similarly, all of the school administrators were highly experienced in education. Their ages were between 33 and 59. For more detailed information about the participants, see Tables 11-34 in Appendix F.

3.5 Data analysis

Together with the evolvement of qualitative research, different approaches to data analysis have emerged. As a researcher, you may use different techniques to interpret your findings in accordance with your worldview, aim and positionality. At the same time, it is one of the most challenging parts of qualitative inquiry, since you generally do not know where to start, how to reduce your data into meaningful units and draw a conclusion from your findings.

Leech and Onwuegbuzie, (2007) and Dierckx de Casterlé, Gastmans, Bryon and Denier (2012) underline some significant issues for data analysis in qualitative research. They argue that, there has been a lack of practical guidance for the researchers which cause different problems during data analysis process. Dierckx de Casterlé et al., (2012) list these problems as over-reliance on qualitative software packages, having word overload due to line-by-line approaches to coding, struggling with the dilemma of whether or not to perform pure inductive coding or to code the data with the help of pre-conceived notions, difficulty of retaining the integrity of each respondent's story, not offering thorough interpretation of the interviewee's world and conceiving the qualitative data analysis as an individual process rather than a team process. Another issue is noted that trying to use "one-size-fits-all approach" can also become a difficulty (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007).

Keeping all of these challenges in mind, I first started analysis by reading all the transcribed interviews to familiarize myself with the data. In this way, I tried to get into the narratives of the participants to see the commonalities and differences across their accounts. Then, I started to formulate the codes for the interviews. However, while doing this, I found myself questioning the process since I had a feeling of losing the wholeness of the participants' lived experiences due to line by

line coding. During data analysis process, I highly benefited from the practical guidance of Dierckx de Casterlé et al. (2012), which was inspired by the Grounded Theory Approach. One of the distinctive features of their analysis is directly related to the systematic character of the process where the researcher is allowed to dig deeper and constantly move between the stages of the process.

On the basis of their suggestions, when I started analyzing the interviews of the parents, I first selected one of the parents' interview data which could be regarded as a "rich" information case. I read the transcript several times in order to familiarize myself with the data, underlined the key phrases, took my notes and wrote my reflections. Then, I wrote a narrative report for the interview by focusing on "the interviewee's story to answer the research questions" (Dierckx de Casterlé et al., 2012, p. 363). Next, I tried to turn this narrative report into a conceptual interview scheme for replacing concrete experiences with more abstract concepts. One of the examples of a narrative report of a parent (P-PR3) and the conceptual interview scheme for this narrative can be found in Appendix G and Appendix H, respectively.

This stage was important for me to retain the integrity of each respondent's story. At this point of analysis, I also utilized what are suggested by narrative inquiry. According to Chase (2005), narrative inquiry is a particular type of qualitative inquiry interested in "biographical particulars as narrated by the one who lives them" (p. 651) and it differs from the life history, which "is the more specific term that researchers use to describe an extensive autobiographical narrative, in either oral or written form, that covers all or most of a life" (p. 652). For inquiry, narrative is seen as a retrospective meaning making process based on past experience. In other words, it is "a way of understanding one's own and others' actions, of organizing events into meaningful whole, and of connecting and seeing the consequences of actions and

events over time” (p. 656). This method in particular was very helpful to me while I was dealing with parents’ personal education histories and their past experiences while they were taking decisions about their children’s education.

Then, I tested the appropriateness of the conceptual framework through re-reading the interview with this scheme. Having completed all the steps for the interviews of the parents, I made constant comparisons through forward-backwards movement within each interview and between the interviews. After, I began actual coding. For this process, I used Excel tables, which provided a systematic way to analyze and compare the data. At this point, some of the transcribed interviews were shared with another researcher who specialized in qualitative data analysis. Having another researcher code the data helped me increase the reliability of the findings. After that, I placed the codes into categories. In some part of the analysis, I utilized qualitative data analysis software, MAXQDA 12, with the help of the same researcher who did the coding. In the final step, I discussed my findings in relation to my research questions. The whole process is summarized in Figure 2.

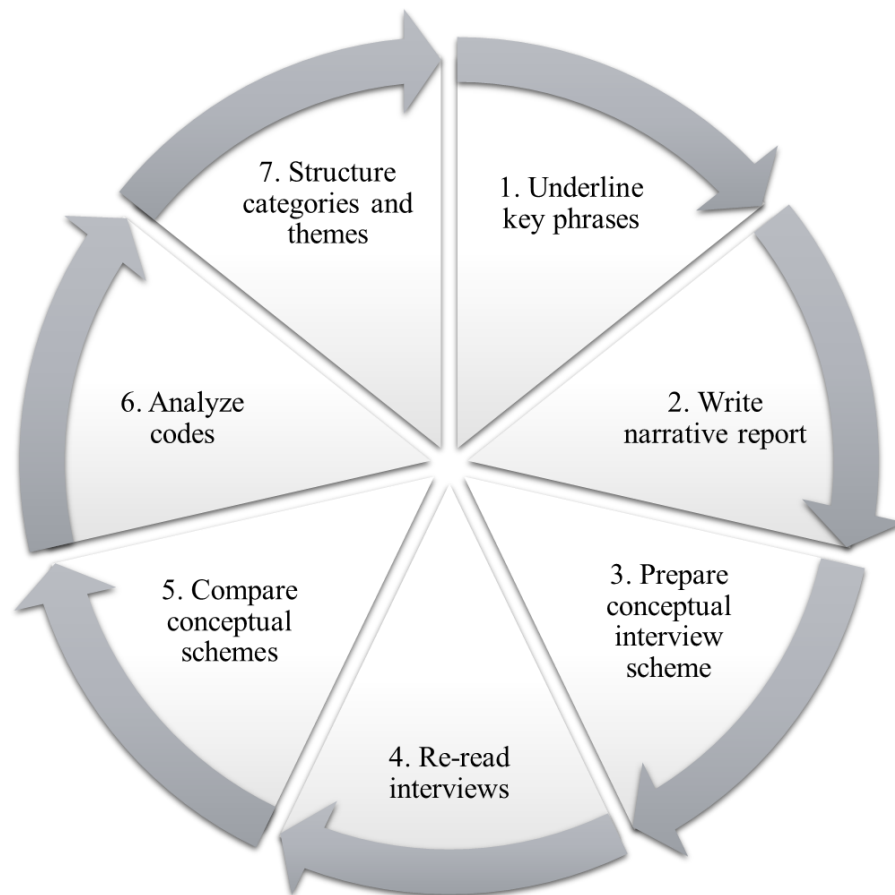


Figure 2. Data analysis process

Emphasized as the strength of this approach, I treated each parent as an individual case and constantly compared their experiences with other parents. This was very helpful, since “the combination of within-case and across-case analysis techniques produces contextually grounded findings, retaining the integrity of each interview and taking into account the context of other interviews” (Dierckx de Casterlé et al., 2012, p. 368).

After completing the analysis of the parents’ interview data, I further focused on transcripts of the teachers and the administrators. In that case, as the data was supplementary and did not contain any narrative characteristics, I just applied coding phase in relation to the findings of the parents’ data. After that, observations, field

notes and dialogues with teachers and administrators were considered to make sure that no information was missed which could be evaluated as supplementary data.

During the analysis process, which was based on the steps explained above, it was possible to work with a systematic structure where constant moves within and between individual data and steps of the analysis were realized. Especially, writing a narrative report for each of the parents made it possible not to lose the uniqueness and the wholeness of the narratives. I was able to remember all the parents that were interviewed although considerable amount of time had passed between interviews and the analysis. Hence, even writing narrative reports and translating them into conceptual interview schemes was time consuming; the process was very useful and valuable since, as Dierckx de Casterlé et al. (2012) emphasize, it provided a holistic approach for data analysis through using case-oriented, narrative and constant comparison methods. Moreover, as suggested by Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2007), using more than one type of analysis helped me to strengthen the rigor and reliability of the findings.

CHAPTER 4

THE RESEARCHER'S SELF AND IDENTITY IN THE RESEARCH

“Many insights found in qualitative research originate in a researcher's personal experience” (Altheide & Johnson, 2011, p. 589).

While doing my interviews and analyzing the data, I believe that both subjectivity and reflexivity is the key to understand feelings, judgements and thoughts of the accounts of the participants. As one of the significant characteristics of the qualitative research, I am aware of the fact that I am not separable from the research and that my framework is highly influenced by my biography. In other words, this biography made me who I am as a researcher. Therefore, my own story of social mobility definitely shaped my interest in studying the relations between the middle class and education. Therefore, in this section, I try to portray my own class trajectory to explain my identity and position as a researcher. In this way, the relation between the researcher and the researched is expected to become more transparent.

Before starting my research design, while I was trying to formulate my research aim and research questions, I asked myself: Why am I interested the middle-class relationship to education? Having a working-class background, I have had a chance to experience and observe the differences between involvement levels and practices of the parents in the field of education. Therefore, I wondered how and why there is such a difference and how it influences others. All of these concerns made me think about the impact of class on education.

I was born in Istanbul and grew up in a neighborhood called Çağlayan,

which is populated mostly by working-class people. My family was an extended family since we were living with my fathers' parents. My mother was born in one of the villages of Edirne in 1942 and my father was born in Istanbul in 1939. Since my mother was a very successful student in her primary school years and graduated as the first in her class, she was awarded a state scholarship to continue in one of the schools specialized in teacher education in Turkey. However, since the school was in Trabzon (one of the biggest cities of Turkey located in the Black Sea region) and very distant from the village where my mother lived, my grandmother did not let her go there. Therefore, even though she was a very bright and ambitious student, she was not able to continue her education. After she married my father, she came to Istanbul. She mostly worked from home as a tailor, and carried out the responsibilities of three children and grandparents in the house. On the other hand, my father did not complete his primary education and started to work at a young age. I remember him telling his stories about escaping from school. Until his retirement, he worked as an usher in various cinemas and theatres of Istanbul. My two brothers were high school graduates. Although my elder won a place at Istanbul University twice, he did not complete his university education as a result of his personal decisions and choices. He worked in the technical department of two big newspapers of Turkey. Now he is retired. My younger brother got a computer programming certificate after high school and started to work as a programmer. He is still working in the same occupation in one of the banks of Turkey.

When I came to school age, as my two brothers and other children in our neighborhood, I went to public primary and secondary schools in our district. As a brief note, currently, due to urban transformation and the neoliberal reconstruction on of Istanbul, these two schools have been closed and their buildings demolished.

One of the biggest courthouses was built in the area of my secondary school. After graduating from the secondary school, I attended a public high school in the Nişantaşı district, with the help of an acquaintance of my family. I remember my first observations on the differences between the socio-economic conditions of the people living in Çağlayan and Nişantaşı. Since the latter is one of the richest districts of Istanbul, it is populated mostly with upper-class people. This was the first time that I realized class differences, lifestyles and distinctions.

Throughout their lives, my parents tried to provide equal opportunities for all of their three children in order to make us complete our education as university graduates. My father was particularly very sensitive about this since he always believed that the education of girls was much more important than for boys. Although my brothers were not able to graduate from a university, they worked in well-paid occupations. After graduating from the university, I also became a white-collar employee. However, after seven years of work, due to having a strong desire to become an academician, I decided to complete my master's and doctorate degrees while working as a part-time training consultant.

My experience with class can be regarded as an example of classical tale of upward social mobility. My husband has a very similar family background (working-class parents with a low degree of education), education history (having two PhDs) and work experience (being in an executive position). Despite our working-class backgrounds, we experienced mobility into well-paid white-collar occupations. So we are now first-generation middle-class people in our families. However, I did not share my experience in order to celebrate my success. Rather, I tried to show how education significantly shaped our lives and helped us to experience social mobility. I believe many current middle-class people have similar

family stories.

When I compare two generations, while my parents experienced many difficulties and constraints while they were growing up in the 1940's and 1950's, we had better conditions and opportunities in the 1980's even though we had a working-class background. Now our lifestyles are different since we became successful in increasing our economic, cultural and social capital while moving upward in society. Therefore, while social class is being discussed, I definitely disagree with the idea that the middle class itself is not a class and should be defined within working class. My story is evidence that middle-class mobility is a reality.

Even though my story is a kind of success story in terms class mobility, it was not free from difficulties. For instance, after entering Boğaziçi University, since the language of the instruction was English, I first began to study in a "Beginner" in the preparatory program, which was entirely populated with public school graduates. After passing the proficiency exam, when I started studying sociology, I experienced some difficulties in terms of expressing myself and participating in class discussions. Compared to private school graduates, I definitely had a disadvantage since I generally chose to remain silent rather than speak since I did not feel confident enough. As a graduate of sociology, I believed that these kinds of problems were the result of the differences between families in terms of possession and use of capitals mobilized through education of their children. I have never had a chance to be supported with extra-curricular activities since my family did not have necessary economic and cultural capital to support my educational success further.

During the interviews, I realized that they had also very similar family backgrounds, life stories and accounts of upward social mobility by means of education. Therefore, in most of the cases, I found myself in a close identification

with them. On the other hand, my experience with social class has always made me question social inequalities arising from class differences. Parents' educational histories also urged me to think about the significant relationships between social class, education, social mobility and social inequality. I know now that upward social mobility is much more difficult for working-class people and requires more effort without having a guarantee to become successful. One reason behind this situation is directly related to middle-class parents' practices in education, as the rules of the competition change constantly. Therefore, I strongly believe that exploring the dispositions of middle-class parents in the field of education can shed light on how they contribute to the (re)production of social inequalities. That is the main reason and motivation behind my research since I am extremely concerned about working-class children, who are increasingly given less opportunity to become socially mobile. In other words, as the opportunity gap has widened, they are now in a much more disadvantaged position.

Given all of these considerations, my intention is to show how dispositions, choices and practices of middle-class families impact others in the society rather than blaming them. On the other hand, after some of the interviews, I found myself questioning whether I was judging parents for their views about the uniqueness of their children, their attempts to educate them in a bell glass, and their ambitious and competitive behaviors. I also admit that I might expect from parents to demonstrate their concerns about social equality and justice more. Since I always take sides in defending equality for all children rather than the idea of individualism, I continuously warn myself not to judge parents, especially when I try to make sense of how and why they try to differentiate their children from others. I believe I succeeded in managing this.

As I tried to demonstrate, it was important to note that my individual history, my values and beliefs as a researcher and as a person were always with me starting from the choice of the research subject and the way that I approach investigating the issue. In the next section, I try to present and discuss my findings, taking into account my subjective position.

CHAPTER 5

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

“A quality that the middle-classes share across difference is a strong commitment to education as key to middle-class cultural reproduction” (Reay et al., 2013, p. 19).

In this chapter, I present and discuss the findings of the study under six main sections. In the first section, the biographical information of families is provided for a broader understanding of their biographies and class trajectory. In the second section on “becoming the middle class: accomplishment of natural growth”, on the basis of the educational histories of the parents, I explore the impact of parents’ own schooling experiences in shaping their views and decisions about the education of their children. The third section, behaving as the middle class: being determined to get the best for the children, goes through education pathways of the children to understand school choice processes for public and private education and shadow education preferences while children are prepared for placement exams. In the fourth section of “making up” the middle-class: differentiation of the different through concerted cultivation, the focus is on enrichment activities and their role in creating a middle-class child. The fifth section deals with the “the gendered character of middle-class family involvement in education” for elaborating how roles and responsibilities between mothers and fathers are differentiated with respect to the education of their children. In the final section of “how the participants perceive neoliberal transformation in education”, teachers, administrators and parents’ views for current changes in education are explored.

5.1 Biographical information for middle-class families

In this section, brief biographical information is provided for each family starting from the private school parents.

P-PR1 (Mother)

The mother is 40 and her husband is 50 years old. Both of them are university graduates. They have a 15-year-old son who is a high school student. She works as an assistant school administrator in the private high school where I conducted my field study. Her husband is a retired teacher. Her mother and father and the husband's mother are primary school graduates. Her father is a blue-collar worker, the husband's father is a graduate of a vocational school and his occupation is a civil servant. Both of their mothers are housewives. In terms of class histories, the interviewed mother can be defined as first-generation middle-class and her husband as second-generation middle-class. Her son attended private schools during his education. The mother is the main figure in the family who deals with the education of the child.

P-PR2 (Mother)

The mother is 38 and her husband is 43 years old. She has a PhD and her husband has a master's degree. They have a 15-year-old son who is a high school student. She works as an assistant professor in one of the public universities of Turkey. Her husband works as a civil servant in the public sector. Her mother is a graduate of a vocational school whose occupation is teacher and her father is a graduate of high school and has his own small business. Her husband's housewife mother is a graduate of secondary school and the father is a graduate of a vocational school who started to work as a blue-collar worker and become a white-collar employee during course of his working life. Both the interviewed mother and her husband can be

defined as second-generation middle-class. Her son attended private schools during his education. The mother and father generally share the responsibilities regarding the education of the child.

P-PR3 (Mother)

The mother is 45 and her husband is 49 years old. She is a graduate of university and her husband has a master's degree. They have two children; 19-year-old daughter is a university student, 15-year-old son is a high school student. She worked as a primary school teacher until she became pregnant with her first child. Since then, she has been a housewife and therefore very regretful. Her husband manages his own small business. Her mother and father and the husband's mother are graduates of primary school. The husband's father is a graduate of a vocational school. Both fathers have their own small businesses and the mothers are housewives. The interviewed mother can be defined as first-generation middle-class and her husband as second-generation middle-class. Both of their children attended public schools until high school. Her daughter is a university student in one of the well-known private universities of Turkey. Her son has a 50% scholarship in a private high school. The mother is the main figure in the family who deals with the education of the children.

P-PR4 (Mother)

The mother is 40 and her husband is 53 years old. She is a graduate of university and her husband is a graduate of high school. They have a son who is 15 years old. She currently works as a kindergarten teacher; her husband is a retired white-collar employee. Her mother is a graduate of a vocational school and father is a graduate of primary school. Her husband's mother is a graduate of high school and father is a graduate of a vocational school. Both mothers are housewives. While her father is a worker, her husband's father is a manager in a bank. The interviewed mother can be

defined as first-generation middle-class and her husband as second-generation middle-class. Her son attended to private schools during his education life. Currently, he has 100% scholarship in the high school. The mother is the main figure in the family who deals with the education of the child.

P-PR5 (Father)

The father is 46 and his wife is 42 years old. He is a graduate of university and his wife is a graduate of high school. They have two children; while the 19-year-old daughter is a university student, their 15-year-old daughter is a high school student. He currently works as a teacher and his wife is retired from a bank where she worked as a white-collar employee. Except for his mother, who is illiterate, her wife's mother and both fathers are primary school graduates. Both mothers are housewives. His father is a small farmer and his wife's father is a blue-collar worker. The interviewed father and his wife can be defined as first-generation middle-class. The first child attended a private primary school and public high school. She is currently a university student in one of the public universities in Turkey. The second child attended a public primary school and now continues in the private high school. The Father is the main figure in the family who deals with the education of the children.

P-PR6 (Father)

The father is 52 and his wife is 50 years old. He is a graduate of university and his wife is a graduate of high school. They have two children; while the 15-year-old son is a high school student and their 9-year-old daughter is a primary school student. He and his wife currently manage their own small businesses in the logistics sector. Both of their mothers are illiterate housewives. His primary-school graduate father is a small farmer and his wife's primary-school graduate father is a blue-collar worker. Both the interviewed father and his wife can be defined as first-generation middle-

class. For primary school education, both children went to public schools. For their high school education, they chose a private school for his son, since he received an 80% scholarship. The mother and the father generally share the responsibilities regarding the education of the children.

P-PR7 (Mother)

The mother and her husband are 51 years old. Both of them are university graduates. They have two children; while the 26-year-old daughter is a university graduate and currently works as a white-collar employee, the 15-year-old son is a high school student. She is a retired white-collar employee. Her husband currently works in a manager position in a company. Their mothers and fathers are graduates of primary school. While mothers are housewives, the fathers are petty-bourgeoisie. The interviewed mother and her husband can be defined as first-generation middle-class. The children attended public schools during primary school. Their daughter attended a public high school and completed her university education in one of the private universities of Turkey with a 75% scholarship. For the high school education of her son, they chose a private school, since he received a 75% scholarship. The mother is the main figure in the family who deals with the education of the children.

P-PR8 (Mother)

The mother is 44 and her husband is 50 years old. Both of them are university graduates. They have three children; while the 16-year-old son is a high school student, the twin brothers are 9 years old and primary school students. She currently works as an insurance agent and her husband is a retired white-collar employee. Her mother is a graduate of primary school and her husband's mother is a graduate of secondary school; both fathers are graduates of high school. Her mother is a housewife and the father has his own small business; her husband's mother and

father are civil servants. The interviewed mother and her husband can be defined as second-generation middle-class. The first child attended a public primary school and now continues in the private high school. The twin children are currently in a private primary school. The mother is the main figure in the family who deals with the education of the children.

P-PU1 (Father)

The father is 42 and his wife is 37 years old. Both of them have a master's degree. They have a 15-year-old son who is a high school student. He works as a white-collar employee. His wife works as a teacher in a public primary school. His housewife mother is a graduate of secondary school and his father, who is a graduate of a vocational school, is a civil servant. His wife's mother is a graduate of a vocational school and is a teacher; his father is a graduate of high school and has his own small business. The interviewed father and his wife can be defined as second-generation middle-class. Their son attended a private primary school before entering the public high school. The mother and father generally share the responsibilities regarding the education of the children.

P-PU2 (Mother)

The mother is 53 and her husband is 54 years old. Both of them have a master's degree and doctorate. She is now retired. They have three children; their 26-year-old daughter is a university graduate, their 22-year-old son is a university student and their 15-year-old daughter is a high school student. Both of their mothers are primary school graduate and housewives; her father is a graduate of a high school and her husband's father is a graduate of a vocational school. Both of them are civil servants. The interviewed mother and her husband can be defined as second-generation middle-class. All three children attended public primary schools. Except for the last

one, the other two children attended private high schools. The first child is a graduate of a public university and the second child is a student at a public university.

P-PU3 (Mother)

The mother is 42 years old and single. Both she and her ex-husband are university graduates and teachers. While she is a teacher at a public school, her ex-husband is a private school teacher. They have two children; while their 15-year-old daughter is a high school student and their 10-year-old son is a primary school student. Her mother is an illiterate housewife, her father is a primary school graduate and has his own small business. Her ex-husband's mother is a graduate of high school and his father is a graduate of a vocational school. Both of them are teachers. The interviewed mother can be defined as first-generation middle-class and her ex-husband as second-generation middle-class. Both of the children attended a private primary school. The mother and the father generally share the responsibilities regarding the education of the children.

P-PU4 (Mother)

The mother is 49 and her husband is 56 years old. Both of them are university graduates. They have two daughters, both of whom are high school students. She is a retired teacher. Her husband currently works in a manager position in a company. While her mother and father are graduates of primary school, her husband's mother and father do not have any education. Her mother is a housewife and father has his own small business. Her husband's mother and father are blue-collar workers. The interviewed mother and her husband can be defined as first-generation middle-class. Both children attended public schools during primary education. The first daughter is a student at a public high school and the second one is a student at a private high

school (coincidentally, both of the schools are my research sites). The mother is the main figure in the family who deals with the education of the children.

P-PU5 (Mother)

The mother is 46 and her husband is 54 years old. Both of them are high school graduates. They have a 15-year-old daughter. She is a housewife and her husband currently works as a white-collar employee. Her mother and father are graduates of high school and her husband's mother and father are graduates of primary school. Except for her husband's mother, who is a housewife, her mother and father are blue-collar workers. The interviewed mother and her husband can be defined as first-generation middle-class. Her daughter attended public schools throughout her education. The mother is the main figure in the family who deals with the education of the children.

P-PU6 (Mother)

The mother is 49 and her husband is 51 years old. She is a university graduate and her husband has a master's degree. Both of them are doctors in the public sector. They have two daughters; their 22-year-old daughter is a university student and their 18-year-old daughter is a high school student. Her mother and her husband's mother are graduates of a vocational school; their fathers are graduates of a university. Both mothers are teachers; her father is a doctor and her husband's father is a pharmacist. The interviewed mother and father can be defined as second-generation middle-class. The children are graduates of private primary schools (but the second child attended a public school first) and attend public high schools. The first child is a university student in one of the well-known universities of Turkey with a 25% scholarship. The mother is the main figure in the family who deals with the education of the children.

P-PU7 (Mother)

The mother is 53 and her husband is 55 years old. Both of them are university graduates. They have two daughters; their 26-year-old daughter is a university graduate and their 16-year-old son is a high school student. She works in her small shop and her husband currently works in a manager position in a company. Her mother and her husband's mothers do not have any education, her father is a graduate of secondary school and her husband's father is a graduate of primary school. Both mothers are housewives; her father is a civil servant and her husband's father is a small farmer. The interviewed mother and her husband can be defined as first-generation middle-class. The children are graduates of private primary schools (the second child attended a public school first) and attend public high schools. The first child graduated from a public university. The mother is the main figure in the family who deals with the education of the children.

P-PU8 (Mother)

The mother is 44 and her husband is 45 years old. Both of them are university graduates. They have a 15-year-old daughter. She is a retired white-collar employee and her husband currently works as a white-collar employee. Her mother and her husband's mother are graduates of primary school and housewives; her father is also a graduate of primary school and her husband's father is a graduate of high school. Her father has his own small business and her husband's father is a civil servant. The interviewed mother can be defined as first-generation middle-class and her husband as second-generation middle-class. Before public high school, her son attended a private primary school. The mother is the main figure in the family who deals with the education of the children.

5.2 Becoming the middle class: Accomplishment of natural growth

“A person's individual history is constitutive of habitus, but so also is the whole collective history of family and class that the individual is a member of” (Reay, 2004, p. 434).

Interviews began with the education histories of the parents themselves. This not only helped me establish quick rapport with the parents, but also facilitated the beginning of the talks since all of them were very willing to share their personal biographies. In this way, I was also able to collect information about their families' socio-economic conditions while growing up and continuing their schooling as they narrated the difficulties that they encountered. Additionally, during the interviews, while parents were sharing their own education stories, I realized that their own lived experiences have influences on their views about their children's education. In that respect, similar to what Reay et al. (2013) pointed out, educational biographies provided significant insights related to the present, especially for examining the relations between narratives of the self and current educational commitments. Thus, referring to Mills's concept of sociological imagination, it was possible to see the “connections between biography and history, between identity and structure, and between personal troubles and public issues” (Power, Edwards, Whitty & Wigfall, 2003, p. 4).

As I mentioned before, most of the parents in this study are highly educated. However, they are generally the first in their families who had a university education. This is not only notable for first-generation but also for second-generation middle-class parents. Explaining with numbers, among 64 grandparents, there are only two grandfathers who have a university diploma. Therefore, on the basis of what is narrated by the parents, it is possible to say that they definitely experienced an

upward social mobility by means of education. They are also highly aware of the fact that education is a life-changing experience (Reay et al., 2013) for them. Although they experienced some difficulties, all of them attributed very positive meaning to education since it deeply impacted their lives. On the other hand, since their own families generally lacked the necessary economic, cultural and social capital to pursue an education, almost all of the parents tried to demonstrate that their education histories are success stories. This is similar to what Lareau (2002) describes as examples of the accomplishment of natural growth. The following narrative shared by a first-generation middle-class father can be seen as a typical example of this situation where he highly emphasizes the significant role of education in his life although he encountered many difficulties. Interestingly, at the beginning of the interview, this parent emphasized that his time was limited for the conversation. After starting to share his own educational story, he began giving more information regarding his life and his children's education trajectory. The interview lasted longer than expected as he started his biography from his birth:

I was born in a little town of Ağrı. It was a small town of five thousand people. I completed the primary and secondary school there. In the year when I completed secondary school, a high school was opened in our town, so I completed the high school there, too. In 1983, it was not more than 20-30 people who entered the university in our town. When I got the results, I saw that I had won a place in the Faculty of Theology of Dokuz Eylül University. I was so hesitant whether or not to go. Finally, I decided to go, considering our socio-economic status; it was an opportunity for me, and I did not have any other way out. Otherwise, I would be wasting my time unemployed, so it was best to go to the university. It was fortunate... I was going to go to İzmir. I saw Istanbul for the first time when I was preparing for the university exam. It was the first time I had been to a big city. I had not even been to Erzurum, I had not left Ağrı before. I was excited about İzmir. So I got accepted to Dokuz Eylül University. I graduated with a good degree. I had graduated from the high school with the second best grades, and I was in the top ten at the university, but it was tough. Going from a small town of five thousand people to a mega city of millions was challenging socially, financially, and culturally. Particularly in the first year, I even considered quitting; it was that bad. The family had limited finances, I was staying in a public dormitory, I did not know how to apply for scholarship, etc. My father was not well

educated; he was born in 1926 and did not complete secondary school. My mother was illiterate. Such an education adventure... So I fought tooth and nail, really, you know what they say, my life would make a novel, it was our life, like a novel. For example, the director of the dorm was a retired colonel, I remember, and we had to pay five thousand liras a month for the dorm... Because we could not pay it, he had expelled me with my bag and baggage. For two days, I remember it was November in İzmir, and I was out on the street in the damp air of İzmir with no place to go. I had considered dropping out of school at that time. Then some people intervened, they would give scholarships to students. (P-PR5, Appendix I, 1.)

Besides experiencing the impact of economic difficulties during his education life, he further continues to share with a very sad manner that his parents did not have any involvement in education related issues. Based on his story of struggle to get higher education, he currently describes education as “the biggest heritage” that can be passed down to children:

They were not interested at all. My father did not even know which grade I was in, and I do not remember him coming to the school once. Sorry, my mistake, I was five years old when I started the primary school and crying... I started going to the school when I was five. They would not take me normally, and because I was crying, my father... The teacher was our neighbor, and he held my hand to take me to the school. I was running after my father, not even wearing socks, only shoes, like that. They had sent my brother to the school to bring me socks. It is the only time when I remember my father in the school, and I never saw him there again. When we were at the 11th grade, there was a graduation activity, you know, there is no graduation ceremony at small places like that, so we were going to sing songs and play games in the conference hall, and the director would give a speech... We started it, and I was going to sing a song there incidentally. I had asked my father to come and watch me, but he did not come, even then... Now, after all I have been through, I believe that education is the biggest heritage a father can pass down to his child. (P-PR5, Appendix I, 2.)

Similar to this story, in the following narrative, another first-generation middle-class mother explains how her working-class background affected her education trajectory since her parents did not have the necessary economic, cultural and social capital to direct and support her through her education. In the same way, she believes that her own efforts made the success. Therefore, her life story is also an example of accomplishment of natural growth:

My father completed primary school. He went to the United Kingdom to work as a laborer around 1968-69, you know, when there was a big flow to Germany... So he did not have much of an education. The mother is likewise, also completed the primary school. She worked for a while afterwards, but never had a long working life. She was mostly a housewife. But we saw this, and I set a goal for myself to do something different, to go to the university. They guided us as best as they could, the three of us, I have two sisters. My parents had only completed primary school, but they always supported their daughters' education, at least to complete the high school. But giving guidance... No, they did not know enough to guide us. When I look back now, what did they know that they could inform us? I cannot criticize them on that, they always supported us, I mean, the parents provided for us, and we all graduated from the university. So they must have given the necessary support, and guided us, as much as they could. We all completed the university, we have jobs, we make a living, it is important... But I would like to be given an option; when we returned from the UK, I had a chance to enter the Anatolian high school, but they did not know it, they did not know about direct transfer from abroad. Because my parents did not know this, I went to a regular high school. I studied in Istanbul University, and it is not to blame anyone, but I wish they knew about other options. It is okay that they did not know, but if they did know, we could use that option, or not... Now, despite all hardships, without family support, I mean, without their guidance, as the child of primary-school-graduate parents, I became successful. (P-PR1, Appendix I, 3.)

Similar to this case, it seems that parents appreciated their families just because they allowed them to continue their education. Since it was not an easy process, particularly for women, to reach a higher level of education while living in small towns or villages in Turkey, some of the interviewed mothers underlined the importance of their families' positive attitudes toward education:

[As a primary school graduate] my mother was very enthusiastic about education... My mother had two sisters, and they were living in the village. My mother wanted all her children to be educated, at least to complete the high school, at a time when many of the girls were not sent to school. (P-PR8, Appendix I, 4.)

Well, I grew up in Balıkesir. I went to a primary school nearby, and then to a regular high school. I am a tradesman's child, and we are the educated generation of the family. My mother... She learned to read and write later. My father likewise, I mean, my parents were not educated, but my family was Western and clear-sighted. It was obvious in their persistence to have us educated. (P-PU3, Appendix I, 5.)

After all, educational decisions were not very complex for the previous generation, since they always enrolled their children in the nearest schools in their neighborhood. As can also be seen in the following narratives, there is no such a thing as a school choice for them:

In our time, it was not such a big deal to choose a school. We knew that public schools were the best, and we would go to the nearest school without questioning, neither choosing the teachers nor the school. We would go wherever they sent us, and we would try to show ourselves there. We would go to the nearest one, and have our education there. (P-PR6, Appendix I, 6.)

We did not have such things. There was the local school, and you would go there. We grew up like that. (P-PU5, Appendix I, 7.)

Furthermore, even when selective schools could be emerged as an alternative, parents might not be volunteered to consider this option although their children were expected to become successful in the placement exam. One of the first-generation middle-class mothers narrates in a very upset manner how her family prevented her from entering college exams. In her case, it was possible to see that she was both disappointed, but also proud of herself for her success as she was able to complete her education in one of the leading universities of Turkey even though her family did not support her through education life:

Well, I was born and grew up in Samsun. I stayed there until I completed high school. Our parents would choose our schools, certainly, so we did not have a say in it. It was like that in our age at that time. Even though I was a very successful student, my parents did not want me to go to a college. My teacher had encouraged me to take the college exams, but my parents did not want it. So I continued to the Vocational School for Girls in the secondary and high school. Despite all the challenges, I entered the university, and it was Middle East Technical University. (P-PU4, Appendix I, 8.)

During the interviews, another common issue raised by the parents is the lack of opportunities that they had when compared to their own children. This also indicates significant differences between the two generations in terms of economic, cultural

and social capital, all of which are significant for ensuring educational success of the children. During the interviews, parents always emphasized these differences and made comparisons to show that they would have been more successful in their education if they had the same opportunities as their children currently have:

Everyone gives their children what they know; the environment may be limited, and the financial situation is important... There were private courses, but we could not afford it. I took the university exam, but could not pass it. I could only be enrolled in the open university, and even that was a big thing in the family. So I graduated like that. They could not do much, it was the conditions, but we offer more to our children now... My spouse now keeps telling our children to focus on their education. (P-PU5, Appendix I, 9.)

We pay attention to education [as the family] because our own educational life was interrupted due to some obstacles. I know that I could have easily had a different education, and it has always been upsetting for me. (P-PR8, Appendix I, 10.)

Sometimes I think that I would be at a different place if I had their opportunities. I had only one assistance book, really, I owned one novel in my life, you know? (P-PR3, Appendix I, 11.)

For example, we would usually walk long distances. Now children take either the school bus or a private car, and they have no problem with clothing. Even if there was money, schools did not offer such facilities before. I went to the school in a small town, and the library was only in the bigger town. We did not even have a chance to go to the library. It was even difficult to find books. Considering these, I think children are luckier now. For example, I never went to a private course or had a tutor. I had test leaflets that I studied to prepare for the university exam. (P-PR1, Appendix I, 12.)

I never went to a private course. There was only one private course in the whole town, and we could not afford it. When I wanted to go there, my father said this exactly, "What are you going to tell your brother? You tell him." I had an older brother, and he was at the last grade of the high school. I did not say it twice, and I could enter one of the best universities in the country with my own efforts. (P-PR6, Appendix I, 13.)

Based on these data, it is obvious that parents' accounts for their own biographies are mostly stories of struggle where they tried to ensure individual success without having much family support and involvement. In some cases, parents define attitudes of their families toward their education as a mistake. So unlike their own schooling,

which is believed to be directed by chance and struggle, they express that they try to plan education of their children carefully through well-evaluated alternatives:

Because we had troubles in our education life, we were led to do things that we did not want to. I do not want to make the same mistake as our parents did. I tend to let the child be free. I do not know if what I do is freedom, but I give him options a, b, and c, and explain them, pros and cons. My parents could not guide me because they did not know about the options a, b, and c, or their consequences. I will give him options, but it is his choice. I would like to have options. Now I explain my son his options. I think it is my responsibility to introduce these options to him. It is not like saying, this is your life, do whatever you like with it, it is not that... (P-PR1, Appendix I, 14.)

I would like my children to be guided properly while making their choices, while choosing their departments, I would like them to proceed in a way that they will not regret later. We are striving for that. Hopefully, it will turn out well. (P-PR7, Appendix I, 15.)

Besides avoiding making mistakes, they also feel responsible for differentiating their children's education from their own. Accordingly, it seemed that they are ready to increase educational expenditures, which are defined as investment. As one of the fathers explains:

If I did the same investment in my child as my parents did for me, he would end up no different than me. Because my father's investment in me is different from my investment in my child... I have to do more. So my investments are increasing, and will increase... (P-PU1, Appendix I, 16.)

Demonstrated in these narratives, parents generally refer to their own schooling experiences while sharing their views and choices about children's education.

Therefore, I find their educational biographies critical to understand their main individual motives behind educational dispositions of their children. Accordingly, in the next section, I try to explore the educational trajectories of the children through also considering the dispositions of the parents circumscribed by their earlier experiences in the field of education. In other words, how "a sense of past" (Reay, 2004) influence parents' choices, practices and aspirations for their children with respect to education will be investigated.

5.3 Behaving as the middle class: Being determined to get the best for the children

“Class is realized and struggled over in the daily lives of families and institutions, in consumption decisions, as much as in the process of production, and particularly at moments of crisis and contradiction as parents think about the well-being and happiness and futures of their offspring. Class is about knowing how to act at these moments” (Ball, 2003a, p. 7).

In this section, I examine education pathways of the children in order to provide a broader understanding of the school choice processes and the shadow education preferences while children are prepared for national placement exams. There are different reasons for using school choice as an analytical tool. First, as Reay (2004) puts forward, choices are bounded by the framework of opportunities and constraints of class positions. Second, choice and the ability to make choices are particularly related to middle-class identity (Reay et al., 2013). Third, school choice has become a key element in neoliberal education policies with the market-oriented discourse. Fourth, while social reproduction has increasingly become more risky and uncertain in neoliberal times (Giddens, 1998), making the right school choice has gained greater significance than before (Ball, 2003a; Reay et al., 2013). Finally, Power et al. (2003) argue that “with education having become an increasingly significant positional good, middle-class choice strategies have implications for others which may be even more significant than in the past” (p. 152). Thus, the concept of school choice opens up possibilities for this study to discuss middle-class relationship to education through taking the broader contextual factors into account.

On the basis of this rationale, the analysis of school choice processes indicated that middle-class families are generally in search for the best education for

their children. Although private school choice has become a safer alternative when the things do not go well in the public schools, the definition of best does not always refer to private schooling. Rather, there are mixed decisions regarding school choices, as their children have both public and private schooling experiences.

There are different factors influencing parents' decisions in choosing a public or a private school at different levels of education. Nevertheless, there is one thing in common; before taking any decision about a school at any levels, parents try to mobilize all their resources in order to make sure that they find the best schools, the best teachers, and the best ways to support academic success and provide the best education for their children. I continue this section by exploring the factors influencing parents' decisions for choosing public and private schools starting from the kindergarten. Additionally, I focus on their shadow education practices while their children are prepared for Level Determination Exam at the end of the sixth, seventh and eighth grades.

5.3.1 Choosing a kindergarten

All the parents in this study stated that their children attended public or private kindergartens. However, accounts for kindergarten choices are found less in parents' narratives when compared to primary or high school related choices, as most of their children went to kindergarten almost ten years ago. Therefore, the degree of planning for kindergarten education was not also as high as it is today.

It generally appeared that when families are able to pay the fee of the schools, they are more disposed towards private kindergartens. If they are obliged to choose the public ones due to insufficient economic capital, school proximity is seen as the most important factor. For the parents who chose private kindergartens, expert

opinion, social networks and the possibility of direct transition from the kindergarten to the primary section of the same educational institution are also seen as important. All of these factors are summarized in Figure 3.

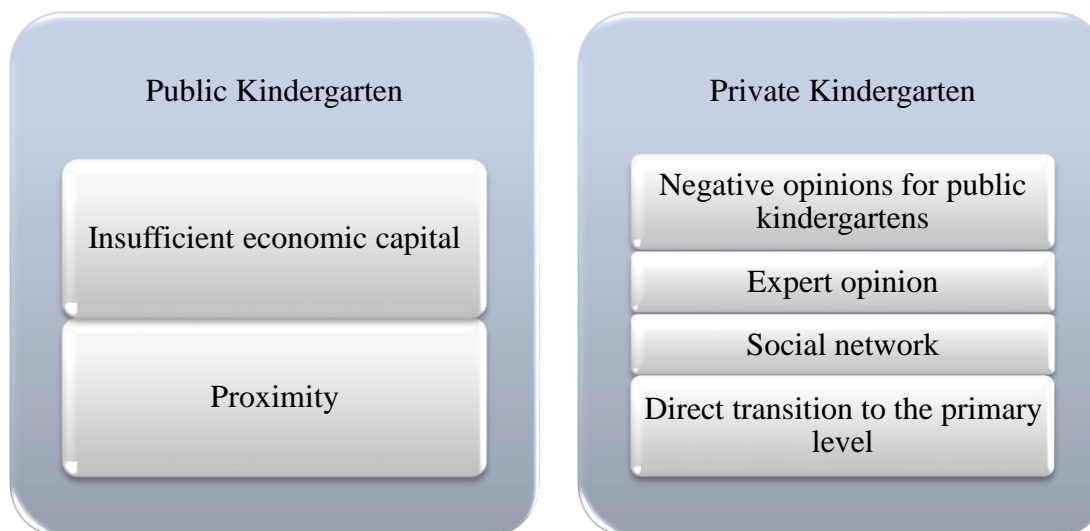


Figure 3. Factors influencing parents' decisions about a kindergarten

In general, throughout the interviews, one of the most frequently reasons that the parents state for choosing a private school is their negative opinions about the public ones. I will elaborate this in detail when exploring primary and high school choices of the parents. For kindergarten choice, even though they are more disposed towards the private ones, if they are not able to allocate budget for the school, they try to enroll their children in the nearest public kindergarten, as stated in the narrative of the mother from the private school:

“Well, children, as I said, our financial situation was not so good then. If it were good, I would send them to a private school. There was a public school across the street, and I sent my daughter and my son to kindergarten there for two years.” (P-PR3, Appendix I, 17.)

Even if they experience financial difficulties for paying the fee of a private kindergarten, after experiencing problems within the public schools, parents may

change their decisions and enroll their children in private ones. One of the mothers from the private school expresses how they dealt with the situation:

I think we did not have a chance to choose. Our first consideration was transportation; we wanted somewhere nearby. And there was also the finances. We first took our child to a public kindergarten, but the school was small and disorderly. There were children from various age groups, and our child was harmed every day. Then we sent her to the private school, a more decent kindergarten, close to our house. A banker lady had founded it as a place where she would send her own daughter. Not a famous place, but it was very nice. I was satisfied. (P-PR1, Appendix I, 18.).

As in this case, entrepreneurs – regardless of their professions – can establish kindergartens in Turkey even they do not have pedagogic formation. They generally hire people possessing the necessary qualifications into administrative positions to fulfill legal obligations. If they have enough economic capital, people from different professions can easily open a kindergarten. According to national education statistics of the MoNE, in the academic year 2014-2015, there were 2,259 public kindergartens as opposed to 1,908 private kindergartens in Turkey. These numbers were 348 and 266, respectively in the academic year 2001-2002. It seems that even though the number of public kindergartens has increased, private sector kindergarten education has also grown considerably throughout the years.

Nevertheless, parents' decisions for choosing a private kindergarten are also highly influenced by expert opinion. This is also compatible with the recent changes in childcare practices, as there has been an increasing trend among middle-class parents to consult a child psychologist about the development of their children in the early years. The father from the public school explains how they chose a private kindergarten after having a talk with a psychological counselor who suggests that it would be better for their children to attend a private school:

...he was a very active child, and we wondered if he was hyperactive. When we went to see a psychological consultant, we were told that he needed to go to different schools. (P-PU1, Appendix I, 19.)

Canan: What do you mean by different?

We were told that he needed to go to private schools. So we preferred to send him to private schools starting from kindergarten and primary school. We thought he would not be able to express himself comfortably in a crowded setting. I mean, we wanted him to be attended to closely. We thought students received less attention in public kindergartens and schools due to the high number of students. We thought he would receive a better education. Then, it was close to our house. Because there is a traffic problem in Istanbul, we did not want him to spend his time in traffic, so we sent him to a private school in our neighborhood. (P-PU1, Appendix I, 20.)

After having decided to send their children to a private kindergarten, when parents are in the process of searching for the most suitable primary school, they first consult other parents in their social network in order to learn their opinions and experiences. In addition, if parents have a desire to enroll their children in a private primary school with a good reputation, they may choose the kindergarten of the same school to eliminate the possibility of non-admission into the primary level. In other words, direct transition to the primary school becomes important for parents. These two significant factors are explained by one of the public school mothers who narrate their search and the decision process for private kindergarten:

While searching for a kindergarten, I received many opinions from people around me, and I visited the schools they recommended to meet the administrators. I made my decision after I talked to a director who, I believed, was a real education person. We continued to the primary school at the same place, because once we enrolled in the kindergarten, we did not need to make any further research to choose the primary school. It was important because we wanted a school that had a reputation, and we could pass directly from there. (P-PU8, Appendix I, 21.)

As in this case, kindergarten choice can be turned into a strategic action. This practice has even become more significant for middle-class families today as the competition between parents has increased for registering children into the most

reputable and successful private primary schools. In that sense, their degree of planning might be currently expected to be higher than the interviewed parents.

5.3.2 Choosing a primary school

The teacher says: “We used to choose students in the past, and now look, students try to choose us” (narrated by P-PR6, Appendix I, 22).

Middle-class parents in this study are highly concerned about taking the right decision for primary school. Once more, they first need to decide the type of school: whether their children would attend a public or private primary school. However, unlike the kindergarten choice, it appeared that families in the research are more disposed toward public education.

When exploring parents’ choices for primary education, the teacher emerges as the most significant factor. In other words, it seems that parents are more likely to send their children to public schools if they believe that they are able to find qualified teachers in the schools that resemble private ones in terms of their education quality and physical conditions. Similar to the kindergarten choice, parents are more likely to send their children to private schools when they have negative opinions about the public ones. Unlike public schools, parents think that they can get better service at private schools when it comes to effective communication and safety. Parents’ ideas are also highly influenced by different amounts of scholarships offered by the private schools. All the factors influencing parents’ decisions during primary school choice are summarized in Figure 4.

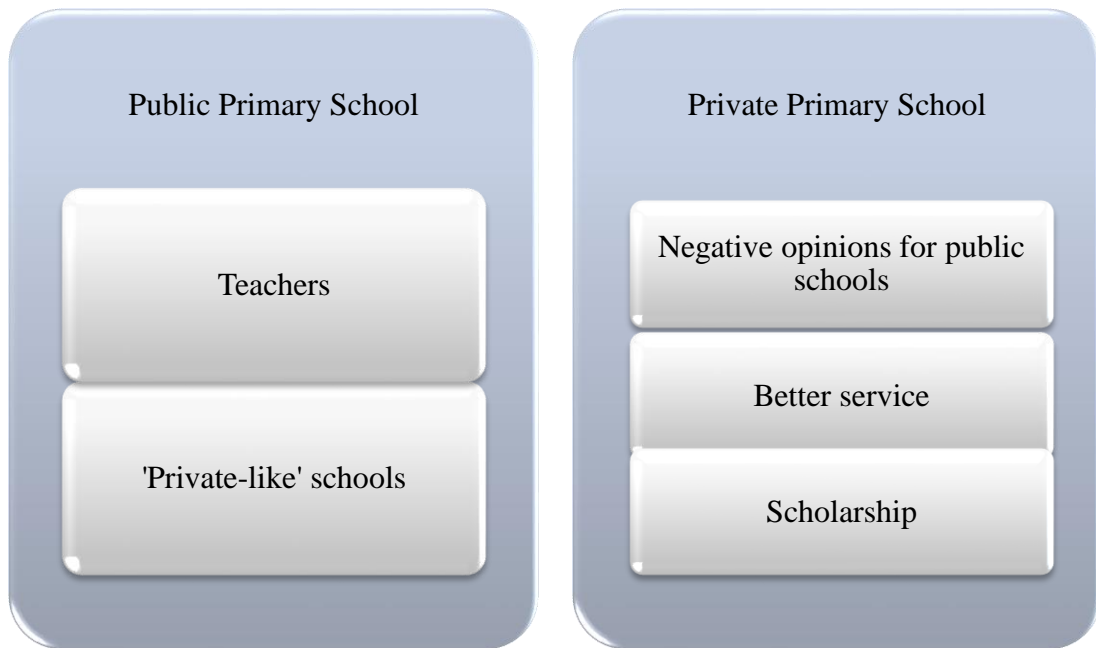


Figure 4. Factors influencing parents' decisions in choosing a primary school

While narrating their experiences during the primary school decision-making process, it is significant that all of parents give the utmost importance to teachers. When searching for a primary school, if they definitely believe that their children will be in the hands of highly competent teachers, deciding on a public school becomes easier. Figure 5 clearly demonstrates that the teacher is the mostly emphasized word in the narratives of the parents influencing their decisions for choosing a public primary school:



good references, and told me to give them a chance. Thanks to his good advice, we really had an excellent teacher. Both of them, husband and wife, they were very idealistic, and we became friends with them. (P-PU4, Appendix I, 23.)

Searching for good schools and qualified teachers requires considerable amounts of time and effort, together with mobilization of social capital. In these situations, parents generally consult people in their social network who are working as teachers or administrators in various schools. This demonstrates that they give the utmost importance to “hot knowledge” (Ball & Vincent, 1998) circulating around social networks. In the following statements, one of the private school fathers narrates the process and experiences while deciding on a primary school for his two children through underlying the importance of teachers:

Because I was aware that the teacher is the most important thing in primary education, I searched for a good teacher in a nearby location, everywhere on the Anatolian side. It is interesting. We had friends in many places, and we visited many schools, met with teachers. With teacher friends in public schools... For example, I know you, and we visited a teacher who would be teaching the first grades, and one of them said, “For God’s sake, we used to choose students, and now look, students try to choose us.” Joking aside, yes, we could do it so easily thanks to the people we knew in that field. We made our decision, and our child commuted to Küçükyalı even though we lived in Kartal. I have no doubt about our teacher, we had chosen the right teacher, but we may discuss if it was right to send him so far away. He took the school bus, and he felt alone, he had troubles, he cried a lot for he was alone. The first five years were really a success thanks to our teacher’s efforts. Then we decided to continue in that school, so he completed the eighth grade there. The school really had one of the best staff that you could find in a public school. I think it is a bit scattered now, but still we were happy with our teachers. Now there is another child coming, and we are planning to give him to a friend of our who graduated from Sociology, but has been working as a teacher for 15 years, a very responsible and hard-working teacher. (P-PR6, Appendix I, 24.)

Among parents who enroll their children in a private school, the most important factor is the teacher for primary education, regardless of the type of the school. In the following example, parents do not see any differences between public and private schools except their physical conditions. So, it may not be wrong to say that they can

prefer public schools if their expectations for teacher quality are met as expressed by one of the private school mothers:

While choosing the primary school, rather than preferring a private school, I do not think private schools contribute much at the primary education level, but the teacher is very important. I believe that students are differentiated through individual efforts of the teacher apart from the school's physical conditions, but the physical conditions are also important, surely. We did some research, but we ended up choosing the teacher in a way. It was important to choose the teacher. There were two teachers, one male, one female. When we chose the female teacher and met her, we felt that she was just like we wanted, and we had heard things about her before. (P-PR2, Appendix I, 25.)

Canan: What had you heard?

She was actually a recently-appointed teacher. We found out that she was a successful teacher in her previous school. When we first met her, she gave us that spirit and potential. (P-PR2, Appendix I, 26.)

Canan: Could you please elaborate?

Firstly, not a standard type of teacher – not discriminating between public and private because they can be anywhere – not just giving knowledge in the classic sense, not expecting all from the student, but engaging herself and also the student, assessing different capabilities of the student... If she is deficient at some area, she complements it with another area. That's why we preferred her. (P-PR2, Appendix I, 27.)

It is very obvious from these statements that teacher is the most prominent factor for parents when they are in the process of finding a primary school. Although some parents decide on private schools, it is not because of the teachers, but the physical conditions affecting education quality.

Besides trying to find competent teachers, parents are also interested in searching for public schools that are perceived as “private-like” schools. Throughout the interviews, parents who chose public primary schools tried to prove that they were successful in finding the best schools for their children. In other words, if they preferred a public primary school, they generally made themselves believe that this school was not an ordinary public school, but the best among the others. Parents describe these schools either as a “semi-private school”, “private-like school” or

“college-like” when they meet their expectations in terms of location and physical conditions, including class size, availability of social facilities, and security and communication related issues. In the narratives below, mothers from both school types explain these considerations for public primary schools:

I tried to send them to good places as much as I could... Their primary school was a public school, but it was like a semi-private school. (P-PR3, Appendix I, 28.)

One of my friends’ aunt is in the Parents-Teacher Association of that school. I looked it up on the internet. It had a good score of students passing the secondary education transition exam. It was half-day. One of my neighbors’ daughter had graduated from there. So it is like a private school, but it is a public school... (P-PU5, Appendix I, 29.)

After all the research we have done... They collected donations in the public school. Its location, a clean school, there is security, there is lunch. Again my older son studied there like a college. (P-PR8, Appendix I, 30.)

In most of the cases, when parents find “private-like schools” as they call them, they are generally ready to make a contribution to the schools if their addresses do not permit them to register their children in one of these schools.⁷ One of the mothers from the private school shares their experiences during this process:

In the search for a primary school, there is the address compliance issue in the educational system, but somehow you can get your child enrolled in a school in another location. We found a way, we gave our donations, and enrolled him in the primary school. But we were very fortunate that he had a very very good teacher. My child’s success is due to this teacher single-handedly, a really good one. The teacher is very important. You do not buy the school. But the teacher... They say the building should be new, it should be in a good neighborhood. One also learns from experience. We still see his teacher, even adore him. So our teacher was very very good. I have never seen teachers like those at that school. (P-PU5, Appendix I, 31.)

⁷In Turkey, children are automatically registered in a primary school on the basis of their home addresses. If parents want to enroll their children in a public primary school which is not appointed by the system, they generally make donations to the school. In theory, this is not allowed by the Ministry of National Education. However, it is widely known that this has been the most common way of registering children if they come from other neighborhoods.

This way of behaving is not specific to parents in Turkey. In the study of Oría et al. (2007), a similar attitude was found among parents who try doing the best for their children even when their decision involved telling a lie by providing a false home address. In other words, as they say, parents find a way of “acting within the world” in the current context of policies.

Based on these narratives, it is clear that middle-class parents choose public primary schools when they believe that they can find the best teachers and the best public schools. On the other hand, parents have many complaints about public schools in terms of their poor physical conditions due to crowded classes, insufficient facilities, and appearance, all of which affect education quality. They specifically think that when the number of students increases in the class, it becomes impossible for teachers to provide the necessary care and attention. If this is the case, they start considering private school alternatives. In some cases, after choosing a public school, parents may change their decisions and transfer their children to a private school due to problems explained above. In the example below, one of the mothers from the private school explains their continuous efforts in choosing the schools for their three children and how they changed their decisions throughout the primary education due to crowded classes in the public schools:

We searched a lot among public schools, but we wanted a good teacher. There were some schools with very good reputations. It was a new school of three or five years, but because of the number of classrooms... One of the best public schools was across from our house. We could go there directly, but we saw that there were 45-50 students in a class. The location is good, but we were concerned about our child's education in such a crowded classroom even with the world's best teacher. So we sent him to another public school after all our research. I enrolled my other children in the same school so that they would follow their brother's footsteps. The number of students in the classroom rose to 45 as the school became popular, and my children's first year was wasted there. We enrolled them in a private school in their second year, and thankfully we did. There was noticeable difference in the children. (P-PR8, Appendix I, 32.)

Another mother from the public school shares her ideas about both public and private primary schools since she had experience in both schools during the primary education of her two daughters. Even though her first daughter completed the primary education in a public school, the younger daughter first attended public school and then registered in a private one due to problems similar to those experienced in the previous case:

Actually, we were happy with the public school that my daughter first started, but some classes were idle, and when my daughter started, there were fewer students in her class. They could not maintain it later. Since the classes were getting crowded and there was no teacher in some classes, we considered shifting to a private school because my daughter was a successful student. Then we searched among the private schools nearby, and we chose this one because it had a high success rate in the exam results. (P-PU6, Appendix I, 33.)

These factors become even more critical for parents when they do not succeed in finding a competent teacher in public schools. For these reasons, some of the parents feel obliged to choose a private school, as stated in the following narratives of a mother from a private school:

Because I know the conditions of education in public schools, I mean, the classrooms are crowded, there is no hygiene, so there are limited resources. The physical conditions are better, but other than that, teachers are the same in the private school, there is no difference between teachers. So you could employ these people in public schools or in the private ones; I do not think there is any difference of education in the private. Well, the teacher is very important, of course, and the school's physical conditions are also very important. Because I do not have any acquaintances in the public schools, I had told my spouse that if we could find a good public school, if we guaranteed a good teacher, we could send our child to a public school. But it did not happen at the time. So we ended up in the private school as our only option. (P-PR1, Appendix I, 34.)

During primary education, another factor that parents give importance to is having effective communication with the school. However, they think that there are significant differences between public and private schools in terms of providing suitable conditions to increase interpersonal relations between parents and teachers.

One of the public school mothers who had both private and public primary school experiences underlines this difference:

For example, we had better communication at the private school, regarding our requests, or monitoring the child. It was difficult to communicate with the teachers in the public school due to crowded classrooms. (P-PU7, Appendix I, 35.)

Another private school parent also shares similar concerns for communication difficulties experienced in the public school. During the interview, she always emphasized that she would have preferred the private school for their children if they had enough economic capital:

I saw many things in the public school. My daughter had a math teacher, and one could not understand a word he said. He did not have any parent-teacher meeting. You would see him at breaks, if you could catch up with him during the break... You would wait in the school, monitoring the hall. (P-PR3, Appendix I, 36.)

In a similar way, one of the fathers from the private school narrates their experiences within the public primary school and explains how they became dissatisfied with the crowded classes due to its negative impact on effective communication with teachers:

If my child goes to a public school, there is a gap in terms of education. In classrooms of 50-60 students, there is not a chance of one-to-one study, and there are discipline issues. There are serious problems in this regard in public schools. You cannot contact the teacher, even though I am a teacher myself. I would visit the principal, and we were given some privilege because I was a teacher, but there was no parent-teacher communication in the public school. In the public school, there is impassivity, teachers leave as soon as their classes end, there is no meeting day, you cannot reach them by phone, they make all sorts of excuses before they meet you... Teachers' profile is bad, too. There is a difference. Teachers in public schools have completely given up showing effort, or they support a child if they notice a talent, but if they need to put some effort to work with the child, they just do not. (P-PR5, Appendix I, 37.)

Besides expected to have better communication, safety-related concerns also influence parents' decisions for private primary school choice. In other words, some of the parents think that their children are in a safer environment in the private school

as it is like “a bell glass”. The father from the public school explains the meaning of the bell glass in the narrative below:

Both of us are working. We leave in the morning, and come back in the evening. One of the reasons why we preferred the private school was that our child would have less time alone. It is a full day and safe. We knew that our child would be safe once he gets on the school bus, and the same goes when he is in the school. Because there are fewer students, teachers and other officials can monitor them more strictly. After the school, he will get on the bus and come home, unaffected by external factors as much as possible. A protection, like in a bell glass... It can be debated how right it is, but... At the primary school, my son’s classroom was not more than 25 students when it was most crowded. A teacher controlling 25 students, or 70 students? And it is within the classroom. Think of outside the class, in the schoolyard. We see that the classrooms go until Z, and there are 70 students in each with the same number of students. So when these students go out to the yard, the teacher cannot see what is coming from outside the school walls. But they can see it in the private school. Because there are fewer students, they can have better control. It is one of the main reasons why I preferred it in a big city like Istanbul. (P-PU1, Appendix I, 38.)

In addition to these factors, it appeared that scholarships have increasingly become a significant pull factor for choosing private schools. Currently, it is very common among these schools to provide scholarships in different amounts for different students according to their level of success. The mother from the public school explains how they transferred their second child from a public school to a private one due to getting a complete scholarship:

We started the primary school in public. He took the scholarship exam to a private school after the fifth grade and earned a full scholarship, so he studied the sixth, seventh and eighth grades there. (P-PU7, Appendix I, 39.)

Similarly, the father from the private school who had been working as a teacher states how a scholarship was important for them to be able to send their children to the private school she worked for:

My older daughter studied the first four years, and two years of kindergarten before that, in the private school with me. When I started working in another college, she was with me again until the seventh grade. When I went to another school, they did not give a scholarship in the first year, so I had to send my child to a public school, and we lost the child there. My younger daughter went to a public school in Göztepe from kindergarten to the eighth

grade. She was quite successful. We were lucky that she had a good teacher. Because she started in the public school, she got used to the education there and completed her education successfully. But the older one fell apart because she passed from the private to the public school. First of all, other students did not welcome her, they did not accept her because she had come from a private school. (P-PR5, Appendix I, 40.)

As in this case, although a scholarship provides an opportunity for children to continue their education in the private school, it can also be a source of significant problems when parents are not able to pay the private school fee when scholarship is taken away by the school.

5.3.3 Preparing children for high school placement exams

At the time of the research, students were required to enter the Level Determination Examination at the end of the sixth, seventh and eighth grades of primary education. Therefore, during these years, it is almost the norm for students to attend *dershane* or take private lessons. Parents also accept this as an obligation since there is a high competition between students to enter the best schools. Koşar-Altınyelken (2013) argues that parents have generally one significant motive to enroll their children at *dershane* in terms of reassuring that they did at least their best so that they would not feel guilty if their children are not successful on the entrance examination.

At the time of the interviews, there were 3,858 *dershanes* with 1,280,297 students and 677 private etude training centers with 21,612 students in the academic year 2012-2013 (MoNE, National Education Statistics) These numbers included both high school and university preparation, as there are no specific statistics about the centers providing only courses for high school preparation. Since these centers have significant numbers of students who compete with each other to secure the best schools, it becomes important for the parents to find the best institutions for

increasing the possibility of success of their children in the exams. One of the mothers from the private school explains how they searched for the best private teaching center:

The system required him to go to a private teaching center, so we had to send him to a private teaching center. If the exam were only in the last year, I would still send him to the private teaching center one year earlier. We did as the system required; the system required him to take the exam every year for three years, so we had to send him to a private teaching center for three years. We did not hire tutors. We tried to find the best private teaching center. We asked around, checked their success rate, and chose a special one to send him there. (P-PR2, Appendix I, 41.)

As in the example of this case, parents believed that it is the system that forces them to send their children in the *dershane*. Moreover, by getting information about every single detail of the examination for high school entrance and the preparation process almost as an expert, the father from the public school also narrates their experiences with *dershane*:

He went to a private teaching center every year because he had to take the exam for three years every year after the sixth grade. Even though the school administration said we did not need to send him to a private teaching center, that the school was enough to prepare them for the exam, we thought he needed to go to the private teaching center because we saw some deficiencies. Because there is a particular format here; he has to answer the test questions that have 4 options. And it depends on an order, discipline... To choose the right answer. We had this problem in the exams for three years. Because he did not mark his answers properly in the answer key, he got lower results for three years. He answered 2 questions wrongly, but the results showed 6 wrong answers, and the wrong answers were all at one place, so it seems that he marked the answers wrongly in the answer key... We were not particularly satisfied with the private teaching center, either. If he could solve more tests and took more exams in the private teaching center, he would not have 6 wrong answers where he could have only 2. I think the format, the discipline of test solving was not given properly. He could have 2 wrong answers in each test, but he had 6-4-2 wrong answers respectively, which indicates a weakness in the formal discipline of that private teaching center. I did not recommend it to my friends. (P-PU1, Appendix I, 42.)

As increasingly more students attend *dershane*, it becomes important for parents to differentiate their preparation strategy to increase children's level of success. For this

purpose, they prefer centers which provide more individualized ways of studying since they admit fewer students compared to others. Therefore, they are generally described as boutique *dershane*. This preference can be defined as a “parental coping strategy” for the exam preparation process (Koşar-Altınyelken, 2013).

In the boutique *dershanes*, parents expect that their children are given closer attention during the preparation. In addition, they anticipate having a more competitive environment. So they pay more and expect more, as explained in the following statements of the mother from the public school:

My older daughter went to a private teaching center in the seventh and eighth grades, and my younger daughter went to a private teaching center for three years. We tried many ways with her; first, she went to a regular private course, then to a boutique one, thinking they would motivate her more. But we were not satisfied. Perhaps they were not suitable for her. Because there was no competition for her, and they could not pay proper attention, I mean, we never knew whom she was competing with, or what her level was. (P-PU4, Appendix I, 43.)

Among parents, enrolling children in *dershane* is the preferred strategy for the exam preparation; it is also very common to arrange private tutors. Some parents and children think that private tutoring is a more suitable strategy rather than attending a center, even though it is more expensive. This is explained in the statements below by a mother from the private school:

He went to a private teaching center for three months, and thought it was not good for him. He was happier with tutors. We hired tutors for each lesson during the sixth grade. It was a difficult year for us, financially and psychologically. He had tutors for English, Math and Science. Also for Literature, but she was my friend, still there was that, too. The child was full every day. I think it was good for him to lay solid grounds like that. In the seventh grade, we hired a young guy to teach science and math. Only he comes to study now. (P-PR8, Appendix I, 44.)

Furthermore, as parents give high importance to the success in the entrance exams, they organize their lives and home environment according to needs of the children so

their studies will not be disrupted. In the following narratives of mothers from the public school, it is possible to see how parents' daily lives are affected during the years of preparation process:

There are no ornaments or decoration on our dinner table. It was covered with books and notebooks for two years, she studied so hard. When the exam time approached, my husband watched the news at a low volume not to distract him because we have a small house, and we never accepted guests. (P-PU5, Appendix I, 45.)

We began not to accept house guests, and we did not go out much. They do not come to visit you much when you do not go to visit them anyway. We did not finish our social life as much as possible, but we prepared the necessary environment for them to study. (P-PU2, Appendix I, 46.)

The preparation process is full of difficulties, not only for children but also for the parents. They face both financial and emotional burdens as one mother from the private school expresses her dramatic situation:

We had many hardships. I could not hire tutors back then. I hired for my son later. We had many many hardships because public and private schools are competing in the same place, they are so very different. We sent her to a private course for a year, a heavy burden, and there was no hope in sending her there, she had to solve 300-400 questions. I was trying to motivate her. I could not hug my daughter for a year because when I hugged her, she would say, please mom, that's enough... Last year, my son took the secondary education exam and my daughter took the university exam. I was exhausted, it was horrible... I was constantly grinding my teeth, I have this habit of grinding my teeth when I am under stress. (P-PR3, Appendix I, 47.)

After experiencing all of these difficulties, especially when parents become dissatisfied with the exam results of their children — even when they have high scores, but not enough to secure the most successful schools within the first percentile — they may start questioning the whole system of preparation and selective schooling. This is clearly expressed in the following statements of the father from the private school:

He went to a private teaching center in the sixth-seventh-eighth grades. Because he was successful, they overworked him no matter how much we

told them not to do so, or told him not to take it too seriously... He was overwhelmed. We got the results, and we began to search for schools. What to do, where to go, searching, who is in which school. It was Köy Hizmetleri Anatolian School although his score was 487. I saw him after he left the exam room, and I was moved after it was over. Who has any right to overwhelm my child like this? I know that he has not gained anything in terms of education after overworking for three years. He only competed, and it was no benefit to him. So I was upset, I did not know what to do. We expected one thing, and we got another thing. We could not help but put our child in this boiling cauldron; we put him in a bag and he is struggling. There is no point really; I began to change my mind afterwards... You observe how the public schools are emptied of content... When you searched for a good school, they used to say this school or that school is a good one, and you would think the school might be worth the effort. But then they said, “Do you want Anatolian High School? Here, I changed the signboard, and they are all Anatolian High Schools now. (P-PR6, Appendix I, 48.)

Even when parents do not want to make their children enter into a competition, as argued by Koşar-Altınyelken (2013), they might also be motivated by the fear of guilt and social pressure for not doing what others wanted them to do. This is well expressed in the following statements of a school administrator who is also a parent in the private school:

Are you going to send your child to a private teaching center? Is this even a choice? Do we have a choice? I have heard from many parents that they did not want their children to prepare for the exam like a racehorse, did not want to send them to a private course, but they did it anyway, seeing that everyone else was doing so. I heard this so many times. Perhaps I am one of them, I do not know. It becomes a trend, there is a psychological pressure, and you end up thinking everyone else is doing it, why shouldn't we? (A-PR4, Appendix I, 49.)

Similar to the school choice processes, preparing children for high school entrance exams requires a high level of commitment and involvement of the parents, especially the time and effort of mothers while trying to find the best coping strategies and organizing the family life accordingly. These experiences also make them question the preparation strategy for the next preparation period, as the availability of different alternatives for shadow education practices directs parents to

make a cost-benefit analysis while trying to find the most suitable ways of support.

This is expressed by one of the mothers from the private school:

I will not do it for my son. I will send him to an ordinary private course in Kadıköy. Students from Boğaziçi offer private lessons on the internet, and they write to me often. I found three students there last year. They had tutored my daughter for a few lessons, physics, chemistry and mathematic. And it is very affordable, for 45 liras. There is a limit of one-to-one tutoring at the private course. This way, there is no limit, as long as you have the money, call them to come at whatever time you want. It is their time schedule [at the private course] while it is my schedule here and they are under my eyes. (P-PR3, Appendix I, 50.)

However, as it is very obvious in these statements, parental coping strategies with preparation exams have been changed with the new rationality of neoliberalism, defined as the survival of the fittest. On the basis of creating exclusionary tactics, parents try to differentiate their children within the competition and increase their success in the exams. Brown (2006) argues that these exclusionary practices are employed for winning a positional advantage. Therefore, as Gök (2005) asserts, central examinations coming through the restructuring process of education have become a “measuring fetishism” and deepen the preexisting inequalities of the educational system by giving a way to creation of a private tutoring system.

5.3.4 Choosing a high school

“...for some families the choice of an ordinary state school might amount to an opportunity to avoid history repeating itself, whilst for others the same choice can provide an opportunity for making history repeat itself” (Reay et al., 2013, p. 38).

After three years of preparation and exam process, children take the exam and on the basis of the Level Determination Examination scores, parents and children are required to evaluate different public and private school alternatives before making

the final decision. By attending school presentations, having conversations with school administrators and asking the opinions of their social network, parents try to collect information about the schools so that they are sure about making the right decision for their children. Accordingly, it seems that among other decisions, choosing a high school is seen as the most difficult one since there are many intertwined factors influencing their decisions. Taylor and Woollard (2003) define this process as a risky business and call parents as risk managers.

In general, for those parents who chose public schools, it is important to know that school habitus would not contradict with their family habitus. To put it differently, parents prefer public high schools because they expect that their children would be with children who had similar socio-economic status and lifestyles. Unlike public school parents, it is important for the parents who chose the private school to provide an education path that is differentiated from their own public education trajectory.

Besides these reasons, considerations of the parents for Anatolian high schools emerge as the most significant factor which directs them towards private high schools. Although their children are entitled to register to an Anatolian High School, they think that these schools currently do not provide quality education. This is mainly because all of the general high schools were transformed to Anatolian high schools in 2013 and started to select their students on the basis of the results of the Level Determination Examination without making any changes in their education quality. Rather, only change was made — in the names of the schools. In Turkey, between 1955 and 2013, Anatolian high schools provided education in a foreign language. In these schools, children were first expected to attend a language preparation year before starting the first grade. With the transformation, through

making only few exceptions for the most successful Anatolian high schools, preparatory classes were eliminated and courses were given in Turkish. Since learning a foreign language is very significant issue for middle-class families, during the interviews, newly transformed Anatolian high schools are defined as “average” or “insufficient”. Decreasing education quality together with the insufficient physical conditions made parents believe that private schools are better options for their children. Therefore, if their children are not able to get the required high scores in the Level Determination Examination for entering one of the top Anatolian high schools in Istanbul, parents consider enrolling their children in a private school. This choice is also influenced by other factors, such as getting a scholarship and having a desire to provide a privileged education to their children. All of these factors are summarized in Figure 6.

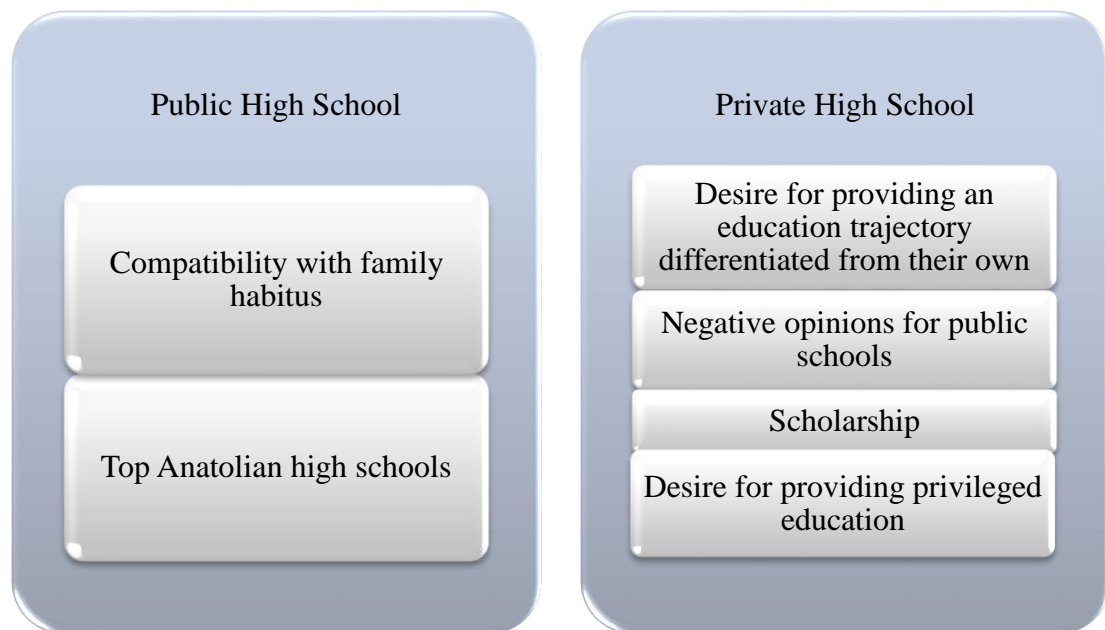


Figure 6. Factors influencing parents' decisions on choosing a high school

In the first place, when exploring the choices of the parents who are more disposed toward the public high school option, their reasons for having a more distant attitude

towards private education are related to their negative considerations of the habitus of the private school. In the following example, a mother narrates her shared concerns with her husband about a private school as they believe that it might create difficulties for their daughter as there are more students coming from higher socio-economic status and different lifestyles. Even though their daughter is a very successful student and could get a scholarship from different private schools easily they did not want her to attend a private school:

I never considered sending my daughter to a private school. With the score she got, if we applied to a few places, she would go there definitely, but I never considered it... We did not go to private schools after all. We heard in previous years that there were many students who got a hundred points at the exam so that the private school entrance scores would go up. Power, money, we never considered a private school. Nor did my husband. We never had such a thought. I had my daughter take the college exams at the fourth and fifth grades. An older friend of mine had recommended that the excitement would be enough, and we would not enroll her anyway. She came the first or second in most of them, and they came to us to give scholarship, but we closed the door. And I do not think she could handle the behaviors of the children there socioeconomically, I mean, she is a modest child, I do not think so. (P-PU5, Appendix I, 51.)

Similarly, as in the following statements of the mother from the private school, even though parents choose a private school for high school education due to getting scholarship, they mainly have a preference for public schools starting from the first levels of education:

In terms of our preference, I cannot say that it was really different for our two children, we first preferred public schools...That is to say, we did not want them to grow in an elite environment. As we also grow in this way, we wanted them to meet with the realities of life. (P-PR7, Appendix I, 52.)

On the other hand, some of the parents highly emphasized their tendency towards private schooling since they aim to create an education trajectory differentiated from their own. As an example, in the following statements, one of the mothers from the private school explains her happiness due to enrolling their two children to the

private high school that she targeted. As she is regretful about not being able to go to a private school during her own education years, this was very important for her.

Furthermore, she also shares her feelings of victory after convincing her husband for the private high school option:

...My husband called me to say he was transferring the money. I always wanted this school, I had heard about it, and I desperately wanted to send her to a private school. My husband said he was going to transfer the money, and told me to enroll our daughter in that school. It was three and a half billion liras at the time, a huge sum for us.. (P-PR3, Appendix I, 53.)

Canan: Do you remember which year it was?

Six years ago... Yes, at that time. Then I hung up the phone, and I wondered if I was hallucinating. I was constantly preoccupied that I wanted to send my child to a private school, but I could not, and I was talking with my friends. Five minutes later, I called him again to check if he really said it. He said, yes, the accountant transferred the money, and I could enroll her in that school. So we completed her registration procedures, but I was over the moon with joy. I always had a longing for that school since I was young, a very old school with reputation. I came here and saw the school environment. The school is very attractive. (P-PR3, Appendix I, 54.)

Similarly, another mother from the private school who believes a private high school is a better alternative for her child explains their individual reasons:

He is an only child, and we put on him our dreams as parents and also what we could not do for ourselves... We could not achieve certain things. We are not happy with where we are now. We could not go to a private school, so were the conditions. Now we are trying to do our best to provide him the conditions to go to a private school. (P-PR2, Appendix I, 55.)

As can be seen in these examples, parents' educational biographies have influences on their preferences for the type of the school for their children. On the other hand, during the interviews, another significant factor influencing parents' decisions for choosing a high school is emerged as their negative perceptions about the public Anatolian high schools. As I stated before, middle-class parents have always been in a position of searching the best schools for their children. Accordingly, after having the results of Level Determination Examination, parents first investigate the

Anatolian high school where their children have a high enough score to be accepted. However, except for very few Anatolian high schools which are placed at the top of the list, other public schools are not seen as an option anymore. Therefore, parents explain that even without visiting the Anatolian high schools where their child was entitled to be enrolled, they decided for the private one. In the following case, one of the fathers from the private school expresses how they chose the private high school that his son currently attends:

He got accepted to the Köy Hizmetleri School with 487 points, and then to another school in the substitute list. We did not follow up later, but Kadıköy Anatolian School was the best that could be. Yet, our goal was three schools: Galatasaray, Istanbul and Kabataş. We wanted those schools, for they have a history and culture, but when it did not happen, we decided on a private school. (P-PR6, Appendix I, 56.)

Similarly, one of the mothers from the public school who also has a daughter in a private school shares their dissatisfaction with the Anatolian high school where their daughter was placed according to her Level Determination Examination score:

She got accepted to the Mustafa Kemal Anatolian High School, and other schools of his score were not so good, either. So we had to search for a private school. (P-PU4, Appendix I, 57.)

In some cases, parents might decide on a private high school after visiting the Anatolian high schools where their child is entitled to be enrolled. As they became disappointed with either the physical conditions, profiles of the parents and students or location of the schools, they choose private schools for their children even though the Anatolian high school is a long-standing institution. One of the mothers from the public school explains the rationality behind this choice when they tried to make a high school decision for their second child:

He got accepted to the Anatolian High School after the exam, but it was not a school that we wanted. The school had a three-day orientation program to get to know the school and for students to meet each other. We joined in the

program for three days. We met the teachers and other parents. In the meanwhile, he was in the substitute list for other schools. His father and I wanted him to go to a better high school with a scholarship, because his score was good. We did not like the profile of students and parents. The parents were conservative mostly, 90% of them like that... We did not like the physical conditions of the school, i.e. the toilets, the gym – he is interested in sports, he plays basketball, he is interested in athletics and archery, etc. But the school was neglected although it is an old, long-standing school. I looked into the profile of teachers, and they said it was good, the education was good, so were the rates of university acceptance, but the first impression was negative. We decided to wait for other alternatives. We got accepted to another Anatolian High School. We visited the school. It was in a lousy neighborhood, I mean, perhaps the school was good, but it was in the middle of slums, narrow pathways, you cannot even drive at some point, and he needs to walk a certain distance. The father did not want it, he said we cannot send him to such a school. (P-PU2, Appendix I, 58.)

Similarly, another mother from the private school explains how her husband also became convinced for the private school after making observations in the Anatolian high school:

We suffered a lot through the SBS. My daughter got accepted to Kartal Anatolian High School. My husband never said a word about sending her to a private school, he did not even want to hear about it. I was terribly ambitious; my brother-in-law sent his children to the private school although he was unemployed; call it ambition, impudence, or whatever, but it was how I felt, God knows... Then, she got accepted to the Anatolian High School, and on the registration day, it must be a stroke of luck that he took her to registration because he would never attend to children's school matters, and I could not go because my son was ill. He called me and said, "This is not a school to send a girl. I cannot send her there." He did not like the environment, it was too distant, and there were bad lots around, so he did not like it somehow. Well, if he had seen the conditions of their primary schools, he would not send them there, either. Even if it is not like this one, there are cheaper, more economical schools. Anyway, then he said he was transferring the money, and I had heard about this school, and I wanted it so much, and I desperately wanted to send her to a private school. He said he was going to transfer the money, and told me to enroll our daughter in that school. It was three and a half billion liras at the time, a huge sum for us. So we completed her registration procedures, but I was over the moon with joy. (P-PR3, Appendix I, 59.)

Among parents who share their complaints about Anatolian high schools, elimination of the one-year preparation class for learning a foreign language emerged as one of the most influencing factors for their preferences for the private school. They assert

that Anatolian high schools are now turned into ordinary public schools. As one of the private school mothers emphasizes, foreign language education is a significant issue:

Looking at the average of the past three years to enter an Anatolian School, you know, it was important, the average was around 452 points, and she could go to an average Anatolian High School, but the Anatolian High Schools were not like they were before, I mean, foreign language education was minimized, no preparatory class, it was no different than previous regular high schools except for the title. Considering this and the fact that there was no foreign language education, we had to consider a private school then. (P-PR7, Appendix I, 60.)

On the basis of these concerns, parents generally do not want to take any risks resulting from choosing an ordinary public school. Therefore, as explained in the narrative of a mother from the private school, they become more disposed towards a private high school:

The private courses helped with the classes a bit, but he could not achieve what we aimed for, i.e. an Anatolian High School at least. He could go to an Anatolian High School with 460-470 points, but the high school we wanted required 490 and above. My son got 445 points, and yes, he could get into somewhere with this score, but I did not want to take that risk, I mean, he would go if he had to... (P-PR1, Appendix I, 61.)

In all of these cases, it is obvious that Anatolian high schools have been losing their distinctive positions for the middle-class families since it is believed that their education quality has been decreasing. Therefore, parents begin searching for private ones. Since private schools provide different levels of scholarship according to students' scores in Level Determination Examination, parents generally start making interviews with the schools that provide the highest scholarship according to success levels of their children. It seems that it has a significant role to direct parents' decision toward private schools. For instance, among 10 children who enrolled in the private school in this study, seven of them had scholarships, in amounts ranging between 50% and 100% as expressed by the parents:

My younger daughter got a score around 470 in the exam, and because of her success, because her score was high, she got accepted to this school with 100% scholarship. (P-PR5, Appendix I, 62.)

After the transition exam, I immediately talked to the assistant principal here, and he gave okay to 50% scholarship. (P-PR3, Appendix I, 63.)

It is like black and white; public schools vs. private schools. It is difficult for us parents, should we send to a public school or a private one? There are pros and cons, but nothing in-between. I mean, private schools have their pros and cons, but if we did not have a chance to get scholarship, it would not be possible with two teachers' salary; these are very high fees... Scholarships could vary every year; we started with 40% scholarship, then 50%, then 60%, then the Education Ministry's scholarship policies were applied, and we got 100% scholarship. Every school may have different policies. (P-PR1, Appendix I, 64.)

Without a scholarship, it is very difficult for middle-class families to pay the fee of a private school. Parents from the private school underline its significance:

We were wishing for her to get a good score so that she could get scholarship because the annual fee is really something; you could afford it through self-sacrifices, but it is a serious commitment. And five years is not a short time, considering the bank loan and all. So we were wondering like that, but luckily our fears did not come true. She got a good score, and we used it like this. I discussed scholarship issues with different private schools many times. A 50% scholarship was offered. So we could easily afford the remaining amount, and we registered her into this school. She is very happy now, super. (P-PR7, Appendix I, 65.)

Yes, we know what the schools are like inside... We were searching for an alternative. We believe in the general approach and culture of this school. Because we had faith in its history, I said let's go talk to them, and we did so, and we had an opportunity of scholarship, so we chose this one. If there was no scholarship, I could not afford a school of this quality, even though I wanted very much to send him there. (P-PR6, Appendix I, 66.)

One of the teachers from the private school also emphasizes the significant role of the scholarship influencing parents' decisions together with foreign language teaching, availability of social activity opportunities and safety related factors:

As I said, parents mostly prefer foreign language education, social facilities and a safe school. I see students who got around 490 points in the exam, and they could go to very good Anatolian High Schools even though they missed the top schools like Kabataş or Galatasaray. But they come together with their families to see the school, and they like it, and they prefer it to improve their

foreign language. So they prefer this with 50%, 75%, or 100% scholarship. So the families no longer prefer to send their children to a public school at ease, but they want a private school for language education and social facilities. (T-PR2, Appendix I, 67.)

Besides a scholarship, parents want to enroll their children in a private school since they expect that a privileged education would be provided in a safe, hygienic and well-organized environment. Moreover, it is also expected that their children are equipped with the necessary cultural capital for raising good people and global citizens. During the interviews, administrators, teachers and parents of private schools commonly underlined the importance attached to these factors:

The scholarship conditions are particularly important depending on the exam score. They have high expectations, of course, they care about university success, and foreign language is an important pillar. They want competency in a second foreign language. They also want students to participate in international projects, to have an international experience. They want them to gain a skill, some social activity, for example swimming, plus learning to play an instrument would be an advantage, or taking a role in the theatre, or gaining presentations skills, or whatever skills that they would need in business life. They want us to prepare them in this regard, and they are very conscious about it. (A-PR1, Appendix I, 68.)

Parents often want their children to have good competency in a foreign language, to be a good world citizen, to be good people. Indeed, it takes place in our school's mission. Parents are informed in their expectations. They say, "When I choose a school, I could want this and that academically, but I also want a school that would provide good foreign language education, social facilities, and also raise a good person. This is a very safe school, a safe environment, and parents have confidence in it, so do the students. Hygiene, confidence, rules, because the system is well-established..." (T-PR3, Appendix I, 69.)

I wanted them to be in a school where they would be happy. Because I love my children, because I want them to have a good life... Good means not joining in the high society or something, but I really want them to be good people with conscience, to have a universal perspective, to be world citizens. For example, I want them to be able to travel abroad, take a backpack and travel, have a good music ear, read books. (P-PR8, Appendix I, 70.)

One of the attractions of a privileged education includes providing opportunities for social capital acquisition as stated by one of the mothers of the private school:

It offers a privilege to graduate from this school because it is known that the school does not forget about its graduates in life, both in terms of job opportunities and also fraternal associations, and they have a strong place in the social network, as well. (T-PR1, Appendix I, 71.)

As Ball (2003a) points out, through investing in private education, parents also buy social capital and store value. While privileged education is certainly related to the idea of cultural and social capital acquisition, it also refers to parents' sense of being privileged. In other words, parents believe that their children behave differently in a private school when comparing to public schools. So, this also makes them feel special as emphasized in the following narratives of a private school mother:

In a private school, they really make you feel like a human being, feel privileged. It is not like that in public schools, it is different there... Now, I take my son to the school in the morning and he comes back by himself. I come to this school every morning for six years. I bring him here, and I see that the teachers are waiting at the doorstep. I feel very peaceful about this; I do not know how much my son feels it, they may not be aware of it. You may find it silly, but when I see the teachers in the doorstep, I say, "Okay, I am leaving, but my child is in good hands, because my child is very very important to me – I know, every child is precious to their mother. I wouldn't trade them for the world..." (P-PR3, Appendix I, 72.)

Behiç Ak, who is one of the well-known caricaturists of Turkey drawing in a national daily newspaper, Cumhuriyet, caricaturizes specifically middle-class parents' preferences and practices for childrearing and education. He has plenty of examples and with his permission, I use some of his cartoons in this study as they are highly compatible with my research findings. For instance, the above issue is caricaturized in this way in Figure 7.



Figure 7. Behiç Ak, cartoon no. 1

Parents are also aware of the fact that there are significant differences between the private schools in terms of their quality. So, as in the case of public schools, they do not prefer ordinary private schools. Rather, they search for private schools having a long-standing history and culture which are believed to provide privileged education for their children. This is underlined in the narratives of the private school mothers:

Different private schools have different price policies. There are schools that accept students at lower fees, at ten thousand liras, but then they must be paying low salaries to their teachers. A teacher who is not financially satisfied cannot do his/her job in the classroom, I think, you get what you pay for. (P-PR1, Appendix I, 73.)

Because we sought a long-standing school, we thought we could prefer this one. Still we attended the presentation meeting of the school. She had not taken the exam yet in that year when we attended the meeting. Then we visited a couple of other schools that I knew nearby, but not all of them. There are so many private schools now that it is debatable how efficient they are because they have commercial priorities. So we had our options, and we visited a couple of more schools, and this school was still more preferable for us since it offered higher quality education, and thankfully we are happy here. (P-PR7, Appendix I, 74.)

Actually, I considered sending him to a private school from the seventh-eighth grade, to have him receive a privileged education. But what I understand from a private school is not a building and four teachers. I always

sought a long-standing school with a culture and history that I could trust, and I found this one. Certainly, we had the chance of having a family member working in this school... We got information from the inside, I mean, I have always been impressed with this school's past and history, but we always had this concern: How is the education in private schools? How will the social environment be? How much can we adapt? How much can our child adapt? We always had such concerns. We researched foreign schools a bit, and looked into their success rates, not to send him to an inconsequential place, and I was not really comfortable about foreign schools... Similarly, we need to make a difference for our daughter, too, I know it. I already hope that she will be successful enough to get fifty percent scholarship at least so that she can go to the same school as her brother. (P-PR6, Appendix I, 75.)

There is a culture of the school, a 100-year-old history but also turned towards the future, not narrow-minded or stuck. And children develop a sense of attachment, not dependence, to each other without knowing it, between older and younger students... They are not so aware of it during school years, but I could see it after the graduation here, so I wanted my child to experience this. (P-PR4, Appendix I, 76.)

Teachers of private school also support these findings as they express similar reasons for preferences of the parents for choosing their school:

There is a privilege because it is known that the school does not forget about its graduates in life, both in terms of job opportunities and also fraternal associations, and they have a strong place in the social network, as well. (T-PR1, Appendix I, 77.)

It is a 126-year-old, long-standing school that has proven its worth. It is very important for them. Another thing I observed when I got in is that the Alumni Association really works very well, and they are very good in communicating with and supporting each other. Parents often believe that it leads to selective attention at the work places to have this school as the high school in a resume. I think it is the name of the school. (T-PR3, Appendix I, 78.)

In relation to high school choices, all these narratives indicate that dispositions of the parents toward public or private education might be different. Therefore, it may not be possible to make strong inferences from the data to assert that parents in a certain middle-class location prefer a certain type of schooling. While some parents have a tendency toward public education, others may prefer private schooling and others may choose both. However, in all three cases, parents are highly oriented towards providing the best education for their children through finding the best school and the

best teachers. On the other hand, it seems that decreasing education quality in public schools has become a more significant factor for parents in directing their preferences toward private schools.

5.3.5 Choosing a university

Parents' aspirations for university education are generally related to their hope for their children to have a fulfilling career, successful life and financial independence. Interestingly, most of them do not specify any jobs. Rather, they are generally more interested in the happiness of their children as it is expressed in the following statements of both public and private school mothers:

Everyone graduates from the university now. The important thing is for her to have good and successful education and be happy. We will keep striving for that. (P-PR7, Appendix I, 79.)

My child wants to be a medical doctor; let him be if he wants to, but I do not have any ambition to direct him in this way if he does not want to. I want them to be happy first of all. (P-PR8, Appendix I, 80.)

I did not have any dreams for their professions. I only believed that they need to have a profession so as not to lower their life standards, and I am trying to give the best support I can for this end. I would want them to earn an income that would not let them fall behind what they have seen. (P-PU2, Appendix I, 81.)

Let him be wherever he will be happy... Rather than being a doctor and unhappy, let him have a simple job and be happy. It is entirely his choice. I do not know how I can guide him on that, and I do not want him to be under my influence. He can decide properly when the time comes, but the important thing is that I want my child to enjoy studying it and be happy, but I want him to have a profession, to stand on his own feet, to have a job that will allow him to make a living, to live without being dependent on anyone. (P-PU8, Appendix I, 82.)

I would like him to go to the university, get a master's degree, and do a job that he will enjoy, that will make him happy. But just in case, I do not know it yet, I have no such dream, but it may be a university abroad, if it is what it takes for him to study in the department he likes. (P-PR1, Appendix I, 83.)

It seems that university choice is a family issue. However, parents still have much influence on the choices of their children. There are three university graduates and four university students in my sample. While four of them chose public universities, three of them chose private ones. Similar to high school choices, when parents have negative opinions about the public universities, if their children get scholarship, parents try to direct them for a private university option as in the following case, narrated by one of the mothers of the private school:

I hoped for my daughter to go to a private university with a scholarship because public universities have limited social facilities. She can get into the mathematics department of any university with her score, i.e. Istanbul University, Marmara University, but social facilities are limited in public universities and the education language is Turkish, so we preferred Yeditepe as she got hundred percent scholarship, and she would study mathematics in English, and the social facilities are more diverse, so she would be in a better position. (P-PR7, Appendix I, 84.)

Even though parents do not initially prefer private universities, when their children could not get a score to enter one of the mostly preferred public universities of Turkey, they start considering alternative private universities after becoming convinced about their education quality, as they are also the most successful ones among others. One of the mothers from the public school explains this in detail:

We did not have Koç [University] in mind at the beginning. We visited many universities at the time, and we went to see it, too, you know, as it is customary, before we made our decision. I had very little negative opinion about Koç. We visited public universities, and Sabancı and Koç, too. We were welcomed so nicely, and they gave us a seminar. It was the dean and the professors who welcomed us. They gave information about the school and the education very well. You can visit the professors in each department, they were in their offices, we could get their opinions about the departments, and I saw that there were precious professors academically. So, I said, it was not empty at all, well, there is money involved, but there are good academic opportunities for those who want to benefit. The classrooms are nice, the library is very nice, and the surrounding natural environment is nice. You wish for your child to have nice physical conditions, too. Considering all of these together... And he wanted to study business administration, and his score was not enough to go to Boğaziçi. You wonder whether public or private university would be a better investment for him in terms of business

administration. That's how we decided on Koç, although it was difficult for us financially because we are both doctors. (P-PU6, Appendix I, 85.)

In some cases, parents think that university education in Turkey is not being satisfactory so that they consider universities abroad. This is expressed in the following narrative of a mother who had one daughter in a private school and one daughter in a public school:

I have been saving for both of them since they were infants. I entered a pension system for them, and we did not touch the savings for it was their money. We thought of using the money whenever we needed it for them. We rather thought it would be for the university. You know, if she wants to go abroad, here is your collected money or whatever, you know, private universities are more expensive in the US. (P-PU4, Appendix I, 86.)

5.4 “Making up” the middle class: Differentiation of the different through concerted cultivation

“Taste classifies and it classifies the classifier. Social subjects classified by the classification distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 6).

This section focuses on parents' attitudes toward enrichment activities using the conceptualization developed by Lareau (2002) and analyzes the meaning of concerted cultivation for parents and their preferences for children in relation to enrichment activities.

Findings of the study confirmed findings from the literature that parents value enrichment activities, as all of them provided opportunities for their children to attend diverse individual or collective lessons such as piano, guitar, basketball, swimming and language. It appears that parents clearly defined concerted cultivation, its aims, their individual motives and preferences for enrichment activities as summarized in Table 9.

Table 9. The Meaning of Concerted Cultivation and Parents' Dispositions toward Enrichment Activities

the meaning of concerted cultivation	Definition	parental duty
		mother responsibility
		self-development project
		making up a child
		material and emotional investment
	Aims	provide happiness
		discover different talents on time
		develop skills and talents
		support children
		reproduce middle-class position
		differentiating children from the majority
		differentiation of the different
dispositions toward enrichment activities	Motives	having lack of inherited cultural capital
		having a desire for compensating
		inadequacy of public schools
		lack of foreign language proficiency
	Preferences	language acquisition
		Sport
		Music

On the basis of this framework, starting with the meaning of concerted cultivation and parents' dispositions towards enrichment activities are further elaborated.

5.4.1 The meaning of concerted cultivation for parents

In this study, parents admitted that discovering and cultivating children's talents is a parental duty. They believed that the future of their children depends on current cultivation practices; therefore, it is better to start developing children as early as possible. It is important to note that, similar to the literature, this is mostly accepted as the mothers' duty. Mothers had a higher level of involvement in both searching and arranging the activities, compared to fathers. As one of the mothers from the private school explains:

What I do is my duty, I mean, I do not see it as self-sacrifice. I do not expect anything at all... Nothing is important other than their happiness. I do not care about anything else. (P-PR3, Appendix I, 87.)

Above all, when parents talked about their preferences for school choices and out-of-school activities, it was highly emphasized that they give utmost importance to the differentiation, well-being and happiness of their children. So, by providing the best education and equipping children with different talents and skills, middle-class parents expect that their children will eventually establish a happy middle-class life. Thus, they are mainly interested in transmitting middle-class advantage to their children so that they can live a good life, defined as a middle-class occupation, a satisfactory income and differentiated cultural capital. It is clearly seen in Figure 8 that parents generally used three words when they describe their future expectations, which was believed to result from having a qualified education and cultural acquisition: different, good and happy.

I am retired, some day in future... My spouse is retired, too, but still working. We do not know what lies ahead. Certainly, everybody wants – all citizens except for a very particular segment – to live a comfortable life and offer a good future to our children without being strained financially. For that, we will surely make self-sacrifices for their education and development, whatever is needed... Just so they become successful and happy and do a job that they love. (P-PR7, Appendix I, 89.)

Similarly, one of the teachers from the public school shares that one of the main aims of middle-class parents is to reproduce themselves by means of education:

Most of the students here have access to certain things thanks to their parents' support... They all strive for them to enter the best schools in Turkey, to have professions with a good status, which are often engineering and medicine. (T-PU1, Appendix I, 90.)

What the mothers above are telling us is that cultural capital is expected to be converted into economic capital in the long run. When children enter into the labor market, it is believed that differentiated cultural capital will create an advantage. On the other hand, this does not mean that cultural capital is just for the acquisition of economic capital. As Vincent and Ball (2007) suggest, social learning is embedded in this process and it is also expected to develop children's behaviors, awareness and sense of responsibility. In the present study, these are also identified within the scope of middle-class habitus and identity as mothers from the private school expressed below:

It is important what you want to create here. A person who makes a good deal of money, but does not have any taste, any value judgment, versus a person who can make a living and strives to get to a certain point, but has an intellectual capacity, a strong social life and standards of judgment? It is important to keep both in balance. Whatever he does, let him do his best and be happy. (P-PR2, Appendix I, 91.)

I am not too ambitious, but I think one should add to what life has already offered them. We are going through all this stress because of the distorted education system, so I want them to be children who can think and question most of all... I want them to have some awareness... Let them be happy, but I want them to have responsibility, too. (P-PR8, Appendix I, 92.)

So, the reproduction of the middle class and making up middle-class children require not only good schooling which leads to middle-class occupation and satisfactory income, but also development of talents, skills and behaviors which contribute to their differentiation in the competition through out of school enrichment activities. In other words, parents are highly aware of the fact that educational capital in the form of academic qualifications is not adequate for differentiated concerted cultivation. This is clearly stated in the previous narratives and in the following statements of the mothers from the public school where they emphasize why it is important for them to go beyond acquisition of educational qualifications in the school:

It is not only about the lessons. You need to give them cultural stuff, too, so that the child can use his brain, reveal different aspects of him, and be differentiated from others. (P-PU7, Appendix I, 93.).

You see that people have graduated from such nice schools, and they go work at regular places. Why did you study, why did you get that education? So let her be more different among others, have more options. I am not bragging, but I tell my daughter, look, you entered a good school, you are a different person, and you handle two languages at this age. Two languages at the age of fifteen... (P-PU5, Appendix I, 94.)

Middle-class parents have a high level of enthusiasm for concerted cultivation since they believe that their children have different talents to be discovered and worked on. In other words, they generally focus on the differentiation of their children, who are already seen as different from birth. As Perrier (2012) points out:

The concerted cultivation approach which they found most middle-class parents adopting resulted in class dispositions being individualized: for example, the skills children learnt became seen as natural and essential qualities of the individual child. Although parents talked about the importance of fun for their children, they wanted to ensure that particular talents were located and made the most of so that the child could develop their natural potential (p. 657).

In a way, “making up” middle-class children is based on the idea of differentiating the different, as emphasized in the previous narratives and in the following examples of parents from the public school:

I always thought our child was different since the day he was born. I saw him different, and I thought he had different talents and that we need to develop them. (P-PU1, Appendix I, 95.)

She is a somewhat different child, and I cannot be modest about it... But we need to make good use of this difference. (P-PU5, Appendix I, 96.)

In another example, one of the mothers from the private school narrates how she even worked with an education consultant to see whether their child was really talented and different:

Well, every mother believes that her child is the most brilliant and talented person in the world. Unfortunately, we are all like that. My child is very brilliant and talented, but his talent could not be discovered. I am like that, too, because they always said my son was very good, very talented... A great child, wonderful. And I hired an educational consultant to discover my son’s talents, but he also said he is very good, very different, very talented. (P-PR4, Appendix I, 97.)

Furthermore, some parents perceived concerted cultivation as a project of self-development. However, during the interviews, this idea was mostly asserted by the parents who have one child:

He is an only child, and has a heavy burden on him; I mean all expectations are on his shoulders. The more you load up a child, the more output you get. If we give a lot of input, we will expect a lot of output. So one needs to address and evaluate the child, like some sort of development project. (P-PU1, Appendix I, 98.)

You have one child, and it is about how you will put this to good use. The child should be evaluated and guided properly so that he will do his best. So we always set big goals, and targeted for him to develop himself further. (P-PR2, Appendix I, 99.)

As Vincent and Ball (2007) claimed, “the child here is understood as a project – soft, malleable and able to be developed and improved, with the “good” parent presenting

a myriad of opportunities and support for the child to have a range of learning experiences” (p. 1065). This idea was confirmed by some of the school administrators who also think that there has been a change in the rationality of these parents related to childrearing practices:

The biggest change in parents, as I see it, is that today’s parents create project children, I mean, everything is planned and scheduled, they have made up their mind as to how to raise that child. They give birth to that child, and leave nothing to chance, and they are often over-involved, so the child’s personality and life is under too much influence. (A-PR2, Appendix I, 100.)

In the following cartoon, Behiç Ak illustrates a child who is seen as a project starting from his birth where he also accepts himself as a “project child” in Figure 9.



Figure 9. Behiç Ak, cartoon no. 2

On the basis of these propositions, in the next section, I focus on parents’ preferences in more detail in order to understand how they work within a middle-class habitus and serve for class reproduction.

5.4.2 Parents' dispositions towards concerted cultivation: Mothers as concerted cultivation managers

When exploring parents' preferences for concerted cultivation, it appeared that language acquisition, sport and music were the most preferred enrichment activities respectively. As a brief note, since some families had more than one child and some children had more than one activity, the total number of children who attended enrichment activities exceeded the total numbers of children. In sum, 28 children attended 61 different activities starting from their early ages. The frequency of these activities is presented in Table 10.

Table 10. Children Participation in Enrichment Activities

Parents	Foreign Language				Music	Sport	Art	Drama
	English	German	French	Spanish				
PPR-1		1				1	1	
PPR-2	1		1		1	1		
PPR-3	2					1		
PPR-4	1							
PPR-5					2	1		
PPR-6					2	2		
PPR-7	1				1	1	1	
PPR-8	1				1	1		
P-PU1	1							
P-PU2	3	1	1	1		1		1
P-PU3	2					2		1
P-PU4	1	1			2		2	1
P-PU5	1	1			1		1	
P-PU6	2	2			1	1		
P-PU7	1				1			
P-PU8	1	1				1		
TOTAL	18	7	2	1	12	13	5	3

When parents are convinced that their children are different and talented, it becomes very important for them to discover the right talent(s) on time to be developed properly. So, until finding the right one(s), they try to arrange different out-of-school

enrichment activities. As emphasized by Bourdieu (2006), acquisition of cultural capital goes beyond education and it is “the precondition for the fast, easy accumulation of every kind of useful cultural capital, starts at the outset, without delay, without wasted time, only for the offspring of families endowed with strong cultural capital” (p. 108). Based on this rationality, in the following cartoon, parents’ interest for enrichment activities is well illustrated where the mother explains that their child is very talented in different areas and how they try to develop his talents through enrichment activities in Figure 10.

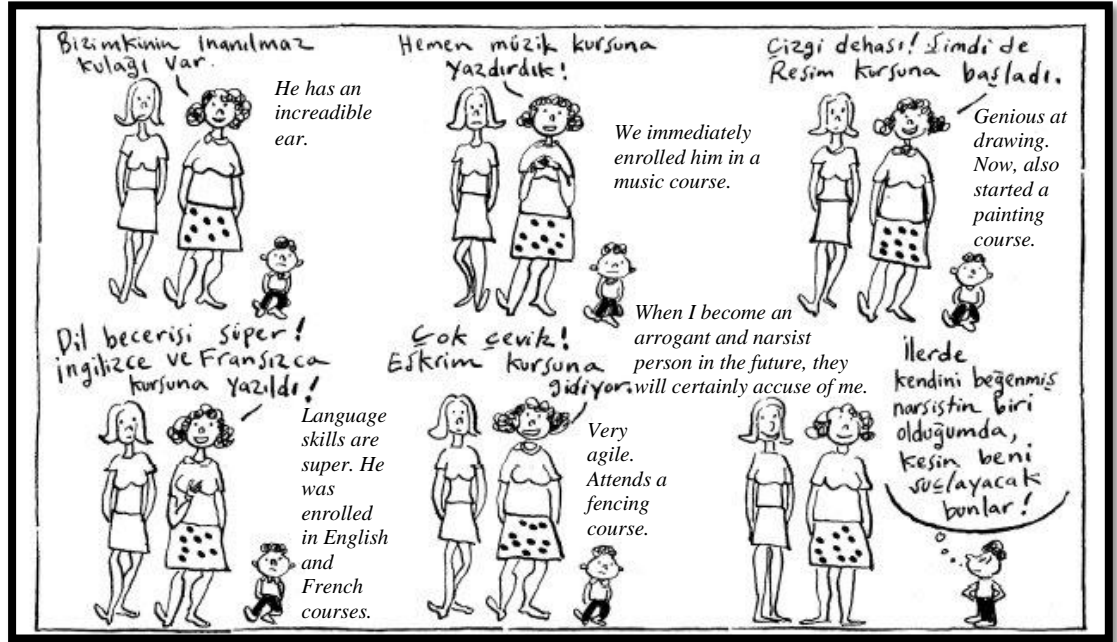


Figure 10. Behiç Ak, cartoon no. 3

Parents may even become more anxious in creating different opportunities, especially when their children attend public schools. Since these schools fail to satisfy their expectations in terms of providing talent development chances, they try to compensate this disadvantage through making them to attend individual or collective out-of-school activities. In the following narratives, a father from the private school and a mother from the public school explain all of these factors and the way they manage the process for their children:

Certainly, sports have priority. They attended something every year, and they still do. Or, we do not want to miss it if they have an artistic talent, so one of them takes piano lessons and the other takes guitar lessons. Because we know that the public schools cannot possibly discover their talents and suggest us directions, we tried to pick up things before it was too late... Gymnastics, whatever they are interested in, you will definitely be involved in a branch of sports. Then, begging them to play an instrument, and perhaps it is our longing... They will be taught mathematics, physics, chemistry at school more than they want, but there are things that they cannot get there. Let us not waste and discover their talents in time. We take them from one place to another, and we will see what will come up. The weekend is all about commuting between courses for us. Even though we get bored, we take our books and wait as they do their thing. (P-PR6, Appendix I, 101.).

We were not being cared like that, never like that. After their lessons, they get German, English, they have everything. We enrolled her in a German course in Marmara University, and she has been going there for three weeks. I also take her to painting lessons. We took a break unfortunately, for three years, she was going to the swimming course, too, but it ended because of the private course. Since the school does not offer these facilities... (P-PU5, Appendix I, 102.)

Parents try to make sure that the leisure time of the children is well-organized and filled with enrichment activities. Teachers share similar observations about parents' high levels of interest toward enrichment activities:

Whatever their areas of interest, children are directed to these courses, and they send them to this course and that course, you know, the parent commutes along with them. (T-PR3, Appendix I, 103.)

What happened if there is more than one child in the family? They try to provide equal opportunities as much as possible for all of their children. Thus, obviously, more time, and energy of the mothers and money are required. In the following example, one of the mothers from the public school narrates their experiences for their three children:

We demonstrated many sportive activities to them in due time. We hired tutors, for example tennis, basketball, volleyball, athletics, swimming, whatever was possible at the time. They carried on with what they liked, and they got to see those that they did not like. So they had our support in that regard. There was not a gym in the public school. They would come from school, and rush to the sports. My older daughter speaks English like her

mother tongue, and learned German partly. We gave her full support. She also learned Spanish. So did the boy, he speaks two languages. (P-PU2, Appendix I, 104.)

As it is seen clearly, the whole process requires enormous efforts of parents to allocate considerable time and energy during the weekends and weekdays after school. As it is also demonstrated in the related literature, it is generally the mothers who have the chief responsibilities in searching and arranging extra-curricular activities. In the following example, one of the mothers narrates how she is highly involved in the process of concerted cultivation of her two children starting from their very early ages:

I searched for a painting teacher first, to show her drawings to see if she had any talent. I found a painting teacher who tutors primary school students. I showed her the drawings, and she said, "Very nice, come over to my studio." I started her on drawing lessons. We went and sat there, and my younger daughter was five years old. She suggested giving her a canvas, too, so she started painting with her sister at the age of five. I was along with them everywhere, and the girls carried on during their trainings. Then my older daughter wanted to play the violin. We bought a violin right away. A friend of mine was a music teacher at the school. She invited us to check her musical ear. I took her. She said she had a fine ear for music. After that, the younger one said she would like to play something, piano, for example. So she started playing the piano. And all those years, I carried them to the violin and piano lessons. When there was a performance in the school, my daughters were up front. They participated in the folk dancing groups. Especially my younger daughter, she dances so well, she is cut out for the stage. Then they joined the choir, whatever, anything offered at the school. The same happened here. I sent them to the music course at the conservatory, and the teacher told them both to take the half-time exam of the conservatory. They did. Both entered the flute department. So we bought a flute for each. So much spending. I do not know which one I should count, as I have spent so much on their education. (P-PU4, Appendix I, 105.)

Besides searching and finding the suitable courses and teachers, and carrying children to the activity places, mothers are also required to arrange housework in an organized way so that nothing would become disrupted at home while dealing with children's activities. This requires having skills for effective planning and

organization as expressed in the following narrative of a mother from the private school:

My son was very talented in swimming, and I enrolled him in the swimming school here, but the hours did not match. Like rally racers, I would put his swimsuit in the car, he would get dressed in the back seat of the car, and I would drive him to the course. I did this for three years, I swear, three days a week for three years. My daughter could not stay at home at the time, so she would also come down, doing her homework until seven-seven thirty, and we would hang around in the school. But I would set the table and prepare the dinner at home, because he would be hungry as soon as he came from swimming. I would give their meal before I took off my coat. (P-PR3, Appendix I, 106.)

As the schools are also highly aware of the fact that parents give importance to enrichment activities, during the school presentation day, I observed that social clubs were among the mostly marketed activities of the private school as the school administrator highly emphasized the importance of skills development in addition to academic success.

Besides art and sport activities, another significant component of concerted cultivation appeared as acquisition of foreign languages. All of the parents underlined the significance of speaking a foreign language fluently. While English is accepted as a must, German is seemed to be second preferred language. Interestingly enough, acquisition of a foreign language even becomes more significant for the parents who do not possess any language proficiency. They expressed that since they do not want their children experience any difficulties in their lives similar to their own, they make strong efforts to support their children for learning more than one foreign language. Parents whose children go to public school feel more obliged to support their children either by enrolling them in collective courses or having private tutors. In the following statements, mothers explain why they give importance to learning a foreign language:

We were begging my daughter, please, please, but this year she pleads to learn two languages together. Now he enrolled her in a German course; the father, he has suffered more, so he is now more insistent than me. (P-PU5, Appendix I, 107.)

I have felt the same deficiency myself for years as a doctor who does not speak a foreign language. I am trying not to let my children experience the same. These children will speak a foreign language, and they can go abroad after they complete their education. We support them anyway. (P-PU2, Appendix I, 108.).

For English lessons, we would pay to hire a tutor. My daughter went to a public primary school, but she attended the English course at Marmara University for two and a half years. Every weekend, we would take my son's skateboard, along with two-three undershirts to change if he sweated, and sandwiches, as there was no money to buy them. So I sent my daughter to the English course like that for two and a half years. My son also went to the public school. The primary school part of the English course at Marmara University was closed by then, so I took him to a university around Fikirtepe, Okan University, for two years. I did my best. I do not speak a foreign language, perhaps I had such a complex, and tried to push the children in this direction. But I do not know, time will show if it worked out well. (P-PR3, Appendix I, 109.)

Although there is one year preparation for English in a private school, it is not rare among parents to take individual private courses for their children to help them improve and practice their language as explained by one of the mothers from the private school:

I am mostly concerned about English. Because I am not fluent in English, but I can have all sorts of communication with my little English knowledge, so I think it would make things easier for him to be fluent in a foreign language. He currently receives assistance from a teacher friend of ours for English. What is this assistance like? They review his homework together once a week for an hour, so he practices a bit through conversations over the homework, because our father was not so much, I mean, the level of English expected at the school and the father's English is not sufficient. (P-PR4, Appendix I, 110.)

All of these examples indicated that middle-class parents in the research conform to the logic and the norms of the concerted cultivation approach in the literature.

Therefore, it seems that enrichment practices have become part of their middle-class

habitus. Accordingly, in order to create middle-class children and reproduce middle-class positions, they are ready to live children-centered life and organize their daily routines accordingly. Furthermore, all of these efforts on education are defined as a kind of financial and emotional investment. Related to this rationality, it emerged that parents mostly use the words “investment” and “money” when they refer to academic and cultural capital acquisition process, as demonstrated in Figure 11.



Figure 11. The most frequently used words in the narratives of the parents for academic and cultural acquisition process developed through analysis of data in MAXQDA 12

When this investment is further investigated, including expenditures for school and out-of-school enrichment activities, it seems that parents allocate a significant portion of their family budget to support their children during the cultural capital acquisition process, as it is explained in the following statements of both public and private school parents:

We send them to the school, plus to the private course, plus books... My older daughter has a flute tutor once a week, she loved playing the flute. My younger daughter did not like it, she did not enjoy it as much as the violin. She dropped it. The tutor teaches both piano and the flute, both of them, it is nice. We carry on education and training in every area. Other than that, they went to the language course. My younger daughter received German classes. We sent her to a summer school. And they went to Spain last year with a music group from the school. We spend money for all of these just so they go and see things. We do not spare it; unlimited spending for education. (P-PU4, Appendix I, 111.)

I had calculated it for my older daughter once. Even though she got a scholarship, it was 50% or something until the fourth grade, I paid part of it. For two children, I think I could buy a good luxury car or a mid-size apartment with that money today. (P-PR5, Appendix I, 112.)

We have invested everything we have in them. Thankfully, my younger daughter is going to a public school now, but the older sister does many things, so she also wants to do things, and we support any social activity they want, not to let her fall behind. (P-PU6, Appendix I, 113.)

Well, I must have spent 120 billion for my daughter just for the education, which is apparent in the school tuition mainly, excluding other little things. For my son, because we sent him there after the secondary school, he got a scholarship, and including the secondary school, it will be more or less the same. (P-PR3, Appendix I, 114.)

We spent, we invested enough money to buy a small apartment. I say investment because we made an investment in his life. Not that we expect any repayment. The expenses increase day by day, and so are the expectations. (P-PR1, Appendix I, 115.)

This situation which is illustrated perfectly by Behiç Ak in Figure 12, demonstrating the cost of education for the families.

Some parents think that as there has been an increasing competition among parents during the education of the children, educational expenses also increase accordingly.

A mother from the public school states that:

Well, the families around us are too much involved in everything, it is like families are competing, we are all too much involved in it. In our time, it was more like, I mean, okay, everybody went to school, but our lessons and everything was our responsibility. Now families involve too much and educational spending increases day by day. (P-PU6, Appendix I, 119.)

Although monetary resources allocated to children's enrichment are defined as investment, the end result is not expected to be measured with the idea of return on investment, as explained by a mother from the private school:

In terms of development, the investments in our child increase and will increase. Perhaps it will not be worth it. Investment in education is a matter of chance. Perhaps it will not be worth it, perhaps there are simpler things that could give happiness. But I will keep investing as long as he wants. I do not expect any return from him. (P-PR1, Appendix I, 120.)

Given what the data demonstrated, it is possible to conclude that the process of “making up” middle-class children has increasingly become a more complex, expensive and labor-intensive process. Since middle-class parents are highly concerned about the future, they try to invest in the cultural capital of their children for the purpose of helping them to be differentiated from the others in the labor market. It seems that parents' similar dispositions toward concerted cultivation are shaped by the mentality of differentiation. However, this differentiation not only serves for reproduction of middle-class advantage (Devine, 2004), but also creation of exclusionary practices. While they are important in transmitting life skills to the children, they also contribute to creation of “a cult of individualism within the family” (Lareau, 2002, p. 748.)

On the basis of this individualism, parents normalize the idea that they need to work on children's self-development. For the best interest of their children, this is seen as the main requirement of behaving as ideal responsible parents. Thus, investing for concerted cultivation is accepted almost as a truth and the taken-for-granted ways of good parenting. From the perspective of governmentality, their desires, choices and actions seem to be directed by the rationality of neoliberalism, where they are encouraged to develop their children. And their continuous efforts for enriching their children have become part of their middle-class habitus and lifestyle.

Although the capacity of parents to act responsibly and make rational choices for the education of their children depends on their level of economic, cultural and social capital, it is obvious that without mothers who struggle to make all the arrangements, the whole process is impossible to be administrated. As Reay (2005) argues:

...mothers have a different relationship to the generation of cultural capital and, concomitantly, social class than fathers. It is mothers who are making cultural capital work for their children. And it is they, more than men, who appear to be the agents of social class reproduction (p. 113).

On the basis of these considerations, in the next section, I try to elaborate the gendered character of educational work more through making comparisons between involvement of mothers and fathers in education life of their children.

5.5 The gendered character of middle-class family involvement in education

In recent years, it is obvious that the education workload of the families has increased in general and middle-class families in particular. This has influenced mothers since their domestic labour has also included extensive educational work (Reay, 2005).

Therefore, it is now generally accepted that "the everyday work of education is

primarily the realm of women” (Golden & Erdreich, 2014, p. 263). During the interviews, parents also shared many narratives confirming this assertion. As one of the parents underlines, mothers dedicate themselves more for their children’s care and education compared to fathers:

I dedicated myself to them, everyone knows it. My husband works 24/7, and I take care of children. A babysitter, but you could call not it a slave rather than a housewife. (P-PR3, Appendix I, 121.)

In the cartoon below (Figure 13), Behiç Ak illustrates well the workload of mothers who live a children-centered life.

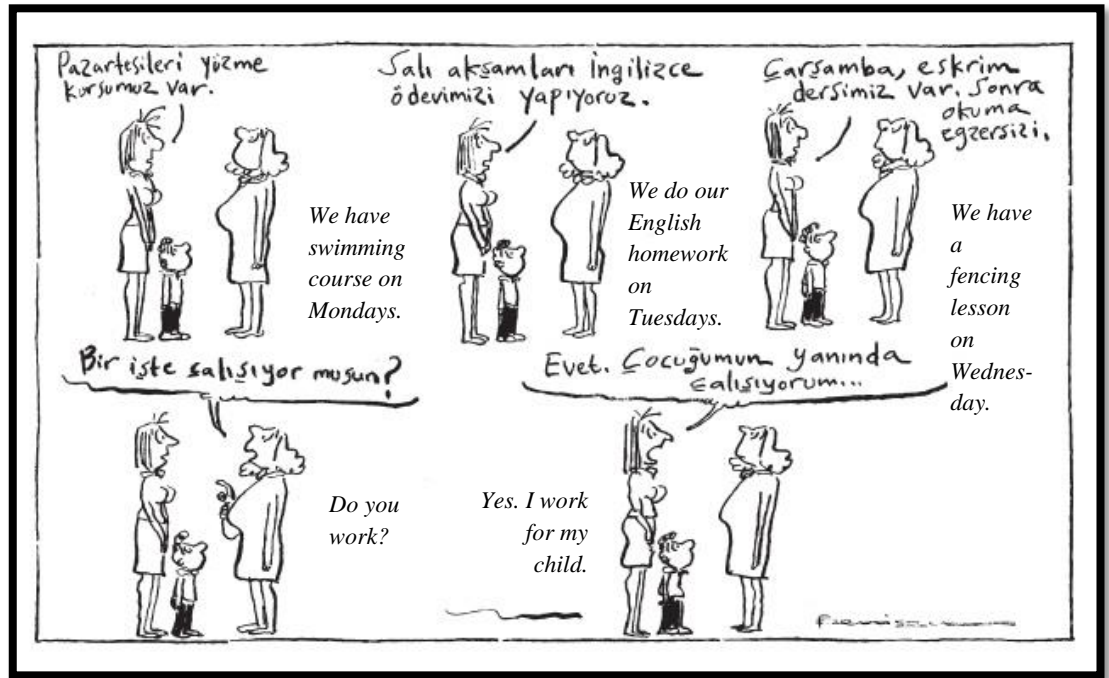


Figure 13. Behiç Ak, cartoon no. 5

This study demonstrates that while mothers generally deal with the daily tasks of education such as preparing children for school, talking to administrators and teachers, participating in parent meeting days, fathers are mostly involved in education of their children when significant decisions need to be taken such as choosing the school or when the big problems need to be solved at the school. In

other words, the educational responsibilities of the mothers and the fathers seemed to be clearly differentiated. In the following examples, on the basis of their individual observations and experiences, administrators and teachers explain the difference between mother and father involvement in education:

In these middle-class families, well, some mothers have a university degree, but may prefer to quit work. In such families, let's say, the father is a medical doctor, or a lawyer, or a company manager, and the mother does not work to pay more attention to children's education, so we see mothers more often. (A-PU2, Appendix I, 122.)

Fathers get involved in more serious matters, I mean, we see fathers when handling critical matters. Mothers are more involved, and if there is a significant expectation from the school, the father comes over. Other than that, fathers are not so involved. If there is a problem to be solved, let's say a critical incident with the school or friends, the father gets involved, implying that it will be a different thing to get the father involved, and he expects the school to satisfy him that we do something about the issue as the school. There are examples of it. Other than that, fathers rarely come to ask for cooperation when a child has difficulty in mathematics, for instance; mothers are more involved in such matters. (A-PR1, Appendix I, 123.)

It is usually the mothers who contact me directly. They either send e-mails, or come to the meeting hours. Mothers are the key here. If the father comes, it definitely means there is a problem. (T-PR5, Appendix I, 124.)

Fathers are about providing for the conditions to send the child to a private school. So it is more difficult for him to visit the school, and even when they come, they feel like "why am I here?", somewhat pressing on us. Mothers are more engaged, more enthusiastic, more curious. It is usually the mothers who attend to the school affairs of the children. (T-PR2, Appendix I, 125.)

As it is obvious, the father is perceived and accepted as an authority figure who deals with macro-issues of education. On the contrary, mothers spend their time with micro-issues such as monitoring the success of their children and maintaining daily relations with the school:

I am usually the one who communicates with the school. My husband does not like it much, I do not know, going to the meetings and all. He is attentive to his daughters, do not take me wrong, he is interested in his daughters, in their education, but he prefers that I attend to such communications. (P-PU6, Appendix I, 126.)

It is often the mothers who shoulder responsibility. Fathers do not get involved because he comes home at eight, how can he get involved? I always carry on the communication with the school. I let him spend some time for affection, but if I find it too difficult, I receive support from him. (P-PU5, Appendix I, 127.)

Furthermore, their close monitoring role can create problems for mothers in their relations with children since they also deal with disciplinary issues of education. One of the teachers from the private school narrates how she even faced situations in which the mothers cried:

Fathers are... I will now use the phrase of good cop, bad cop, but indeed, a parent had said she was the bad cop at home, because, unfortunately, she was the one imposing the rules, constantly reminding that these times would go by quickly, or reacting to a poor school report. Two mothers had even cried in front of me about this, and it had really touched me... As I said, I am sure that fathers do not give much support on this. (T-PR1, Appendix I, 128.)

Together with increasing roles and responsibilities, mothers have almost become education experts while monitoring the academic success of their children so closely and taking action accordingly. In a similar manner, Reay (2005) defines mothers as “home based educators of their children”. They even know every little detail of the courses, where and when their children fell behind and need support:

Well, which tutor will teach what lesson, what topic he needs to study more, what he does not know in grammar, for example. I call the tutor to say “he does not understand the gerundial, can you come over tomorrow for a lesson?” Many families must be acting like me, like us. You monitor the curriculum, even the results of the private course exams, and it says your child gave the right answer to 5 out of 10 questions on prime numbers. So let’s get some assistance to the child on prime numbers. Our children receive such supports. (P-PU2, Appendix I, 129.)

Furthermore, during the interviews, some of the parents stated that they voluntarily worked as classroom mothers in the public schools. This finding is also compatible with the recent research exploring voluntary mother participation in schools in Istanbul (Apak-Kaya, 2014). As it is argued in her study, mothers have started to take

part in the running of the schools with the discourse of parental participation. This is the case in the times of the implementation of the neoliberal policies in education. It is mainly because of the lack of public funding has caused the schools to meet their own needs with their own monetary solutions. Within this context, it is also found that middle-class mothers are more suitable candidates to become classroom mothers as they have necessary economic and cultural capital for helping the teachers on “a variety of issues from the hygiene of the classroom to organizing events, or from fundraising and money collecting for the classroom and the school needs, to assisting the teacher in some office work” (p. 10). In this research, it is mostly the case that mothers who could meet the requirements of the position are generally the housewives who could allocate their time and energy for the school:

I was the class representative in each class in each school. I would assist the teacher in anything. In the primary school, too, for both of them, I was the classroom mother. Whatever the school needed. I was around in the reading day. Or, when they need costumes, the teacher calls me immediately, what should we do, we need this or that, can you do it for us, or can you find it? I make a quick research. It is the case here, too, always. Now we will be arranging the costumes. (P-PU4, Appendix I, 130.)

Especially, when mothers take a break from the work, they think that it is suitable for them to be a classroom mother:

I liked being around the child first of all, seeing how she is there. Then I was the classroom mother. I was not working then. I was available and also because I like the kids... I got to be closer with my child and also do a service. I was the classroom mother for both of my daughters. Then you get to see it more closely, what the child is doing, what is the education like, and you get closer with the teacher. (P-PU6, Appendix I, 131.)

Canan: What did you do as the classroom mother?

Well, we assisted with whatever the teacher needed. At the year-end, for example, dresses needed to be prepared, and there was a lot of organization stuff to do, plenty of things, and we gave support for them. (P-PU6, Appendix I, 132.)

Besides taking roles as classroom mothers, some of the mothers stated that they work in Parent-Teachers Association in order to take a more active role in the school while already dealing with the educational work of their children. Different than the previous cases, the following narratives belong to a mother who works at outside:

The reason why I joined the Parent-Teacher Association was that a friend suggested it. My three children were there. I wanted to see what was going on behind the scenes and also to do some service. I am the vice president now. There are four-five people working. I already visit the school often for the children. Something comes up for one of them almost every day. I already go to the school very often, so I could at least help out with something, give some support. (P-PR8, Appendix I, 133.)

In most of the cases, mothers also form informal network groups through organizing breakfasts, lunches or meetings to inform each other on a regular basis for the issues regarding their children's education. As one of the mothers from the private school explains, this informal network process works in this way:

In a previous meeting, now that it is the prep class B, a couple of parents met each other, and one of the parents suggested having breakfast together to be in contact regarding our children... At the primary school, we could reach anyone at any time if we had a question or something... Here, you come individually and leave after the meeting, and you cannot meet other parents, so we wanted to gather by ourselves to keep in touch about the children. It made sense to all of us, 'sure, why not,' we said. Five-six parents met at a breakfast three-four days later. We now gather once a month. We were at a breakfast just yesterday, after the meeting. We can monitor which child is doing what. (P-PR7, Appendix I, 134.)

In some cases, involvement of mothers turns to be an excessive intervention when they request from teachers to increase the scores of the exam or course grades of their children. Since there is high level of competition among students for entering the best high schools or universities, school grades have become very significant factor for determining success levels in the placement exams. As placement scores are calculated on the basis of the exam results and year-end average success scores of the students, those who have higher year-end average scores can be placed in upper level

schools. In relation to this, private schools have generally been blamed for giving inflated grades to their students.⁸

In my research, this act is also underlined by one of the private school administrators. She explains how mothers could easily call teachers or administrators to account for the grades and ask for the fake grading especially when they think that their children get behind the competition. Ironically, they even call this situation as unjust treatment when the school does not give positive response to their request:

Here is a good example. The child got seventy at the written exam, and the oral exam grade was eighty. They come to ask why it is eighty. Because the teacher deemed so. ‘Why eighty, this child will take the transition exam, the GPA is important as he applies for the university entrance, do not let him suffer...’ ‘Could you do a favor and give eighty five, ninety, why not a hundred...’ ‘Other schools give double report cards, why are you being so meticulous?’ But I have a standing. That school issues double report cards, is it a good example? Should I also give double report cards and deceive people? Can I set a good example to the child by giving double report cards, by lying? Is this the right way? ‘Sure, it is not the right way,’ they say, stepping back. So they ask me to be dishonest, to issue double report cards, to give hundred points to all. It seems ugly to me that they can even ask for it, but there are those who do as they question the grades. (A-PR1, Appendix I, 135.)

It seems that increasing pressures from mothers for increasing the grades of their children put both teachers and administrators in a difficult situation. One of the teachers from the private school explains this through also criticizing the unethical behavior of the mother:

⁸This system is open to discussion as some of the schools –mostly private schools- are blamed for providing inflated grades to their students for increasing year-end average scores and success levels in the placements. As expected, this practice puts other students in a disadvantaged position who are given actual grades. For instance, in 2014, students of three prominent high schools in Istanbul (Istanbul High School, Galatasaray High School and American Robert College) hired a lawyer to defend them against the accusation of Ministry of National Education for investigation of inflated grades. Ministry inspectors identified nine schools (one public and eight private high schools) which increased course scores of the students (<http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/955897-hormonlu-karneler-yakalandi>). However, identified actions were not evaluated as a systematic practice of the schools and only teachers were accused of distributing high grades to the students.

Our job is getting difficult, it makes us feel burnout. The parent comes and call us to account for the grades; why my child got 70 in the exam and 80 in oral exam, other schools are giving double report cards, why are you so rigorous. This demand is really shameful, but there are parents who question these. (A-PR4, Appendix I, 136.)

The pressure of parents may even force administrators to change their grading policies as they do not want to be blamed for influencing students' placement exam results negatively. One of the public school parents narrates how parents' expectations shaped the practices of the school:

The schools give hundred points all too often, raising the child's GPA. It puts the child one step ahead even with a little difference. The teachers asked difficult questions in the exams here. Certainly we would have a difference, we cannot ask simple questions, they thought. They did so for three years. But there was too much pressure from the parents on the principal this year, complaining that their children got 60-70 points all the time, and other schools' students passed them easily. The principal said this year they would raise the grades, as the teachers would ask questions accordingly. (P-PU4, Appendix I, 137.)

These examples demonstrate that actual practices within the field have significant influences on transformation of education. On the other hand, in other cases, parents question teachers in terms of the reasons of academic failure of their children on the basis of their grades. During one of my interviews with the administrator in the private school, I had a chance to observe a similar situation. I came across a situation where one of the 9th grade parents requested to see the assistant principal in order to discuss the exam results of her twins in the foreign language course. As my interviewee had to meet with the parent, our interview was interrupted. After completing her conversation, she came back and explained the situation and expectation of the parent from the school:

The mother says, "My daughter got 70." They are twins. The highest grade in the class was 72. One of them got 70, and the other got 59. She panicked as she got 59. She almost measures her success with 59. There are different perspectives; she has a parent's perspective, and we have an educator's

perspective. She sees the grade, and I see the content; I see something is lacking in content. She asks why we do not work harder on students where they are weaker. For example, she says, a friend of hers has her child in Koç, and they give a lot of homework there, and they stay up all night doing their homework. You cannot explain to the parent that there is a different profile in Koç, the students have different mentalities there. I tried to explain it implicitly, that some children are more social, for example, our students complain that there are too many exams, but they do not cut their coat to suit their cloth, as they carry on with their social life. They go out with friends anyway. She says others do it, too. Okay, so they must be able to keep it in balance, I said. But they also read newspapers, get curious, talk politics when they come together, the current events. What do ours talk about? Then, we offer study times, but the students do not attend by themselves, so you need to say that they have to stay for the study time. They say they will do so. But, I say... Sometimes we have to tell parents things that we do not believe, and yes, they compare with other schools, and just like this, parents come with unrealistic expectations. (A-PR2, Appendix I, 138.).

All these narratives confirm the arguments of Apple (2001) who underlines the escalating demands of middle-class parents for accountability with the effects of increasing competition. Related to this, teachers and administrators think that these types of excessive intervention and involvement of mothers are the result of their high ambitions. In both schools, similar behaviors are observed in relation to the issue of questioning the grades of the children by the mothers:

When children cannot be very successful, they complain that they cannot get above 60-70 grades in spite of all the private courses... They are too ambitious, they are all about... Certainly, every parent wants to do something good for their children... But if you do not provide tutoring, then they hire tutors outside. Then the parent blames me. They say things like the tutor said the questions we asked were extracurricular... (T-PU2, Appendix I, 139.)

As if the student's exam grade is the parent's own grade, they get angry at the teacher, why 70, why 60, why 50. (P-PR3, Appendix I, 140.)

Mothers are more involved in this. The child's grades, exam success... I think it is overwhelming, I mean, they are suffocating the child. The parents tend to see the success and failure as shared, I mean, the shared success of the parent and the child. I observe that they feel that they fail when the child fails. (A-PU2, Appendix I, 141.)

The parents can become very ambitious sometimes, much more ambitious than the child. (T-PR3, Appendix I, 142.)

Canan: How can you tell?

Well, it is quite obvious actually. They know the grades of other students; ‘Someone got 90; what mistakes did my child do that he could not get 90?’ Some parents can get very pushy. For example, the report cards were printed on Wednesday, and a parent came that day to ask for changing, raising the grades. I told her that we could not. She demanded “why not?” for a long time. (T-PR3, Appendix I, 143.)

I see some parents regularly before every exam. ‘Could you give us a list of the topics?’ ‘He got 45 at the oral exam. What did he do wrong?’ or ‘He got 90 at the oral exam. What did he do wrong?’ (T-PU2, Appendix I, 144.)

As in these cases, it is very surprising to see that mothers may even evaluate the success or failure of their children as their own. Whatever the motives behind their actions, these interventions obviously cannot be regarded as examples of positive parental involvement in education. However, they clearly show how mothers can push the borders for increasing positional advantages of their children.

Another most striking finding of the study is related to the gendered character of family involvement is appeared in relation to the level of integration of mothers with children. This specifically reveals itself when the mothers use a language of “we”, instead of “she or he” when referring to their children. They generally prefer using statements such as “we are coming from the public school”, “our teacher was very qualified”, “we went to a boutique *dershane*”, “our English is not good”, “we studied with a private tutor”. This is highly different from the fathers since they do not prefer to talk with “we” when narrating their children’s experiences.

On the other hand, some mothers who work outside the home might feel regret and guilt when they think that they are not able to provide enough time for their children during their education. In the following example, one of the public school mothers shares her feelings of sorrow:

I was the one who attended to my children more, but like all working mothers, I could not pay enough attention. I always felt it. I regretted not

being around for them enough later on. I was more involved with my younger daughter, as my workload lessened. I saw for myself how much they needed me. (P-PU2, Appendix I, 145.)

It is also interesting to see that those mothers who sacrifice themselves for their children also feel regret and guilt due to quitting their job and not working outside.

As one of the private school mothers explains:

I regretted quitting my job. My daughter, when she was 9-10 years old, said to me one day, ‘Why did you quit?’ I said I quit my job for them. She said, ‘no, my grandmother could look after us if you could manage for five years.’ What my daughter said weighed on me. If my child is saying this to me... I felt even worse. She still says she wishes I did not quit. Such things happened. (P-PR3, Appendix I, 146.)

As demonstrated in these two different examples, mothers always carry the emotional burden of their actions related to their children. The decision to have a career or to become a housewife, may result in different ranges of emotion; unhappiness, regret and frustration. As expected, fathers do not demonstrate such self-reflective narratives during the interviews regarding their parenthood during the education of their children.

Nevertheless, all of these findings demonstrate a gendered division of labor in middle-class families in terms of the tasks that are expected to be carried out by the parents. It is obvious that mothers have more extensive educational work compared to fathers, such as attending school meetings, visiting teachers, supervising homework, providing necessary equipment, carrying children to the schools or private teaching centers and organizing private tutors as well as working as classroom mothers or taking roles in Parent-Teacher Association. As Reay (2005) describes, they are generally “doing the dirty work of social class” while supporting their children through the education years.

5.6 How the participants perceive neoliberal transformation in education

During the process of neoliberal transformation in education, while access to education has been commodified, education has also been defined as service, education quality has been equated with service provision and private schools have turned into service providers. Furthermore, the quality of education has become evaluated with the fee of the schools. However, there is a contradictory situation. On the one hand, schools with high fees are questioned for whether people are able to get their money's worth or not; on the other hand, schools with lower fees are criticized since it is believed that it is not possible to provide good service with such amounts, especially when teachers are given low wages under these circumstances. One of the private school administrators explains these considerations in the following statements:

It is like black and white; private schools on the one hand, and public schools on the other hand. Families are a bit troublesome, too, whether to send children to a public or a private school. There are pros and cons, nothing in-between. The private school has its pros and cons, too. I don't know if the service would justify such high fees. Private schools have different price policies. There are schools who charge ten thousand per student, but the school must be paying teachers lower salaries, and a teacher who is not financially satisfied cannot perform well, I think, it would be like you get what you pay for. (A-PR4, Appendix I, 147.)

With the impact of the market ideology, the competition between private schools and the most successful public schools have deepened. Within this context, public schools administrators are also aware of the fact that there is no fair competition in the field since private schools have different conditions compared to public ones, as one of the public school administrators expresses in the following statements:

Because there are so many private schools now, the families with good finances tend to send their children to private schools. It is because the public schools cannot offer enough compared to the private ones. (A-PU1 Appendix I, 148.)

Due to insufficient allocation of budget, public schools expect to be funded by the parents to meet their needs for cleaning, paying the bills, and so on. As one of the public school mothers clearly states, without their support, public schools cannot survive:

Well, they had asked for three thousand liras in the first year. We said we could not give three thousand, so we gave two thousand. It was in the prep year. They do not ask for money later on. It was five hundred liras for a year in the following years, and the principal had explained it very nicely to the parents. He said it was a contribution to the school. There was swine flu that year. He said he needed to do more cleaning, he needed more janitors because the state appoints only two janitors. I know it because I worked in a public school myself. The parents provide for many things. The state does not pay for much, for example, for the electricity, so the schools are usually in debt. So I gladly pay for my contribution, and we always tried to explain this to the parents. The principal said he did not ask for collective payment, but just fifty liras a month, so that he would have a regular income. The school had 1,200 students then, I do not know the figure now. It is a huge amount, if 1,000 parents gave fifty liras a month, and the school would be just fine, but not even that many of them paid. Many students come here from a private school, especially Bilfen. And those parents coming from Bilfen do not pay a dime. They say it is a public school. But you were paying Bilfen, plus expenses! There are many people around us going to the private school, and you can pay for the extras there, but you think fifty liras is too much here? I just cannot understand this. (P-PU4, Appendix I, 149.)

Even the MoNE states that these kinds of practices are forbidden, in reality, as public schools left without enough budgets, administrators or Parent-Teacher Association regularly collect money under the name of donations. Therefore, even if parents choose public schools, they are still required to pay for the education of their children. However, as it is obvious that parents pay more for private schools, they also expect to get more in terms of provision of excellent service and more differentiated enrichment activities. This is normalized and defined as a right in the following statements of the private school administrator:

They must be thinking that. How could they not? They pay thirty thousand liras annually. I am thinking that, too. If he pays so much for this, he will not get the same treatment as he does at the public school. In this sense, the expectations are limitless; for example, you offer basketball, volleyball, or

tennis classes, but they may demand squash, or fencing. They are naturally entitled to demand it as they send their children to a private school, so the options need to be wider. (A-PR3, Appendix I, 150.)

The market agenda of neoliberalism in education has not only created impacts on the workforce, parents and students, but also changed the relations among them. In the following narrative, one of the teachers from the private school explains how the introduction of market relations in education has affected the ways in which students and parents perceive teachers:

In my earlier years, I am not speaking for this school, but there used to be more respect for the teachers and even for the school personnel. I had seen it in my late years at my previous school, too. We feel that students have such a notion as ‘this is a paid school, certainly they will work to get paid,’ though it is never allowed, of course. It is what is going on underneath, or you meet with the parents to see that they are no different, I mean, the child should obtain these values in the family. (T-PR2, Appendix I, 151.)

In a similar manner, one of the parents who has also been working as a teacher summarizes the process of neoliberal transformation in education and how the relations among the actors have changed especially with respect to the parents-students-teachers relationship:

The generation of the ‘80s, those who have seen the ‘80s, around my age, became parents after the 2000s. They are mostly well-educated people compared with the past. Comparing the profile of parents who got a university degree with those who got a more traditional background, I bow respectfully before the traditional parents because they hold education and educators in high esteem, have confidence in teachers and the school, and aspire for their children to be well-educated. The profile of parents after the 2000s consists of those who got a university degree and achieved their financial status through their education, but they are very spoiled with no respect to the educator, no morale, not holding the education you gave to the child in esteem, not caring at all if we teach the child some manners, or what we give them socially or morally; they only care about grades, asking ‘what grade did you get’ rather than ‘what did you learn’. They treat their children with kid gloves, but they are not aware of how much trouble they will face later because they have lost the thread, cannot spare time for their children at home or outdoors, thinking that they already pay to send them to a private school, so they are completely preoccupied with work... Frankly, I don’t think the parents are so happy about this current situation, but they found

themselves in this position over time because of the economic structure, and comparatively speaking, I miss the former profile of parents. (P-PR5, Appendix I, 152.)

Within this context, the roles of administrators have also been redefined where they are responsabilized for putting market policies into practice. In other words, for influencing the decisions of the parents for choosing the private school, administrators are expected to work hard and find new ways to attract customers. Accordingly, they have to spend most of their time on marketing and advertising-related activities rather than education-related issues. In that context, they are also expected to manage the school with business objectives, as explained in the following narrative of the private school administrator:

We play a very active role in the promotion of the school, even more than we would anticipate or want... Who are our potential clients, whom should we address, and how can we attract more qualified students? The high school is not working at full capacity at the moment, it is not even profitable. There is a certain class capacity, i.e. 24 students for us. We do not have classes of 24 students; we have fewer students. Yes, we do not push for a lot of 24-student classes, because our primary school and kindergarten are profitable and compensating for the deficit, but yes, we are striving to attract parents and students. As the school administration, we hold brainstorm meetings for promotion and publicity, and the exam times are very busy for us, mid-June or late June. Before that, too... The more people we can attract here and meet with them... We make them feel that we take them seriously. We hold these meetings as administrator and assistant administrators. We also prepare sets of brochures to introduce ourselves, and we decided this year to keep our web site active, up-to-date and dynamic. We hold meetings to discuss what we will highlight, for example, our strengths, and what differentiates us from other schools. Parents are more informed compared to the past. They prepare questions before they come to see us. This is the case at the high school and the primary school. So you need to have concrete and unhesitant answers to give to the parents when they ask what is our difference. We simulate our own scenarios; we pay attention to reception and welcome, and it may be too detailed, but they think of it as a package, I mean, for example, parents pay attention to whether there is identity check at the front gate, the security factor, how they are received and welcomed, so we are trying to be mindful of these. There is need for awareness-raising, and even though it is not a complicated training, we always put emphasis on such issues as not keeping the parents waiting for too long, welcoming them in a proper environment, how presentable is the person meeting with the parent. The information being conveyed should be up-to-date, because if they come after the exam, there are

certain score averages, and we pay attention to informing them clearly there. (A-PR1, Appendix I, 153.)

These narratives clearly demonstrate that, as Connell (2013) claims, the rationing of education itself is marketized through the activities of the private schools by creating an image that they can provide an orderly, disciplined, clean and uniformed little world, in contrast to the undisciplined, dirty and dangerous world of public schools. Therefore, what is sold by private schools “is a privilege – something that other people cannot get” (Connell, 2013, p. 105). It is also clear that private schools have acted with the rationality of the new managerialism. In the following statements, one of the mothers from the private school also defines private schools as business organizations:

Well, the private schools are commercial businesses in the end... In the education system, I think who pays the piper calls the tune, unfortunately, in short. If I could not afford it, I would be terribly upset and would probably collapse double time. The education system is so unjust. (P-PR3, Appendix I, 154.)

As in this case, parents who choose private schools for their children are generally aware of the fact that there has been increasing privatization in education. And this transformation is believed to be directed deliberately for decreasing the value of public education and structuring the schools within a highly ranked system. One of the fathers from the private school clearly explains this process in the narrative below:

But unfortunately our education system became more and more private, especially... When I used to watch from a distance, I would say this education system must have been such a mess because of some people’s incompetency. Later I began to believe that it was a deliberate process. Yes, I definitely believe that it is not incompetency, but deliberate. The public schools are emptied of content, the students were selected, the teachers were selected, and almost a caste system has been formed. (P-PR6, Appendix I, 155.)

With the introduction of the market rationality, meritocratic rules have also lost their importance as one of the private school administrators indicates:

They want to receive students with high exam results, but there is not much of an indicator. Well, it also happens that because there are not many students waiting in the line for the private schools, if I speak frankly, the school can also accept parents, I mean, students who do not really fit our profile but can afford the fee. (A-PR2, Appendix I, 156.)

All of these transformations occurring in the field of education have also implied increasing competition not only between students, but also between parents. The more successful parents in the competition have been accepted as the ones who are able to support their children as much as possible. Therefore, the success of the children has also become perceived as the success of the parents. This is well stated in the following narrative of a teacher from the public school:

In our time, there were schools, and the students could achieve things only through their own success. Now the system has reached such a point that what is measured is the parents' success, rather than the students'. The parents' success is measured by how much material and non-material support they can provide. It is added to the student's success. Those who could afford private courses could take them at our time, but it was not so competitive. (T-PU1, Appendix I, 157.)

Given these narratives, it is possible to conclude that neoliberal changes in school systems and education have created significant impacts on teachers, administrators, parents and students as well as on their subjectivities. While education has become equated with the concept of service, the relationships between actors have been redefined according to the logic of the rationality of neoliberalism. Therefore, besides implementation of structural changes led by the state, the transformational power of neoliberalism lies in its ability to create subjects who defend those changes. Although it does not mean that every individual highly supports neoliberalization or turned into ideal neoliberal subject, there are incidents showing positive attitudes among actors towards defending its rules. This defense is clearly depicted in the following

statements of the private school administrator:

I think there should be different private schools according to everyone's budget. I favor liberalism in this sense; I think the privatization of education is a must because education cannot be the business of the state, it is not possible, I don't believe the state can handle it. I don't believe those who argue 'Health and education services should be provided by the state free of charge.' It should be like the private insurance payments in the health system. (P-PR3, Appendix I, 158.)

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND FINAL REMARKS

“We did what everyone else did. I mean, whatever was necessary, you know, we did everything that the system required from us. Well, yes, I said something important at the beginning; we actually did everything that we thought we would not” (P-PU6, Appendix I, 159).

This study examines the school choices and educational practices of middle-class families in the broader context of neoliberalization in Turkey. The main concern is directed towards understanding how middle-class families as key subjects in social reproduction of class respond to neoliberal policies. In this way, it also aims to understand the ways in which their dispositions in education contribute to the creation of class advantage, class distinctions and increasing inequalities in the society.

During the research process, the following questions guided the study and analysis:

- How do middle-class families choose schools for their children? What factors influence their decisions?
- How do they support their children to ensure their academic success?
- What are their attitudes and preferences for enrichment activities?
- What is the gendered character of middle-class involvement in education?

- In relation to the field of education, what kinds of particular subjectivities are invoked for middle-class parents according to governmental rationality of neoliberalism?
- What are the broader social implications of educational choices, practices and dispositions of middle-class families?

On the basis of the aim and the research questions, in this final chapter of this study, the conclusion is presented under four main headings. First, increasing family responsibility in education and its nature are elaborated. Second, the neoliberal transformation of education is discussed with reference to its impact on school choices of the parents. Third, the gendered character of middle-class parental involvement in education is underlined. Finally, social and policy implications of the classed educational dispositions of middle-class parents are elaborated. At the end of the chapter, limitations are given and recommendations for further research are made.

For the purpose of exploring lived experiences and classed dispositions of the families regarding their children's education, in-depth interviews conducted with 16 parents, six school administrators and nine teachers in two selective high schools of Istanbul – one public high school and one private high school – which are located on the Anatolian side of Istanbul. Besides, observations are made during the parent meeting days and the school presentation days for collecting supplementary data. In the interviews, parents were mainly asked questions about their own educational histories, school choice processes for their children starting from the kindergarten and their preferences for shadow education practices and enrichment activities. Teachers and school administrators were mainly interviewed for exploring their views about parents in terms of their reasons of choosing their schools, expectations,

current relations, levels of involvement and communication. At the end of the interviews, the participants' views for education system were also investigated.

In searching for the answers to the research questions, first, educational histories of the parents were examined to understand whether their own schooling experiences have an impact on their views and decisions about their children's education. In general, education has a very significant role in parents' lives since it is a kind of life changing experience (Reay et al., 2013) for them. Therefore, it is highly valued and defined as the biggest heritage left to the children. On the other hand, since their own families generally lack the necessary economic, cultural and social capital for guiding their education, ensuring their academic success, and cultivating their talents, the educational trajectories of the parents emerged as examples of accomplishment of natural growth (Lareau, 2002). In that respect, their upward social mobility is based mainly on their own individual efforts and success stories in education.

In relation to their education histories and upward social mobility, "a sense of past" (Reay, 2004) and "a sense of place" (Hillier & Rooksby, 2005, as cited in Reay et al., 2013) influence parents' dispositions toward public or private education, especially during the process of choosing a high school. In general, parents who prefer public high schools give importance to non-conflicting school habitus with their family habitus. In other words, they expect that their children would be with the students in public schools who have similar socio-economic and socio-cultural status, and lifestyles. On the other side, parents who prefer private high schools demonstrate a desire to provide a privileged education for their children which is differentiated from their own public schooling experience. Specifically, they do not want their children to experience any difficulties because of not knowing a foreign language.

This finding is different from the study of Reay et al. (2013), proposing that parents who have private schooling experiences choose public schools — even though they are able to choose the private ones — due their negative perceptions of private schooling and their desire to avoid creating the same educational trajectory for their children. These parents are presented as examples of choosers who go against the grain as opposed to mainstream choosers who are defined as more excluding, and exclusive parents. The later ones are more interested in creating advantage for their children through school choices as they continue to give importance to conventional measures of academic examination results, school reputations, etc. In Turkey, it seems that middle-class parents are more inclined towards making mainstream decisions rather than going against the grain.

Nevertheless, as opposed to their own schooling experiences which are believed to have been directed by chance and struggle, middle-class parents try to plan their children's education through well-evaluated alternatives and possibilities. Their sense of urgency in terms of doing the right thing and reducing the risks associated with making mistakes for the future of their children increases their sense of individual responsibility. However, as Taylor and Wollard (2003) suggest, this pressure on parents creates a tendency to encourage the commodification of social relations in the field of education.

6.1 Increasing family responsibility in education

Neoliberal policies have redefined the family responsibility, in which greater freedom and responsibility are ascribed to parents as consumers in the field of education. Education here refers to “all-encompassing engagement with the child” (Vincent & Ball, 2006, p. 137). In that respect, middle-class parents willingly admit

their roles in shaping the future of children by investing on their education.

Therefore, they not only take active roles in planning and directing their children's education in the right way for providing the best education, but also supporting their academic success and developing their special talents. During this process, they act in line with the rationality of concerted cultivation and their high level of involvement in education is expressed with great enthusiasm as the signs of good parenting.

By providing the best education and equipping their children with different talents and skills, they expect to transmit class advantage to their children so that they can live a good and happy life, characterized by a middle-class occupation, a satisfactory income and a middle-class lifestyle. To put it differently, by investing in education, parents hope that both the social and cultural capital acquired in the forms of academic qualifications, talents, and skills can be converted into economic capital when the children are in the labor market. However, because social production itself has now turned into a risky business (Ball, 2003b) and there are no guarantees of successful reproduction due to increasing competition between individuals for entering into well-paid jobs in the labor market, differentiating children from the early ages has become more significant than ever. Within this context of uncertainty, while "individualist mode of production" (Ball, 2003b) has increased, middle-class families have also taken more individualized responsibilities (Taylor & Woollard, 2003) for eliminating anxieties and fears of becoming unsuccessful. Accordingly, increasing family responsabilization and individualization of risk management have become two prominent defining characteristics of the period of neoliberal transformation in education.

On the basis of these considerations, school choices and educational practices become a matter of risk for middle-class families since there are more choices to be evaluated in trying to make the rightest decision for the children. Thus, they try to manage the risks by drawing on economic, cultural and social capital of the family in order to make sure that they find the best schools, institutions, teachers and ways to support their children.

In accordance with this increasing sense of risk and individual responsibility, middle-class families are highly involved in every phase of school choice processes of their children. During these processes, while economic capital serves to provide more options regarding private schooling, cultural and social resources help them to carry out a detailed research and accessing hot knowledge for both public and private schools. On the basis of the collected information and their observations, if parents believe that necessary conditions are not available for providing quality education in the public schools, private school choice becomes a safer alternative for those who can afford it.

The choice of school refers to only one dimension of increasing family responsibility in education, since all parents highly support their children through shadow education practices for increasing their academic success both in schools and in competitive placement exams. Before going to the phase of the high school choice, preparing children over three years for the Level Determination Examination is accepted as an obligation as there is a high competition between students to enter the Anatolian high schools or private high schools which are ranked among the highest. Since significant numbers of students compete each other for securing the best schools, it becomes important for the parents to find the most competitive *dershanes* to increase the possibility of exam success of their children. In some cases, they also

prefer boutique *dershanes* which provide more individualized preparation. Moreover, as it is expected, it is also very common to arrange private tutors to support children at home. The availability of these alternatives for shadow education practices directs parents to make a cost-benefit analysis while trying to find the most suitable ways of support. During the process, parents also organize their lives according to academic needs of the children so that their preparation will not be influenced negatively and disrupted. So the academic support of children for placement exams requires not only investment of a high amount of economic capital, but also commitment and involvement from the parents.

Besides shadow education, middle-class parents also value enrichment activities to provide the conditions both for increasing well-being and happiness of their children and for differentiating them from others. In general, they believe that their children have special and different talents to be discovered and developed. Starting from the early ages, working on children's development is almost seen as a parental duty. In order to make the right decision for enrichment, parents may even hire educational consultants to help them discovering the special talents of their children. With this rationality, all middle-class parents provide opportunities for their children to attend diverse individual or collective lessons, mainly aiming to improve their language skills and to develop their talents in the fields of sport and music, which is called the process of concerted cultivation. They try to invest as much as possible for making up middle-class children (Vincent & Ball, 2007) with the rationality of differentiating the different.

On the other hand, some of the parents perceive concerted cultivation as a self-development project, especially when they have one child. In other words, they embrace their children as a project and continuously work on them to realize their

inherent capabilities and enhance their cultural capital value. By investing in this project, they think that they can get more output from their children if they provide more input. This also means that parents allocate a significant portion of their family budget to support their children during the cultural capital acquisition process.

Even though it has become a complex, expensive and labor-intensive process requiring a high level of financial and emotional investment, parents continue to be involved in this process, as it has become part of their middle-class lifestyle. However, concerted cultivation is not a natural phenomenon that exists beyond the influence of neoliberal governmentality. While middle-class parents continuously invest in their children to enhance their economic and social well-being, they demonstrate particular ways of being, where they turn into active, responsible, competitive and entrepreneurial subjects. Furthermore, while their extensive effort for concerted cultivation helps their children to develop certain tastes signifying their middle-class habitus, they also serve to create exclusionary practices. On the other hand, the whole process becomes possible through certain costs, since parents are faced with high levels of financial and emotional burdens.

6.2 Neoliberal transformation of education and its impact on school choices

Parents' decisions in the school choice processes are highly influenced by a commonly shared significant factor at every level of education and their views of public schools. Specifically, when they have strong beliefs that education quality has been decreasing in the public schools due to problems emerging from insufficient budget, administration, physical conditions, crowded classes, lack of communication and security issues, they become more disposed towards private education alternatives. In this way, they try to minimize the risks associated with public schools

by using their economic capital to buy educational advantages from private schools. In that respect, as Ball (2003a) argues, private education can be turned into an escape route for the parents. If this is the case, private schools may also become more attractive due to their practices of distributing different amounts of scholarships on the basis of the success level of the students.

All of these indicate that in the risky and choice-driven market in education, private schools have increasingly taken on significant roles to influence the decisions of the parents. In that way, they have also become active players in the class game by determining the parameters of choice (Lynch & Moran, 2006). On the one hand, there has been increasing competition between parents to place their children in the best schools; on the other hand, there has been an increasing competition between private schools to attract the best students to gain competitive advantage in the education market. Moreover, the state has continued to redefine the rules of this class game by implementing new neoliberal policies. Among them, one of the most significant and recent ones — one which started being implemented in the academic year 2014-2015 — is the education incentive given to families who want to send their children to the private schools. With this policy, public resources have become transferred to the private sector in education. Moreover, it is also obvious that education incentive has mostly served middle-class families who are already disposed towards private schools due to the decline in the educational quality of the public schools.

Besides the negative impact of neoliberal policies on public school choice and its positive impact on private school choice, there are other factors influencing parents' decisions while choosing a school at every level of education. For kindergarten, the economic capital of the family seems to be the most determining

factor. If parents do not have the purchasing power for a private school and therefore choose a public one, school proximity becomes the most important factor. On the other hand, expert opinion, the previous experiences of the social network and the possibility of direct transition from the kindergarten to the primary school of the same educational institution become influential for the parents who chose the private kindergarten.

When it comes to the primary school level, unlike kindergarten choice, families seemed to be more disposed toward public education. At this level, it is the qualified teachers which emerge as the most significant factor in influencing decisions of the parents for choosing public schools. Furthermore, parents also favor public schools if they resemble private ones in terms of their education quality. These kinds of schools are not perceived as ordinary public schools, but the best among the others. Therefore, they are defined as private-like schools when they meet the expectations of the families in terms of their location, size of classes, facilities, school-parent communication and security related issues. On the other hand, similar to other levels, parents become more disposed towards private schools when they have negative opinions about the public ones. At this point, scholarships offered by private schools also influence parents' decisions, even if the scholarship covers only a portion of the tuition. Besides, when deciding on private schools, parents not only expect to have better communication opportunities with teachers and administrators, but also feel obliged to provide a more secure environment for their children. All of these considerations point to the fact that if neoliberal policies do not affect public schools negatively causing the decline in their education quality, middle-class parents may become more disposed towards sending their children to public primary schools when it is guaranteed that their children are given education by qualified teachers.

When families come to the next phase in the decision-making process, choosing a high school is seen as the most difficult one since there are many intertwined factors influencing their decisions within the context of neoliberalization. Parents are first required to evaluate different public and private school alternatives on the basis of their children's scores in the Level Determination Examination. Before giving the final decision with their children, families try to collect as much information as possible in order to become sure about giving the best decisions for their children. Therefore, as Taylor and Woollard (2003) state, this process can become a "risky business" for the families.

Although public school parents seem to be less disposed towards private education alternatives, they are still interested in enrolling their children in high-performing selective public high schools which are described as private-like schools in this research. Therefore, it seems that, to varying degrees, middle-class families are in favor of public schools only when they meet their expectations about the education quality. This implies that "their actual social practices in the educational arena are still primarily about competition and trying to generate a greater profit than other parents" (Reay et al., 2013, p. 163). Hence, as indicated by Bernal (2005), a market system is not necessary for social inequalities to take place; they can emerge when the possibility of choice arises. It is mainly because the middle class is favored due to their ability to choose the best among the others, even when public schools are considered.

Moreover, one of the most significant findings of this research emerges as the increasing tendency of middle-class families towards private high schools even if their children are entitled to register in an Anatolian High School. In general, they seem to lose their positive perceptions about Anatolian high schools for providing

quality education. This is mainly related to the fact that all of the general high schools were transformed to Anatolian high schools in 2013 without making any changes in their education quality and started to select their students on the basis of the results of the Level Determination Examination. Therefore, by defining these schools as average or insufficient due to decreasing education quality and insufficient physical conditions, parents have significantly started evaluating private education alternatives at the high school level. Specifically, when their children are not able to get the required high scores in the Level Determination Examination to enter one of the top Anatolian high schools with a preparatory class, parents have considered enrolling their children in a private school. These findings demonstrate that perceptions of the families of Anatolian high schools have changed considerably in recent years since in the study of Rutz and Balkan (2009), middle-class families had more positive views about these schools, even for the lowest ones. Within this framework, parents' dispositions towards private schools are being strengthened by the factors of getting a scholarship and having a desire to provide a privileged education for their children. This is highly compatible with the findings of the Education Monitoring Report for the academic year 2014-2015, which indicates that the number of students enrolled in private schools in secondary education is on the rise. Moreover, the findings of this study prove what is explained in the report as a possible reason for the increasing number of families turning to private schools, losing trust in the public education system. Therefore, it seems that neoliberal policies and market mechanisms in education have created more significant impacts on the decision-making process for a high school.

6.3 The gendered division of labor in the educational involvement of middle-class families

Education is a significant matter for middle-class families to prepare an imagined future for their children and reproduction of class. However, reaching this objective requires extensive efforts of parents, especially mothers. All of the findings in this study demonstrate results similar to those in the literature (Reay, 2005; Golden & Erdreich, 2014) in terms of revealing the gendered division of labor within the families for the tasks that are expected to be carried out by the parents. In other words, when the education of children is considered, responsibilities within the family are clearly differentiated on the basis of gender; while mothers generally deal with micro-issues requiring extensive operational works, fathers are mostly involved in macro-issues requiring strategic decisions and actions or dealing with more significant problems.

It is obvious that mothers do more educational work than fathers, such as attending school meetings, visiting teachers, supervising homework, providing necessary equipment, transporting children to school or a private teaching center and organizing private tutors as well as managing the daily life at home for increasing academic success of their children. At the same time, they also possess very detailed knowledge about the examination system and carry out close academic monitoring of their children, to the point where they act almost as an expert in the field of education.

Moreover, mothers generally behave as if they are integrated with their children. This specifically reveals itself when mothers use a language of “we” instead of “she” or “he” when referring to their children’s experiences in education. Moreover, mothers may even evaluate the success or failure of their children as their

own. This is significantly different from the situation of fathers, since they do not demonstrate any preferences for using this kind of language nor do they undertake a common responsibility for success or failure of their children.

Mothers frequently question themselves in terms of whether they are doing the right things for their children while they are growing up and getting educated. For mothers who work outside the home, there is a feeling of inadequacy since they believe that they are not able to provide enough time for their children during their education life. On the other hand, for mothers who quit their jobs after having children, there is a feeling of regret in terms of not being able to live their own lives while sacrificing themselves for their family. In both cases, mothers may experience a different range of emotions — unhappiness, regret, inadequacy and frustration. On the other hand, fathers do not demonstrate such reflective narratives regarding their parenthood during the education of their children.

All of these findings mean that there has been a “normalization of intensive approaches to mothering” (Holloway & Pimlott-Wilsona, 2014, p. 615) during children’s education. However, in some cases, the involvement of mothers turns out to be an excessive intervention and involvement when they come to school to question the grades and requesting an increase in the scores of the exam or course grades of their children. This problematic situation further demonstrates how mothers can push the borders for increasing the positional advantages of their children.

It is obvious that what mothers do in relation to their children’s education contribute to the reproduction of the middle class. However, as Reay (2005) describes, while they support their children, they generally have the roles of doing “the dirty work of social class”. In that sense, Gök (2012) is right in asserting that “if mothers strike, the education system will break down”.

6.4 Social and policy implications of classed educational dispositions, choices and practices of the families

It would be useful to conclude the discussion by focusing on the possible implications of middle-class educational dispositions, choices and practices for policy and society. This study confirmed Bourdieu's (2006) suggestion that the production of life chances of middle-class children on the basis of education is highly dependent on the mobilization of families' economic, cultural and social capital. In that respect, findings are compatible with the studies affirming that middle-class families contribute to the reproduction of social inequalities since they create educational advantage for their children through applying certain strategies (Ball, 2003a; Brantlinger, 2003; Power et al., 2003; Devine, 2004, Rutz & Balkan, 2009).

The most significant strategies of the families in this study emerge as their preference for private schools, private-like schools, boutique *dershanes* and concerted cultivation activities. During the implementation of these strategies, middle-class parents emerge as individuals who are highly determined to get the best and a privileged education for their children and to make up differentiated children. In accordance with these aspirations, they have also become more responsive towards market signals in education. Furthermore, market rationalities seem to be normalized (Savage, 2013) in their choices and practices.

It is obvious that neoliberal policies favoring the development of the private sector in education have created more alternatives for families when choosing a school. However, together with the diffusion of the market ideology and the regime of choice, the class situations of the families in education have gained greater significance than before. It is mainly because of the expansion of choice that has created a privilege for middle-class families and legitimated class reproduction by

fostering illusions of opportunity (Lynch & Moran, 2006). In other words, even freedom of choice in the education market is being promoted through state incentive policies; this does not mean that every family can get the same opportunity for choosing the best schools for their children. Families coming from disadvantaged social classes are generally left without any choices except to enroll their children in highly ranked and segregated schools or open schools which are placed at the bottom of the list.

The interplay between the regime of choice and class eventually distributes students to schools according to their educational success, which is directly influenced by their social class. At one of the most competitive levels of the education system, while successful students secure their places in Anatolian high schools or private schools, others are placed in vocational and technical high schools, which are ranked at the bottom. In that process, while middle-class families can provide the necessary conditions for their children to become academically more successful, disadvantaged students coming from the lower classes are left behind the competition. Therefore, the social class of the family also affects the type of public school that children can attend. On the other side, those students who cannot get the required score for enrolling in any of these public schools are given a choice to continue their education in an open school. The number of students enrolled in open high school in the academic year 2014-2015 was 1,470,434. If this number is compared with the total numbers of 5,691,071 high school students, the segregation becomes clearer and even terrifying, as almost 26% of high school students are now enrolled in open high school. This picture highlights how profound the social exclusion is when considering the high school education. Unfortunately, it is

“antithetical to the inclusive character of educational relationships” (Connell, 2013, p. 106).

During the process of school choices, shadow education practices and enrichment activities, middle-class parents have informed choices. In other words, they know what they choose and why. In addition, they are generally aware of the fact that there has been an increasing privatization in education where public education is devalued, schools are structured within a highly ranked system and students are forced to compete with each other. However, it seems that this reflexivity towards market rules does not change their decisions about remaining within the public schools to struggle for quality education. Therefore, state policies diminishing the quality in public education together with incentive policies supporting the growth of the private sector will be expected to create greater influence on decisions of middle-class families in favor of private schools. Considering this, public schools are expected to become increasingly highly segregated schools with a low level of education quality.

It is known that the implementation of neoliberal policies in education always depends on the support and commitments of the actors in the field. Therefore, even though the aim is not to condemn middle-class parents in terms of what they do for their children, it is important to show how their actions become significant in establishing or raising the standards of competition in education. Therefore, it is important to note that when middle-class parents make a decision, they become key socio-political actors in understanding for the current operations of education markets (Reinoso, 2008). Moreover, as Olmedo and Santa Cruz (2012) point out, due to their choices, they continue to have a significant role in the functioning of contemporary neoliberal societies

Based upon the findings of the study, it is possible to make some policy recommendations: First, implementation of neoliberal policies in education has created significant consequences for public education favoring the development of private sector. Therefore, rather than providing education incentives to limited numbers of people who can already afford to pay the fee of the private schools, public schools have to be given more budget for improving their physical conditions and increasing their education quality. Second, the highly segregated system of high school education needs to be reconsidered to reduce class-based distinctions and segregation in the society.

6.5 Limitations of the study

There are some limitations of this research, which can be specified as follows:

- First, as the research was conducted with parents, teachers and administrators, it does not include the views and experiences of children. Therefore, further studies to understand how children participate and influence the decision making processes of the families regarding school choices and educational practices can be valuable.
- Second, although there were occasions to observe and have informal dialogues with teachers and administrators, the data were obtained mainly through interviews. Therefore, ethnographic research in the schools may open new possibilities for a deeper understanding of how neoliberal governance is put into practice and how social relations are being changed within the field of education.

- Third, since most of the interviews were realized with the mothers, views of the fathers are generally elicited and reflected by the data gathered from the mothers.

6.6 Suggestions for further research

Both on the basis of the limitations listed above and the need for a deeper understanding of current transformations in education, suggestions for further studies are the following:

- As the findings of this research focus on the practices of the past and present experiences, it would be illuminating to conduct follow-up studies to explore the impact of school choices and educational practices in creating the imagined future of the children.
- Today, as neoliberalization is deeply immersed in social inequalities, there is a need for a class-based analysis of education and schooling. Therefore, further research is needed to understand the experiences of other social classes. This comparative data would be expected to provide a deeper analysis for ways in which the struggle over education takes place.
- This study can be integrated into the overall practices of neoliberal policies in education. It can be more meaningful in that way.

APPENDIX A

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY HUMAN RESEARCH INSTITUTIONAL EVALUATION COMMITTEE APPROVAL

BOĞAZİÇİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
İnsan Araştırmaları Kurumsal Değerlendirme Kurulu (İNAREK) Toplantı Tutanağı
2013/1

18.02.2013

Canan Aratemur Çimen
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Sayın Araştırmacı,

"Eğitimde Neoliberal Yeniden Yapılanma ve Orta Sınıf" başlıklı projeniz ile yaptığınız Boğaziçi Üniversitesi İnsan Araştırmaları Kurumsal Değerlendirme Kurulu (İNAREK) 2013/11 kayıt numaralı başvuru 18.02.2013 tarihli ve 2013/1 sayılı kurul toplantısında incelenerek etik onay verilmesi uygun bulunmuştur.

Saygılarımızla,

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APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW FORMS (TURKISH)

Görüşme Formu - Veliler

a. Kişisel Bilgiler

1. Cinsiyetiniz:

☐ Kadın ☐ Erkek

2. Yaşınız:

3. Medeni durumunuz: ☐ Evli ☐ Bekar ☐ Diğer

4. Kaç çocuğunuz var? Cinsiyet(ler)i nedir? Kaç yaşında(lar)?

5. Eğitim durumunuz:

☐ Doktora ☐ Yüksek Lisans ☐ Lisans ☐ Lise

☐ Lise ☐ Ortaöğretim ☐ İlköğretim ☐ Diğer

6. Türkçe dışında başka bir dil biliyor musunuz? Evet ise hangi dil(ler) olduğunu belirtiniz.

7. Şu anda çalışıyor musunuz (kadın ise, ev dışında)?

8. Cevap evet ise, mesleğiniz/işiniz nedir?

9. Çalıştığınız yer(ler) ve pozisyon(lar) ve çalışma süreleriniz nedir?

10. Eşinizin yaşı:

11. Eşinizin eğitim durumu:

☐ Doktora ☐ Yüksek Lisans ☐ Lisans ☐ Lise

☐ Lise ☐ Ortaöğretim ☐ İlköğretim ☐ Diğer

12. Eşiniz Türkçe dışında başka bir dil biliyor mu? Evet ise hangi dil(ler) olduğunu belirtiniz.

13. Eşiniz şu anda çalışıyor mu (kadın ise, ev dışında)? Evet ise, mesleği/işi nedir?

14. Çalıştığı yer(ler) ve pozisyon(lar) ve çalışma süreler nedir?

15. Nerede oturuyorsunuz (ilçe/sem)?

16. Oturduğunuz ev;

<input type="checkbox"/> Kendim(iz)in	<input type="checkbox"/> Apartman Dairesi	<input type="checkbox"/> Site içinde
<input type="checkbox"/> Kira	<input type="checkbox"/> Müstakil	<input type="checkbox"/> Site içinde değil
<input type="checkbox"/> Lojman	<input type="checkbox"/> Diğer (lütfe	<input type="checkbox"/> Diğer (lütfe
<input type="checkbox"/> Diğer (lütfe	belirtiniz)	belirtiniz)
belirtiniz)		

17. Ayrıca eviniz var mı? Varsa kaç tane ve nerede?

18. Arabanız var mı? Varsa sayısı, markası ve modeli nedir?

19. Toplam yıllık ortalama hane halkı geliriniz (net) nedir?

- ☐ 20.000 TL'den az
- ☐ 20.000 TL – 29.999 TL
- ☐ 30.000 TL – 49.999 TL
- ☐ 50.000 TL – 74.999 TL
- ☐ 75.000 TL – 99.999 TL
- ☐ 100.000 TL ve üstü
- ☐ Diğer

20. Giderlerinizi düşündüğünüzde, en fazla harcama yaptığınız alanlar neler?

Sıralama yapabilir misiniz?

b. Görüşme Soruları

1. Eğitim geçmişinizden bahseder misiniz?
 - Hangi okullardan mezun oldunuz?
 - Okul seçimleriniz nasıl olmuştu?
 - Aldığınız eğitimin, yaşamınızı nasıl etkilediğini düşünüyorsunuz?
 - Şimdi olsa, eğitiminizle ilgili farklı olmasını tercih edeceğiniz bir konu/durum olur muydu?
2. Anne ve babanızın eğitim durumlarından, iş ve mesleklerinden bahseder misiniz?
3. (Okula gidenler için) Çocuğunuz/çocuklarınız hangi okullara gittiler/gidiyor(lar), şu anda kaçınıcı sınıfta(lar)?
4. Çocuğunuz/çocuklarınız anaokuluna gitti(ler) ise;
 - Okul seçimi için nasıl bir yol izlediniz, neler yaptınız?
 - Okul ve öğretmenler ile olan iletişiminizden bahseder misiniz?
 - Anaokulu seçimi konusunda verdiğiniz kararlar ilgili bugünkü düşünceleriniz neler?
5. Çocuğunuzun/çocuklarınızın ilköğretim eğitimi ile ilgili olarak;
 - Okul seçimi için nasıl bir yol izlediniz, neler yaptınız?
 - Okul ve öğretmenler ile olan iletişiminizden bahseder misiniz?
 - Okul seçimi konusunda bugünkü düşünceleriniz neler?
6. Çocuğunuz/çocuklarınız ortaöğretim geçiş sınavına hazırlandı(lar) mı? Cevabınız evet ise,
 - Nasıl bir hazırlık sürecinden geçti(ler)?
 - Siz neler yaptınız?
7. Sınav sonucunda okul seçimi için nasıl bir yol izlediniz, neler yaptınız?
 - Kararınızda neler etkili oldu?
 - Karar verirken, yardım/destek aldığınız kişiler oldu mu?
 - Zorlandığınız zamanlar/konular oldu mu?
8. Şu anda çocuğunuzun/çocuklarınızın gittiği lisede, okul ve öğretmenler ile nasıl bir iletişiminiz var?
 - Ne kadar sıklıkla okula gidiyorsunuz?
 - Okul yönetiminden ve öğretmenlerden ne gibi istekleriniz ve talepleriniz oluyor?

- Okul yönetiminin ve öğretmenlerin bu istek ve taleplere tepkileri neler oluyor? İstek ve talepleriniz karşılanıyor mu?
 - Bu istek ve talepler karşılanmadığında ne yapıyorsunuz?
 - Diğer velilerle nasıl bir iletişiminiz var?
9. Verdiğiniz kararlar ilgili şimdiki düşünceleriniz neler?
- Kararınızdan memnun musunuz?
 - Bugün olsa farklı karar verirdim dediğiniz bir konu/durum var mı?
10. Çocuğunuzun/çocuklarınızın üniversite eğitimi konusunda neler düşünüyorsunuz?
- Üniversite seçiminde kriterleriniz neler olacak?
 - Üniversiteye giriş için bir hazırlık süreci planlıyorsanız/planladıysanız, bu süreçten bahseder misiniz?
11. Okul dışında çocuğunuzun/çocuklarınızın nasıl bir hayatı var?
- Çocuğunuz/çocuklarınız okul dışında herhangi bir eğitim faaliyetine katıldı(lar) mı? Halen katılıyor(lar) mı?
 - Çocuğunuz/çocuklarınız okul dışında spor, sanat, vb. gibi faaliyetlere katıldı(lar) mı/ katılıyor(lar) mı? Evet ise, ne tür faaliyetler?
 - Bu faaliyetlere nasıl karar verdiniz?
12. Bugüne kadar çocuğunuzun/çocuklarınızın eğitimi için yaptığınız harcamaları hesapladınız mı? Ortalama olarak ne kadar harcadınız?
13. Çocuğunuzun/çocuklarınızın eğitimi için fedakarlıklarda bulunduğunuzu düşünüyor musunuz? Cevabınız evet ise, açıkla mısınız?
14. Kendi eğitim yaşamınızı çocuğunuzunki/çocuklarınızınki ile karşılaştırdığınızda, arada bir fark olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Varsa, nasıl bir fark var? Sizce bu neden kaynaklanıyor?
15. Çocuğunuz/çocuklarınızın eğitim hayatına başlarken onun/onlar için nasıl bir gelecek hayal ediyordunuz? Bu hayalinizin gerçekleşmesinde eğitimin nasıl bir rolü olduğunu düşünüyordunuz? Bu doğrultuda nasıl bir eğitim/okul hayal etmişsiniz? Eğitimle bağlantılı olarak hayallerinizin gerçekleşmekte olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?
16. Türkiye'deki eğitim sistemi ile ilgili genel düşünceleriniz neler?
17. Eğitim sisteminin nasıl olmasını isterdiniz?
18. Görüştüğümüz konularla ilgili eklemek istedikleriniz var mı?

Görüşme Formu - Öğretmenler

a. Kişisel Bilgiler

1. Cinsiyetiniz:

☐ Kadın ☐ Erkek

2. Yaşınız:

3. Medeni durumunuz: ☐ Evli ☐ Bekar ☐ Diğer

4. Çocuğunuz var mı? ☐ Evet ☐ Hayır

5. (Eğer varsa) Cinsiyet(ler)i nedir? Kaç yaşında(lar)?

6. (Eğer varsa) Okula gidiyor mu/gidiyorlar mı? Hangi okula gidiyor(lar) ve kaçınıcı sınıfta(lar)?

7. Hangi alanda ve kaç yıldır öğretmenlik yapıyorsunuz?

8. Mezun olduğunuz okul ve bölüm nedir?

9. Bu okulda kaç yıldır çalışıyorsunuz?

10. (Eğer varsa) Bu okuldan önceki öğretmenlik tecrübeleriniz neler?

b. Görüşme Soruları

1. Sınıfınızdaki öğrencilerin velileri ile ilgili genel olarak bilgi alabilir miyim?

2. Sizce veliler hangi nedenlerle çocukları için bu okulu seçiyorlar?

3. Velilerin, çocuklarının eğitime dair hayalleri ve beklentileri neler?

- Bu doğrultuda okul yönetiminden ve sizlerden neler bekliyorlar?
- Bu beklentiler sizin işinizi nasıl etkiliyor?
- Çocuklarından neler bekliyorlar?
- Beklentilerinin karşılanmadığı durumlarda neler yapıyorlar?

4. Çocuklarının eğitimi ile ilgili sürece kendileri ne kadar dahil oluyorlar?

- Özellikle müdahil oldukları konular neler?
- Bu konuda anne ve babalar arasında bir fark olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Varsa, nasıl bir fark görüyorsunuz?

5. Velilerin sizlerle nasıl bir iletişimi var?

- Hangi nedenlerle, hangi yollarla ve ne sıklıkla iletişim kuruyorlar?
- Daha çok iletişimde olan veliler kimler?
- Velilerin sizlerden ne gibi istekleri/talepleri oluyor?

- En çok neleri sorun ediyorlar?
 - Bu isteklerin/taleplerin arasından karşılamakta zorlandıklarınız oluyor mu? Örnek verir misiniz? Bu durumda neler yapıyorsunuz?
 - Bugüne kadar karşılaştığınız ve size en ilginç gelen veli isteğini/talebini paylaşabilir misiniz?
 - Problem yaşadığınız veliler var mı? Varsa, ne gibi nedenlerden dolayı problem yaşıyorsunuz?
6. Veliler arasındaki iletişim nasıl?
 7. Öğretmenlik yaptığınız yıllar boyunca veli profilinde bir değişiklik olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Varsa, sizce bu nasıl bir değişiklik ve neden kaynaklanıyor?
 8. Türkiye'deki eğitim sistemi ile ilgili genel düşünceleriniz neler?
 9. Eğitim sisteminin nasıl olmasını isterdiniz?
 10. Eklemek istediğiniz başka bir konu var mı?

Görüşme Formu - Okul Yöneticileri

a. Kişisel Bilgiler

1. Cinsiyetiniz:

☐ Kadın ☐ Erkek

2. Yaşınız:

3. Medeni durumunuz: ☐ Evli ☐ Bekar ☐ Diğer

4. Çocuğunuz var mı? ☐ Evet ☐ Hayır

5. (Eğer varsa) Cinsiyet(ler)i nedir? Kaç yaşında(lar)?

6. (Eğer varsa) Okula gidiyor mu/gidiyorlar mı? Hangi okula gidiyor(lar) ve kaçınıcı sınıfta(lar)?

7. Mezun olduğunuz okul ve bölüm nedir?

8. Ne kadar zamandır bu okulda çalışıyorsunuz?

9. Göreviniz nedir? Ne kadar zamandır bu görevdesiniz?

10. Bu okulda daha önce başka bir göreviniz oldu mu? Olduysa ne kadar süre bu görevde çalıştınız?

11. (Eğer varsa) Bu okuldan önceki öğretmenlik/yöneticilik tecrübeleriniz neler? Kısaca bahseder misiniz?

b. Görüşme Soruları

1. Okulunuzdaki öğrencilerin velileri ile ilgili genel olarak bilgi alabilir miyim?

2. Sizce veliler hangi nedenlerle çocukları için bu okulu seçiyorlar?

3. Okul yönetimi olarak, velilerin okul seçimi sırasındaki kararlarını etkilemek için yaptığınız çalışmalar var mı? Varsa, neler?

4. Velilerin, çocuklarının eğitime dair hayalleri ve beklentileri neler?

- Bu doğrultuda sizlerden ve öğretmenlerden neler bekliyorlar?
- Bu beklentiler sizin işinizi nasıl etkiliyor?
- Çocuklarından neler bekliyorlar?
- Beklentilerinin karşılanmadığı durumlarda neler yapıyorlar?

5. Çocuklarının eğitimi ile ilgili sürece kendileri ne kadar dahil oluyorlar?

- Özellikle müdahil oldukları konular neler?

- Bu konuda anne ve babalar arasında bir fark olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Varsa, nasıl bir fark görüyorsunuz?
6. Velilerin sizlerle nasıl bir iletişimi var?
 - Hangi nedenlerle, hangi yollarla ve ne sıklıkla iletişim kuruyorlar?
 - Daha çok iletişimde olan veliler kimler?
 - Velilerin sizlerden ne gibi istekleri/talepleri oluyor?
 - Bu isteklerin/taleplerin arasından karşılamakta zorlandıklarınız oluyor mu? Örnek verir misiniz? Bu durumda neler yapıyorsunuz?
 - En çok neleri sorun ediyorlar?
 - Bugüne kadar karşılaştığınız ve size en ilginç gelen veli isteğini/talebini paylaşabilir misiniz?
 - Problem yaşadığınız veliler var mı? Varsa, ne gibi nedenlerden dolayı problem yaşıyorsunuz?
 7. Veliler arasındaki iletişim nasıl?
 8. Öğretmenlik/yöneticilik yaptığınız yıllar boyunca veli profilinde bir değişiklik olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Varsa, sizce bu nasıl bir değişiklik ve neden kaynaklanıyor?
 9. Türkiye'deki eğitim sistemi ile ilgili genel düşünceleriniz neler?
 10. Eğitim sisteminin nasıl olmasını isterdiniz?
 11. Eklemek istediğiniz başka bir konu var mı?

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW FORMS (ENGLISH)

Interview Form - Parents

a. Personal Information

1. Gender:

☐ Female ☐ Male

2. Age:

3. Marital Status: ☐ Married ☐ Single ☐ Other

4. How many children do you have? Boy(s) or girl(s)? How old are they?

5. Highest grade completed in school:

☐ Doctorate ☐ Post Graduate ☐ Graduate ☐ High School

☐ High School ☐ Junior High ☐ Primary School ☐ Other

6. Do you speak any other language than Turkish? If yes, please specify.

7. Are you currently employed (if female, out-of-home)?

8. If yes, what is your profession/occupation?

9. Employment place(s), position(s) and duration(s)?

10. Your spouse's age:

11. Your spouse's highest degree completed:

☐ Doctorate ☐ Post Graduate ☐ Graduate ☐ High School

☐ High School ☐ Junior High ☐ Primary School ☐ Other

12. Does your spouse speak any other language than Turkish? If yes, please specify.

13. Is your spouse currently employed (if female, out-of-home)? If yes, what is his/her profession/occupation?

14. His/her employment place(s), position(s) and duration(s)?

15. Where do you live (district/neighborhood)?

16. Please specify the type of your dwelling;

<input type="checkbox"/> Own property	<input type="checkbox"/> Apartment	<input type="checkbox"/> Block of buildings
<input type="checkbox"/> Rented	<input type="checkbox"/> Separate house	<input type="checkbox"/> Single block of flats
<input type="checkbox"/> Mass housing	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please specify)	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please specify)
<input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify)		

17. Do you own another house? If yes, how many and where?

18. Do you own a car? If yes, what brand and model?

19. What is the yearly average household income in total (net)?

- ☐ Less than 20.000 TL
- ☐ 20.000 TL – 29.999 TL
- ☐ 30.000 TL – 49.999 TL
- ☐ 50.000 TL – 74.999 TL
- ☐ 75.000 TL – 99.999 TL
- ☐ 100.000 TL and above
- ☐ Other

20. What are the highest items of expense? Please list.

b. Interview Questions

1. Please tell about your educational background.
 - Which grades did you complete?
 - How did you make your school choices?
 - Do you believe that your education affects your life?
 - Looking back from now, would you rather have made a different choice regarding any aspect of your education?
2. Please tell about your parents' educational backgrounds, professions and occupations.
3. (For those attending to school) Which grades did your child(ren) complete? At which grade are they now?
4. If your child(ren) attended to the kindergarten;
 - How did you choose their school? What steps did you follow?
 - How is your interaction with the school and teachers?
 - What are your current thoughts about your choice of kindergarten?
5. Regarding your child(ren)'s primary school education;
 - How did you choose their school? What steps did you follow?
 - How is your interaction with the school and teachers?
 - What are your current thoughts about your choice of school?
6. Did your child(ren) prepare for secondary education transition exam? If yes,
 - How was their preparation process?
 - What did you do?
7. How did you make your choice of school after the exam? What steps did you follow?
 - What factors influenced your decision?
 - Did you receive any assistance/support from anyone in decision-making?
 - Were there particular challenges in decision-making?
8. At the current high school of your child(ren), how is your communication with the school and the teachers?
 - How often do you visit the school?
 - What requests and demands do you express to the school administration and teachers?

- What are their reactions to these requests and demands? Are your requests and demands satisfied?
 - What do you do when they are not?
 - How is your communication with other parents?
9. What are your current thoughts regarding the decision you made?
 - Are you happy with your decision?
 - Is there anything that you would decide in a different way if it were today?
 10. What are your thoughts about your child(ren)'s university education?
 - What will be your criteria in the choice of university?
 - If you have planned a process of preparation for university, could you please tell about your plans?
 11. Please tell about your child(ren)'s life outside the school.
 - Did/do your child(ren) attend any educational activity outside the school?
 - Did/do your child(ren) attend any activity of sports, arts, etc. outside the school? If yes, what are these activities?
 - How did you decide on these activities?
 12. Have you calculated the sum of your expenses spent for your child(ren)'s education so far? How much did you spend on average?
 13. Do you think you have made self-sacrifices for your child(ren)'s education? If yes, please elaborate.
 14. When you compare your own educational life with that of your child(ren), do you see any difference? If yes, what differences do you notice? What do you think the differences result from?
 15. How did you imagine your child(ren)'s future when they started their education? What role do you think education plays in this future? What did you imagine their education/school to be like in this regard? Do you feel that your anticipations are being fulfilled with regard to education?
 16. What are your general thoughts about the education system in Turkey?
 17. How would you like the education system to be?
 18. Is there anything you would like to add regarding these issues?

Interview Form - Teachers

a. Personal Information

1. Gender:

☐ Female ☐ Male

2. Age:

3. Marital Status: ☐ Married ☐ Single ☐ Other

4. Do you have children? ☐ Yes ☐ No

5. (If yes) Boy(s) or girl(s)? How old are they?

6. (If yes) Do they attend to school? In which school and which grade are they?

7. How long have you been a teacher and in which subject?

8. What is the school and department of your graduation?

9. How long have you been working in this school?

10. What are your teaching experiences before this school (if there is any)?

b. Interview Questions

1. Please give some information about the parents of your students in general.

2. What do you think are the reasons why the parents choose this school?

3. What are the parents' dreams and expectations regarding their children's education?

- What do they expect from the school administration and you in this regard?
- How do these expectations affect your job?
- What do they expect from their children?
- What do they do when their expectations are not met?

4. What is the degree of their involvement in their children's educational process?

- What are the particular topics of involvement?
- Do you think there is any different between mothers and fathers in this regard? If yes, what are these differences?

5. How is the parents' communication with you?

- How often, for what reasons and in which ways do they communicate with you?
 - Which parent communicates with you more?
 - What do parents want/demand from you?
 - What are the topics that they are most troubled about?
 - Are there any wishes/demands that you find difficult to meet? Could you give examples? What do you do in that case?
 - What is the most interesting wish/demand that you have received from a parent so far?
 - Are there any problematic parents? If yes, what are the problems about?
6. How is the communication between different students' parents?
 7. Do you observe any change in the profile of parents over the years of your teaching? If yes, where and why do you think this change results from?
 8. What are your general thoughts about the education system in Turkey?
 9. How would you like the education system to be?
 10. Is there anything else you would like to add?

Interview Form - School Administrators

a. Personal Information

1. Gender:

☐ Female ☐ Male

2. Age:

3. Marital Status: ☐ Married ☐ Single ☐ Other

4. Do you have children? ☐ Yes ☐ No

5. (If yes) Boy(s) or girl(s)? How old are they?

6. (If yes) Do they attend to school? In which school and which grade are they?

7. What is the school and department of your graduation?

8. How long have you been working in this school?

9. What is your position? How long have you been working in this school?

10. Did you work in another position in this school before? If yes, how long did you work in that position?

11. What are your teaching/administrative experiences before this school (if there is any)?

b. Interview Questions

1. Please give some information about the parents of your students in general.

2. What do you think are the reasons why parents choose this school?

3. Do you, as school administration, perform any activities to influence parents' decision-making process in school choice? If yes, what are they?

4. What are the parents' dreams and expectations regarding their children's education?

- What do they expect from you and the teachers in this regard?
- How do these expectations affect your job?
- What do they expect from their children?
- What do they do when their expectations are not met?

5. What is the degree of their involvement in their children's educational process?

- What are the particular topics of involvement?

- Do you think there is any different between mothers and fathers in this regard? If yes, what are these differences?
6. How is the parents' communication with you?
 - How often, for what reasons and in which ways do they communicate with you?
 - Which parent communicates with you more?
 - What do parents want/demand from you?
 - Are there any wishes/demands that you find difficult to meet? Could you give examples? What do you do in that case?
 - What are the topics that they are most troubled about?
 - What is the most interesting wish/demand that you have received from a parent so far?
 - Are there any problematic parents? If yes, what are the problems about?
 7. How is the communication between different students' parents?
 8. Do you observe any change in the profile of parents over the years of your teaching/administration? If yes, where and why do you think this change results from?
 9. What are your general thoughts about the education system in Turkey?
 10. How would you like the education system to be?
 11. Is there anything else you would like to add?

APPENDIX D

PARTICIPANT INFORMED CONSENT FORM (TURKISH)

Araştırma, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi etik kurulu onayı ile Eğitim Fakültesi, Eğitim Bilimleri Doktora öğrencisi Canan Aratemur Çimen tarafından yapılacaktır. Bu çalışma kapsamında, günümüzde eğitim alanında gerçekleşen değişim ve dönüşümler anlaşılmasına çalışılmaktadır. Araştırma bulguları kongre, konferans, sempozyum vb. gibi farklı bilimsel ortamlarda sunulabilir.

Onay: Araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz takdirde size kişisel bilgiler içeren sorular ile açık uçlu sorular sorulacak ve görüşmeler sırasında ses kaydınız alınacaktır. Araştırmada, katılımcı bilgilerinin gizliliği esastır; bu nedenle ses kayıtlarında katılımcıların ismi yerine bir numara kullanılacaktır. Ses kayıtları araştırma sona erdiğinde silinecektir.

Çalışmaya katılmanız tamamen isteğe bağlıdır. İstedığınız zaman çalışmaya katılmaktan vazgeçebilirsiniz. Bu durumda sizden almış olduğumuz bilgiler kullanılmayacak ve yok edilecektir.

Bu formu imzalamadan önce, çalışmayla ilgili sorularınız varsa sorabilirsiniz. Görüşme sonrasında sormak istediğiniz sorular için 0555 707 28 28 numaralı telefonda Canan Aratemur Çimen ile iletişime geçebilirsiniz.

Yukarıdaki metni okudum, katılmam istenen çalışmanın kapsamı ve amacı konusunda bilgi sahibi oldum. Bu çalışmayı istediğim zaman ve herhangi bir neden belirtmek zorunda kalmadan bırakabileceğimi ve bıraktığım takdirde herhangi bir olumsuzluk ile karşılaşmayacağımı anladım.

Bu koşullarda söz konusu araştırmaya kendi isteğimle katılmayı kabul ediyorum.

Katılımcının adı ve imzası

Tarih

APPENDIX E

PARTICIPANT INFORMED CONSENT FORM (ENGLISH)

The study will be conducted by Canan Aratemur Çimen, Doctoral Student of Educational Sciences of the Faculty of Education, under approval of the ethical board of Boğaziçi University. The study aims at understanding the changes and transformations currently occurring in the field of education. The study findings may be used in various scientific settings such as congresses, conferences, symposia, etc.

Consent: If you agree to participate in the study, you will be asked personal questions and open-ended questions, and your voice will be recorded during the interviews. Participants' confidentiality is essential in the study; therefore, code numbers will be used instead of names in the voice records. Voice records will be deleted upon completion of the study.

Participation in the study is completely voluntary. You may decide to withdraw from the study at any point. In that case, the information obtained from you will not be used and will be destroyed.

You may ask any questions you have regarding the study before signing this consent form. You may contact Canan Aratemur Çimen at the phone number 0555 707 28 28 if you have questions after the interview.

I have read the above text, and I am informed about the scope and objective of the study that I am requested to participate in. I understand that I can withdraw from this study any time I want without specifying any reason, and I will not face any negative consequences because of my withdrawal.

Under these terms and conditions, I agree to participate in this study voluntarily.

Participant's name and signature

Date

APPENDIX F

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION OF THE PARTICIPANTS

Table 11. Demographic Information of the Parents

#	Code	Participants					Spouses		
		Gender	Marital Status	Age	Ed. Level	Occupation	Age	Ed. Level	Occupation
1	P-PR1	Female	Married	40	Univ.	Assistant Administrator	50	Univ.	Teacher (Retired)
2	P-PR2	Female	Married	38	Ph.D	Assistant Professor	43	Master	Civil Servant
3	P-PR3	Female	Married	45	Univ.	Housewife	49	Master	Self-employed
4	P-PR4	Female	Married	40	Univ.	Kindergarten Teacher	53	High School	White-collar Employee (Retired)
5	P-PR5	Male	Married	46	Univ.	Teacher	42	High School	White-collar Employee (Retired)
6	P-PR6	Male	Married	52	Univ.	Self-Employed	50	High School	Self-employed
7	P-PR7	Female	Married	51	Univ.	White-collar Employee (Retired)	51	Univ.	Manager
8	P-PR8	Female	Married	44	Univ.	Self-employed	50	Univ.	White-collar Employee (Retired)
9	P-PU1	Male	Married	42	Master	White-collar Employee	37	Master	Teacher
10	P-PU2	Female	Married	53	Master	Doctor (Retired)	54	Master	Doctor
11	P-PU3	Female	Single	42	Univ.	Teacher	45	Univ.	Teacher
12	P-PU4	Female	Married	49	Univ.	Teacher (Retired)	56	Univ.	Manager
13	P-PU5	Female	Married	46	High School	Housewife	54	High School	White-collar Employee
14	P-PU6	Female	Married	49	Univ.	Doctor	51	Master	Doctor
15	P-PU7	Female	Married	53	Univ.	Self-employed	55	Univ.	Manager
16	P-PU8	Female	Married	44	Univ.	White-Collar Employee (Retired)	45	Univ.	White-Collar Employee

Table 12. Education Levels of the Parents

Education Level	# of Participant	# of Spouse	TOTAL
Graduate	3	5	8
Undergraduate	12	7	19
High School	1	4	5
TOTAL	16	16	32

Table 13. Education Levels of the Mothers and the Fathers

Education Level	Mother	Father	TOTAL
Graduate	3	5	8
Undergraduate	10	9	19
High-school	3	2	5
TOTAL	16	16	32

Table 14. Education Levels of the Private School Parents

Education Level	# of Participant	# of Spouse	TOTAL
Graduate	1	2	3
Undergraduate	7	3	10
High School	-	3	3
TOTAL	8	8	16

Table 15. Education Levels of the Public School Parents

Education Level	# of Participant	# of Spouse	TOTAL
Graduate	2	3	5
Undergraduate	5	4	9
High School	1	1	2
TOTAL	8	8	16

Table 16. Middle-Class Positions of the Parents

Middle-Class Position	# of Participant	# of Spouse	TOTAL
Careerist	4	8	12
Professional	8	6	14
Self-Employed	4	2	6
TOTAL	16	16	32

Table 17. Middle-Class Positions of the Private School Parents

Middle-Class Position	# of Participant	# of Spouse	TOTAL
Careerist	1	4	5
Professional	4	2	6
Self-Employed	3	2	5
TOTAL	8	8	16

Table 18. Middle-Class Positions of the Public School Parents

Middle-Class Position	# of Participant	# of Spouse	TOTAL
Careerist	3	4	7
Professional	4	4	8
Self-Employed	1	-	1
TOTAL	8	8	16

Table 19. Language Knowledge of the Parents

#	Code	Interviewed Parent	Spouse	#	Name Code	Interviewed Parent	Spouse
1	P-PR1	English	-	1	P-PU1	-	English
2	P-PR2	English	-	2	P-PU2	English	German
3	P-PR3	-	English	3	P-PU3	English	-
4	P-PR4	-	English	4	P-PU4	English	English German
5	P-PR5	Arabic French	-	5	P-PU5	-	-
6	P-PR6	-	-	6	P-PU6	English German	English German
7	P-PR7	-	-	7	P-PU7	-	English
8	P-PR8	-	English	8	P-PU8	English	English

Table 20. Yearly Household Income of the Parents

#	Code	Yearly Household Income (Net-TL)	#	Name Code	Yearly Household Income (Net-TL)
1	P-PR1	50.000-74.999	9	P-PU1	75.000-99.999
2	P-PR2	75.000-99.999	10	P-PU2	75.000-99.999
3	P-PR3	50.000-74.999	11	P-PU3	30.000-49.999
4	P-PR4	30.000-49.999	12	P-PU4	75.000-99.999
5	P-PR5	30.000-49.999	13	P-PU5	50.000-74.999
6	P-PR6	30.000-49.999	14	P-PU6	30.000-49.999
7	P-PR7	75.000-99.999	15	P-PU7	50.000-74.999
8	P-PR8	30.000-49.999	16	P-PU8	50.000-74.999

Table 21. Living Places of the Parents

#	Code	District	Type of House		Ownership Status
1	P-PR1	Ümraniye	Apartment		Owner
2	P-PR2	Beşiktaş	Apartment	Gated Community	Not
3	P-PR3	Kadıköy	Apartment		Owner
4	P-PR4	Ataşehir	Apartment	Gated Community	Not
5	P-PR5	Ümraniye	Apartment	Gated Community	Owner
6	P-PR6	Kartal	Apartment		Owner
7	P-PR7	Kadıköy	Apartment		Owner
8	P-PR8	Kadıköy	Apartment	Gated Community	Not
9	P-PU1	Beşiktaş	Apartment		Owner
10	P-PU2	Beşiktaş	Apartment	Gated Community	Owner
11	P-PU3	Ataşehir	Apartment		Not
12	P-PU4	Kadıköy	Apartment		Owner
13	P-PU5	Kadıköy	Apartment		Owner
14	P-PU6	Kadıköy	Apartment		Owner
15	P-PU7	Kocaeli	Detached House	Gated Community	Owner
16	P-PU8	Ümraniye	Apartment	Gated Community	Owner

Table 22. Demographic Information of the Grandparents - Private School

#	Code	Mothers of the Participants		Fathers of the Participants	
		Education Level	Occupation	Education Level	Occupation
1	P-PR1	Primary School	Housewife	Primary School	Blue-collar Worker
2	P-PR2	Vocational School	Teacher	High School	Self-employed
3	P-PR3	Primary School	Housewife	Primary School	Self-employed
4	P-PR4	Vocational School	Housewife	Primary School	Worker
5	P-PR5	Illiterate	Housewife	Primary School	Small Farmer
6	P-PR6	Illiterate	Housewife	Primary School	Small Farmer
7	P-PR7	Primary School	Housewife	Primary School	Self-employed
8	P-PR8	Primary School	Housewife	High School	Self-employed

#	Code	Mothers of the Spouses		Fathers of the Spouses	
		Education Level	Occupation	Education Level	Occupation
1	P-PR1	Primary School	Housewife	Vocational High School	Civil servant
2	P-PR2	Secondary School	Housewife	Vocational school	White-collar Employee
3	P-PR3	Primary School	Housewife	Vocational High School	Self-employed
4	P-PR4	High School	Housewife	Vocational High School	Bank Manager
5	P-PR5	Primary School	Housewife	Primary School	Blue-collar Worker
6	P-PR6	Illiterate	Housewife	Primary School	Blue-collar
7	P-PR7	Primary School	Housewife	Primary School	Self-employed
8	P-PR8	Secondary School	Civil servant	High School	Civil Servant

Table 23. Demographic Information of the Grandparents - Public School

#	Code	Mothers of the Participants		Fathers of the Participants	
		Education Level	Occupation	Education Level	Occupation
1	P-PU1	Secondary School	Housewife	Vocational High School	Civil Servant
2	P-PU2	Primary School	Housewife	High School	Civil Servant
3	P-PU3	Not having a diploma	Housewife	Primary School	Self-employed
4	P-PU4	Primary School	Housewife	Primary School	Self-employed
5	P-PU5	High School	Blue-collar worker	High School	Blue-collar Worker
6	P-PU6	Vocational School	Teacher	University	Doctor
7	P-PU7	Not having a diploma	Housewife	Secondary School	Civil Servant
8	P-PU8	Primary School	Housewife	Primary School	Self-employed

#	Code	Mothers of the Spouses		Fathers of the Spouses	
		Education Level	Occupation	Education Level	Occupation
1	P-PU1	Vocational School	Teacher	High School	Self-employed
2	P-PU2	Primary School	Housewife	Vocational School	Civil Servant
3	P-PU3	High School	Teacher	Vocational School	Teacher
4	P-PU4	Not having a diploma	Blue-collar worker	Not having a diploma	Blue-collar Worker
5	P-PU5	Primary School	Housewife	Primary School	Blue-collar Worker
6	P-PU6	Vocational School	Teacher	University	Pharmacist
7	P-PU7	Not having a diploma	Housewife	Primary School	Small Farmer
8	P-PU8	Primary School	Housewife	High School	Civil Servant

Table 24. Education Levels of the Grandparents

Education Level	# of Grandmother	# of Grandfather	TOTAL
University	-	2	2
Vocational School	5	4	9
High School	3	10	13
Secondary School	3	1	4
Primary School	14	14	28
Not having a diploma	4	1	5
Illiterate	3	-	3
TOTAL	32	32	64

Table 25. Occupations of the Grandmothers and the Grandfathers

Grandmothers	#	Grandfathers	#
Housewife	24	Self-Employed	10
Professional	6	White-collar Employee	9
Blue-collar Worker	2	Blue-collar Worker	7
Total	32	Small Farmer	3
		Professional	3
		Total	32

Table 26. Occupations of the Grandmothers according to Level of Education

Education Level	Occupation	#
Illiterate	Housewife	3
Not having a diploma	Housewife	3
	Blue-collar Worker	1
Primary School	Housewife	14
Secondary School	Housewife	2
	Civil Servant	1
High School	Housewife	1
	Blue-collar Worker	1
	Professional	1
Vocational school	Housewife	1
	Professional	4
TOTAL		32

Table 27. Occupations of the Grandfathers according to Level of Education

Education Level	Occupation	#
Not having a diploma	Blue-collar Worker	1
Primary School	Self-employed	6
	Blue-collar Worker	5
	Small Farmer	3
Secondary School	Civil Servant	1
High School	Blue-collar Worker	1
	Civil Servant	4
	Self-Employed	3
Vocational school	Civil Servant	2
	Professional	1
	Self-Employed	1
	White-collar Employee	2
University	Professional	2
Total		32

Table 28. Middle-Class Histories of the Parents

#	Code	Interviewed Person	Participants	Spouses
1	P-PR1	Mother	First-generation	Second-generation
2	P-PR2	Mother	Second-generation	Second-generation
3	P-PR3	Mother	First-generation	Second-generation
4	P-PR4	Mother	First-generation	Second-generation
5	P-PR5	Father	First-generation	First-generation
6	P-PR6	Father	First-generation	First-generation
7	P-PR7	Mother	First-generation	First-generation
8	P-PR8	Mother	Second-generation	Second-generation
9	P-PU1	Father	Second-generation	Second-generation
10	P-PU2	Mother	Second-generation	Second-generation
11	P-PU3	Mother	First-generation	Second-generation
12	P-PU4	Mother	First-generation	First-generation
13	P-PU5	Mother	First-generation	First-generation
14	P-PU6	Mother	Second-generation	Second-generation
15	P-PU7	Mother	First-generation	First-generation
16	P-PU8	Mother	First-generation	Second-generation

Table 29. Demographic Information of the Children

#	Code	# of Child	Age	University		High School		Primary School	
				Type	Grade	Type	Grade	Type	Grade
1	P-PR1	1	15	-		Private	9	Private	-
2	P-PR2	1	15	-		Private	9	Private	-
3	P-PR3	2	19	Private	1	Private	-	Public	-
			15	-		Private	9	Public	-
4	P-PR4	1	15	-		Private	9	Private	-
5	P-PR5	2	19	Public	2	Public	-	Private	-
			15	-		Private	Prep.	Public	-
6	P-PR6	2	15	-		Private	Prep.	Public	-
			9	-		-	-	Public	3
7	P-PR7	2	26	Private	Graduate	Public	-	Public	-
			15	-		Private	Prep.	Public	-
8	P-PR8	3	16	-		Private	10	Public	-
			9	-		-	-	Public-Private	3
			9	-		-	-	Public-Private	3
9	P-PU1	1	15	-		Public	9	Private	-
10	P-PU2	3	26	Public	Graduate	Private	-	Public	-
			22	Public	2	Private	-	Public	-
			15	-		Public	10	Public	-
11	P-PU3	2	15	-		Public	Prep.	Private	-
			10	-		-	-	Private	5
12	P-PU4	2	17	-		Public	11	Public	-
			15	-		Private	9	Public	-
13	P-PU5	1	15	-		Public	Prep.	Public	-
14	P-PU6	2	22	Private	3	Public	-	Public	-
			18	-		Public	11	Public-Private	-
15	P-PU7	2	26	Public	Graduate	Public	-	Private	-
			16	-		Public	9	Public-Private	-
16	P-PU8	1	15	-		Public	9	Public-Private	-

Table 30. Types of the School that the Children Attend

Type of School	University (f)	High School (f)	Primary School (f)	Total (f)
Public	4	12	15	31
Private	3	12	9	24
Public-Private	-	-	4	4
Total	7	24	28	-

Table 31. Types of the School that the Private School Parents' Children Attend

Type of School	University (f)	High School (f)	Primary School (f)	Total (f)
Public	1	2	7	10
Private	2	9	5	16
Both Public and Private	-	-	2	2
Total	3	11	14	-

Table 32. Types of the School that the Public School Parents' Children Attend

Type of School	University (f)	High School (f)	Primary School (f)	Total (f)
Public	3	10	6	19
Private	1	3	6	10
Both Public and Private	-	-	2	2
Total	4	13	14	-

Table 33. Demographic Information of the Teachers

#	Code	Gender	Age	Area of Expertise	Years of Experience in Teaching	Years of Experience in the Current School
1	T-PR1	Male	35	Mathematics	8	1
2	T-PR2	Female	37	English	15	6
3	T-PR3	Female	42	Guidance	18	1
4	T-PR4	Female	30	Literature	8	2
5	T-PR5	Male	46	Physics	25	22
6	T-PU1	Female	50	German	20	6
7	T-PU2	Female	34	Mathematics	12	5
8	T-PU3	Female	43	Mathematics	21	3
9	T-PU4	Female	46	Geometry	24	1

Table 34. Demographic Information of the School Administrators

#	Code	Gender	Age	Years of Experience in Teaching	Years of Experience in School Administration	Years of Experience in the Current School	Total Years of Experience in Education
1	A-PR1	Female	39	9	6	11	15
2	A-PR2	Female	40	16	2	6	18
3	A-PR3	Female	33	4	7	11	11
4	A-PR4	Female	40	19	3	6	19
5	A-PU1	Male	59	12	24	1	36
6	A-PU2	Male	38	13	2	7	15

APPENDIX G

EXAMPLE OF A NARRATIVE REPORT

She is 45 years old, her husband is 49 years old. Her parents migrated from Edirne to Istanbul. She went to public schools, and graduated from the Primary School Teaching Department of Istanbul University. Her husband has a graduate degree from the Construction Engineering Department of Istanbul Technical University. She has a daughter (19) and a son (15). Her daughter goes to a foundation university, and her son is in a private high school. She worked until she had children, and then she quit, but regrets it now. Even her daughter keeps saying she does not know why she quit her job. She is unhappy about it. Her own parents completed primary school; her husband's mother completed primary school, and his father completed a two-year undergraduate school. Her father had a small clothing store, and his father had a small water spring business. Their mothers were homemakers.

She had to struggle through financial difficulties both in her family of origin and after she got married, and she had fears related to financial issues. She mentioned that her children's conditions are different from those of her own. She says she dedicated herself to her children, even became a slave, and she is very ambitious. Her children are precious to her. She arranged her entire life according to her children's school programs, course schedules and sportive activities. The father seems to be involved in nothing more than school registration. She says her husband does not get involved or create any obstacle in educational matters.

Their financial situation influenced their choice of school. She emphasizes that they did their best. She sent both children to public kindergartens and primary schools. Her daughter was entitled to enter Y Anatolian High School after the

secondary education transition exam, but they did not think this school was good enough, so they sent her to X private high school. The father said it was not a school for a girl. She also registered her son in the swimming course of X High School, strategically laying the grounds. Her daughter did not receive any scholarship, but her son was awarded a scholarship of 50% discount in school fee. Because she wanted to send her children to private school, she is happy to have been able to send them to X High School. She did not want to send them to a public school when children of those around them went to private schools.

She enrolled both of her children in a private course to study for the secondary education transition exam, and she hired tutors (for math and science) for her son while she could not afford to do this for her daughter. Her son still has a tutor for Physics as he is at the high school. Her daughter was enrolled in a private course before the university exam. After all private course experiences, she believes that it is better to send them to a cheap private course and to hire tutors in addition. She also enrolled her children at language courses offered by universities to learn foreign language. She wants her children to speak a foreign language because she cannot.

Why did she prefer a private school? There are significant differences between public and private schools. She can compare them because she has experienced both. She feels that “you are treated decently” in a private school. You have a chance to communicate with teachers and administrators in a private school, but not in a public school. The physical conditions are important in the choice of a private school. Although she knows that a private school is a commercial business in the end, she believes that her children are “safer” in the private school. So she feels more at ease. Other students’ family profiles are also very important. She says she wants her children to be different from others. She thinks that the public school she

sent her children was like a semi-private school, i.e. better than other public schools (families of students going to this school were more elite, very few students from working-class families, etc.). She wants to send her son to a foundation university such as Sabancı or Koç if he can get a scholarship.

Her biggest fear in life has been financial fears, and her biggest motivation is not to let her children experience such fears. She talks about her children in “we”. She says they spend so much money for their children’s education. She complains that the education system is very unjust, believing that she would be very unhappy if she could not afford to send her children to private school.

APPENDIX H

EXAMPLE OF A CONCEPTUAL INTERVIEW SCHEME

Research Question: How do middle-class families choose the schools for their children? What factors influence their decisions?

- ✓ For kindergarten and primary education, if economic conditions are not suitable for sending children to a private school, find the best public school which has resemblance to private schools
- ✓ For high school, when exam results are not good enough for entering the best Anatolian high schools in Istanbul and if economic conditions are suitable, send the children to a private school with a good reputation and history
- ✓ To be able to send children to a private high school, search for different levels of scholarship
- ✓ Prefer private universities with good reputation if they provide scholarship
- ✓ The impact of family background and educational histories of the parents
 - Having economic difficulties while growing up
 - Generational gap: Different levels of involvement in children's education between generations
- ✓ The impact of governance practices in education
 - Low quality of education in public schools (physical conditions, no communication opportunities with teachers, administrators, etc.)
 - Different levels of scholarship given by private schools
 - Security concerns, feeling of safety in private schools
 - Feeling to be behaved like “human” in private schools
- ✓ The impact of social mobility concerns; having fear and ambition

- ✓ The impact of social network (trying to do same practices)
- ✓ Desire for differentiation/creating a border between their children

Research Question: How do they support their children for ensuring their academic success? What are their attitudes and preferences for enrichment activities?

- ✓ Continuously support the children with shadow education practices
- ✓ Enrolling to private teaching center, having private tutors from university students
- ✓ Weekends and weekday; organization of swimming lessons
- ✓ Foreign language has utmost importance
- ✓ Differentiate children from others as much as possible

Research Question: What is the gender character of middle-class involvement in education?

- ✓ Quitting the job after having children
- ✓ High involvement of mother in children's education; allocation of considerable amount of time and effort – mother is the main actor
- ✓ A conflict between mother and father while deciding the schools and directing the child's education
- ✓ Involvement of father when strategic and significant decisions are needed to be taken; such as making a choice between public and private schools
- ✓ Need for extensive knowledge on education system
- ✓ Economic and emotional sacrifices

Research Question: What are the broader social implications of educational choices, practices and dispositions of middle-class families?

- ✓ Increasing class-based differences and segregation between children of the middle class and the lower classes
- ✓ Education has become an increasingly a market good
- ✓ Organization of life according to requirements of children's education
- ✓ Spending huge amount of money for education of children
- ✓ Increasing expectations from schools and teachers; changes in their roles

APPENDIX I

NARRATIVES IN TURKISH

1. Ben Ağrı'nın küçük bir ilçesinde doğdum. Burası beş bin nüfuslu küçük bir ilçe, ilkokulu orada bitirdim, ortaokulu da orada bitirdim. Tam mezun olacağımız sene ortaokulda lise açıldı, liseyi de aynı yerde bitirdim. 1983 yılında, ki bizim ilçede yani üniversiteye giren kişi sayısı belki tarihinde o güne kadar toplansanız belki 20-30 kişi üniversiteyi kazanmamıştır. Bir baktım sonuçlar geldi, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, İlahiyat Fakültesi. Gideyim mi gitmeyeyim mi böyle bir ikilem içinde kaldım. Sonunda sosyo-ekonomik durumumuza bakarak gitmem gerektiğine karar verdim; çünkü o benim için bir şanstı, bir kurtuluştı, başka çarem yoktu. Ya kahve köşelerinde kalacaktım iş güç yok, en iyisi üniversite bitirmek. Şans oldu...İzmir'e geleceğim, hayatımda ilk kez İstanbul'u üniversite sınavı döneminde görmüştüm. İlk kez o zaman büyük bir şehir görmüştüm, mesela Erzurum'u bile görmemiştim, Ağrı'nın dışına çıkmamıştım. İzmir de heyecanlandırdı beni. Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi'ni kazandık işte. Orada eğitimimi iyi derecede bitirdim, mesela liseyi ikincilikle bitirmiştim, üniversitede de ilk ona girdim, ama çok zor oldu. Hani şöyle bir şey küçük yerden kalkıp, beş bin nüfuslu bir yerden kalkıp gelip milyonlara ulaşan nüfuslu büyük bir mega kente gelmek; sosyal açıdan, ekonomik açıdan, kültürel açıdan ciddi anlamda sıkıntılar yaşadık. Hele ilk yıl, okulu bırakmayı düşündüm, yani o kadar kötüydü. Ailenin maddi gücü yok, devlet yurdunda kalıyorum, işte krediler, burslar bilmiyorum nereye müracaat edeceğim. Babam da zaten bu anlamda çok eğitilmiş bir insan değil, 1926 doğumlu ve ortaokul terk. Annemin okuma yazması yok. Yani böyle bir eğitim serüveni... Öyle olunca da işte ben dişimi tırnağıma taktım, hakikaten hani derler ya hayatımı yazsam roman olur diye, bizim hayatımız öyle, roman gibi yani. Gece mesela yurt müdürünün, emekli bir albaydı yurt müdürümüz, hiç unutmuyorum o zamanın parası bir beş bin lira para ödememiz gerekiyordu yurda her ay...Böyle bir para ödememiz gerekiyordu aylık, ödeyemediğimiz için beni pılımı pırtımı toplayıp dışarı atmıştı mesela, iki gece, İzmir'in Kasım ayı idi hiç unutmuyorum, İzmir'in rutubetli havasında dışarıda kalmıştım mesela, gidecek yerim yoktu. Yani o dönemlerde okulu bırakmayı da düşündüm. Sonra birileri devreye girdi, burslar falan veriliyordu öğrencilere. (P-PR5)
2. Hiç ilgilenmiyorlardı ki, babam kaçınıcı sınıfta olduğumu bile bilmiyordu, bir gün okula geldiğini hatırlamıyorum. Pardon yalan olmasın, birinci sınıfa başlayacağım gün beş yaşındayım ve ağlayarak...Beş yaşında başladım ben, o da normalde beni almıyorlardı, o da ben ağladığım için babam, bizim komşumuzdu öğretmen elimden tuttu beni okula götürdü, hatta öyle bir şekilde çıkıp babamın peşine koşmuşum, ayağımda çorap bile yoktu, yalın ayakkabımı, öyle giymiştim. Sonra benden sonra abimle çorap göndermişlerdi bana. Bir orada hatırlıyorum babamı okulda, ondan sonra bir daha babamı hiç okulda görmedim. Sadece lise sondayken biz mezun olacaktık, şey vardı, bir etkinlik vardı böyle hani mezuniyet gibi- o küçük yerlerde hani böyle mezuniyet töreni falan yok da- işte konferans salonunda

türkü, şarkılar söylenecek, küçük skeçler yapılacak, müdürümüz çıkacak bizim için güzel şeyler söyleyecek...Onu da biz başlattık ilk kez, ben de orada hasbel kader çıkıp türkü söyleyeceğim. Babama rica etmiştim beni izlemeye gelir misin diye, gelmemişti mesela o zaman bile... Şimdi açıkçası ben, bütün bu yaşadıklarımın sonra, hani bir babanın çocuğuna bırakacağı en büyük mirasın eğitim olduğuna inanan bir insanım. (P-PR5)

3. Babam, benim dediğim gibi ilkokul mezunu işçi olarak İngiltere'ye gidiyor, 1968-69 döneminde, bu Almanya akımının olduğu zamanlarda işçi olarak... Dolayısıyla hani orada eğitim adına çok bir şey yok. Anne de aynı şekilde, o da ilkokul mezunu, ondan sonra o da bir miktar çalıştı ama yoğun bir iş yaşamı hiç bir zaman olmadı, daha çok ev hanımlığı şeklinde devam etti. Ama dediğim gibi hani bizler de bunu gördük, hani ben kendi adıma farklı bir şeyler yapmakla ilgili, üniversiteye gitmekle ilgili hedef edindim kendime o şekilde...Onlar da ellerinden geldiği kadar yönlendirdiler bizi, üçümüzü -iki kız kardeşim var- öyle söyleyeyim yani, onlar da kendi yaşamlarına dönerek, hani onlar ilkokul mezunu ama en azından kızlarımız hani okusunlar, ondan sonra en azından bir liseyi bitirsinler tarzında her zaman destek olmuşlardır. Ama, yönlendirme konusunda...hayır yani yönlendirecek kadar bilgi sahibi değillerdi. Şimdi geriye dönüp baktığımda hani ne biliyorlardı ki bize ne söylesinler? Hani orada bir eleştirim zaten olamaz, her zaman destek oldular, hani aileye baktığım zaman anne baba imkanları sağladı ve hepimiz üniversite mezunuyuz. O anlamda da demek ki gerekli desteği sağlamışlar, bizi yönlendirmişler, hani dillerinin döndüğünce. Hepimiz üniversite mezunuyuz, meslek sahibiyiz, geçimimizi sağlıyoruz tek başımıza, bu da önemli bir şey...Ama ben ben şık verilmesini isterdim ben İngiltere'den döndüğümde Anadolu lisesine gitme hakkım varmış ama bilmiyorlardı direkt yurtdışından geçiş ama annem babam bunu bilmiyordu. Ben, bunu bilmediği için anne ve babam, düz liseye gittim. İstanbul Üniversitesi'ni okudum, yaa bu kimseyi suçlamak anlamında değil ama burada a b c şıklarını en azından bilseydi. Bilememiş önemli değil ama bilseydi en azından o opsiyonumuzu kullanabilirdik ya da kullanmazdık... Şimdi tüm bu zorluklara rağmen, ailenin desteği olmadan, yani yönlendirmesi olmadan ilkokul mezunu bir anne babanın çocuğu olarak başarılı oldum. (P-PR1)
4. [İlkokul mezunu olarak] annem okumaya çok şeydi...Annemler üç kız kardeş, köyde yaşıyorlar. O zaman annem bütün çocuklarını okutmaktan yana, özellikle kız çocuklarının bir sürüsü okumazken onlar en azından liseyi bitirmeliler, yani öyle bir şeyleri var. (P-PR8)
5. Şimdi ben Balıkesir'de çocukluğumu geçirdim zaten, orda yakınımızdaki ilkokula, ardından düz liseye gidip, düz bir eğitim aldım. Ben esnaf çocuğuyum, aynı zamanda ailenin okumuş kuşağı biziz. Yani annem...o sonradan öğrendi okuma yazmayı, babam öyle yani, hani okullu bir ailenin çocuğu değilim ama hani batılı, oldukça aydın bir ailem vardı. O zaten bizi okutmalarından belliydi. (P-PU3)
6. Bizim zamanımızda böyle okul seçmek bu kadar zor şeyler değildi. Biz bilirdik ki devletin en iyi okulu en yakın okuludur. Dolayısıyla en yakın okula sorgusuz sualsiz gider, ne öğretmen seçerdik, ne okul seçerdik, gider, bizi

nereye verirlerse verirlerdi, orada kendimizi göstermeye çalışırdık. En yakın neresiyse odur ve gider eğitimimizi sürdürürdük. (P-PR6)

7. Yoktu bizde, yani okula gidiyorduk işte mahalle mektebi, hadi yürü yavrum, öyle öyle büyüdük yani. (P-PU5)
8. Şimdi şöyle diyeyim, ben Samsun'da doğdum, orada büyüdüm, liseyi bitirene kadar Samsun'daydım, tabi ki ailemiz seçti okullarımızı, bizim hiç seçme hakkımız olmadı. Yaş itibarıyla o dönemde öyleydi diyeyim, çok başarılı bir öğrenci olmama rağmen ailem mesela kolej eğitimi istemedi ki çok, öğretmenim bu konuda destek vermişti illa sınavlarına girsin diye; ancak ailem istemedi böyle bir şeyi ve beni ilkokulu bitirdikten sonra, Kız Meslek Lisesi'nin ortaokul bölümüne ve liseye devam ettim. Ancak tabi ki yani bütün engellemelere rağmen üniversiteyi, üstelik ODTÜ'yü kazandım. (P-PU4)
9. Herkes gördüğünü yaşatır çocuğa, kısıtlı çevreler, maddiyat çok önemli yani...Öyle yani, dershaneler vardı ama maddiyatlar yetmediği için gitmedik. Üniversite sınavına girdik işte, kazanamadık açık öğretimi tutturduk, o bile bizim için oo oldu, öyle okuduk bitti. Yapamadı onlar, şartlar öyleydi, ama biz kendi çocuğumuza şimdi çok fazla...eşimin her iki lafından biri aman çocuğum aman oku, aman oku, bu oluyor (P-PU5)
10. Eğitime özen gösteren [bir aileyiz], çünkü kendi eğitim hayatımızdaki birtakım engellerden dolayı eğitimimizi yarım bıraktık. Ben mesela çok rahat farklı bir şekilde okuyabilirdim biliyorum, o benim hep içimde dert olmuştur. (P-PR8)
11. Çok şey düşünüyorum zaman zaman, diyorum ki yani ben onların şartlarında olsaydım şu anda çok farklı yerde olurdu...Benim bir tane yardımcı kitabım vardı, gerçekten öyle, benim hayatta bir tane romanım oldu biliyor musunuz? (P-PR3)
12. Mesela biz çoğu zaman yürüyerek giderdik uzak mesafelere, şimdi çocuklar ya servisi ya da özel arabasıyla gidiyor en azından giyim kuşam konusunda problemleri yok, artı okullarda eskiden para bile olsa böyle imkanlar yoktu. Bizde, o zaman benim okuduğum yer de küçük bir yer olduğundan dolayı kütüphane bile il merkezinde vardı yani...Bir kütüphaneye gitme şansımız bile yoktu, yani kitap bulmamız bile çok zordu. Yani bunları gördükçe şimdi daha şanslı olduğumu düşünüyorum şimdiki neslin. Yani ben mesela hayatımda hiç dershaneye gitmedim, özel öğretmenim olmadı, bende dergiler vardı, test dergileri vardı, üniversiteye test dergisiyle hazırlandım ben. (P-PR1)
13. Dershane görmedim ben, yani koca şehirde bir tane dershane yeni açılmıştı, ona gidebilecek koşullarımız yoktu. Ben de gideyim dediğimde babam aynen şunu söyledi, önümde büyüğüm abim vardı, o da lise sondaydı, "ağbine ne diyeceksin, sen söyle" dedi. Ben ikinci kere söylemedim, kendi çabamla ülkenin iyi üniversitelerinden birine girebildim. (P-PR6)

14. Sıkıntılar, kendimiz sıkıntılarla eğitim hayatımızı yaşadığımız için istemediğimiz şeylere yönlendirildik. Aynı hataya, babalarımızın annelerimizin düştüğü hataya ben düşmek istemiyorum, çocuğu özgür bırakmaktan yanayım. Ben şöyle, ben özgür bırakmaktan yanayım belki bilmiyorum, bu özgürlük müdür? Ben a b c şıklarını veririm önüne, a b c şıklarını açıklarım. Derim ki, bu şık bunu getirir, bu şık bunu getirir, bu da bunu getirir. Benim annem babam beni yönlendiremedi çünkü a b c şıklarından ne haberi vardı, ne de ne getireceğini bilmiyordu. Ben de şık veririm, ama seçim yine onundur, ben ben şık verilmesini isterdim. Şimdi ben de oğlum için bunu, bu şık, bu şık bu şık şimdi ben ona söylüyorum...ben ona seçenekleri tanıtmakla mükellef olduğumu düşünüyorum. Şöyle diyemezsin ne yaparsan yap hayat senin, öyle değil yani... (P-PR1)
15. Çocuklarımda daha doğru yönlenmelerini istedim, hani tercih yaparken, dallarını seçerken yarın öbür gün pişmanlık duymayacakları, ah keşke şu da olsaydı demeyecekleri şekilde yürüsünler istedim. O yönde de gayret gösteriyoruz, inşallah iyi olacak. (P-PR7)
16. Benim ailemin bana yaptığı yatırımın aynısını ben çocuğuma yaptığım zaman benden bir farkı kalmayacaktı. Çünkü benim babamın bana yaptığı yatırımla benim ona yaptığım yatırım farklı...ben daha fazlasını yapmak zorundayım. O yüzden bu anlamda yaptığım yatırımlar artıyor, artacak da... (P-PU1)
17. Şimdi çocukların, tabi o zamanlar dediğim gibi çok fazla durumumuz iyi değildi, iyi olsaydı özel okula gönderirdim ama evimizin karşısında devlet okulu, tam karşılıklı oturuyoruz, oraya iki sene anaokuluna gönderdim kızımı da, oğlumu da. (P-PR3)
18. Bence seçim yapma şansımız yoktu, biz öncelikli olarak ulaşımı düşündük bize yakın olsun diye, bir de maddiyat da vardı tabi, mesela ilk önce devlet anaokuluna götürdük, okul çok küçüktü ve karışıktı. Çeşitli yaş grubundan çocuklar vardı, her gün bir zarar görüyordu. Sonra biz de özele verdik, daha düzgün bir anaokuluna gitti, evimize yakın bir anaokuluydu. Bir bankacı bayanın kendi kızına gidebileceği bir okul olarak kurduğu, çok güzel, ünlü bir yer adı olan bir yer, mekan değildi ama beni tatmin etti (P-PR1).
19. ...çok hareketli bir çocuktü, bir zamanlar acaba hiperaktif mi diye düşündük. Psikolojik danışmana gittiğimizde farklı okullara gitmesi gerektiği söylendi. (P-PU1)

Canan: Farklı derken kastınız?

20. Özel okullara gitmesi söylendi. Biz de özel kreşten başlayarak, ilkokuluna başlarken özel okulla başlayarak göndermeyi yeğledik. Düşüncemiz, kalabalık içinde kendini rahat ifade edemeyeceği yönündeydi. Yani, birebir ilgilenilmesini istedik açıkçası. Devletin kreşlerinde veya okullarında daha kalabalık sınıflar olduğu için daha az ilgilenilebileceğini düşündük. İyi bir eğitim almasını düşündük. Daha sonra, oturduğumuz eve yakın, çünkü İstanbul'da trafik sorunu var ve çocuğun hayatının çoğunun trafikte geçmesini istemediğimiz için oturduğumuz semtte var olan bir özel okula

gönderdik. (P-PU1)

21. Anaokulu olarak araştırırken çevremdeki insanlardan çok görüş aldım, onların olumlu şeyler söylediği birkaç okula gittim, yöneticileri ile tanıştım. İçlerinden gerçek bir eğitimci olduğuna karar verdiğim yöneticiyle konuştuktan...onunla konuştuktan sonra da kararımı verdim. Aynı yerde ilkokula gitmemiz de mümkün oldu, çünkü anaokuluna kayıt yaptırdıktan sonra hiç araştırma yapmamıza gerek kalmadan ilkokulu seçmiş olduk. Bu da çok önemliydi, çünkü istediğimiz, ismi olan bir okul oldu ve doğrudan geçiş yaptık. (P-PU8)
22. *Öğretmen diyor ki, eskiden biz öğrenci seçiyorduk, bak şimdi öğrenci bizi seçmeye kalkıyor. (narrated by P-PR6)*
23. Buraya gelene (liseye) kadar aslında şey, iki kızım da aynı okula gitti, devlet okuluna gittiler. Gebze’de iyi bir devlet okulu. Büyük kızım biraz zeki bir çocuktu, yani ikisi de çok şükür zekiler ama...Çok meraklıydı, yazıya çok meraklıydı, her şeyi soruyordu işte şurada ne yazıyor, burada ne var, işte bir baktık bir gün okuyor. Onun için hani ben tereddüde düştüm acaba ne yapayım, gittim okul müdürüyle görüştüm, dedim ki -o da kızını özel okula vermişti, o dönemde Gebze’de bir tane özel okul vardı- dedim ki hani siz bir eğitici olarak hani ne düşünüyorsunuz, özel okula mı vereyim? Hani ezilir mi burada, çünkü 40-50 kişinin arasına girecek, öğretmen ilgilenmezse, okuyor diye falan gibi konuştum. Dedi ki “ya ben kızımı özel okula verdim; ama açıkçası memnun değilim ve almayı düşünüyorum” dedi. Benim sana tavsiyem, iyi bir öğretmeni olsun, şu an okulumuza iki öğretmen atandı karı-koca, ikisi de çok çok iyiler, hani referansları iyi, bir deneyin şansınızı derim” dedi. Sağ olsun hani beni güzel yönlendirdi, gerçekten de yani mükemmel bir öğretmene denk geldik. Karı-koca ikisi de idealist, hala arkadaşız şu an, dostumuz oldular. (P-PU4)
24. İlköğretimde öğretmenin birinci öncelikli olduğunun farkında olduğum için Anadolu yakasında gidebileceğimiz her yer, kolay ulaşabileceğimiz her yerde öğretmen araştırdım. Hatta ilginçtir, birçok yerde arkadaşlarımız vardı, okul okul gezdik, öğretmenlerle tanıştık. Devlet okulunda, devlet okulundaki öğretmen arkadaşlarla...Sizi tanıyorum mesela, gittik bir okula, birinci sınıf alacak öğretmenlerle konuştuk, tartıştık, hatta şey yaptık, şey dedi bir tanesi ya Allah aşkına dedi ya “eskiden biz öğrenci seçiyorduk bak şimdi öğrenci bizi seçmeye kalkıyor. Şaka bir tarafa, evet biraz da o çevremizin olmasından dolayı bu rahatlığı sağlayabildik. Karar verdik, Kartal’da oturmamıza rağmen Küçükalyalı’ya geldi gitti. Yani öğretmenimizi hiç tartışmıyorum, doğru bir öğretmen seçmiştik ama uzağa vermek doğru muydu yanlış mıydı, onu tartışmak gerek. Servisle gidip geldi, çok yalnız kalmış, çok sıkıntı çekmiş, çok ağlamış yalnız kaldığı için. İlk beş yılımız gerçekten öğretmenimizin de çabasıyla çok başarılı geçti. Sonra o okulda devam etmesine karar verdik. 6-7-8’i orada okudu, gerçekten devlet okullarında bulunabilecek en iyi kadrolardan biriydi o okul, şimdi dağıtmışlar galiba biraz ama gene de öğretmenlerimizden çok memnunduk... Bir çocuk daha geliyor, onu da mevcut öğretmenlerin içerisinde yine Sosyoloji mezunu ama 15 yıldır

öğretmen olan, sorumluluk duyan, çok da emek sarf eden bir öğretmen arkadaşımız vardı, ona verelim dedik. (P-PR6)

25. İlkokul aşamasında tercih yaparken aslında özel okul mantığından daha çok, buan ben Türkiye'deki özel okulların ilköğretim aşamasında çok da fazla bir katkı verdiğini düşünmüyorum ama öğretmenin çok önemli olduğunu düşünüyorum. Bireysel çabalarıyla, -fiziki şartların haricinde- tabi ki okulun fiziki şartları önemli ama öğretmenin bireysel çabası sayesinde o öğrencilerin daha farklı bir noktaya geldiğini düşünüyorum. Biz küçük bir araştırma yaptık, ondan sonra öğretmeni tercih ettik bir anlamda. Öğretmen seçmek önemliydi, hatta iki öğretmen vardı; biri erkek, biri bayan. Biz bayan öğretmeni seçtiğimizde ve onunla görüşme yaptığımızda aslında tam da istediğimiz gibi bir öğretmen, hem dışardan duyum almıştık. (P-PR2)

Canan: Nasıl duyum almıştınız?

26. Aslında okula yeni geliyordu, geldiği okulda başarılı bir öğretmen olduğunu öğrendik. Öğretmenle ilk görüşmeyi yaptığımızda da bize o elektriği ve potansiyeli gösterdi. (P-PR2)

Canan: Biraz daha açar mısınız?

27. Bire kere standart bir öğretmen tipinde –devlet ya da özel ayrımı yapmıyorum, bunların hepsi her yerde olabilir- klasik bilgi veren işte, sadece öğrenciden beklemeyen, hem kendisi katan, hem de öğrenciyi katan ve öğrencinin farklı yeteneklerini de değerlendiren... Bir yerde eksikse, onu diğer alanla tamamlayan bir öğretmen. Onun için tercih oldu. (P-PR2)
28. Hep elimden geldiği kadar iyi yerlere, imkanlarım dahilinde iyi yerlere götürmeye çalıştım... ilkokulda gittikleri okul da devlet okulu, fakat neredeyse yarı yarıya özel bir okul gibiydi. (P-PR3)

29. O okulda bir arkadaşımın teyzesi o okulun okul aile birliğinde ve ben internetten araştırdım, SBS yerleştirmeleri güzel, yarım gün ve etrafta üst kattaki komşumun kızı oradan mezun, başka bir arkadaşım yani, özel okul gibi ama devlet okulu... (P-PU5)

30. Araştırdığımız o bütün şeylerden sonra işte devlet okulunda bağış filan alıyorlardı. Lokasyon, temiz bir okul, güvenliği var, yemeği var, yine büyük oğlum orda kolej gibi okudu. (P-PR8)

31. İlkokul araştırmasında bir de adres uyma davaları var ya eğitim sisteminin, ama nasıl oluyorsa taa karşıdaki okula da yazdırıyorsunuz çocuğunuzu. Yolunu bulduk, bağışlarımızı yaptık, ilkokula yerleştirdik. Ama şansına çok çok çok iyi bir öğretmene düştü, yani şu anda çocuğumun başarısı tek ona aittir, yani gerçekten iyi biri, öğretmen çok önemli, okulu satın almıyorsunuz ama öğretmen, çünkü hani bina yeni olsun diyorlar, semti güzel olsun. Şimdi yaşadıkça öğrenmek de ayrı bir şey ama öğretmeni ile hala görüşürüz ve taparız şu anda bile. Yani öğretmenimiz çok çok iyiydi, ben oradaki öğretmenler gibi öğretmenler görmedim. (P-PU5).

32. Biz epeyce araştırdık devlet okulu olsun ama aslında iyi öğretmen olsun dedik. Sonra çok böyle adı duyulmuş okullar vardı, bir takım okullar vardı. Sınıf sayısından dolayı, yeni bir okuldu yani öyle üç beş senelikti biz başladığımızda, sınıf sayısının etkisinden dolayı esasında...Sitenin karşısında ne vardı biliyor musunuz, en iyi devlet okullarından biri...biz direkt girebiliyorduk, ama bir baktık sınıflara böyle 45 kişi, 50 kişi. Yeri çok güzel tamam hani ama 45 kişi hani dünyanın en iyi öğretmeni olsa bu çocuk burada ne öğrenecek kaygısını çok yaşadık. Dolayısıyla araştırdığımız o bütün şeylerden sonra başka bir devlet okuluna verdik.... Mesela ben öbür çocuklarımı da oraya verdim sonra, aynı yoldan ağabeyleri gibi gitsinler diye. Sınıf sayısı 45'e çıktı, çok popüler oldu okul ve benim çocuklarımla ilk senesi heba oldu. Birinci sınıfta gittiler. Sonra ikide biz aldık, özel okula verdik ve iyi ki almışız yani, direkt fark etti çocuklarda. (P-PR8)
33. Aslında ilk başta biz kızımın gittiği devlet okulunu çok beğeniyorduk ama dersler biraz orta kısımda boş geçmeye başladı ve kızım oraya ilk başladığında çok küçük bir sınıfta başladı, yani sayısı azdı sınıftaki çocukların. Orta kısımda onu da muhafaza edemediler, sınıf adetleri de çok artınca bazı dersler de boş geçince biz hani özele kaymayı düşündük çünkü kızım da başarılı bir öğrenciydi. Ondan sonra işte araştırınca da bize yakın okullar içinde, özel okul olarak işte SBS başarısı da yüksek olduğu için orayı tercih ettik. (P-PU6).
34. Yok şimdi devletteki eğitim şartlarını bildiğimden dolayı devletin sınıfları kalabalık, ortam hijyenik değil, yani imkanlar kısıtlı. Fiziksel şartlar daha iyi, yoksa özel okulun öğretmeni de aynı, öğretmen okulundan mezun, yani öğretmenler arasında bir fark yok. Hani, bu insanı isterseniz devlette kullanırsınız, isterseniz özelde, yani özelde eğitimde bence hiç bir fark yok... Hani öğretmen çok önemli tabi ki, okulun fiziksel şartları da çok önemli, eşime şey demiştim çünkü benim çok devlet okullarında tanıdığım yok, hani iyi bir devlet okulu bulursak iyi bir öğretmeni garanti edebilirsek devlette okusun demiştim o dönemde ama gerçekleşmedi. Dolayısıyla biz tek seçenikle özelde kaldık. (P-PR1)
35. Yani mesela özel okulda daha iyi iletişim kurabiliyorduk isteklerimiz olsun, çocuğu takip etme olsun. Diğer türlüünde öğretmenlerle ilişki kurma açısından, yani sınıfların kalabalıklığı iletişimi zorlaştırıyordu devlet okulunda. (P-PU7)
36. Devlet okulunda çok şeyler yaşadım, kızımın bir matematik hocası vardı, yani hiç konuştuğu anlaşılmıyordu, kesinlikle onun öğretmen görüşmesi diye bir şey yoktu, teneffüste görüşüyordun yani, teneffüste yakalarsan...nöbetçi gibi okulda bekliyorsun. (P-PR3)
37. Şimdi şöyle bir şey benim çocuğum devlete gittiğinde, devlet okulundaki yani şöyle bir fark var, tabi eğitim farkını soruyorsanız arada uçurum var. Yani 60 kişilik sınıflar, 50 kişilik sınıflar, birebir çalışma imkanı yok, disiplin sorunu var devlet okullarında bu anlamda ciddi anlamda sıkıntı var. Öğretmene ulaşma diye bir şey söz konusu değil, öğretmen olduğum halde müdür beyin odasına gidip müdür beyle işte öğretmenliğimizden dolayı bize bir ayrıcalık

tanınıyordu, ilgi gösteriliyordu; ama yani veli-okul iletişimi yoktu devlet okulunda... Devlet okulunda bir vurdumduymazlık, dersi biten öğretmenin çekip gitmesi, görüşme günü diye bir şeyin olmaması, telefonla ulaşamamanız veya hani sizinle görüşmek için kırk dereden su getirip nazlanması...Öğretmen profili de kötü devlette, o açıdan fark var. Şunu söyleyeyim, öğretmen olarak baktığınız zaman devlet okulundaki öğretmenler tamamen şeyi bırakmışlar...çaba göstermeyi bırakmışlar veya çocukta bir kabiliyet görüyorsa ona destek oluyor; ama kendisi uğraşmak zorunda olduğu öğrenci ile uğraşmıyor. (P-PR5)

38. Anne baba çalışıyor, sabah çıkıp akşam geliyoruz. Çocuğumun kendi başına geçireceği vakti azaltması özel okul tercihimizin bir tanesiydi. Tam gün ve güvenli olması. Yani biliyorduk ki, çocuğumuz servise bindikten sonra güven içinde olacak, okulda aynı şekilde söz konusu olacak. Çünkü öğrenci sayısı az, daha sıkı bir kontrol olabiliyor öğretmenler ve diğer görevliler açısından. Okuldan sonra servise binecek ve evine gelecek ve mümkün olduğunca dış etkenlerden etkilenmeyecek. Bir koruma, bir fanus içine alma. Ama tabi ne kadar doğru o tartışılır ama...Benim oğlumun ilkokulda en kalabalık sınıfı hiç bir zaman 25'i geçmedi. 25 kişinin mi öğretmen tarafından kontrol edilmesi mi, 70 öğrencinin öğretmen tarafından kontrol edilmesi mi? Bu ders saatlerinde...Bir de okulun genel şeyini düşünün, görüyoruz. Z sınıflarına kadar giden sınıflar var ve bunlarda 70'er kişi var ve öğretmen sayısı aynı. Dolayısıyla bu çocuk bahçeye çıktığında bile dışardan, okulun duvarından gelebilecek bir şeyi göremez öğretmen. Ama özel okulda onu görebiliyor. Çünkü az çocuk var, daha fazla kontrol edilebiliyor. Bu da en büyük etkenlerden birisi özellikle İstanbul gibi büyük şehirlerde ve tercih sebeplerimden bir tanesi. Ben tercihlerimde bunu gözönüne aldım. (P-PU1)

39. İlkokulu devlet okulunda başlattık, beşinci sınıftan sonra özel okulun bursluluk sınavına girdi, %100 burs alarak orta kısmı 6, 7, 8'i orada okudu. (P-PU7)

40. Büyük kızım ilk dört yılını iki yıl anaokulu, dört yıl da dördüncü sınıfa kadar özel okulda benimle okudu. Sonra ben başka bir koleje geçince üç yıl yine yedinci sınıfa kadar yine benimle okudu. Sonra ben başka bir okula geçtiğimde ilk yıl burs vermedikleri için ben çocuğumu devlete göndermek zorunda kaldım ve orada da çocuğu kaybettik zaten. Ufak kızım da anaokulundan sekizinci sınıfa kadar Göztepe'deki o bir devlet okulunda okudu. Gayet başarılıydı, şansımız, iyi bir sınıf öğretmenine denk gelmesiydi. Doğrudan devlet olduğu için çocuk oranın yapısına alışarak eğitimini sağlıklı bir şekilde bitirdi; ama büyük özelden devlete gidince bocaladı ve dağıldı orada. İlk başta bir kere çocuğu kabul etmediler aralarına, özelden gelen bir çocuk olarak çocuğu içlerine almadılar. (P-PR5)

41. Sistem dershaneye gitmesini emrediyordu, biz de dershaneye göndermek zorunda kaldık. Sınav sadece son sınıfta olsaydı ben onu yine orta ikinci sınıfta da göndermeyi düşünüyordum. Sistemin gereğini yerine getirdik, yani sistem onun üç sene sınava girmesini istedi, biz de 3 sene boyunca dershaneye göndermek zorunda kaldık. Özel ders anlamında ders aldırmadık. Sonuçta en iyi dershaneyi bulmaya çalıştık. Çevremize danıştık, başarılarına

baktık ve ona göre daha spesiyal, daha özel bir dersane seçerek o dershaneye gönderdik. (P-PR2)

42. Her sene dershaneye gitti, çünkü üç sene sınava girmek zorundaydı. Altıncı sınıftan itibaren her sene sınava girmek zorundaydı. Her ne kadar okuldaki yöneticilerin dershaneye göndermenize gerek yok, biz yeteriz, biz sınava hazırlıyoruz demelerine rağmen gördüğümüz eksiklikler üzerine dershaneye gitmesi gerektiğini düşündük. Çünkü bunun bir şekli var, yani o test sorularını, 4 şıktan oluşan test sorularını cevaplamak zorunda. Bu da bi şekle, bi düzene bir disipline bağlı...İşte şıkları doğru işaretleyebilme. Bizim zaten sınavlarda üç sene boyunca bu sınavlarda bu eksiklikleri çektik. Sınav kağıdına işaretlediği cevapları cevap anahtarına işaretlemediği için 3 sene de daha düşük puanlar aldı. Sınavda 2 yanlış yaptı ama sonuçlar açıklandınca 6 yanlış olduğu görülüyor ve bakıyorsun yanlışlar hep bir grupta toplanmış, yani bir yerde bir kayma söz konusu...Dershaneden çok da memnun kalmadık aslında...Daha çok test çözebilseydi, daha çok sınav ortamına girebilseydi dershanede biraz önce bahsettiğim gibi 2 yanlışla çıkabileceği bir sınavdan 6 yanlışla çıkmazdı. Demek ki yeteri kadar testsel anlamda, şekilsel anlamda, disiplin anlamında o şeklin iyice verilemediğini, o disiplinin oturtulamadığını düşünüyorum. 2-2-2 yanlışla çıkabileceği bir sınav periyodundan 6-4-2 çıkması, o dershanenin şekilsel disiplininde bir zaaafiyet olduğunu gösteriyor. Ben arkadaşlarıma tavsiye etmedim. (P-PU1)
43. Büyük kızım 7 ve 8’de, küçük kızım da üç yıl boyunca gitti dershaneye. Onda bir sürü şey denedik, önce normal dershaneye gitti, sonra butik dershaneye gittik hani biraz daha şey, motive ederler diye düşündük. Ama memnun kalmadık, ona göre değildi belki; çünkü şey yoktu, rekabet edeceği kimse yoktu, çok da şey yapamadılar, ilgilenemediler, hani kimlerle rekabet ediyor, ne hal seviyesi hiç anlayamadık. (P-PU4)
44. Bir kere üç ay kadar dershaneye gitti ve kendisi için uygun olmadığını düşündü, bireysel dersten daha mutlu. Altıda sürekli dışarıdan öğretmen geliyordu, her derse ayrı bir öğretmen, çok zor bir seneydi, bizim için de zor maddi, manevi zor. İngilizce, matematik ve fen geliyordu, bir de edebiyat öğretmeni, gerçi o arkadaşımı ama hani o da geliyordu. Aslında her gün doluydu çocuğun. İyi de geldi bence temeli için iyiydi onlar. Sonra yedi itibariyle bir ağabeyimiz oldu, sadece o geliyordu, fen ve matematik anlatıyordu, hala o geliyor bize. (P-PR8)
45. Yemek masamızın üzerinde hiç bir örtü aksesuar falan yok, çalışma örtümüz masalar defterler kitaplar falan ve orası iki sene öyle kaldı hiç bir şekilde yani korkunç ders çalıştı... Son sınava yakın zamanda eşim haberleri kısık sesle seyreliyordu, çünkü evimiz küçük bir ev hani dikkati dağılmasın diye ve misafir asla kabul edilmedi. (P-PU5)
46. Biz mesela eve fazlaca böyle misafir almamaya başladık yani, biz de gitmemeye başladık ki, siz gitmeyince çok fazla da gelmiyorlar zaten. Ondan sonra, tabi mümkün olduğu kadar sosyal hayatımızı da bitirmedik ama onların ders çalışması için uygun ortam hazırladık her şekilde. (P-PU2)

47. Çok zorluklar yaşadık, o zaman özel öğretmen de tutamıyordum, oğluma tuttum mesela; çok çok zorluklar yaşadık; çünkü devlet okullarıyla özel okulların aynı yerde yarışması çok farklı, çok çok farklı. Yani, dershaneye gönderdik işte bir sene çok ağır bir yük, ümit de yoktu buraya göndermek için 300-400 tane soru çözmek zorundaydı çocuk. Onu ben motive etmeye çalışırken diyorum ya bir sene kızıma ben sarılamadım yani çünkü sarıldığım zaman annecim ne olur yani yeter artık bu kadar diyordu... Geçen senede oğlumun SBS'si, kızımın ÖSS'si çakıştı. Yani ben öldüm bittim vallahi çok feciydi..Dişlerimi sıkıyordum sürekli ben, stresli günlerimde başlıyorum dişlerimi gıcırdatmaya, öyle bir huyum var. (P-PR3)
48. 6-7-8'de dershaneye gitti ama hep biraz da başarılı çocuk olduğu için hep hırpaladılar, biz ne kadar ya yapmayın, etmeyin, hayır oğlum boşver o kadar da ciddiye alma desek bile... Çok hırpalandı, puanlar çıktı, okul araştırmaya başladık. Ne yapsak, nereye gitsek, birazcık içyüzünü araştırsak, yine kim, hangi okulda. Köy Hizmetleri çıktı 487 almasına rağmen bu çocuk...Çocuk sınavdan çıktı, onun o halini gördüm, ben duygulandım iş bittikten sonra. Yani kimin ne hakkı var benim çocuğumu bu kadar ezmeye dedim; çünkü karşılığında biliyorum kazandığı bir şey yok aslında, eğitim-öğretim adına hiçbir şey kazanmadı bu üç yıl boyunca o kadar hırpalanmasına rağmen. Sadece yarıştı, yarışırken üzerine bir şey koymadı inanın. O yüzden üzüldüm, hep böyle bir açmaz üzerinde kaldım yani ne beklerken ne oldu? Biz de ister istemez çocuğumuzu bu kazanın içine attık, bu da kaynıyor, bu çuvala koyduk bu da onlarla boğuşuyor. Oysa hiç gereği yok, sonradan sonraya fikrim değişmeye başladı bu süreç zarfında... Yani özellikle devletin okullarının içinin boşaltılmasına, bunu gözlemliyorsunuz...İyi okul neresi diye baktığınızda eskiden sayılırdı işte falan okul filan okul, filan okul bu çabaya belki değer diye bakardınız; ama sonra bir baktılar “çok mu istiyorsunuz Anadolu Lisesi hepisinin tabelasını değiştireyim Anadolu Lisesi, buyurun” dediler. (P-PR6)
49. Dershaneye gönderecek misin, şimdi bu bir seçenek mi yani öyle bir seçeneğimiz var mı yani, velinin seçeneği var mı ben çok duydum velilerden ben çocuğumu yarış atı gibi hazırlamak istemedim dershaneye de göndermek istemedim ama baktım ki herkes gönderiyor ben de gönderdim. Ben bunu çok duydum, inanılmaz duydum belki ben de onlardan biriyim bilemiyorum...Trend, bir trend oluyor, bir psikolojik baskı oluyor a herkes gidiyor biz niye gitmiyoruz doğru gidiyor. (A-PR4)
50. Çok pahalı bir dershaneye göndereceğime, daha uygun bir dershaneye gönderip evde bire-bir öğretmen tutma çok çok daha iyi...İnternet üzerinden Boğaziçili öğrencilerin şeyi var, bana da sık sık mesaj atıyorlar. Oradan şimdi üç tane çocuk buldum, hatta onu geçen sene buldum, kızıma da geldiği birkaç dersine fizik, kimya ve matematik. Hem de çok uyguna veriyorlar, 45 liraya veriyorlar. Orada birebir ders almak için sınır var, burada sınır yok paran olduğu sürece çağır gelsin istediğin saatlerde. Orada onların istediği saatte, burada benim istediğim saatler ve gözümün önünde oluyor (50: P-PR3)

51. Benim kafamda hiç bir zaman özel okul yok, bu okula gelirken de yoktu, yok asla asla kızım, yani aldığı puanla ben bir kaç kapı çalsaydım yüzde yüz ama ben öyle bir şey asla düşünmedim...Biz de özel okullarda okumadık sonuçta. Biz geçen senelerde özel okullarda puanlar yükselsin diye yüzlerin havada uçtuğuna dair söylentiler duyduk mesela. Güç, maddiyat özel okul zaten düşünmedik hiç...hiç yani eşim de öyle, hiç öyle bir şeyimiz olmadı ki... Ben kızıma sınav sistemine alışsın diye dörtte beşte bu kolejlerin, abzurt zubzurt okulların sınavlarına soktum. Bunu da bir büyüğüm söylemişti heyecanını yener, yazdırmayacaksın nasıl olsa girsin diye. Hani çoğunda da birinci, ikinci oldu ama yok yani geldiler burs için ama yani yok dedik, kapattık kapıyı. Hani çocukta bir de şu da var, biraz böyle oradaki sosyoekonomik davranışları çocukların kaldıracağını düşünmüyorum yani biraz mütevazı bir çocuk, hiç zannetmiyorum. (P-PU5)

52. Aslında iki çocuğumuz için de çok farklı olduğunu söyleyemem bu konuda tercihimiz açısından da, öncelikle devlet okulunu tercih etmiştik... Yani elit bir kesimin içinde büyüsünler istemedik, yani biz öyle büyüdüğümüz için onlar da istedik ki hayatın gerçekleriyle karşılaşsınlar. (P-PR7)

53. ...Eşim telefon etti, dedi ki, ben dedi para yatırıyorum; ama ben hep burayı istiyordum duymuştum çok istiyordum, bir de özel okul derdine düşmüştüm yani, sen dedi para yatıracağım, git o dediğin okula kızın kaydını yaptır, o zamanın parasıyla üç buçuk milyar, bizim için çok büyük bir paraydı. (P-PR3)

Canan: Hangi yıldan bahsediyoruz, hatırlıyor musunuz?

54. Altı sene önceden...Evet, o dönemlerde, ondan sonra ben kapattım telefon, Allah Allah acaba hayal mi görüyorum dedim, sürekli kafamda kuruyorum ya, ben çocuğumu özel okula götüreceğim, işte gönderemiyorum, herkes arkadaşlarla dertleşiyoruz falan. Beş dakika sonra döndüm, ya dedim sen bana böyle böyle dedin mi, evet dedi ben parayı dedi söyledim yatırdı muhasebeci, git çek, git kızın kaydını yaptır. Geldim, yaptırdık işte kaydı, yaptırdık ama böyle deli gibi sevinçten ölüyorum, işte ıvırı zıvırı yaptırdık ve kızımın kaydını buraya yaptırdık...Daha içimde genç kızlığımdan vardı ukde olarak, çok eski bir lise, adı var. Geldim buraya, ortamı gördüm yani okulun albenisi çok. (P-PR3)

55. Tek çocuk olması, anne ve baba olarak kendi hayallerimizi, kendi yapamadıklarımızı da ona yüklememiz... Çünkü biz de bazı şeyleri yapamadık, başaramadık belki. Bulunduğumuz noktada mutlu değiliz. Biz özel okulda okuyamadık, şartlar öyleydi. O yüzden şimdi elimizden geldiğince ona özel okul şartlarını sunmaya çalışıyoruz. (P-PR2)

56. 487 ile Köy Hizmetleri oldu, sonra bir başka okul çıktı yedek sırasından, en sonunda takip etmedik ama gelebileceği en iyi şey Kadıköy Anadolu'ydu. Oysa bizim hedefimizde ilk üç okul vardı: Galatasaray, İstanbul Erkek ve Kabataş'tı. Her şeye rağmen o okulların bir kültürü var, bir geçmişi var diye istedik ama olmayınca özel okula karar verdik. (P-PR6)

57. Kazandığı devlet okulu Mustafa Kemal Anadolu Lisesi diye bir yerdi, hani puanına göre yükselebileceği yerler de çok elzem yerler değildi. Biz mecburen onda özel okul arayışına girdik. (P-PU4)
58. SBS’de Anadolu Lisesi’ni kazandı, fakat istediğimiz bir okul değildi. Bu okulun üç günlük bir programı vardı, gelin dediler okulumuzu tanıyın, öğrenciler birbirleriyle tanışsınlar, kaynaşsınlar. Biz üç gün boyunca bu programa katıldık. Ailelerle tanıştık, işte öğretmenlerle tanıştık. Bu arada başka okullarda yedek listesinde. Babamız da ben de daha iyi bir liseye burslu gitmesini istiyoruz, puanı iyi çünkü. Öğrenci profilini, veli profilini beğenmedik. Daha çok muhafazakar veliler vardı, %90’ı böyle...Okulun fizik şartlarını da beğenmedik, işte tuvaletini, spor salonunu, çünkü spor merakı da var basket oynar, atletizm yapar, okçuluk kurslarına gidiyor falan...ama okul bakımsız, aslında eski ve köklü bir lise ama...hocalarını falan araştırdım ben, iyi dediler, eğitimi işte, üniversiteye giriş oranları iyi falan...ama ilk intiba olumsuz oldu. Diğer yedekleri bekleyelim dedik. Bir başka Anadolu Lisesi’ne yedekten geldi sıramız. Ondan sonra o okula da gittik, baktık, çok berbat bir yerde, yani lise belki iyi ama gecekonduların ortasında, yolları daracık daracık, yani arabalar bile geçecek gibi değil, belli bir mesafeyi yürüyerek gitmesi lazım. Oraya babamız da istemedi, yani böyle bir okula gönderemeyiz dedi. (P-PU2)
59. SBS’miz vardı, çok acı bir SBS geçirdik, şeyi kazandı kızım Kartal Anadolu Lisesi’ni kazandı; ama eşim asla özel okula göndereceğim demiyordu, yani asla lafını dahi ettirmiyordu. Bende de korkunç bir hırs vardı, kayınbiraderim çalışmadığı halde o özele gönderiyordu çocuklarını yani hırs mı dersiniz, terbiyesizlik mi dersiniz, ne dersiniz deyin; ama benim duygularım öyleydi yani Allahın bildiğini sizden saklayamam...Ondan sonra, Anadolu Lisesi’ni kazandığı çıktı, dedi ki kayıtlarını yaptıracaksınız, o gün tesadüf, hayatta uğraşmaz çocukların okullarıyla. Ondan sonra gitti, Anadolu Lisesi’ne kayıt yapılacak. Oğlum da hasta gidemiyorum, mümkün değil gidemiyorum. Bana telefon etti, dedi ki “kız çocuğu gönderilecek bir okul değil orası” dedi, “oraya gönderemem çocuğu” dedi. Ortamını beğenmedi, işte yani çok uzak dedi, çok serseri yatağı var dedi, yani beğenmedi bir şekilde. Ya zaten ilkokulda da o eğer okulları gidip görebilseydi, okulların şartlarını görebilseydi zaten göndermezdi yani. Bir şekilde yani böyle bir okul olmasa bile daha ucuz, daha ekonomik okullar da var. Neyse, sonra dedi ki, ben dedi para yatırıyorum, ama ben hep burayı istiyordum duymuştum çok istiyordum, bir de özel okul derdine düşmüştüm yani, sen dedi para yatıracaksın, git o dediğin okula kızın kaydını yaptır. O zamanın parasıyla üç buçuk milyar, bizim için çok büyük bir paraydı. Geldim, yaptırdık işte kaydı, yaptırdık ama böyle deli gibi sevinçten ölüyorum. (P-PR3)
60. Üç senenin ortalamasına bakınca Anadolu Lisesi için hani o önemli ya 452 gibi oluyordu yani orta seviyede bir Anadolu Lisesi tercih edilebilirdi; fakat Anadolu Liselerinde eski pozisyon olmadığı için yani yabancı dil çok aza indirgenmiş vaziyette, hazırlık yok, normal eski düz liselerden bir farkı yok, adı Anadolu Lisesi oldu sadece. Bunu da düşününce, lisan da alamayacak olunca, biz özellikle bu sefer özel okul düşünmek durumundaydık. (P-PR7)

61. Derslerine dershanenin biraz faydası oldu ama bizim istediğimiz şeyi o şeyi tutturamadı, yani bir Anadolu lisesi en azından, dört yüz altmış yetmiş puanlara çıkıp ortalama bir Anadolu lisesi olabiliirdi tabi hani, o hedeflediğimiz lise dört yüz doksanlardan ve üstünden başlıyordu. Oğlum dört yüz kırkbeş puanda kaldı o puan da onu bir yerlere taşıyordu evet ama ben yine o şekilde risk almak istemedim yani gitmek zorunda olsaydı giderdi... (P-PR1)
62. Küçük kızım 470 civarında bir puan aldı SBS'den, çocuğun da o şekilde başarılı olmasından dolayı, puanı çok yüksek olduğu için %100 burslu buraya girdi. (P-PR5)
63. SBS'den sonra oğlum için şöyle bir şey yaptık; hemen burada müdür yardımcısı, onunla konuştum dedi ki %50 burs tamamdır dedi. (P-PR3)
64. Siyahla beyaz gibi, bir tarafta özel okullar bir tarafta devlet okulları. Yani aileler bizler de biraz sıkıntı dediğim gibi özel okula mı gidecek, devlet okuluna mı gidecek? Artılar eksiler var hiç arada bir şey yok. Yani özel okulun da kendine göre artıları eksileri var ama diyelim burs imkanımız olmasaydı, çok yüksek ücretler bunlar, yani iki öğretmen maaşıyla mümkün değil tabi...Burslar her yıl değişebiliyordu yüzde kırkla başladık biz yüzde elli yüzde altmış oldu, ondan sonra Milli Eğitim bursları devreye girince yüzde yüze çıktık her kurumun politikası farklı olabiliyor. (P-PR1)
65. Önce de düşünüyorduk, çok iyi bir puan yapsa da inşallah burslu bir yere girse diye; çünkü pozisyonu itibarıyla gerçekten yıllık bu rakamı hani çok fedakarlık edip, belki kaldırılabirsiniz ama o ciddi bir yükümlülük. Üstelik beş sene, az bir zaman da değil, kredi borcu var işin içinde falan, hani nasıl olur, nasıl biter derken çok şükür korktuğumuza uğramadık. İyi puan alınca bu şekilde değerlendirdik. Ben özel okullarla burs mevzularını görüştüm sürekli. Farklı okullarla hep burs meselelerini konuşuyoruz. %50 burs teklifi geldi. Böyle olunca çok rahat ödeyebileceğimiz bir meblağa ulaştı, ondan sonra bu okula kaydını aldırarak, şu anda çok memnun, süper. (P-PR7)
66. Evet, biliyoruz okulların içini de biliyoruz...başka bir şey ne olabilir diye araştırırken bu okulun genel kültürüne, genel yaklaşımına gerçekten inanıyoruz. Geçmişine inandığımız için ya dedim ben gidip bir konuşalım, geldik konuştuk, fırsat oldu, burs da çıktı, bu vesileyle burayı seçtik. Yani yoksa burs kazanmamış olsaydı çok isterdim vermeyi ama bu nitelikte bir okula gücüm yetmezdi benim. (P-PR6)
67. Ama dediğim gibi yabancı dil, sosyal imkanlar ve güvenli bir okul yani velilerin en çok istediği bu. Yoksa ben görüyorum mesela SBS' de öğrenciler çok iyi puan yapmış 490 küsurde puanları olan öğrenciler var, çok iyi Anadolu liselerine de gidebilirler de belli başlı okulları kaçırmış olsalar da, işte Kabataş'tır, Galatasaray'dır. Ama işte ailemle geldik baktık, ben burayı çok sevdim, yabancı dilimi geliştireceğim için buradayım diyor, o yüzden %50, %75, %100 bursla burayı tercih edebiliyorlar. Onun için aileler de artık işte devlette okusun, başımız rahat olsun anlamında değil, hem güvenli olması

hem dil öğrenmesi hem sosyal imkanlar açısından özel okula göndermek istiyorlar. (T-PR2)

68. Özellikle aldıkları puana göre burs koşulları en önemli maddeleri oluyor. Beklentileri de yüksek elbette, hem üniversite anlamındaki başarılarını önemsiyorlar, hem işin yabancı dil ayağı en önemli faktörlerden biri. İkinci yabancı dilde de artık yetkin olmasını istiyorlar. Onun dışında uluslararası projelerde yer almasını istiyorlar öğrencilerin, mutlaka bir uluslararası deneyimleri olsun istiyorlar. Bir beceri elde etsin yani sosyal etkinlikten örneğin yüzmesi iyileşsin, artı yüzmenin yanına bir de enstrüman katarsa ne ala veya işte tiyatrodaki aktif olsun veya kendini çok iyi ifade edeceği, sunum becerilerini geliştirecek işte iş hayatındaki kendilerinin de yaşadığı hangi beceriler varsa bunlara yönelik onları hazırlamamızı önemsiyorlar ve bu konuda bilinçliler. (A-PR1)
69. Velilerin daha çok istekleri yabancı dili çok iyi öğrenmiş olmaları, iyi bir dünya vatandaşı olmak, iyi bir insan yetiştirmek. Hani bizim okulumuzun misyonunda olduğu gibi gerçekten öyle yani, veli beklenti anlamında biliyor, okul seçerken de ben işte çok akademik olarak yüklenecek olsam şu şu da olur ama ben aynı zamanda dili de, sosyal imkanları da, iyi bir insan olmayı da verecek bir okul hedefliyorum diyor... Aynı zamanda çok güvenli bir okul burası, güvenli bir ortam, veli de güveniyor, öğrenci de güveniyor. Hijyen, güven, kurallar, sistem zaten belli olduğu için... (T-PR3)
70. Sonuçta mutlu olacağı bir okulda olsun istedim. Çocuklarımı sevdiğim için, çocuklarımın iyi yaşamasını istediğim için... iyiden kastım benim mesela, hiç high society'e varsınlar aman şeklinde değil, yani hakikaten vicdanlı, iyi adamlar olsunlar istiyorum, evrensel baksınlar istiyorum yani, dünya vatandaşı olsunlar. Mesela yurtdışında seyahat edebilme yeteneklerinin olmasını istiyorum, sırt çantasını alsın seyahat etsin, müzikten anlasın, kitap okusun istiyorum. (P-PR8).
71. Bu okulun mezunu olmanın vermiş olduğu bir ayrıcalık var, çünkü biliniyor ki okul mezunlarını hakikaten bırakmıyor hayatta hiçbir şekilde, hem iş olanağı konusunda hem de dernek yardımlaşma ve bildiğim kadarıyla ciddi bir sosyal ağda da kuvvetli bir yere sahipler. (T-PR1)
72. Özel, yani farklı, insana insan gibi hissettiriyorlar, ayrıcalıklı hissettiriyorlar. Devlet okullarında öyle değil hocam, devlet okulları çok farklı yani... Şimdi ben burada bakıyorum sabah oğlumu ben getiriyorum, kendisi geri dönüyor, altı senedir her sabah bu okuldayım ben, getiriyorum, bakıyorum öğretmenler kapıda bekliyorlar yani bunun bana verdiği, oğlana bilmiyorum ama onlar belki farkında değil, bana verdiği büyük bir huzur var. Belki siz bunu çok aptalca bulabilirsiniz... O kapıda öğretmenleri gördüğüm an “tamam ben gidiyorum ama benim çocuğum bunların eline teslim; çünkü benim için – her anne için kıymetlidir ama- benim için de çok çok çok çok önemli yani, inanılmaz önemli. Onlar bir tarafa dünya bir tarafa... (P-PR3)
73. Özel okullarda da ücret politikaları farklı, daha düşük ücretlerde de on bin liraya da öğrenci alan okullar var ama şimdi bu da gidiyor yani on bin liraya

öğrenci okutuyor öğrenci alıyorsa bir okul demek ki öğretmenine de düşük ücret veriyor. Maddi olarak da tatmin olmayan bir öğretmen varsa o da sınıfta işini yapmaz diye düşünüyorum bu kadar paraya bu kadar hizmet diye bir düşüncesi olur. (P-PR1)

74. Köklü bir okul aradığımız için, o yüzden tercih edilebilir diye düşündük ama buna rağmen yine de okulun tanıtım toplantısına geldik. O sene daha sınava girmemişti toplantı olduğunda, ondan sonra yakında bildiğim diğer birkaç okula gittik, hepsine de değil yani, her özel okul da, artık şu anda özel okul da o kadar çoğaldı ki hepsinin verimli olduğu tartışılır, ticari yaklaşıyor. Dolayısıyla seçeceğimiz okullar belliydi, iki-üç tane daha gittik ve onların içinde gene bize bu okul ağırlıklı geldi, daha ayrıcalıklı geldi eğitimi, ondan da memnunuz yani çok şükür. (P-PR7)

75. Aslında özel okul vermeyi ben yedinci, sekizinci sınıftan itibaren ayrıcalıklı bir eğitim alsın istedim hep. Ama özel okul derken bir bina, dört öğretmen şeklinde algılamadım. Hep böyle bir kültürü olan, geçmişi olan güveneceğim okullar araştırdım ve onun için de burayı buldum. Tabi bu ara bir şansımızdı aileden biri de bu okulda görevli... İçeriden bilgi de aldık, yani oldum olası bu okulun geçmişi, tarihi beni etkiliyordu ama hep şu kaygıyı duyduk: Acaba özel okullarda eğitim nasıldır, gerçekten sosyal çevresi nasıl olacak, biz ne kadar uyacağız, çocuğumuz ne kadar uyacak bu işlere diye bu kaygıyı hep duyduk. Yabancı okulları biraz araştırdık, ondan sonra başarı durumlarına göre şey yaptık, çok da kel alaka bir yere gidip de şey yapmasın diye, yabancı okullar da yani açıkçası çok da içime sinmedi... Benzer şekilde kızım için de bir farklılık yaratmak zorundayız, bunun farkındayım. Şimdiden diyorum yani başarılı olur da hiç yoksa yüzde elli burs olur, o da abisinin okuluna devam eder diye. (P-PR6)

76. Okul kültürü diye bir şey var, yani burada artık 100 küsur yıllık bir geçmiş var; ama böyle yüzü de geleceğe bakan bir geçmiş, yani bağınaz böyle takılmış yerlerde bir şey yok ve çocuklar farkına varmadan birbirlerine karşı bir bağımlılık değil, doğru bir bağlılık var, üst sınıflar, alt sınıflar... Öğrencilik sürecinde bunun çok farkında değiller, ama burada mezuniyet sonrasında ben görebildiğim için bunu benim çocuğumun yaşamasını istedim. (P-PR4)

77. Bir ayrıcalık var, çünkü biliniyor ki okul mezunlarını hakikaten bırakmıyor hayatta hiçbir şekilde ve hem iş olanağı konusunda, hem de dernek, yardımlaşma ve ciddi bir sosyal ağda da kuvvetli bir yere sahipler. (T-PR1)

78. Mesela 126 yıllık bir okul, köklü bir okul, rüştünü ispatlamış bir okul. Bu onlar için çok önemli, bir de işin için girince gözlemlediğim bir şey de gerçekten Mezunlar Derneği çok çok iyi çalışıyor ve birbirleriyle iletişim kurmada, destek olmada gerçekten çok iyiler. Bu iş yerlerinde, işte cv'lerde dikkat edilen lise mezunu tarzında bir seçicilik oluşturduğunu düşünüyorum veliler genelde. Genelde hani isimden kaynaklandığını düşünüyorum ben. (T-PR3)

79. Artık üniversite mezunu olmamak gibi bir şey yok, önemli olan iyi, başarılı okuyabilsin, mutlu olsun, gayretimiz o yönde olacak gene. (P-PR7)
80. Yani çocuğumun tıp doktoru olması, istiyorsa olsun tamam ama istemiyorsa oraya yönlendirmek gibi bir hırsım yok. Aslında önce mutlu olsunlar istiyorum. (P-PR8)
81. Meslek seçimleri konusunda hiçbir hayalim olmadı. Sadece kendi yaşam standartlarını düşürmeyecek şekilde birer meslekleri olması gerektiğine inandım ve onun için de elimden gelen desteği yapmaya çalışıyorum. Özellikle gördüklerinden geri kalmayacak şekilde gelir elde etmelerini isterim. (P-PU2)
82. Nerede mutlu olacaksa o olsun...Doktor olup mutsuz olacağına çok basit bir mesleği olsun mutlu olsun. Bu tamamıyla hem onun seçimi yani ben nasıl yönlendirebilirim bilmiyorum, benim etkimde de kalsın istemiyorum, o günler geldiği zaman daha düzgün kararlar verilebilir fakat önemli olan çocuğum severek okusun ve mutlu olsun ama elinde mutlaka bir mesleği olsun, ayaklarının üzerinde dursun yeterince, kendi hayatını kurtarabilecek, kimseye bağımlı olmadan yaşayacağı bir işi olsun istiyorum. (P-PU8)
83. Mesela ben üniversiteye gitsin, mastırını da yapsın, keyif alacağı, mutlu olacağı bir iş yapsın istiyorum ama onun ne olur ne olmaz onu ben şu anda şey yapamıyorum, öyle bir hayalim yok ama hani bir belki yurt dışında üniversite olabilir sevdiği bölüm olsun yeter ki. (P-PR1)
84. İnşallah dedim kızım hani burslu özel üniversite okursun yani çünkü devlet üniversitelerinin sosyal imkanları belli, tuttuğu puan itibarıyla her üniversitenin matematik bölümüne girebiliyor yani Marmara Üniversitesi'nin, İstanbul Üniversitesi'nin hepsinin matematiğine giriyordu; fakat onda da tercihimiz şey oldu; devlet üniversitelerinde hem sosyal imkanlar daha zayıf dediğim gibi hem de Türkçe matematik eğitimi var; ama Yeditepe'de hem yüzde yüz burslu hem de İngilizce matematik olarak okuyacağı için, sosyal imkanları falan farklı yani çok daha rahat pozisyonda olacak diye dolayısıyla o yönü ile tercih ettik yani. (P-PR7)
85. Koç'u evet baştan hiç düşünmüyorduk biz Koç'u o ara bir çok üniversiteyi gezdik hani adet odur ya karar vereceğiz, e gidip görelim bari o şekilde. Şimdi benim Koç hakkında çok az olumsuz görüşüm vardı, aslında bir çok üniversite, devlet üniversitesine de Sabancı'ya da gittik, Koç'a da gittik. Şimdi öyle bir karşılandık ki, bir konferans verildi mesela işte dekanı hocaları vesaire bizi karşıladı, çok güzel işte okulu anlattılar, eğitimi anlattılar ondan sonra her bölümden hocalar istediğiniz bölümü araştırabiliyorsunuz yani yerlerinde hazır bulundular ve gidip onlarla konuşup bölüm hakkında fikir alabildik ve bir baktım ki akademik olarak çok kıymetli hocalar varmış orada. Dedim ki içi o kadar boş değilmiş olayın, parayla dönüyor ama almak isteyen için de akademik açıdan hani güzel bir imkan sunuluyor. İşte derslikleri güzel, kütüphanesi çok güzel, doğası güzel. Şimdi bir de bakıyorsunuz hani gönül çocuğunuzun böyle fiziki şartları da güzel bir yerde okumasını istiyor. Bunları toplu olarak değerlendirince, bir de sonra işletme okuma isteği oldu

şimdi işletme okumak isteyince Boğaziçi'ne puanı yetmedi zaten. Düşünüyorsunuz şimdi ya devlette okuyacak ya da özelde hani nerede okursa işletmede ilerisi için daha iyi bir yatırım yapmış olur Koç öyle oraya karar verdik yani biz şu an iki doktor olduğumuz halde maddi olarak zorladığı halde oraya karar verdik. (P-PU6)

86. Her ikisine de bebekliklerinden itibaren ben bir fon oluşturdum kendimce. Daha doğrusu emeklilik sistemine giriş yaptım onlar için ve onlar adına bir para birikiyor, o onların parası biz onu ellemiyoruz. Dedik ki hani hangi aşamada onlara ihtiyaç duyulursa o parayı o zaman kullanırsınız, biz bunu daha çok üniversite için düşündük, dedik ki hani olur yurtdışına gitmek ister işte al kızım sana toplu bir para veya işte daha pahalı tabi Amerika'da özel üniversiteler. (P-PU4)
87. Yaptıklarım benim vazifem hocam, yani ben onları fedakarlık olarak görmüyorum, hiçbir beklentim yok gerçekten...Onlar mutlu olduktan sonra...gerisi bana teferruat yani, hiç umurumda değil. (P-PR3)
88. Yani, şimdi çok kesin bir şekilde söyleyebilirim ki, yetişmeleri için hemen hemen karşılanabilecek hiçbir istekleri karşılanmadan kalmadı. Şımartmadık ama...Eksiklik hissetmesinler dedik...Şimdi bu şekilde büyüyen bir çouğun, ne bileyim atıyorum, asgari ücretle bir yere girmesi durumunda ömrünün sonuna kadar mutsuz olacağı %100, yani %99 bile değil. Demek ki belli bir gelir seviyesinin üstünde gelir elde etmesi lazım mutlu olması için. İşte onu sağlayabilecek gibi biraz daha kalifiye olup işte artı bir lisansınız olsun. Mesela herkes iki dil biliyorsa siz üç bilin. Hani artı bir yeteneğin olsun ki aranan bir eleman olun, nereyi seçerseniz seçin. Yani meslek ne olursa olsun mutlaka artılarınız olmalı. Tavsiye ettik, hepsi dinlediler. Dediğim gibi, hangi bölümü seçerlerse seçsinler, ben bu artılara sahip oldukları takdirde gelir düzeylerini biraz daha asgari düzeyin üstüne çıkaracaklarından eminim. Bu yeterli benim için. (P-PU2)
89. Ben emekliyim, yarın öbür gün...eşim de emekli oldu ama hala çalışıyor, yani gün ne gösterir bilmiyoruz, tabi herkesin isteği -bütün vatandaşların hani çok belli bir kesim haricinde- maddi bakımdan zorlanmadan, rahat bir hayat sürüp, çocuklarımıza güzel bir gelecek sunmak. Onun için de tabi ki fedakarlık yapacağız eğitimleri ve gelişimleri için, yani ne gerekirse... Yeter ki başarılı olsunlar, mutlu olsunlar, sevdikleri bir işe yönelsinler. (P-PR7)
90. Buradaki öğrencilerin çoğu annenin babanın yardımıyla tabii ki bir takım şeyleri elde edebiliyorlar...Dolayısıyla hepsi iyi, Türkiye'nin en iyi okulları dediğimiz okullarda okuyabilmesi, belli bir statüde belli bir meslek sahibi olabilmesi için çalışıyor, ki bu meslekler mühendislik ve doktorluk tıp olarak geçiyor başlıca aynen öyle devam ediyor. (T-PU1)
91. Burada ne yaratmak istediğiniz önemli. Evet, çok iyi paralar kazanan, çok iyi gelir grubuna sahip ama hiçbir beğenisi, değer yargısı olmayan insan mı, belki standart ölçüde hayatını idame ettiren, belli bir aşamaya gelmek için çaba sarf eden ama entellektüel, sosyal yaşamı güçlü, insani olarak yargıları

olan biri olması mı? İkisini dengede tutabilmek önemli olan...Yeter ki ne yaparsa yapsın en iyisini yapsın ve mutlu olsun. (P-PR2)

92. Ben çok hırslı değilim ama şey de değilim hani, hayatın getirdiği şeylerin üzerine katılması gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Bu kadar stresi zaten eğitim düzeni çarpık diye çekiyoruz, o yüzden başta düşünebilen ve sorgulayabilen çocuklar olmalarını çok istiyorum... Evet diyorum yani biraz farkındalığınız olsun hani bir şey olsun... Çocuklar mutlu olsunlar ama sorumluluk sahibi çocuklar olsunlar istiyorum. (P-PR8)
93. Bu çocuklar sadece ders değil ki yani birtakım kültürel şeyler de vereceksin ki şey olsun, çocuk hani beynini kullansın, farklı yönlerini ortaya çıkarsın, diğerlerinden farklılaşsın. (P-PU7)
94. Yani bakıyorsunuz insanlar o kadar güzel okulları bitirmişler, gidip normal bir yerde çalışıyor, yani niye okudun, niye o eğitimi aldın... o yüzden çoğulun içinde biraz daha seçenekli, özenekli ve farklı olsun. Şimdi ben kızıma diyorum ki, hani övünmüyorum ama bak kızım iyi bir okulu kazandın, farklı bir insansın ve ne kadar iyi bu yaşında iki dili hallediyorsun. Yani daha on beş yaşında iki dil...(P-PU5)
95. Ben farklı bir çocuğa sahip olduğumuzu düşündüm hep, doğduğu günden itibaren. Ben hep farklı gördüm, hani farklı yetenekleri olduğunu ve bunları geliştirmemiz gerektiğini düşündüm. (P-PU1)
96. Birazcık da farklı bir çocuk, hiç de valla mütevazı olmayacağım...Ama bu farkı iyi değerlendirmek lazım. (P-PU5)
97. Yani bir kere her anne çocuğunu dünyanın en zeki, en yetenekli insanı olarak görüyor, maalesef hepimiz öyleyiz. Ondan sonra benim çocuğum çok zeki ve yetenekli ama bir türlü keşfedilemedi, benim çocuğum çok akıllı ama bir türlü keşfedilemedi. Bunların arasına ben de dâhilim çünkü bana sürekli iyi dediler, yetenekli dediler oğlum için yani...sürekli harika, iyi bir çocuk, harika, iyi bir çocuk. Ben de işte ne kadar iyi diye düşündüğüm için, yeteneklerini keşfedelim diye bir eğitim danışmanı tuttum oğluma, ama onun da söylediği çok iyi, çok farklı, çok yetenekli olduğu. (P-PR4)
98. Tek çocuk ve yükü çok ağır bir çocuk, yani beklentiler tek çocuk üzerine. Çocuğa ne kadar yüklenirseniz o kadar çıktısını alırsınız. Bir sürü girdi verirse, bir sürü çıktı isteyeceğiz. O yüzden çocuğu ele almak ve değerlendirmek lazım, bir nevi gelişim projesi gibi. (P-PU1)
99. Bir çocuğunuz var ve konu da bunu nasıl değerlendireceğinizle ilgili. Çocuğu doğru değerlendirip, süreci doğru yönlendirmek lazım ki çocuk ne yaparsa en iyisini yapsın. O yüzden hedefleri hep çok büyük koyduk, kendini hep daha çok geliştirmesini hedefledik. (P-PR2)
100. Velilerdeki en büyük değişim, çok fazla şöyle görüyorum ben son zamanlardaki velileri, proje çocukları yaratıyorlar yani planlı, programlı, kafalarında o çocuğu nasıl yetiştireceklerine dair kararlarını vermiş olarak, o

çocuğu doğuruyorlar, yani şansa hiçbir şey bırakılmıyor ve genellikle fazla müdahil olunuyor, dolayısıyla da çocuğun kişiliği ve hayatı çok etkileniyor bunun altında. (A-PR2)

101. Tabi öncelikle spor, mutlaka her yıl bir şeylere gittiler, halen de gidiyorlar, ya da güzel sanatlardan bir yetenekleri var da biz pas geçmeyelim diye, biri piyanoya gidiyor biri gitara gidiyor. Onları da, çünkü farkındayız yani ancak okullarında, şurda burda çocuğun şu yeteneği var bunun üzerine yoğunlaştıralım, bunu demek gibi bir şeyi yok, ayrıcalığı yok, ya da böyle bir şansımız olmadı hiçbir zaman, yoktu zaten devlet okullarında. Biz kendimiz bir şeyler yakalayabilir miyiz zaman geçmeden diye... İşte jimnastikti, şuydu buydu neye ilgi duyuyorsunuz mutlaka bir spor yapacaksınız, ondan sonra enstrüman çalın allah aşkına, belki de bu bizim özlemimiz...bir enstrüman çalsınlar, ondan sonra matematiği, fiziği, kimyayı ya da bu tür dersleri okullarda istemediği kadar verecekler; ama alamayacakları şeyler var. Bu yetenekleri şey olmasın en azından, zamanında biz keşfedelim. Oradan oraya götürüyoruz bakalım ne çıkacak?...Hafta sonu bizim için şeydir, o kurstan çıkıp bu kursa... Sıkılsak da alıyoruz kitaplarımızı, onlar orada şey yaparken biz de bekliyoruz. (P-PR6)
102. Biz hiç ilgilenilmedik böyle, biz ya yok hiç öyle bir şey olmadı. Ders bitiyor hep Almanca İngilizce yani, yok yok... Almanca kursuna yazdırdık Marmara Üniversitesi'ne üç haftadır da oraya gidiyor...Aynı zamanda resim kursuna da götürüyorum ben onu. Üç sene ara verdik ne yazık ki, yüzmeye de gidiyordu bitirdi derslane yüzünden. Okulda tabi bu imkanlar olmayınca... (P-PU5)
103. “İlgi alanları neyse çocuklar o kurslara yönlendiriliyor, o kursa gönderiyor, bu kursa gönderiyor yani hep veli de onunla beraber taşıyor.” (T-PR3)
104. Hepsine zamanı geldiğinde birçok spor faaliyetini gösterdik. Özel hocalar tutarak işte mesela tenis, basketbol voleybol atletizm, yüzme, hangisi o anda mümkünse hepsini gösterdik, gönderdik. Beğendiklerine devam ettiler, beğenmediklerini de öğrenmiş oldular. Hepsi o açıdan bizim desteğimizi aldılar. Devlet okulunda kapalı spor salonu yoktu. Okuldan geliyorlardı, haldır haldır spora gidiyorlardı...Büyük kızım İngilizceyi ana dili gibi bilir, Almancayı kısmen öğrendi, sonuna kadar destekledik kursa gitti, artı İspanyolca öğrendi. Oğlan öyle, iki dile sahip. (P-PU2)
105. Ben önce resim öğretmeni arayışına girdim, dedim ki hani bu çocuğun resimlerini bir göstereyim acaba bir yetenekli, bir şey mi diye. Hemen bir resim öğretmeni buldum bu ilkokul çocuklarına ders veren, götürdüm resimlerini gösterdim dedi ki “çok güzel, isterseniz atölyeme gelsin.” Önce bir resim eğitimi başlattım ve gidip orada oturuyoruz küçük kızım da beş yaşında. Dedi ki ona da verelim bir tuval o da yapsın falan, beş yaşında o da resme başladı ablayla beraber. Ben her yerde böyle onlarla, kızlar da hep devam ettiler ama eğitimleri boyunca... Sonra işte büyük kızım keman çalmak istiyorum dedi, hadi hemen keman arayışı, hemen keman aldık başladı. Bir müzik öğretmeni arkadaşım vardı okulda, getir hemen kulağını bir dinleyelim dedi, ona götürdüm. Dedi ki çok iyi bunun kulağı. Peşinden küçük de anne ben de bir şey çalsam, piyano falan dedi, hadi bir de piyanoya başladı...Tabi o

kadar yıl boyunca ben hep onları keman ve piyanoya taşıdım ikisini de... İşte okulda bir gösteri olacak bizimkiler tabi en önde, işte folklora girdiler. Özellikle küçük kızım çok güzel oynuyor diyorum ya çocuk sahne çocuğu. Ondan sonra işte şey yaptılar nedir o, işte koro var koroya giriyorlar bilmem ne, okuldaki her şeye giriyorlar. Buraya gelince de aynı şey oldu, burada da onları konservatuarın kursuna verdim müzik kursuna, konservatuar hocası dedi ki ikisine de illa konservatuarın sınavına girin yarı zamanlı girin dediler. İkisi de girdiler. Şey yaptık, flüte girdi ikisi de, birer tane flüt aldık. Koşturduk flüt aldık bir sürü para, diyorum ya hangi birini anlatayım eğitimlerine o kadar para harcadım ki onların. (P-PU4)

106. Oğlumun yüzmeye karşı büyük bir kabiliyeti vardı, onu da ufak ufak buraya yüzmeye okuluna yazdırdım, ama saatler uymuyor. Ralliciler gibi mayolarını koyuyordum çocuğun arabaya, arabanın arka koltuğunda o giyiniyordu, onu yetiştirmeye çalışıyordum ve bunu üç sene yaptım ben, haftanın üç günü üç sene yaptım yemin ediyorum ve kızım o dönem yalnız kalamıyordu evde de, o da orada iniyordu, yedi yedi buçuğa kadar derslerini yapıyordu, biz okulda takılıyorduk. Ama ben evde bütün masayı hazırlıyordum, yemeği hazırlıyordum; çünkü oğlan yüzmeden çıktıği an karnı acıkıyordu. Kabanı çıkarmadan onların ikisinin de yemeğini koyuyordum. (P-PR3)

107. Aman kızım lütfen lütfen, bak şimdi bu sene diyor ki, ne olur iki dilimizi birden halledelim. Şimdi Almanca kursuna yazdırdı, hani baba daha çok ezildiği için o benden de çok gidiyor üstüne. (P-PU5)

108. Şimdi ben mesela kendimde hep aynı eksikliği hissettim. Lisan bilmeyen bir doktor olarak bunun eksikliğini hep yaşadım. Çocuklara da onu yaşatmamaya çalışıyorum. Şimdi bu çocuklar lisan bilecekler, eğitimlerini de aldıktan sonra yurtdışına gidebilirler, biz de destek oluyoruz zaten. (P-PU2)

109. İngilizce dersimiz kendimiz para verip öğretmen tutturuyorduk, benim kızım ilkokulda devlete gitti ama Marmara Üniversitesine iki buçuk sene şeye gitti İngilizce kursuna gitti. Her cumartesi-pazar oğlanın kaykayını alıyorduk, iki üç tane fanila terlemesin diye terlerse değiştiririz, sandviçler para da yok almaya. Ondan sonra o şekilde iki buçuk sene kızımı İngilizce kursuna gönderdim. Oğlum da oraya gitti devlet okuluna, oğlumu da o zaman Marmara Üniversitesi'nin ilkokul düzeyi kapandı İngilizce kursu, onu da şeye gönderdim Fikirtepe tarafında bir üniversite vardı Okan Üniversitesi'ne, onu da iki sene oraya gönderdim, oraya götürdüm getirdim yani. Oralara götürdüm yani hiç olmazsa diyorum ya hani dibine vurup yapabildiğimi yapmaya çalıştım. Yabancı dil ben kendim çok bilmiyorum yabancı dil, onun kompleksini yaşıyorum, onun için çocukları hep böyle hani bir yerlere itirmeye çalıştım. Ama oldu mu olmadı mı onu zaman gösterecek bilemiyorum. (P-PR3)

110. Ben en çok, İngilizce ile ilgili kaygım var, bir kere kendim de İngilizce'ye çok hâkim olmadığımından ama az buçuk İngilizcem ile de her türlü iletişimi kurabildiğimden dolayı iyi bir yabancı dili olmasının işini daha kolaylaştıracağını düşünüyorum..Bu konuda bir öğretmen arkadaşımızdan destek alıyor şu an İngilizce'den. Ama nasıl bir destek? Ödevlerini yapıyor,

birlikte ödevlerinin üzerinden şöyle geçiyorlar haftada bir gün bir saat, o bir saatte o ödev üzerinden biraz sohbet ederek pratik yapması açısından; çünkü babamız yani çok fazla şey olmadı ve okulun beklediği İngilizce ile babamızın bildiği İngilizce yeterli değil zaten. (P-PR4)

111. Okula veriyoruz, artı dershaneye veriyoruz, artı kitaplar ...Büyük kızım şimdi şey özel öğretmenle devam ediyor haftada bir flüt öğretmeni geliyor, o çok sevdi flütü, küçük kızım sevmeydi, kemanın verdiği zevki vermedi bana dedi. O bıraktı, şey gelen öğretmen hem piyano hem flüt öğretmeni, her ikisini birden yürütüyor, keyifli. Biz de eğitime hala devam her konuda. Yani bunun haricinde tabi dil kursuna gittiler, küçük kızım Almanca aldı, onu yaz okuluna gönderdik, sonra geçen yıl İspanya'ya gittiler bir müzik grubu yaptılar okulla, e bunlara hep para harcıyoruz, yeter ki gitsinler görsünler, şey yapsınlar diye. Bizde şey yok, eğitime sonsuz para. (P-PU4)
112. Büyük kızım için bir ara bir hesaplamıştım ben, burslu okuduğu halde ilk altı yıl dördüncü sınıfa kadar yüzde kaçtı, 50 mi ne, bir bölümünü ödedim. Herhalde iki çocuk için söylersem herhalde bugün belki iyi bir lüks bir araba alabilirdim o parayla veya 2+1 bir daire alabilirdim. (P-PR5)
113. Şu anda varımızı yoğumuzu aslında onlara yatırmış vaziyetteyiz hani küçük kızım Allaktan şu anda devlet okulunda okuyor ama hani şimdi abla bir çok şeyi yapıyor hani o da tabi aynı şeyler yani her türlü ne istiyorsa sosyal aktivite şu bu her şeyi destekliyoruz geri kalmasın diye. (P-PU6)
114. Valla kızıma neredeyse 120 milyar harcamışımdır sırf eğitimi için zaten okulun parasından belli yani, ana olarak yani, ufak tefekler hariç. Oğluma da, oğlumu ortaokuldan sonra soktuğumuz için oğlan da burslu mürşu bir de ortaokulu katarsak üç aşağı beş yukarı aynı düzeye geldi yani gelecek. (P-PR3)
115. Küçük ölçekli bir ev parası harcadık, yatırım yaptık. Yatırım diyorum çünkü onun hayatına yatırım yaptık. Bir karşılık beklediğimizden dolayı değil. Gün geçtikçe masrafları artıyor, beklentiler de artıyor. (P-PR1)
116. Tüm bunlar tabi ki fedakarlık, yani neticede ben 23 buçuk yaşında evlenmiş, 46 yaşına gelmiş daha Edirne'yi görmemiş bir insanım, daha yurtdışına hiç ayağımı atmamış bir insanım. Yurtiçinde iki-üç kere uçağa binme şansım oldu, onun dışında kendime ait hiçbir yaşantım, hiçbir şeyim olmadı ve bunları niye yapamıyorum; çünkü kazandığımın hepsi ailem için ve çocuklarım için. Yani neticede bazen biz şakayla arkadaşlarla konuşuyoruz, ben onlara şey diyorum: Kendim için hiç yaşamadım...Bütün her şeyimiz çocuklara... (P-PR6)
117. Bir yatırım olarak görüyorsun çocuğun olunca onu bir yatırım olarak görüyorsun yani sıkıntı yaşadığımız günlerde başka şekilde önlemler aldık hayatımızda öyle söyleyeyim... Maddi de olabiliyor manevi de olabiliyor fedakarlık. (P-PR1)

118. Okula  denen bir  cret var, az ya da  ok. Őimdi veli ne yapıyor, bu sefer diyor ki ben diyor okulun taksitlerini  demek i in ne yapmalıyım, ekstra bir mesai yapmak zorundayım ya da iő deęiőiklięi yapmak zorundayım, iő deęiőiklięi demek uzun  alıőma saatleri demek, bu sefer  ocuęunu g remiyor. (A-PR4)
119. Ya őimdi aileler yani bizim  evremizdeki aileler  ok fazla her őeye, aileler yarıőıyor sanki, hepimiz her őeyin  ok fazla i indeyiz. Bizim zamanımızda daha  ok hani tamam herkes okula giderdi ama dersimizi őuyumuzu her őeyimizi biz kendimiz bilirdik. Őimdi aileler ister istemez daha  ok iőin i inde oluyor ve dięer taraftan da eęitim harcamaları g n ge tik e artıyor. (P-PU6)
120. Geliőim anlamında  ocuęumuza yatırımlar artıyor, artacak da. Belki deęmeyecek sonu ta. Eęitime yapılan yatırım bir őanstır. Belki deęmeyecek, belki  ok daha basit yerlerde mutlu olunabilecek őeyler vardır. Ama kendisi istedięi s rece yatırım yapmaya devam edeceęim. Ondan bir geri d n ő beklentim yok. (P-PR1)
121. Ben onlara adadım kendimi herkes biliyor...eőim 7/ 24  alıőır, ben de  ocuklara bakıyorum iőte  ocuk bakıcısı, ev hanımı deęil, aslında k le bile diyebilirsiniz. (P-PR3)
122. Őimdi bu orta sınıf ailelerde de biraz b yle őey olacak ama annelerin bir kısmı  niversite mezunu olmasına raęmen eęitim almıő olmasına raęmen  alıőmamayı tercih edebiliyor. Bu t r ailelerde diyelim ki babası uzman doktordur veya iőte avukattır veya őirket y neticisidir bu t r durumlarda bazen anne  alıőmıyor  ocukların eęitimiyle daha  ok ilgileniyor, dolayısıyla annelerle daha  ok muhatap oluyoruz. (A-PU2)
123. Babalar daha ciddi konularda iőlere m dahil oluyorlar, yani hani hallolması  ok kritik konularda babaları g r yoruz karőımızda. Genelde anneler iőin i indeler ve okuldan b y k bir beklenti i indeyse babayı karőımızda g r yoruz, onun dıőında babalar  ok fazla iőin i inde deęiller.   z lmesi gereken bir sorun,  rneęin diyelim ki okul veya arkadaő iliőkileri ile ilgili kritik bir őey yaőandı ve iőin i erisinde bakın ben baba olarak dahil olursam iő daha farklı olur, ama okul olarak ben burada sizden okul olarak bir őey yaptığınızda dair beni tatmin etmenizi bekliyorum őeklinde gelen baba olabilir. Bunun  rnekleri var. Yani onun dıőında matematikte sıkıntısı var, bunu birlikte aőalım diyen baba  ok az, onda anneler daha  ok iőin i inde. (A-PR1)
124. Benimle direk iletiőime ge en veliler genelde anneler oluyor. Genelde ya mail atıyorlar, ya da burada bizim veli g r őme saatlerimiz var, oraya geliyorlar. Olayın kilit noktası anneler kesinlikle. Eęer baba geliyorsa bir problem var demektir. (T-PR5)
125. Babalar iőte  ocuęu  zel okulda okutuyorum, imkanlarını saęlıyorum őeklinde. O y zden okula biraz zor gelebiliyor, hatta geldięi zaman da ben buradayım ama niye buradayım diye bizi zorlayabiliyor. Anneler daha katılımcı, daha istekli, daha meraklı olabiliyor...Bu nedenle de genelde anneler  ocuklarıyla ilgilenen, okula koőturan. (T-PR2)

126. Okulla iletişim daha çok benim üzerimden oldu, eşim öyle çok şeyi sevmez yani, çok böyle ne bileyim toplantılara girmeyi sevmez. Yani kızlarıyla ilgilidir yani o yanlış anlaşılmasın, kızlarıyla ilgilidir, eğitimleriyle ilgilidir ama bu tip iletişimlerle daha çok benim ilgilenmemi sever. (P-PU6)
127. Anneler çok daha taşın altına koyuyor elini... baba devreye girmiyor çünkü baba şey sekizde eve gelen adam nasıl devreye girecek? Okulla iletişim hep ben yürütüyorum. Artık ona da sevgi zamanı kalsın diyoruz ama çok zorda kalırsam eşimden destek alıyorum. (P-PU5)
128. Babalar, iyi polis kötü polis gibi bir tabir kullanacağım şimdi ama, gerçekten bir velim kendisi de söylemişti hani bizim evde kötü polis benim maalesef çünkü kurallar koyan, işte hani bu zamanların çok çabuk geçtiğini sürekli hatırlatan, ya da işte başarısız bir karne diyelim ki böyle bir karne karşısında tepki veren sadece benim gibi. Hatta bu konuyla ilgili karşımda ağlayan iki anne olmuştu, beni çok etkilemişti o zaman... ama dediğim gibi babaların çok fazla bu konuda ve destek olmadığına eminim. (T-PR1)
129. Şimdi hangi hocalardan hangi ders alınacak, ne konuda ders alması lazım, işte Türkçede hangi konuda eksik, işte gramerden neyi bilmiyor. Hocaya telefonda ben diyorum ki işte hocam filimsileri bilmiyor, yarın gelip ders verebilir misiniz? Birçok aile benim gibi davranıyordur, bizim gibi davranıyordur. Yani müfredat programlarını takip edip, hatta gittikleri dershanenin sonuç karnesine bakıyorsunuz, diyor ki işte çocuğunuz matematikte asal sayılarda 10 sorudan 5'ini yaptı. Heee, demek ki asal sayılar konusunda bu çocuğa destek verelim. Yani bu şekildeki destekleri bizim çocuklarımız alıyorlar. (P-PU2)
130. İşte ben her okulun, her sınıfın sınıf temsilcisiydim, her şeyiyle yani öğretmene de hep ilkokul kısmında da her ikisinin sınıfında da hep sınıf anneleri ydim. Hep okulun neye ihtiyacı var, işte okuma bayramı mı yapılacak ben her tarafta, bilmem ne mi yapılacak, kostüm mü dikilecek? Şimdi de öğretmen hemen beni arıyor, ne yapalım şöyle bir şey lazım bize yapabilir misin ya da bulabilir misin diye. İşte hemen araştırma içerisine girerim yani burada da öyle, her zaman öyle, şimdi mesela kostüm ayarlayacağız. (P-PU4)
131. Ben bir kere çocuğun yanında olmak çok hoşuma gidiyordu her şeyden önce. Hani orada nasıl olduğunu görmek, ondan sonra bir de orada sınıf anneliği var, ben de o zaman çalışmıyorum, müsait olduğum için, çocukları da seviyorum zaten... Hem kendi çocuğumla daha yakın oluyordum, hem de bir hizmetim oluyordu. O şekilde mesela sınıf anneliği yaptım hem büyük kızım da hem de küçük kızım da. Ondan sonra bir de şeyi daha güzel görüyorsunuz, çocuk nelerle uğraşıyor, nasıl bir eğitim görüyor, bir de öğretmenle daha yakın oluyorsunuz yani bunlar. (P-PU6)

Canan: Sınıf annesi olarak neler yaptınız mesela?

132. Sınıf annesi olarak işte öğretmenin ihtiyacı oluyordu destek oluyorduk, işte yıl sonu oluyordu, onların işte bir sürü kıyafetler dikilecek vesaire, organize edilmesi gereken bir çok şeyler vardı tabi onlara destek oluyorduk. (P-PU6)
133. Benim mesela okul aile birliğine girme sebebim oradan bir arkadaşımız önerdi. Zaten üç tane çocuğum orada. Arka planda ne olduğunu görmek adına bir de emek harcamak istedim yani... Ben şu anda başkan yardımcısıyım, dört beş kişilik bir çalışan kadro var ben o kadronun içindeyim. Ama ben zaten çocuklar için çok sıkça okula gidiyorum, bir gün birinin bir şeyi oluyor, bir gün ötekinin yani biraz onun için de şey yaptım. Ben zaten okula çok sık gidiyorum, o zaman hiç olmazsa yardımım olsun, desteğim olsun diye düşündüm. (P-PR8)
134. Evet, o da şöyle; bundan önceki toplantıda biz birkaç veli işte hazırlık B olunca, işte siz kimin annesi, kimin babası falan, öyle bir tanışmamız olduktan sonra hangi veliydi hatırlamıyorum, isterseniz dediler bir kahvaltıda toplanalım, çocuklarımızın iletişimi ile ilgili hani biz de onlardan haberdar olalım...İlkokulda herkese istediğimiz zaman ulaşabiliyorduk bir şey soracak da olsak...Ama burada bireysel tabi gelip, görüşüp çıkıyorsunuz, böyle bir pozisyon olmayacağı için dediler hani biz kendimiz toplanalım, çocuklarla da kopukluğumuz olmasın, birbirimizle haberleşebilelim. Bu tabi çok akılcı geldi hepimize de, tabi neden olmasın, biz o zaman bir beş-altı veli kahvaltıda buluştuk üç-beş gün sonra ve onu şimdi aylık toplantıya dönüştürdük, dün de hatta kahvaltıda gene toplantının akabinde. Tabi burada hangi çocuk ne yapıyor, takip ediyoruz. (P-PR7)
135. Şöyle çok güzel bir örnek verebilirim hocam, benim çocuğum yazılıdan yetmiş almış sözlü notu neden seksen, geliyor hesap soruyor. Neden sekseni var mı, öğretmen bunu uygun görmüş. Neden seksen işte, bu çocuk SBS'ye girecek, ortalaması önemli, üniversiteye gidecek ortalaması çok önemli, mağdur etme çocuğu gibi...Hocam bir iyilik yapsanız seksen beş verseniz gibi, doksan verseniz neden yüz değil...e başka okullar çift karne veriyor, siz niye bu kadar titizleniyorsunuz? Ama benim bir duruşum var, o okul çift karne veriyor, iyi bir örnek mi, ben de mi çift karne vereyim, aldatayım mı insanları? Ben çocuğa iyi örnek olabilir miyim çocuğa çift karne vererek, yalan söyleyerek? Bu mu doğrusu? Değil tabi hocam, hani geri adım, hani bana diyor ki dürüst olma, bana diyor çift karne ver diyor, yüz yüz ver diyor, e böyle bir talepte bulunması bile bana çok çirkin geliyor ama bulunanlar oluyor, notu sorgulamakla ilgili. (A-PR1)
136. İşimiz zorlaşıyor, yıpratıyor gerçekten. Hocam benim çocuğum yazılıdan yetmiş almış sözlü notu neden seksen geliyor hesap soruyor, başka okullar çift karne veriyor siz niye bu kadar titizleniyorsunuz diyebiliyor. Böyle bir talepte bulunması bile bana çok çirkin geliyor ama bulunanlar oluyor notu sorgulamakla ilgili. (A-PR4)
137. Okullar, her şeye yüz, yüz verip mesela çocuğun puanını yükseltiyor. Bu sefer çok küçük bir puan bile olsa öne geçirmesini sağlıyor. Onun için dediler ki (veliler) hani öğretmenler de çok zor soruyordu burada, tabi ki farkımız olacak, böyle basit sorular soramayız falan mantığıyla falan 3 senedir

soruyordu. Bu yıl ama müdüre bu konuda çok fazla baskı oldu, dediler ki hani çocuklarımız 60-70 alıyor; ama öbür okullarda basit bir şekilde geçiyor bunları falan dediler. Müdür dedi ki bu sene yükselteceğiz, öğretmenler ona göre soracak dedi. (P-PU4)

138. Anne diyor ki, 70 aldı iyi alan kızım, ikiz bunlar, ondan sonra sınıfta en iyi not 72 imiş, vesaire vesaire...Bir tanesi 70 almış, bir tanesi 59 almış, çok panik olmuş neden böyle diye. Şimdi 59 aldı diye panikliyor ve başarıyı o 59 ile ölçüyor neredeyse... Halbuki işte bakış açıları farklı; o anne baba bakış açısı ile bakıyor, biz eğitimci bakış açısıyla bakıyoruz. O orada notu görüyor, ben burada içerik görüyorum içerik eksikliği görüyorum. Bu okulda diyor, neden çocuğun üstüne düşmüyorsunuz diyor, neden düşen öğrencinin elinden tutup da üzerine eğilmiyorsunuz. Mesela diyor bir arkadaşımın çocuğu Koç'ta diyor, ondan sonra Koç'ta bir sürü yetiştiremiyorlar bile çocuklar, ondan sonra okullarından feragat edip, fedakarlık edip gece ikilere üçlere kadar ödev yapıyorlarmış diyor. Şimdi yani orada şey anlatamıyorsun tabi veliye profil farklı yani Koç'a giden öğrenci başka bir niyetle Koç'a gidiyor. Ondan sonra tabi üstü kapalı olarak anlatmaya çalıştım yani bazı çocuk yapısı vardır daha sosyaldir ondan sonra bizim çocuklarımız örneğin çok sınav olduğundan şikâyet ederler ama kendilerini hani ayaklarını yorgana göre uzatmazlar, sosyal hayatlarına da devam ederler. Bağdat caddesine gidilecekse yine gidilecek; "onlar da gidiyor" diyor; tamam onlar dengeleyebiliyor demek ki dedim. Ama onlar gazete de okuyorlar, onlar merak da ediyor, bir araya geldikleri zaman politika konuşuyor, ne bileyim güncel olayları konuşuyorlar, bizim çocuklar ne konuşuyorlar?...Ondan sonra işte biz etütler yapıyoruz ama kendiliğinden gelmiyor bu çocuklar, o zaman sizin işte sen kesinlikle etüde kalacaksın demen gerekiyor. Eee tamam hanımefendi yaparız ama diyorum, inanmadığımız şeyler söylemek zorunda kalıyoruz bazen velilere ve evet karşılaştırıyorlar başka okullarla...ve aynen böyle ve veliler gerçekçi olmayan isteklerle geliyorlar (A-PR2)

139. Çocuklar varlık gösteremeyince ben diyor o kadar ders aldırıyorum hiçbir şekilde çocuk 60 tan 70 ten yukarı çıkamadı...çok hırslılar, çok hırslılar yani, bütün amaçları çocukları iyi bir şey yapmak tabi her veli için...ama eğer siz ders vermiyorsanız, size yanaşamıyorsa da bu defa dışarıdan ders aldırıyor. Sonra da veli beni suçluyor. Diyelim ki özel hocamız, bunların müfredat dışı olduğunu söyledi, sorduğunuz soruların gibi şeyler söylüyor... (T-PU2)

140. Aldığı yazılı notu kendi yazılı notuymuş gibi, ondan sonra da öğretmene sinirleniyor işte neden yetmiş, neden 60, neden 50 gibi. (P-PR3)

141. Anneler bu konuda biraz daha fazlalar onu söyleyeyim, çocuğun notu çocuğun işte sınav başarısı çok bence boğucu yani, boğuyor aslında çocuğu, var bu tür şeyler...şey biraz şey gibi görüyor veliler başarıyı ortak başarı başarısızlığı ortak başarısızlık gibi görüyorlar yani bizim çocukla başarımız, o başarısız olunca ben de başarısız oluyormuşum gibi, kimi zaman öyle şeyler görebiliyorum. (A-PU2)

142. Veliler bazen çok hırslı olabiliyor, çocuktan çok daha hırslılar var maalesef. (T-PR3)

Canan: Onu nereden anlıyorsunuz?

143. Şuradan anlıyorum, zaten kendisi çok net belli ediyor, işte falanca 90 almış yani notunu biliyor işte falancanın kaç aldığını biliyor, işte o 90 almış, bizimki nerede hata yaptı da 90 alamadı şeklinde... Çok ısrarcı veliler olabiliyor. Örneğin, çarşamba günü karne basılıyordu, o gün bir velim yükseltemez miyiz, değiştiremez miyiz diye gelmişti. Ben de değiştiremeyeceğimizi söyledim ona. ‘Ama neden’ diye uzun bir süre sorgulamıştı. (T-PR3)
144. Her sınavdan önce düzenli görüştüğüm velilerim var. Hocam konuları bize yazar mısınız? İşte hocam sözlü notundan 45 almış, ne yapmadı ya da sözlü notundan 90 almış, neyi eksik yaptı şeklinde. (T-PU2)
145. Çocuklarımla daha çok ben ilgileniyordum ama bütün çalışan anneler gibi yeterince ilgilenmedim. Bunun eksikliğini hep hissettim, keşke daha fazla yanlarında olsaydım dedim sonradan. Küçük kızımda daha fazla dahil olmaya başladım, işlerimin temposu yavaşlamıştı. Hakiaketen bana ne kadar ihtiyaçları olduğunu bizzat gözümle gördüm. (P-PU2)
146. İş bıraktığıma çok pişman oldum...Kızım bana bir gün dedi ki, dokuz-on yaşında falandı ‘Neden bıraktın ki?’ Dedim ki sizin yüzünüzden işimi bıraktım ben isyanlardayım. Hayır dedi biz ne olur anneannem falan bakardı dedi, sen dedi beş sene idare etseydin. Ay kızımın o lafı içime lönk diye daha beter oturdu, dedim çocuğum bana bunu diyorsa yani çok çok daha kötü oldum, hala da diyor anne bırakmasaydın diyor mesela, öyle bir dönem geçirdim. (P-PR3)
147. Siyahla beyaz gibi, bir tarafta özel okullar bir tarafta devlet okulları. Yani aileler de biraz sıkıntı dediğim gibi, özel okula mı gidecek devlet okuluna mı gidecek. Artılar eksiler var, hiç arada bir şey yok yani. Özel okulun da kendine göre artıları eksileri var. Ama hani bu kadar yüksek ücretlere bilemiyorum biraz orada o da tartışılır, o kadar bir hizmet veriliyor mu bilmiyorum... Özel okullarda da ücret politikaları farklı, daha düşük ücretlerde de on bin liraya da öğrenci alan okullar var ama şimdi bu da gidiyor yani on bin liraya öğrenci okutuyor öğrenci alıyorsa okul demek ki öğretmene de düşük ücret veriyor, maddi olarak da tatmin olmayan bir öğretmen varsa o da sınıfta işini yapmaz diye düşünüyorum bu kadar paraya bu kadar hizmet diye bir düşüncesi olur (A-PR4)
148. Çok fazla özel okul açılması nedeniyle ekonomik durumu iyi olan aileler özel okullara yöneldiler. Çünkü devlet okullarının imkanları özel okullara göre yeterli değil. (A-PU1)
149. Bizim şöyle, şimdi ilk yıl üç bin lira istemişlerdi bizden, biz tabi dedik ki üç bin veremeyiz dedik ondan sonra iki bin verdik. Sonra şey hazırlıkta ondan sonra para almıyorlar zaten, ondan sonraki sene beş yüz liraydı yıllık, bunu müdür çok güzel anlatmıştı velilere. Dedi ki yani bu okula bir katkıdır ki o yıl domuz gribi falan da olmuştu, hani benim daha çok temizlemeye ihtiyacım var, hizmetliye ihtiyacım var, devlet bana sadece iki tane hizmetli veriyor ki

ben de devlet okulunda çalıştığım için biliyorum hani birçok şey velilerden sağlanıyor velilerden. Devlet ödemiyor, elektriğini ödemiyor hep borcu vardır okulların vesaire, onun için yani ben seve seve veriyorum benim katkım neyse ve bunu velilere de hep anlatmaya çalıştık. Müdürün bizden dediği şeydi: Ben sizden toplu olarak bu parayı istemiyorum, bana ayda elli lira ki benim düzenli bir gelirim olsun ki -hani bin iki yüz öğrencisi vardı o zaman okulun şimdi ne kadar bilmiyorum- yani bu bin iki yüz veliden bin kişisi ayda elli lira verse çok büyük bir meblağ ve çok güzel döner okul ki o kadarı bile vermiyordu. Birçok öğrenci buraya özel okuldan geliyor, özellikle Bilfen'den geliyor, bu Bilfen'den gelen velilerin hiçbiri bir kuruş vermiyor. Yani burası devlet okulu falan diyorlar, e Bilfen'e veriyorsun, artılarına da para veriyorsun! Birçok özel okula giden çevremizde insanlar var yani orada yani orada artıları verebiliyorsun da burada elli lira mı fazla geliyor! Yani ben bunu bilmiyorum anlayamıyorum. (P-PU4)

150. Beyinlerinin bir tarafında muhakkak vardır, olmaz mı otuz bin lira para veriyor adamlar buraya her sene, o benim de beynimde olan bir şey yani, sonuç olarak adam buraya o kadar para veriyorsa devlet okuluna gönderdiği gibi bir muamele tabi ki görmeyecek...Bu anlamda beklentiler sınırsız, mesela basketbol, voleybol efendime söyleyeyim şey koyuyorsunuz tenis koyuyorsunuz; adam squash ya da eskrim isteyebiliyor yani hani bunu istemek de en doğal hakkı, özel okula çocuk gönderirken yani seçeneklerinin çok böyle açılır olması gerekiyor. (A-PR3)

151. Eski çalıştığım yıllarda çok daha hani burası için demiyorum asla ama çok daha okul personeline, personele dahi de olsa öğretmenlik ayrı saygı, hürmet, değer verme varken şimdi öğrencilerde şunu yaşıyoruz eski okulumda da son yıllarda görmüştüm, burası ücretli bir okul, çalışılıyor, parasını alacak, çalışacak falan gibi, tabi asla müsaade edilmese de bu noktalara görebiliyorum. Arka planda çalışıyor yani bunlar, orada bir şey görebiliyorsunuz ya da bakıyorsunuz o çocuğun ailesiyle görüştüğünüzde aslında hiç farklı değil yani, o değerleri orada ailede alması gerekiyor. (T-PR2)

152. 2000'li yıllardan sonra 80 dönemi jenerasyonu veli olmaya başladı, 80'li yılları görmüş kişiler işte benim yaşıtlarım falan filan. Tabi bunların çoğunluğu eğitilmiş, yani geçmişle kıyaslama yaptığınızda bunlar aslında mürekkep yalmış insanlar diğerlerine göre. Şimdi üniversite mezunu veli profili ile gelenekçi, gelenekten hani şöyle söyleyeyim, geleneksel yapıyla yetişmiş veli profilini karşılaştırdığımız zaman ben o geleneksel yetişmiş velinin önünde saygıyla eğiliyorum; çünkü eğitime, eğitimciye büyük saygı gösteren, efendime söyleyeyim eğitimciye güvenen, okuluna güveneni çocuğunun okumasını çok isteyen bir jenerasyon. 2000'li yıllardan sonraki veli profiline baktığımız zaman üniversite bitirerek bir şekilde ekonomik gücünü eğitimi ile kazanmış veliler; fakat çok şımarık veliler. Yani eğitimciye saygı yok, maneviyat yok, çocuğa verdiğimiz eğitimin değeri yok; çocuğa oturmasını kalkmasını öğretmeniz veya sosyal açıdan, ahlaki açıdan çocuğunuza verdiğiniz hiçbir önemi yok; tamamen nota dönük, notu amaç edinmiş "ne öğrendin değil de kaç aldın" sorusunun peşinde koşan bir veli profili. Efendime söyleyeyim, çocuğunu pamuğa sarıp sarmalayan; fakat

sonra başına bela olacağının farkında olmayan bir veli profili, ipin ucunu elinden kaçırmış bir veli profili, efendime söyleyeyim çocuğuna zaman ayırmayan bir veli profili, özel okula gönderiyorum parasını veriyorum, çocuğuna hakikaten hani evde zaman ayırmayan, dışarıda zaman ayırmayan tamamen işine gömülmüş... Ha bu da tabi açık konuşayım bugün bu velinin çok arzuladığı bir durum değil gelinen nokta, gelinen nokta ekonomi, ekonomik yapının insanları tamamen bu duruma getirmesi diye düşünüyorum ve kıyasladığımızda eski veli profilini arıyorum diyebilirim yani. (P-PR5)

153. Okulun tanıtımı için bizim çok da aktif bir rolümüz oluyor, hatta...tahminimizden ve yahut da...isteyeceğimizden daha fazla...Yani biz aslında potansiyel müşterimiz kimdir, müşteri demek istemesek de müşterimiz kimdir ve biz kime hitap etmeliyiz ve nasıl daha çok nitelikli öğrenci çekebiliriz? Çünkü lise şu anda full kapasite ile çalışmıyor, hatta karlı da değil; çünkü belli bir sınıf kapasitesi var, bu sınıf kapasitesi 24 bizim için. biz 24 kişilik sınıflara sahip değiliz lisede, daha az sayıda öğrencimiz var. Evet çok 24'er kişilik sınıfımız olsun telaşında değiliz; çünkü ilköğretim ve anaokulumuz karlı, eksiği kompanse ediyorlar bir şekilde ama evet biz çekmeye çalışıyoruz dışarıdan veli ve öğrenci. Tanıtım için beyin fırtınası toplantıları yapıyoruz okul idaresi olarak, tanıtımdan kastımız şu bizim tanıtım zamanımız üniversite sınavının açıklandığı dönem çok yoğun, özür diliyorum SBS'nin haziran ortası ya da haziran sonu. Ama onun öncesinde de...ne kadar ilgili kişiyi buraya çekersek ve görüşmeler yaparsak, onları ciddiye aldığımızı hissettiriyoruz işte, bu görüşmeler yürütülüyor. Onun dışında çeşitli broşürlerimizden setler hazırlıyoruz, işte kendimizi tanıtıcı faaliyetler olarak bunu düşünüyoruz, bunun dışında web sitemizi, bu yıl aldığımız bir karar, çok aktif olarak güncel, dinamik tutmak bizim yine hedeflerimizden. Neyi vurgulayacağımız konusunda toplantılar yapıyoruz, örneğin bizim en güçlü yönümüz ne, diğer okullardan bizi farklı kılan ne, veli daha bilinçli geçmişe göre, çok daha sorularını hazırlayıp gelen veliler var, bu lisede de böyle ilköğretim ayağında da böyle. Dolayısıyla sizin farkınız ne dediği zaman veliye sizin vereceğiniz somut ve tereddütsüz cevaplarınız olmalı. Biz bunların üzerinden kendimiz senaryolar yaratıyoruz; karşılama, ağırlamaya önem veriyoruz ve daha detaya giriyorum belki ama paket gibi de düşünüyor yani mesela geldiğinde velinin dış kapıdan kimlik kontrolünün yapıp yapılmadığına kadar veli, güvenlik faktörü, karşılamadaki güler yüz vesaire hep onların önemseddiği konular; dolayısıyla biz bunlara da dikkat etmeye çalışıyoruz. Oradaki bilinçlendirme işte verilmesi gereken eğitimler komplike olmasa da hep kayıt döneminde dikkat ettiğimiz konular, kiminle görüştürüleceği konusunda veliyi bekletmeme, düzgün bir ortamda karşılama, veli ile görüşme yapılacak ortamda velinin karşısındaki kişinin işte ne kadar prezantabl olduğuna dikkat edeceği, o dönemde hangi bilgiyi aktaracağı konusunda güncellik; çünkü eğer SBS'den sonra geliyorsa belli puan ortalamaları söz konusu, oralarda net bilgi verebilme hep önemsedığımız şeyler. (A-PR1)

154. Şimdi özellerde en nihayetinde burası bir ticarethane yani...Eğitim sistemiyle parasını veren düdüğünü çalar gibi düşünüyorum maalesef, kısacası bu. Yani eğer şartlarım olmasaydı, param olmasaydı korkunç

üzülürdüm ve iki misli çökerdim herhalde, deli gibi çökerdim hem de. Eğitim sistemi çok adaletsiz. (P-PR3)

155. Ama maalesef bizim eğitim sistemimiz gittikçe özelleşti, özellikle...tabi ben öncelikle şey derdim yani geriden bakarken herhalde becerisizlikleri yüzünden insanların bu eğitim sistemi bu kadar içinden çıkılmaz hale geldi diye. Sonradan şuna inanmaya başladım: Gerçekten iradi bir süreç yaşatılmış bize. Evet, kesinlikle buna inanıyorum yani becerisizlikten değil iradi olarak...devletin okullarının içi boşaltılmış, çocuklar seçilmiş, öğretmenler seçilmiş, ve bir kast sistemi oluşmuş adeta. (P-PR6)

156. Yüksek puana sahip öğrencileri almak istiyorlar; ama profil olarak çok fazlabir belirteç yok; ama şu da olabiliyor tabi ki özel okul olduğu için kapılarında bekleyen çok fazla öğrenci olmadığı zaman şimdi açık açık ifade etmek gerekirse çok profilimize de uymayan ama hani parası olup da beni alın diyen veliler de daha doğrusu öğrenciler de çok alınabiliyor. (A-PR2)

157. Bizim zamanımızdaki süreçte okullar, sadece okullar vardı vesaire ve öğrencinin tamamıyla kendi başarısıyla elde ettiği bir takım şeyler vardı ama şimdi artık sistem o hale geldi ki velinin başarısı neredeyse ölçülür oldu öğrenciden ziyade. Veli başarısı, velinin ne kadar çok maddi ve manevi destek sağladığı ölçü. Öğrencinin başarısına eklendi, bizim zamanımızda gidebilen dershaneye gidiyordu ama çok böyle yarış şeklinde değildi açıkçası. (T-PU1)

158. Herkesin kesesine göre bence özel okul olmalı. Ben hani bu anlamda liberalizmi destekliyorum, bence eğitimde özelleştirme şart; çünkü eğitim devletin işi olmaz, mümkün değil, başa çıkamaz ki, olmaz yani o anlamda ona inanmıyorum. “Sağlık ve eğitimin tamamen devletin üzerine atılıp devlet buna çözüm bulsun ve herkese bedava eğitim ve bedava sağlık versin”,ben ona inanmıyorum yani o burada sağlık sisteminde olduğu gibi özel sigortalar nasıl yatırırlar. (P-PR3)

159. Bazen sistemi biz de bozuyoruz, hani devlete çok kızıyoruz bir çok konuda ama bizim de toplum olarak daha bir şeyleri öğrenmemiz gerekiyor gibi geliyor. Eylem olarak herkes ne yapıyorsa biz de onu yaptık. Yani her türlü ne gerekiyorsa, hani sistem bizden ne bekliyorsa her şeyi yerine getirdik yani. Aslında evet başta söylediğim çok çarpıcı bir cümle vardı, aslında yapmam dediğimiz her şeyi yaptık. (P-PU6)

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