

BREASTFEEDING THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM:
ANALYZING WOMEN'S UNPAID LABOR AND VOLUNTARY MOTHER
PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOLS WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF NEOLIBERAL
ECONOMIC POLICIES

MERAL APAK KAYA

BOĞAZIÇI UNIVERSITY

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NEOLIBERAL ECONOMIC POLICIES

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Meral Apak Kaya

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Dissertation Abstract

Meral Apak Kaya, “Breastfeeding the Educational System: Analyzing Women’s Unpaid Labor and Voluntary Mother Participation in Schools within the Context of Neoliberal Economic Policies”

This study intends to examine the role of mothers in the school system in the context of the neoliberal transformation process with regard to the special labor of women in the forms of domestic labor, care labor and voluntary work. In this respect, the presence of mothers in the school system is analyzed in terms of the labor processes and the special characteristics of this unpaid labor in interaction with the ways in which their patriarchally defined motherhood role is utilized to penetrate in the power positions in the school system. The issue is conceptualized around the notions of power and empowerment and around the related strategies implemented by mothers in the school. The research aims to unveil the ways in which the mothers’ practices and attitudes in the school field reproduce the class and gender inequalities. In this respect, the differentiations in the mothers’ attitudes in their participation process and the tensions created by their praxis are analyzed. The research identifies and illustrates certain characteristics of the activities and relationships in the school environment to signal the reproduction of gender inequality and the exclusion generating from the class differences. Finally, with reference to the findings, an alternative way of maternal participation in order to elicit empowerment for and solidarity of women regarding the intermitting class differences is discussed and expanded.

The field data and the analysis point out that with the neoliberal policies which retract public funding from education and leave the schools on their own fate with the discourse of ‘parental participation’, mothers started to take part in the ‘running’ of the schools. With this penetration, they started to locate themselves in the power positions such as Parent Teacher Associations (PTA) in the school system. The way to PTA passes from the functioning and social capital gaining in the position of Classroom Motherhood (CM) which represents the mothers who allocate their unpaid labor to substitute the duties of the state in the schools. However, these power positions and the power struggles unveil the class difference of the mothers as actresses in the school system. Because middle-class mothers have relatively more economic and cultural capital, they can easily occupy the power positions in the school, whereas working class mothers deprived of economic and cultural capital, they have no voice in the school system. The maternal participation is patriarchally designed in the neoliberal system in essence and the power is gained in a sphere where patriarchal rules are valid, thus this kind of environment results in ‘power-gaining’ of the middle class mothers and this represents a contrast with the feminist empowerment discourse as the power gained by the middle class mothers keep the working class women in deprivation. The analysis of the data led to the development of certain conceptions such as ‘network blockage strategy’, ‘dispossession of social capital’, ‘catalyzing capital’ and ‘breastocracy’ to unveil the power relations and to shed light to possibilities of genuine women’s empowerment.

Tez Özeti

Meral Apak Kaya, “Eğitim Sistemini Emzirmek: Neoliberal Ekonomik Politikalar Bağlamında Ücretsiz Kadın Emeğinin ve Okullarda Gönüllü Anne Katılımının Analizi”

Bu çalışma Neoliberal dönüşüm sürecinde annelerin okul sistemi içindeki rolünü kadınlar açısından özgünlüğü olan ev içi emek, bakım emeği ve gönüllü emek kavramları ile ele almayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu açıdan annelerin okul içerisindeki varlıkları ücretsiz emek süreçleri açısından incelenecek, bu emeğin kendine özgü özellikleri ile kadınların patriyarkal açıdan tanımlanan rollerinin birbiriyle nasıl bir etkileşim içerisine girdiği analiz edilecek ve bu araçları okuldaki iktidar pozisyonlarına erişmek için hangi stratejilerle kullandıklarına bakılacaktır. Mesele iktidar ve cinsiyeti güçlendirme kavramları çerçevesinde okul içerisinde kadınların bunlara erişmek için uyguladıkları stratejiler etrafında tartışılacaktır. Araştırma kadınların okul ortamı içerisinde cins ve sınıf eşitsizliklerini pratikleri ve tutumları ile nasıl yeniden ürettiklerini ortaya koymaya çalışmaktadır. Bu açıdan annelerin katılım sürecindeki tutum farklılıkları ve okul içindeki uygulamaları ile ortaya çıkan gerilimler incelenmiştir. Araştırmacı okul ortamındaki etkinlik ve ilişkilerin niteliğini sergileyerek bu yolla cins eşitsizliğinin yeniden üretimine ve sınıf farklılıklarından kaynaklanan dışlanmaya odaklanmıştır. Son olarak, bulgulardan yola çıkarak sınıf çelişkilerinin bulunduğu bir ortamda kadınların dayanışma ve cins güçlenmesini sağlayacak alternatiflere ışık tutmaya yönelik bazı niteliklere değinilecektir.

Nitel bir çalışma yoluyla gözlem ve mülakat bulgularından oluşan saha verileri ve analizlerden elde edilen sonuçlar eğitimden kamu kaynaklarının çekilmesine neden olan Neoliberal politikalar sonucunda okulların kendi kaynaklarını yaratmak zorunda bırakılması ve ‘ebeveyn katılımı’ söylemi ile annelerin okulda aktif çalışmaya ve okulu bir şekilde ‘işletmeye’ başladıklarını göstermektedir. Annelerin okula nüfuz etmesiyle birlikte kendilerini okul sistemi içerisinde Okul Aile Birliği (OAB) gibi iktidar pozisyonlarında konumlandırmaya başladıkları görülmektedir. OAB’ye giden yol temel olarak devletin okuldan kısıtıldığı kaynakları kendi ücretsiz emekleri ile ikame etme işi olan Sınıf Anneliği yoluyla sosyal sermaye biriktirmekten geçmektedir. Ancak bu iktidar pozisyonları için yapılan iktidar mücadelesi okul sistemi içerisinde bir aktör haline gelen anneler arasındaki sınıfsal farkları da ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Orta sınıf annelerin görece daha fazla ekonomik ve kültürel sermayeye sahip olmaları onların okul sistemi içerisindeki iktidar pozisyonlarını çok kolaylıkla elde etmelerini sağlarken alt sınıftan olan anneler ekonomik ve kültürel sermayeden yoksunlukları oranında okulda söz ve nüfuz sahibi olmaktan uzaklaşmaktadırlar. Anne katılımı neoliberal sistem içinde patriyarkal bir öze sahiptir ve anneler açısından iktidar ancak patriyarkal kurallar içerisinde hareket edildiği sürece mümkün olmaktadır. Bu nedenle böylesi bir sosyal ortamda orta sınıf annelerin ‘iktidar/güç kazanımı’ pratiği feminist söylemdeki ‘cins güçlendirmesi’ söylemi ile tezat oluşturmaktadır, çünkü orta sınıf anneler tarafından elde edilen iktidar gücü alt sınıf annelerin güç ve söz hakkı açısından daha da yoksunlaşmalarına neden olmaktadır. Araştırma verilerinin analizleri bu durumu açıklamamıza yardımcı olacak ve gerçek bir cins güçlenmesini sağlamamız için yol gösterebilecek “Sosyal ağ blokajı”, ‘el konmuş sosyal sermaye’, ‘katalizör sermaye’ ve ‘brestokrasi’ gibi bazı kavramların ortaya çıkmasını sağlamıştır.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Meral Apak Kaya
PLACE OF BIRTH: Zonguldak, Turkey
DATE OF BIRTH: 09 July 1973

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

Boğaziçi University
University of London, September 2011 – January 2012, Visiting Scholar
İstanbul University
Boğaziçi University

DEGREES AWARDED:

Doctor of Philosophy in Educational Sciences, 2014, Boğaziçi University.
Master of Arts in Women Studies, 2004, Institute of Social Sciences, İstanbul University.
Bachelor of English Language Teaching, 1997, Boğaziçi University.

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

Adult Education, Social Policies, Critical Pedagogy, Motherhood , Sociology of Education , Educational Policy, Feminist Pedagogy, Feminist Sociology, Economic Politics of Care Labor, Social Movements, Social Class, Voluntary Labor, Economics and Politics of Participation

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Research Center Coordinator, BEPAM (Educational Policy Research Center), Boğaziçi University, 2013-current
Part-time Faculty, Faculty of Education, Boğaziçi University, İstanbul, 2007-2008
Lecturer, Department of Foreign Languages, İstanbul University, İstanbul, 1999-2008

AWARDS AND HONORS:

The Best Part-time Faculty Reward, Boğaziçi University, 2007 – 2008

GRANTS:

Erasmus PhD Research Visiting Scholar Grant, 2011

PUBLICATIONS:

“Eğitim ve İktidar”

Editor with Prof. Fatma Gök, Kalkedon Yayınevi, 2006 İstanbul (ISBN 975-00737)

“Neoliberalizm ve Eğitim üzerine Eleştirel yazılar”,

Editor with Prof. Fatma Gök, and Translation, Eğitim-Sen Yayınları, 2003 İstanbul

Apak, Meral. “İmece: İstanbul’un Bir Gecekondu Mahallesinde Kadınların kendilerini Güçlendirme Pratiği” in ‘Çok Kültürlü Toplumlarda Eğitim’, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2001 İstanbul (ISBN 978-605-399-139-7)

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ABBREVIATIONS

CHAT	Cultural Historical Activity Theory
CM	Classroom Mother / Classroom Motherhood
CT	Classroom Teacher
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INAREK	Research Ethics Committee of Boğaziçi University
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
OAB	Okul Aile Birliđi (Parent-Teacher Association)
PTA	Parent – Teacher Association
SA	Sınıf Annesi (Classroom Mother)
ÖSYM	Assessment Selection and Placement Center
ZPD	Zone of Proximal Development

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Women's relation with education has been considered in different levels such as students, teachers, and administrators in academic studies. However, there has been limited research on women in the education system as mothers. Gök (2012) explains the relationship between women and education in three main areas; women as students, teachers, and mothers. Historically women take part in the education system less than men. Their duration of presence in the education system and how far they can go in the education is determined by their social class and their cultural and social capital. Nevertheless, regardless of the social class they come from, they are in a disadvantaged position.

Women's presence in the education system as teachers is a disadvantaged position as well, since teaching is considered as an 'ideal' occupation for women based on the fact that they may continue practicing reproduction and care work in the so called 'private' sphere simultaneously. Due to this dual functionalization and double work load, it is rare to see women as school administrators. These administrative positions are occupied by men as well as the fact that women themselves do not prefer administrative positions since it loads much extra work and this would present a drawback in performing their domestic responsibilities (Gök, 2012).

Another position to locate women in education is motherhood which is situated in the core of this research. Motherhood role constitutes the most invisible part of women's existence in life and the education system since motherhood is perceived as a 'natural' role for women and that it is related to 'her own' child. Even

though the motherhood role attributed to women represents the effect of the patriarchal system, it is intensely intermingled with the capitalist economic system since women's reproduction role comprises a fundamental point for the sustainability of the capitalist system in general (Vogel, 2000; Wallerstein & Smith, 1992). As for all the reproductive systems in capitalism, it is impossible to presume a school system without mothers' labor force (Baldock, 1998).

In the pre-industrialized societies, manufacturing was not organized outside of the house. Both production and reproduction were performed in the same space. However, with the industrialization, organized production was located outside of the household and thus consumption and reproduction were defined and organized within the domestic space. This led to an ideological divide between the 'public' and the 'private' as separate spheres of life (Glenn, 1994, p. 14). By means of this split, women and children were spatially defined as private-sphere entities, which on the other part the male was defined in the mighty area of the 'public'. Therefore, women's identity is closely linked with the daily chores of human life to sustain the 'public' sphere operating. Whereas, there is a clear hierarchy between these dichotomic social spheres; public is the male, the important and the effective realm. On the other hand, 'private' realm is unimportant, ineffective in policy making and shaping the world and thus is female (Land, 1978; Phoenix & Woollett, 19914). Women are locked into the 'private' sphere either physically, socially, mentally or behaviorally. Even if they have the sufficient level of education, proficiency and occupation in the 'public' realm, they are not immune from this consideration.

The unpaid status of the women's labor in the domestic /private sphere is the key attribute to define work in the domestic sphere. This presents a contrast with the value of the work done in the public space, which is male in essence, as it has a

value in the social, political, and economic sense. Women's unpaid work has a 'use value' (Marx, 2010) with regards to the Marxist labor-value terminology. Capitalism ignores any work which does not circulate in the market assuming valueless; as a matter of fact domestic labor has solid contribution to the markets of the capitalist system. Anticipating the consequences of a hypothetical domestic labor strike would present evidence on its relation to the capitalist system. All the work performed silently by women on daily basis would remain unfulfilled and thus these works would have to be purchased from the market. This would radically change the market equilibrium and the wages would be urged to be increased automatically, which would dramatically reduce the profit margins of the capital. For this reason, women's unpaid domestic care work is closely linked with the capitalist market mechanisms as it definitely contributes to the surplus value produced by cumulative labor force. In the private sphere, which is the 'life-producing activity space', women produce and reproduce the vital necessities of human life continuously (Antonopoulos, 2008; Boris, & Kleinberg, 2003; Quick, 2008). These chores are repetitive in nature and require self-devotion. What makes women devote themselves in these unending, repetitive and abrasive practices unquestioned is the patriarchal ideology, which attributes some identity labels on women, such as 'good mother', 'penelope wife', and 'dutiful daughter'. These labels essentialize these patriarchal duties in the identity of womanhood.

Defining women as 'mothers' has its corresponding end called the 'child'. As Glen (1994) reveals, in the same period as the motherhood was 'blessed' the notion of 'social childhood' is constructed. The notion of social childhood defines the child as a special being in need of carers with devotion and women were

‘created’ for this purpose. This conceptualization of mother-child pair led to a perception of the mother and the child as a single entity (p. 14).

Besides, women’s identity was also defined with all the other daily chores of household work, which reproduces not only the human breed but also the workforce and the life force by means of the products and the services she produces. Women keep the house habitable; they cook, clean, nurture, care, and emotionally support. All these work is done devotedly and as a part of women’s identity. Feminists consider this notion of the unpaid identity-generating household work as the main suppression area for women since it generates inequality and sustains the patriarchal social mechanisms (Savran, 2004; Bezanson, 2006).

To locate women’s unpaid labor in the neoliberal economic policies the welfare state and the neoliberal state can be compared. The great depression of the worldwide economy in the 1930s led to unemployment and poverty for the majority of the population in the world. After the World War II, many European countries implemented extensive social services for the entire population, which included healthcare, education, child-care, unemployment benefits, and pensions for the older citizens (Esping-Andersen, 1999). Thus, in a welfare state, the funds are allocated to the healthcare and education services and direct monetary benefits are allocated for the citizens (O’Hara, 1999).

Beginning from 1970s, the term neoliberalism came forth and is used by the critical economists who are against privatization, deregulation, free trade economy and the elimination of state control of the economy (Chomsky & McChesney, 2011). In a neoliberal economic system the state-funded services during the welfare state economies were reversed, thus the responsibility of the economy and the resources were taken from the public and transferred to the private sector. All these economic

and political instances affected the conditions for women profoundly. Especially with the withdrawal of the funding from the public health and education system, the burden on the women's labor became heavier since these public services were transferred from the 'public' realm to the 'private' or the domestic sphere. Women started to look after the children, the ill, and the disabled much more intensely than they did before. Moreover, the responsibility of 'good education' became now the 'good mother's responsibility, more than ever.

The state started to retrench from the public services and declared these areas in the realm of the individual responsibility, which meant to transfer these services on women's unpaid labor in the domestic realm (Stinson, 2004). It was estimated that weekly total of one women's production value of these services are £407.39 (Pritchard, 2005) if they are calculated according to the market standards. In this sense, with the neoliberal policies women are allocated in the public work in an unpaid manner to produce more value ; for example the institution of public schooling in America has been sustained in part by social relations organizing women's unpaid labor (Smith, 1998, p. 18). Therefore the schools are among those public organizations which activate mother-labor voluntarily. In Turkey this is performed under the name of the 'classroom motherhood' which usually operates in cooperation with the Parent Teacher Associations, as in the case of the field school of this research.

Besides unpaid domestic labor, the neoliberal policies more systematically exploit women's unpaid labor in the form of voluntary work. In the historical moment of the retrenched welfare funding the discourse of the third sector and voluntary work became prominent to bridge the gap created by the neoliberal state (Bezanson, 2006, p. 435). Voluntary work, defined as the unpaid work performed

outside the home, is not possible without a private income (Taylor, 2005a, p. 128) and therefore, generally middle-class women take part in these kinds of unpaid work for different reasons. It is the marginality of women from unpaid work that makes them available for volunteer work (Baldock, 1998, p. 29). On the other hand women who ought to work for a living in a full time work are less able to participate in voluntary work (Osborne, Ziersch, & Baum, 2008).

Although volunteering is instrumentally functional for governments to reduce expenditures as a key component of neoliberal welfare state restructuring (Fuller, Kershaw, & Pulkingham, 2008), it is a fact that for women with young children volunteer work is the most convenient way of stepping into the public space as a result of sexual division of labor (Baldock, 1998, p. 22). Moreover, for women with young children schools seems to be the most convenient place to perform voluntary work and it is the place where utmost reward in a variety of areas can be elicited (La Cour & Hojlund, 2008).

The discourse of ‘motherhood’ activates women into all the state services regarding their children (Ribbens, 1993) including schooling (Griffith & Smith, 2005). A culturally prominent concept of maternal care is the ‘ideology of intensive mothering’, which requires that mothers be always ready and waiting to provide their children with emotional availability under any circumstances (O’Brien, 2008). The intensive mothering ideology is the major attitude of mothers who do voluntary work in her child’s school and it is an important decline in gender equity (Hartman, 2004).

Middle-class parents are active in their children’s schooling by monitoring their children’s progress in school in order to ensure the educational opportunities are available and adequate to their children, whereas parents from the working class are not involved in the same way (Lareau, 1987). However, it is difficult to simplify the

issue in the middle-class activity versus working-class passivity (Reay, 1998c).

Working class mothers also act at a different level but all mothers are engaged in practical, educational and emotional work related with their children's education.

Schools become more and more dependent on parental (maternal) involvement to meet the budget. Within the neoliberal economy, the policies transfer more and more responsibility to mothers with the motivation of providing a quality education for their children (Landeros, 2011). Therefore, the state shifts the blame for the inequalities in the outcomes of education on to individual schools, parents, and children (Apple, 2001).

Public policy on education assumes a collaboration of some partners such as the state, the municipality, the business, the elected representatives, the civil servants, and the civic associations (Dahlstedt, 2009). The welfare state used to deal with the funding, the delivery and the regulation of services, and now the neoliberal state does not fund nor deliver the services but on the contrary it adheres to the third function, the regulation and the control of the services and the goods (Dale, 2001). A prominent way of regulating the institutions is by the use of term 'partnership' between the parents and the school, which is a complex system of control. This control is applied through the notion of 'parental governmentality', which means that parents are tightly engaged in the school system to foster the students according to the rules and regulations of the school system (Dahlstedt, 2009). Parallel to the deepening of the implementations of the neoliberal policies within the school system, parents started to get more and more involved in the school chores Smith (1998). The school chores or the tasks that mothers perform in the schools can be categorized into certain profession groups such as assistant teacher, school librarian, substitute

teacher, social services officer, school bus driver, office girl, repairman, and gardener according to the handbook (Turkish Ministry of Education, 2005).

There is a class difference among the mothers actively participating in the school system. The difference is determined in terms of not only the economic capital, but also the cultural and social capital. The level of the mothers' cultural capital makes difference in the relationship with the teacher in the school environment as the sense of power and confidence. Thus the middle-class are advantaged in this sense to teachers being persuaded to their point of view, whereas even if when working-class women felt the courage to go into school to talk to teachers, they often end up with less than they were asking for (Reay, 1998a).

Social capital, on the other hand, is in both the material and the immaterial resources individuals and families can activate for accessing certain resources by using their social ties (Horvat, Weininger, & Lareau, 2006). This means that individuals who have well-formed networks of family and friends have an advantage in the society. This also creates a difference between the middle class and the working class mothers in the school system.

Another form of capital which helps create social positioning is the 'emotional capital' which can be defined as an extension of the social capital. Emotional capital is used primarily by mothers to secure educational advantage for their children (Allat, 1993). Various forms of capital create power positions within the social environment and thus in the school.

Regarding the mothers' presence in the school environment, the policy papers emphasize the term 'parent' referring to both fathers and mothers, however, in practice the parent is the mother as it is the mothers who predominantly work for supporting the children's schooling (Dudley-Marling, 2001). Parental "involvement"

is a type of volunteering practice either in classrooms or in inner-school projects and it is considered to be of benefit to the school as a whole. Mostly the middle-class mothers work as unpaid helpers for teachers (Biklen, 1993) in the school system. The political discourses of the documents and papers produced officially or academically indicate a certain type of parent who is a middle-class mother from a nucleus family, and who has a husband to earn enough money so that she could look after the children full-time (Dudley-Marling, 2001, p. 23).

Since the educational budgets are restrained in the neoliberal economy, involving parents presents a cost-effective approach (Corno, 1996) to substitute the gap. In Turkey, the clues of the neoliberal educational policies are observed in the early 1990s as the most dramatic budget cut appears in 1993 in the statistics (Özdoğan, 2013). As well as the practical implementations, some legal effectuations started to take place in Turkey an example of which is the action with the notice no 92 on October 10, 2005 about the legalization of the decentralization in the schools with an emphasis on the Parent School Associations (PTA) (Yolcu, 2011).

Parallel to the neoliberal educational policies and the legal acts, the notion of Classroom Mothers became prominent. Until 2013, the primary level educational system was organized in two levels; the first level as the five-year elementary education and the second level as a three-year second stage. In the first five-year level, there was a single class that a pupil attended for five years. For this first five years of education, there was a Classroom Teacher (CT), who is the teacher that would teach the same class for that five-year period. After this five-year education, pupils pass to the second grade of the primary level education and they have different teachers for different subject matters.

In this first level which covers the first five-years, every class has a specific Classroom Teacher (CT). In Turkey a Classroom Mother (CM) is selected for each classroom for each academic year with the initiative of the Classroom Teachers (CT) extensively for the last 10-15 years. The CM is usually chosen among the most assertive and capable 'mothers' to help the teacher with the classroom work and with some other workload within the school. The CM usually comes to school every day and works in coordination with the teacher dealing with 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. In some poor neighborhood schools these mothers even do the cleaning as there is no funding from the government to hire someone to clean the toilets. CMs do all this work 'voluntarily', without any payment and without any officially defined title or job description. The whole process appears to be a 'natural' extension of 'motherhood' or female parenthood.

Almost every class at the primary school level has a Classroom Mother, and there are at least ten or fifteen classroom mothers in an average school. The CMs, come to school every day and conduct the work they are assigned. Their work day starts as they bring their child to school and finishes with the end of school day; sometimes until the midnight before they go to bed. They do these tasks regularly and on voluntary basis. They are not paid for the work they do. Even though the presence of the CMs in the schools and their duties are well-known by all the official and formal levels of the national education system, there have been no official regulations for the duties that mothers perform in the school, except for the possible contributions defined for 'voluntary parents' in general by the Ministry of National Education. Since the public schools are left with their own capability of fundraising

to meet their own needs in the neoliberalization process, the CMs took over a prominent role as mothers in the neoliberal system.

The neoliberal school system is determined from the central level (centralization) in the knowledge domain; but there is a decentralization in the level of curriculum details and funding and these are left as local issues (Daun, 2007, p. 19). The ‘decentralization’ is conceptualized with the notion of ‘school-based management’, which is a kind of transferring the authority from the state to the school level (Caldwell, 2005). The CMs volunteer in the fundraising and money collecting issues in the school predominantly. Thus, CMs bridge the gap created by the deduction of public resources in education with their unpaid voluntary labor ‘for the sake of their children’.

Statement of the Problem

Given the above explained context, this research intends to examine the role of mothers in the school system in the context of the neoliberal transformation process with regard to the special labor of women in the forms of domestic labor, care labor and voluntary work. Hence, the presence of mothers in the school system is analyzed in terms of the labor process and the special characteristics of this unpaid labor.

The mothers’ presence in the school system and the ways in which they utilize this role to penetrate in the power positions of the school system are closely tied to the patriarchal motherhood role attributed to women. In this manner the issue is conceptualized around the notions of power and empowerment and the related strategies implemented by mothers in the school. The core of this aspect of the

problem is conceptualized in terms of the patriarchal characteristics of the actions and practices of mothers in the school.

Related with the previous dimension, another focus of this research is the ways in which the mothers' practices and attitudes in the school field reproduce the class and gender inequalities. In this respect, the differentiations in the mothers' attitudes in their participation process and the tensions created by their praxis will be elaborated. The research identifies and illustrates certain characteristics of the activities and relationships in the school environment to signal the reproduction of gender inequality and the exclusion generating from the class differences.

Finally, with reference to the findings, an alternative way of maternal participation in order to elicit empowerment and solidarity of women regarding the intermitting class differences is discussed and expanded.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND:

‘THE NEOLIBERAL TIMES’

The problem that this study deals with can be conceptualized in two general concepts. On the one hand the macro issues of the global and national policies and politics of education and the resources allocated to educational needs to be understood. On the other hand the role of the mother and the mothers’ unpaid labor needs to be situated on this complex and multidimensional arena to understand the power relations and the reproduction of the inequalities. For this purpose, the neoliberalism and the ways in which it restructures the educational system will be explained briefly.

The Structure of Neoliberalism

As an economic and political stance, the discussions on neoliberalism became prominent in 1980s in the analysis of the critical economists. Neoliberalism exhibits some basic inclinations and characteristics, some of which are cited below:

- In terms of financial policy, governments do not invest large sums of budget for the citizens. Should they do so, it should be in the short run to increase the employment level for the purposes of stabilization.
- Public expenditures are reduced and primary education and primary health care are not subsidized anymore. These are considered as a waste of budget.

- The restrictions such as licensing trade protections are weakened or eliminated in order to give way to the free import and export of goods and services.
- Free movement of finance and opportunity for investing money in any part of the globe are facilitated.
- Privatization of the state-run enterprises like the motorways, telecommunication or the airports is precipitated (Cohen, 2007; Chomsky & McChesney, 2011).

The neoliberal imagination considers and romanticizes some kind of ‘ideal’ home, family, school and the ‘mother’. As Michael W. Apple puts it:

Today ... A ‘new’ set of compromises, a new alliance and new power bloc has been formed ...

- 1- multiple fractions of capital who are committed to neoliberal marketized solutions to educational problems,
- 2- neo-conservative intellectuals who want a ‘return’ to higher standards and a ‘common culture,’
- 3- authoritarian populist religious fundamentalists who are deeply worried about secularity and the preservation of their own traditions,
- 4- and particular fractions of the professionally oriented new middle class who are committed to the ideology and techniques of accountability, measurement, and ‘management’ (Apple, 2006: 469).

As it can be derived from Apple’s formulation, neoliberalism defines some alliances such as the capitalists in various forms and magnitude, the neo-conservative intellectuals, authoritarian populist religious groups and the middle class. In fact, the purpose of education in neoliberal imagination can be described as in the chart below:

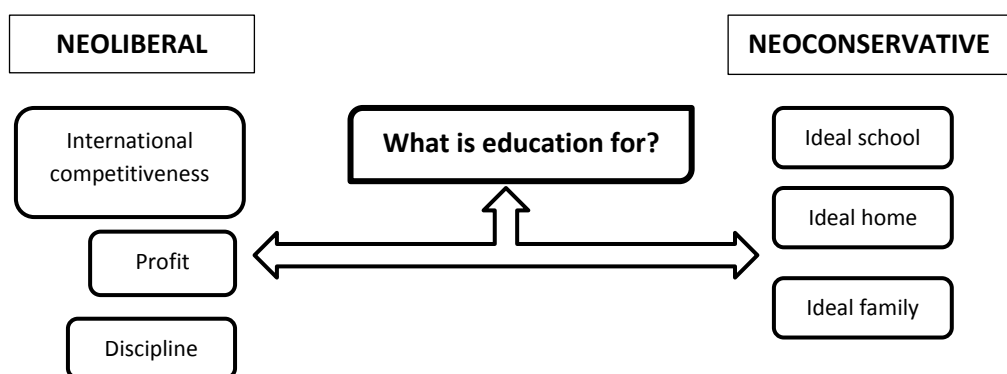


Figure 1. The purpose of education in Neoliberalism

In the scope of this research the emphasis on the “ideal home, family and school” is significant, since the right-hand part of the above figure prominently incorporates women, mothers, and maternal labor and positioning.

The neoliberal logic alleges that the so called invisible hand of the market will definitely create better schools by its very own nature. Schools constantly try to attract the middle-class parents with “talented” children who will guarantee a better ranking for the school in the high-stakes national exams. On the other hand, they rigorously repel the “special needs” children as they see them as burdens, because they do not present a good marketing figure and are not available for instrumentalizing for the public relations activities of the school in the market.

According to the observations in the field school, the special needs class students and their parents were being looked down upon with disgust, and including the teachers, the parents and the administrators, everyone was complaining about them since they think they are handicaps for the success rate of the school. These “specials” were attending the school “despite” all the others, which would represent another research area on their case in the neoliberal school. However, this may be a good clue to see

that these ‘special needs’ children and their mothers do not meet the criteria of “ideal home, family and school” issue, as shown in the figure simplifying Apple’s elaboration.

To apprehend the impacts of the neoliberalism on schools and the practices of mothers, the notion of the individual in the neoliberal imagination should be situated in the context. To locate the position of the individual, the function of the state power and the theoretical aim of the state in the neoliberal vision vis-à-vis the classical liberal vision Mark Olssen’s (1996) conceptualization can be used.

Table 1. The Difference Between Classical Liberalism vs. Neoliberalism (Olssen, 1996).

	CLASSICAL LIBERALISM	NEOLIBERALISM
State Power	Negative conception of state power. The individual was to be taken as an object to be freed from the interventions of the state	Positive conception of the state’s role in creating the appropriate market by providing the conditions, laws and institutions necessary for its operation.
The Individual	Has an autonomous human nature and can practice freedom.	Is an enterprising and competitive entrepreneur.
The Theoretical Aim of the State	Was to limit and minimize its role based on self-interested individual and invisible hand theory.	Is to make a shift from the notion of “homo economicus,” who naturally behaves out of self-interest and is relatively detached from the state, to “manipulatable man,” who is created by the state and who is continually encouraged to be “perpetually responsive” .

The individual in the neoliberal perception is an enterprising and a competitive one making use of the privileges and has no ethical values concerning the competition, whereas in the classical liberal case the individual tries to practice his/her own potential in an understanding of freedom with the notion of self-interest. S/he is free

from the 'limitations' of the state; s/he is a "homo-economicus". In this case the aim of the neoliberal state is to control the entrepreneurs and the others whom it continuously finely-tunes and gives the roles to play. The neoliberal state gives no freedom to the winner, or the loser; the state itself finely-tunes everything on behalf of the strongest entrepreneur, whereas the classical liberal state would not tend to play such an active role; its most important activity was not to act upon the market actors, the entrepreneur would already do his best to play its role.

However, from the explanation above, one should not assume that classical liberalism and the neoliberalism are totally different processes. Rather, neoliberal state is a result of the former within the historical process. As Ercan (1998) indicates, the main characteristic of the 'capital' as the defining notion of capitalism is that it constantly expands and reproduces itself. This reproduction process inevitably encapsulates different spheres of life into the capital relations, in this case education.

The neoliberal state aims the opposite of what the welfare state assumes as the main notion of the state and totally leaves the areas of health care, public education and other social services to the greedy appetite of the market forces. According to Roger Dale, the welfare state used to deal with the funding, the delivery and the regulation of services, and now the neoliberal state does not fund nor deliver the services but on the contrary it acts predominantly on the third function, the regulation and the control of the services and the goods (Dale, 2001).

The Neoliberal State and the Citizen

Yeatman (1994) states that the public services in the welfare states became corporatized and these services are no longer the responsibility of the state but the

responsibility of the individuals, the citizens. As Harvey (2005) indicates, by reducing the social safety net to a bare minimum emphasizing the ‘personal responsibility’ of the individuals, neoliberalism leaves large segments of population open to the exposure of poverty and impoverishment (p. 76). Jill Blackmore (1999) puts it into a gendered context by indicating that the state withdrawing itself from the welfare areas directly puts these services into to the “domestic” sphere and makes them all “domestic problems”. Looking inside the school, this research shows how the middle-class mothers strive for doing their best as if it were their “personal maternal responsibility” to guarantee their children’s educational future. Therefore neoliberalism transfers much of the burden on the women’s shoulders. Apple (2001) also highlights the women-related outcomes of neoliberalization by indicating that market solutions for the public services serve to the reproduction of traditional hierarchies of class and race, and most importantly ‘gender’ in the case for this research.

Neoliberal reforms aim to construct ‘good student’ in a particular way (Apple, 2001). This neoliberal construction of the ‘good student’ ought not to be considered distinct from the construction of a new type of ‘good parent’, the mother. Thus, it is suggested that the imagination of the ‘good student’ and the ‘good mother’ are symbiant; they cannot be separated as one is closely trussed to the other.

To elaborate more on the imagination of ‘the individual’ in the neoliberal ‘realm’, the era of neoliberal processes, sometimes named as ‘advanced liberal society’, does not attempt to govern through society as the welfare state did before. It rather governs through the regulated choices of citizens (Rose, 1996, p. 41). In the fields of welfare such as education, health-care and pensions, individuals are left alone with their own capabilities and thus they are the core responsible entities for

these services as they are given the ‘freedom to choose’ in the market place. Thus, any failure to elicit these services is the result of the lacks in the personal entrepreneurial virtues, which is the individuals’ very own responsibility (Harvey, 2005b). In the neoliberal imagination, the good citizen is the one who does not expect much from the state but rather works harder and longer to be self-sufficient (Smith, 1998). In the same manner Gulson (2005) maintains that if students are unable to succeed, it is their own or their parents’ fault and they should blame themselves.

For the neoliberal understanding, the citizen has to find a way to survive, because s/he is ‘free to choose’. Considering this freedom, what happens if this individual chooses to construct strong collective institutions like trade unions to get organized for the benefit of the large populations? Harvey (2005) alleges, they are not supposed to do so, rather they may get involved in weak voluntary associations, which would serve the sustainability of the system rather than acting against it. The keyword in Harvey’s statement is the ‘voluntary’ associations. It is critical to assess the notion of ‘voluntarism’ to comprehend the position of mothers acting in the school environment in a neoliberal stage of capitalism. Voluntary work is a highly ideological discourse as it connotes a ‘lofty aim’ but functions as an ideological consent apparatus.

The Neoliberal Education

For the neoliberal imagination, knowledge is a product or rather a commodity and schools are the institutions operating in this sector. The schools are supposed to produce the workforce necessary for the labor market. Robertson and Dale (2013)

explain that, neoliberalism deeply penetrates into education by transforming knowledge into ‘credentials’, learning into ‘consumption’ and the learners into ‘human capital’. This locates ‘education’ as a profitable sector to corporatize. The neoliberal state implements certain ‘educational reforms’ to cope with the ‘problem’ of eliciting the necessary work force for the market needs. However, by means of educational reforms, the neoliberal state does not aim to provide direct solutions; the state rather provides the ‘pitch to play the game’. That is, it is the individual’s responsibility to play the game successfully even if the game pitch has 45 degrees of slope and the individual’s football goalpost is at the very downside of the slope. As Davies & Guppy (1997) assert, governments make strong interventions to ensure that schools play their part in remedying economic stagnation and become globally competitive. In this case, education becomes something not for people but for the market. This is a two-way process; on the one side of the coin, education produces the labor force necessary for the post-industrial labor market. On the other side, education itself becomes an effective capital generating sector collecting money from the self-enterprising individuals for the ‘hope of employability’, which makes the field of education a very practical tool for the neoliberal policies.

Within the neoliberal economy, there is more and more responsibility on mothers to provide a quality education for their children (Landeros, 2011). The state responsibility of providing quality education is consistently diminishing. Hence, the mothers’ role is boldly highlighted in the neoliberalization process of education and mothers represent organic components in the school system to ensure the efficient operation in the schools without state funding.

On the side of the neoliberal government, there is a constant ‘growth’ discourse (Bartlett, Frederick, Gulbrandsen, & Murillo, 2002). As for the state in

Turkey, education and schools are important instruments to attract business and to maintain a healthy economy. This is quite a ‘developmentalist’ discourse, which sees education for the sake of economic development rather than the sake of human beings. It is the ‘market’ who has to be pleased, not the people. In the same sense there are profound actions to commercialize the schools. Saltman (2009) points out that one way of shifting the resources from the public schools to the textbook and publishing corporations and for-profit companies is requiring high-stakes testing, accountability and remediation measures.

In Turkey at all levels of compulsory primary and higher education, and even after, there are high-stakes national tests (Gök, 2010). Moreover, there is an official body for this purpose; The Assessment, Selection and Placement Center (ÖSYM). Remediation centers with reference to Saltman’s citation are the ‘dershanes’ all over the country, the private teaching institutions preparing the students for these high-stakes exams. The entire work of education, including the compulsory education and the dershanes, is compiled under the ‘job description’ of motherhood as the responsibility is shifted to the ‘private’ sphere. Mothers inquire the best dershane, they find a way to get their children prepared for the high stakes test, and they even sometimes go and learn the subject matters themselves and then teach them to their children. Thus, it can be claimed that the neoliberal processes in the education system directly redefine and reconstruct the mothers’ role.

While the mothers are overwhelmingly carting their children from one dershane to another remedying course, they are also coping with the ‘normalization’ procedures dictated by the metric psychology. Since the failure of a single child in the education system is considered as the child’s and her/his mother’s fault, mothers also fetch their children to psychologists and pedagogues to be able to keep them in

the ‘normalities’ dictated by the ‘specialists’. This is a heavy psychological and emotional burden not only for the students, but also for the mothers –prompting that mother-child is considered as a single entity.

The Neoliberal Transformation Process in Turkey

Although the process started with the economic crisis during the 1970’s, the transformation of Turkish economy and society on the global neoliberal line took place after the military coup in September 1980. From then on the IMF policies started to be implemented. Fatma Gök summarizes the process following the coupe briefly and clearly by its effect in the education system as follows:

The abandonment of the educational sphere by the state means heavy reliance on market forces. This situation is directly related to the implementations of neoliberal policies imposed by the World Bank and IMF in the post-1980 period. During this process of privatization, no attention was paid to the extremely unequal income distribution and the social and historical context of provision of education in Turkey... the increase in the number of private schools is encouraged and those who benefit from these services are asked to pay for them. “Market forces” determine the level of payment. On the other hand, the state is trying its best to convert the educational and maintenance activities of public schools to paid services. The World Bank and IMF have introduced this model of commercialization to other underdeveloped countries as well (Gök, 2002, p. 102).

Gök also elaborates that it is a world system and alternative systems are possible from within the system towards a better and a non-capitalistic future.

In a country where the distribution of income is so unequal, where there is already an elitist and competitive system of education, it is not possible to educate and train the young generation and to expect to enhance their potential by relying heavily on market forces. A number of non-desirable outcomes can result when financial concerns and market orientation become the central focus of educational activities. For example, the criterion for

selection of schools becomes the possible monetary income to be obtained in the future. If schools are established as commercial institutions, then their services are shaped in terms of profitability, productivity and so on. However, the essence of education (which should absolutely be provided as a social service) is most importantly to bring about the intellectual and cultural development of the individual. Educational possibilities must be provided equally to everyone. The provision of education should be done in such a way as to correct any inadequate pre-school development of the child within the family as a result of adverse and /or insufficient financial and intellectual stimulation. Is this vision possible? Yes, it is. However, this vision can only materialize within the framework of an appropriate social, economic and political system. It is not possible within the capitalist system, which is based on inequalities. In Turkey, the neoliberal policies adopted after 1980 have worsened the existing inequality of educational opportunities and yielded the provision of education over to market processes. Education should provide freedom in all respects. However, under such conditions, it is not possible to provide an environment of freedom to raise the adults of the future (Gök, 2002, p. 103).

The issue in terms of social justice for all the parties concerning education, women as mothers within the school system in a neoliberal era raises a question of generating a liberating practice out of the ‘motherly’ presences of women within the school system.

The Issue of Neoliberal Governmentality and Schools

Governmentality is a kind of applying power but we cannot limit this power to the hierarchical power of the state, rather it is included in the practices of the social control in disciplinary institutions such as schools (Foucault, 1991b). In education governance, governing is more than state activity (Robertson & Dale, 2013, p. 431).

Governmentality is the way the governments produce the appropriate citizen typology to accept, internalize and apply the policies of the government. Therefore, governmentality is not a way of governing but a way of being governed and manipulated on the citizens’ side. That is, the goals of the individuals are aligned in

such a way that people are made governable. Thus, such a government does not only operate on the state politics but it also uses different control techniques.

The control in the 'neoliberal governmentality' takes a unique form. As neoliberalism puts the burden and the responsibility of all the negativities, failures and scarcities on the shoulders of the 'individuals', it is the individual that regulates and corrects her/himself. However, the individual corrects her/himself in such a way that unintentionally purveys and reproduces the neoliberal system and its mindset. While the individual thinks that the decisions are her/his own 'free choice', as a matter of fact, it is immensely manipulated. Because individual is 'free' to choose and autonomous; s/he can 'govern' her/himself. However, the space where the individual is supposed to perform this freedom is predominantly structured and limited by the neoliberal state. Therefore, rather than freedom, it represents an 'obligation' (Rose, 1999).

In terms of the schools, parents and mothers in particular, the idea of governmentality is significant. In the neoliberal education system, parents are left with their own economic, social and cultural capital to cope with the problems and inequalities within the education system. Leaving the responsibility of generating success from their children by loading them up for the sake of human capital, mothers seem to be re-employed not only within the education system but within the school itself physically. These mothers perform what they are supposed to perform and use the 'given' rules for doing what they do in the schools. Penetrating into the school physically, they seem to be governing the school but they are in fact governed by the very rules of neoliberal processes.

In the neoliberal sense schools have been experiencing a couple of practices and gaining some new 'normalities' related with the issue of governmentality. For

instance, the state is withdrawn from the financial support of the schools and the funding issue is left to the ‘responsibilities’ of some ‘partners’. Public policy on education has begun to be determined in collaboration of some partners such as state, municipality, business, elected representatives, civil servants, and civic associations (Dahlstedt, 2009). This is the answer for ‘who will make decisions on the school?’ On the other hand the answer for the question ‘who should take the responsibility of running the school?’ is the teachers, the parents, the students, and the other actors in the local community rather than the state and the central bureaucracy. This means that the main determinant decisions are made by the state and business collaboration, however they do not take the ‘responsibility’. The responsibility is on the shoulders of the students, the parents and the teachers.

In this respect, there is an important share derived from division of labor for the parents/mothers. The cooperation and ‘partnership’ between the parents and the school is a complex system of control. Parental governmentality means that parents are strictly engaged in the school system to foster the students according to the rules and regulations of the school system (Dahlstedt, 2009). Thus, parents are given the role to play and they are also given the rules. Although they have no voice on the role or the rules, they are told that they are ‘free responsible citizens’.

Decentralization and School-Based Management

The neoliberal school system has a characteristics of being determined from the central level in the knowledge domain (centralization), whereas curriculum details and funding are left as local issues (decentralization) (Daun, 2007, p. 19). That is to say, ‘decentralization’ cannot be interpreted without apprehending that it goes hand

in hand with a specific type of centralization. As Daun indicates (2007), some critical parts of the picture, such as educational restructuring, reinforcement of freedom of choice, privatization, goal formulation, curriculum and assessment are formed by the central state (p.5). That is, the pitch to play the game and the basic rules are made by the state and the players have to obey the rules. Although they are considered 'free' and 'autonomous' they have no chance to form or change the rules.

Sliwka and Istance (2006) reveal that there has been a radical change in the governance of schooling, with enhanced powers at the center combined with much greater autonomy of decision-making by schools themselves in England. According to them, governing boards manage the school budget, make curriculum decisions, report a school's examination results to parents and others, and do the staffing of a school (p. 30). In the public schools in Turkish Education System, instead of governing boards there has been Parent-Teacher Associations (PTA) which are in charge of all these monetary and governance issues.

The Teacher-Parent Shift in the Neoliberal School System

Parallel to the expanding implementations of the neoliberal policies within the school system, parents are allocated in the school chores more systematically. Smith (1998) argues that in the neoliberal transformation process the governments cut down on educational funding, class sizes grow larger and larger, teachers have almost no time to deal with the individual learning needs of the students, and thus the nature of teaching work has changed as they had to handle large masses of student population (p. 25).

With the increasing ‘participation’ of parents within the school system, some tensions inevitably occur. In a research conducted by Hassrick and Schneider (2009), it is indicated that there were different attitudes towards this parental invasion in the school system. While some teachers were annoyed by feeling watched, others defending their own autonomy rejected the right of parents to evaluate classroom teacher’s practices. There is a parallelism in the increasing penetration of ‘mother force’ into the school system considering the neoliberal school-needs and the changing role of the teachers in the process. Thus, there is a need to understand the neoliberal change within the school system and the mothers’ role in a critical manner.

To understand the mothers’ role vis-à-vis the teachers’ role in the neoliberal system, the shift in the teachers’ professional role should be analyzed. Marketization of education aims to locate the teaching profession in the market by de-professionalization, which refers to the elimination of the pedagogic features of the teaching profession and defining it as a technical occupation (Ünal, 2011).

Ünal (2011) clarifies that teachers who had a control on their professional practices in the past, are controlled from the outside of their profession today. She adds that this process constructs a new type of teacher who is considered as an ordinary workforce practicing the necessary ‘techniques’ to be able to perform her job. In this context and perspective while the wages of teachers are being decreased dramatically, their work load is being made heavier conversely.

This new type of teacher constructed to fit in the new-managerial system of administration in the neoliberal markets is competitive and deals with her own personal problems, focuses on ‘performing’ her job as good as she can, and tries to earn as much as she can within the given market context (Ünal, 2011). This ‘new’

teacher considers the pedagogical part of her work as burden, seeing the technical part of 'teaching' as her core responsibility. Therefore she tends to put all these 'pedagogical burdens' on the mothers' shoulders.

Therefore the development and establishment of the notion of the classroom motherhood in an era of neoliberal educational policies has a relationship with the changing role of 'teachers', as well. The neoliberal educational understanding reduces the teacher to a technician of teaching certain chunks of information and preparing students technically to the high-stakes national tests. Whereas, the role of a teacher used to include the notions of dealing with the personal, psychological and developmental needs of children. These characteristic features of the teacher is removed from the notion of teaching and transferred to the science of 'developmental psychology'. Teachers seem to have shared most of their responsibilities with other professionals like counselors, psychologists, therapists, learning technique gurus and so on. That is, the profession of teaching is shattered into pieces and with this fragmentation every piece is taken from the notion of the profession of teaching and shared out to mothers as well as some other professionals. That is to say, the 'education' part which includes much emotional care is transferred to the mothers and the 'teaching' part is left to the teachers who nevertheless cannot find any time to deal with anything else than getting the curriculum done before the deadlines. The practical implementation of this view is getting systematized by the implementation of the notion of classroom motherhood in urban schools. Therefore, the highlighting and functionalization of motherhood in the school system has an important relation to the changing notion of the profession of teaching. The teachers and their unions ignore the fact that the degradation of their profession and the decrease in their wages are directly related with the notion of motherhood in the education system as a

means of cutting down the public allocation of funds in education and re-defining the profession of teaching.

However this results in a series of uneven distribution of the responsibility of failure in the school system. By the ‘organic’ involvement of mothers into the school system, the responsibility of the lack of achievement in education shifts from the state mechanism and mostly ‘invoiced’ to the mothers and some part of the blame is put on the teachers.

Therefore the teachers even though they are one of the disadvantaged parts in the neoliberalization of education, make use of the mothers’ presence in the school environment on their behalf by sharing the legwork with the mothers. However mothers are also acting to turn this position into their own advantage. This makes the school environment a very restless and gamesome place, where power struggle among a variety of actors actively takes place.

The Shift in the Mothers’ Role in the School System

On April 16, 2012 while I was routinely going to the field school for my study by a public bus, there were two mothers sitting just in front of me and eagerly talking about their children’s education. The subject was the conservatory entrance exams. I was shocked by the vivid technical, political, and procedural knowledge those mothers had while they were discussing. They were following what the national ministry of education issued and they were also following every bit of information the government officials were declaring on the TV, as well as the public opinions on specific schools and their teacher quality. The occasion reminded me of a piece of essay (Selçuk, 2011) written in a newspaper after the author’s visit to Korea. He

wrote about his observations on the Korean mothers appreciating their performance expressing that almost all the Korean mothers (the middle-class), most of whom quit their professional jobs after getting married to be able to deal with the education of their children, were shuttling back and forth between the school and the private teaching institutions devotedly. The situation for the Turkish middle-class mothers is not different.

Diane Raey (1998b) points out the relation between the increasing commodification of education and the redistribution of responsibility between family and school. Bauman (2005) indicates that there is a shift from ‘teaching’ to ‘learning’ in the education system, transferring the responsibility on the learner. Since it is almost impossible for the primary level students to undertake this responsibility on their own, mothers shoulder this whole responsibility on behalf of their children by constantly taking them to extra courses and tutoring sessions, or by setting the necessary social relations within the school system to guarantee their children’s achievement in school. This is not rare; they are an army of mothers and they are physically in the schools...

Involving mothers that much within the system with the motto of ‘participation’, ‘involvement’, or ‘responsibility’, parents become more and more assertive in a consumer-oriented manner (Blackmore & Hutchison, 2010). However, this is not a coincidence as from 2000 on the announcements of governments shifted the emphasis from the rights and the power of parents to their ‘responsibilities’ (Ranson, Martin, McKeown, & Arnott, 2003).

Hence, ‘motherhood’ –which is defined within the domestic/private sphere–, emerges as a career in the ‘public sphere’ by means of ‘public schools’ and in the form of Classroom Motherhood. However, the neoliberal process that opens the

school gate to the mothers also transforms the practices of mothering and thus there emerges a type of mother who is a highly competitive neoliberal individual. As opposed to the common delusion of ‘the ideal mother’ who is kind, loving, affectionate, responsive, giving, unselfish and gives unrequitedly, classroom mothers represent another type, destroying the fantasy. CMs show affection, respond to children’s needs, try to be kind; however they assume a return for this investment.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, some concept groups will be expanded to theoretically frame the research content in order to reveal the following issues referring the research questions:

- 1- What is the role of mothers in the neoliberal transformation process in the school system?
 - a. What is the relation of the neoliberal transformation and the patriarchally 'naturalized' form of motherhood?
- 2- How do women use the patriarchally defined motherhood role to penetrate into the school system to gain power?
 - a. What are the characteristics of the power elicited by these mothers in the school system?
 - b. Does the positioning of mothers in the school system reproduce class and gender inequalities?

For this purpose the literature is reviewed under three theoretical concept groups as listed below:

- 1- Critical Reproduction Theories and Women's Unpaid Care Labor,
- 2- Forms of Capital and Power,
- 3- Participation and Parental Involvement.

Critical Reproduction Theories and Women's Unpaid Care Labor

The first concept group in this chapter is on 'critical reproduction theories and women's unpaid care labor', under which the characteristics of unpaid labor and women's unpaid labor in the context of gender identity, family reproduction and its indirect contribution to the markets, and the school as a space for hegemonic reproduction will be explained.

In this section the notion of Classroom Motherhood (CM) on the discussions of reproduction versus production will be focused. It is especially important to be able to understand the special labor that women practise which enables the capitalist economic system operate in the background. This mechanism of operation is covert as opposed to the direct production, whereas without this production the sustainability of the economic and the political system remains inoperative. In addition, the school and the education system in terms of reproduction within this concept group will be discussed, as well as the notion of Classroom Motherhood in relation with the theory of labor in terms of 'unpaid labor' putting emphasis on women's work in the household, reproduction of labor power and how it is engaged with the neoliberal policies and the neoliberal school system. Besides this concept, there will be a place in this section for 'voluntary work' and its meaning in the neoliberal capitalist economy. This is important since classroom mothers are organized within the school system with this notion of voluntary work and this is the gate through which they penetrate into the school system in order to informally institutionalize their position as CMs.

Finally, within this concept group the ways in which the notion of 'motherhood' operates, feeds, reproduces and sustains the women's informal and

invisible engagement in the neoliberal capitalist school system will be discussed. For this purpose, the patriarchal ideology, its engagement with capitalism and the ‘normalization’ processes are touched upon. To be able to elaborate on this issue, the construction of motherhood and performativities enacting mothering with the concept of regulation of mothering are explained. This will contribute to understanding and explaining the ‘mother-status’ within the school system and how it operates within a larger frame.

School as a Space for Hegemonic Reproduction

For critical theorists there should be an aim of empowering the powerless and transform the existing social inequalities and injustices they suffer from (McLaren, 2006). Since this research has a similar aim about women, it would be useful to clarify some key categories which structure the critical theory of education. Hernandez (1997) lists four categories that structure critical theory of education. Below is a table structured from her explanation.

Table 2. The Structure of the Critical Theory of Education

KEY CONCEPT OF THE CATEGORY	VISION OF CRITICAL THEORY
Political power and control	‘The political’ imbues the whole social order. Power and control are negative but they also have the capacity to create an alternative social order.
Discourse	The discourse of critique should be combined with a discourse for empowering the subjects to become agents of both the social transformation and their histories and experiences reformulating them in view of better and emancipatory concerns.

Teaching practice	Teaching should be reconstructed beyond technical concerns or elitist personal interests. Teacher is considered as a transformative intellectual who should be critically engaged in current social and cultural forms with a vision of transforming them.
School	Reductionist construction of the school as a neutral space should be challenged. School is conceived as a site of struggle among dominant and subordinate cultural practices along a variety of power areas like gender, race, and class, sexual orientation.

In the critical sociology of education, researchers are interested in the question of what schools do and what their real function actually is in practice. They are also interested in the question of ‘why schools do what they do’; however, there is little research on the question of ‘how’ in the discipline. To be able to understand the ‘how’ part, one has to investigate what happens in the world of work since the world of school and the world of work are parallel (Appel, 1996).

Within the school system, which is a complex of work processes performed by teachers, custodial staff, administrators, children, and, there are roles to play for every subject either consciously or unconsciously (Griffith & Smith, 2005).

Hernandez (1997) affirms that there are three basic areas that education system reproduces the current hegemonic relations; economic level, cultural level and hegemonic-state level. Hernandez explains them briefly indicating that the economic level of reproduction is emphasized by Althusser and Bowles & Gintis. This approach indicates that there is a link between the structure of the society and the transmission of certain skills and knowledge’s to the determined social sectors in order to perpetuate the current system especially by hidden curriculum. The second is the cultural level of reproduction elaborated by Bourdieu emphasizing the mediating role of the culture in the reproduction of class societies. Bourdieu asserts the concept

of 'habitus' to indicate a set of internalized competencies and structured need, an internalized state of knowing and relating to the world that is grounded in the body itself. In this claim, the idea of learning is considered to be beyond intellectual process to acknowledge the body, emotions and senses to go beyond merely intellectual or rationalistic considerations. The third level is the hegemonic-state level of reproduction elaborated by M. W. Apple, who clarifies that the complexity of the role of the state in the educational system focuses on credentialism, access, and expertise concentrating on the content and the form within the official distribution of knowledge (Hernandez, 1997).

Apple (1990) indicates that schools act as agents of cultural and ideological hegemony (p. 6). School system saturates, and assimilates everyone who enters in it whether they are students, teachers, parents or administrators. For Althusser, there are two different components of the superstructure which the dominants make use to sustain their control through the force of ideology: the Repressive State Apparatus and the Ideological State Apparatus (Althusser, 1971, p. 136). For him, schools represent the ideological state apparatus for the ruling class and state-sanctioned education is central in sustaining hegemony (Althusser, 1971, p. 157). In the same sense schools maintain and transmit the general hegemonic ideology which claims that schools are neutral, they are free from ideology and thus schools function as a means to sustain and gain the consent of the suppressed (Au & Apple, 2009).

These hegemonic relations are sustainable by means of certain notions one of which is the notion of 'good mother'. Vincent states that 'good parent' ideal is a way of teachers' application of power over parents and shape their parenthood (Vincent, 1996). With this kind of reinforcement mothers are encouraged to be competitive about their children's 'success'. However, as Reay (1998c) states, this

kind of school culture leads to a culture of winners and losers and one child's academic success is attained at the expense of the others' failure. In this context, in general the middle-class mothers shape the system culture with their active practices in a way that the working-class mothers are unable to perform. Whereas, this is a disadvantage for the women in both social classes as it results in a shared heavy labor of involvement in schooling, which is almost only performed by mothers (Reay, 1998c).

The Unpaid Labor

To be able to conceive the work done by mothers for education within and outside of the school, there is a need to scrutinize on the notion of the 'unpaid labor'.

Unpaid Work and Household Labor

Wallerstein & Smith classify diverse forms of income generating sources for women into five major groups as follows:

- 1- Wages: Paid work done generally outside the house
- 2- Market Sales: Selling their domestic work precariously outside her own home; such as babysitting, and cleaning for other households
- 3- Rent: Renting one of the rooms in her house or tenting a tool that she owns to others
- 4- Transfer: Public allocation of money for bare-minimum afford, such as old-age insurance, or unemployment aid

5- "Subsistence": A direct labor input on the self-sufficient household productions; such as preparing food, and doing cleaning (Wallerstein & Smith, 1992).

They elaborate on the 'subsistence income' as a pattern that sustains capitalist world economy:

“We do identify subsistence income with the adult female, but that is for the same reasons we identify wage labor with the adult male. On the one hand, everyone — men and women, adults, children, and the aged — does some subsistence work, with variations according to time and place, with perhaps cyclical patterns, and with no long-term trend-line. But on the other hand, at most times and places the majority of the subsistence income has been produced by adult females, as this is what is implied by the concept 'housewife', which has been a constant of the organizational pattern of the capitalist world-economy” (Wallerstein & Smith, 1992, p. 12).

Wallerstein & Smith (1992) also clarify the interrelations between the household, the workplace, and the state in three main parts. First, they assert that the appropriate operational unit to analyze the ways in which people fit into the labor force is the 'household' rather than the 'individual'. Second, it is wrong to consider household as a primordial income-pooling unit. Household may be a historically created institution but it integrates a variety of economic structures which constitute the capitalist world economy. Finally, they indicate that the capitalist world economy operates through a division of labor which involves commodity chains of some core and peripheral production processes in a hierarchical manner.

Within this framework, the unpaid household labor performed by women in the so called 'private' sphere is not private at all. It contributes to the operating world economic system. This type of labor is done not only in the household but also in a variety of 'public' spaces one of which is school. Moreover, women are not only the

workers of the labor market but they are also unpaid domestic workers in the home (Land, 1978). Considering this fact, some CMs who have outside jobs are triply employed as they do the housework and also work outside as well as performing the school chores inside the school as volunteering mothers.

Unpaid work lacks social recognition (Antonopoulos, 2008). Naming the unpaid domestic work simply by some phrases such as domestic production, unremunerated care work, and housewifery is insufficient (Boris, & Kleinberg, 2003) as they include a great variety of work that are defined as paid work outside the private domain. However, when they are performed in the private domain, they are not considered as ‘work’.

Quick (2008) makes a list of terminology to name the work done by women in the family as;

- The Production of Use Values
- Housework
- Non-market Production
- Unpaid Work
- Reproductive Labor
- The Production of Labor Power as a Commodity
- Caring Labor
- Domestic Production
- Household Production

and asserts that the term “household production” is obsolete and must be replaced by the more cumbersome term like ‘household and community production’.

Cleaning, cooking, doing the laundry, shopping, child-care and the chores alike are the unpaid work routines performed every day. Antonopoulos (2008) states that this work lowers the cost of labor from the point of view of classical economics, as it allows for smaller wage fund and thus larger profits for the capitalist at the macro level. This enables a larger process of accumulation and one may consider the unpaid time on these activities as subsidy transferred from the household institution to the institution called the 'market'. In this case, unpaid labor such as mothering, domestic labor, or informal care done by women demonstrates a crucial importance for the public sphere and unmasks the artificial divide between the public and the private as sites of work versus non-work, and of production versus consumption (Baldock, 1998, p.19).

To handle the issue from a more classical Marxist point of view, Lise Vogel (2000) states that although Marx considered the reproduction of labor power as central to social reproduction, he did not render a detailed explanation of what reproduction of labor power gave rise to. To explain the unexplained part, she distinguishes three types of processes that constitute the reproduction of labor power in class societies as follows:

- 1- "Varieties of daily activities restore the energies of direct producers and enable them to return to work.
- 2- Similar activities maintain non-laboring members of subordinate classes — those who are too young, old, or sick, or who themselves are involved in maintenance activities or out of the workforce for other reasons.
- 3- Replacement processes renew the labor force by replacing members of the subordinate classes who have died or no longer work" (Vogel, 2000, p. 156).

Family as an Ideological and Material Reproductive Space

Phoenix & Woollett (1991) define 'The Family' as a civil institution which is important for the passing on of the state ideologies. Land (1978) also defines the family as a powerful force for maintaining the status quo and adds that it is an important mechanism for transmitting existing inequalities. Wallerstein & Smith (1992) elaborate on this issue by identifying three elements that clarify how the notion of 'family' is constructed in the world economy comparing the previous forms of family and the modern. First, the family was previously large and 'extended' but in modern times it has been getting smaller and more 'nuclear'. Second, the family used to be engaged primarily in subsistence production but today it draws its income primarily from the wage employment of adult (but non-aged) members. Finally, the previous form of family was indistinguishable from economic activities but today it is a quite segregated or autonomous institutional sphere. By ignoring this constructedness of the household by the world economy, or capitalism, social scientist would misguidedly take today's family form for granted (p. 4). Therefore, disregarding the state intervention in the family would lead to an illusion of considering family as a private domain (Land, 1978).

Moreover, the state interventions usually called as 'social policies' are in fact 'family' policies as the state benefits from the sustainability of the family model in terms of the social division of labor. Not only the misleading discourse of 'social policy' but also the discourse of 'national interest' is frequently used in the official statements and such discourses obscure the main conflicts of interests within the society (Land, 1978).

Just as the concept of 'the national interest' makes obscure crucial conflicts of interest within the nation, thus favoring the privileged in society, the demand to preserve and protect 'the family' is to the advantage of those privileged members, some of which represent deeply conservative forces (Land, 1978). Thus, at the level of public discourse, neoconservative ideologies of family call for increased commitments of women's unpaid work (Smith, 1998, p. 26).

Stating that the practical and symbolic work undertaken 'falls more particularly to women, who are responsible for maintaining relationships' Bourdieu (1996) recognizes the importance of the family as a site of social and cultural reproduction (p. 22).

Women's Unpaid Reproductive Labor, the Family and the Market

Vogel (2000) states that private kin-based households are not the only way of reproducing the labor power as there have been various alternatives such as slavery or work camps in the history. Moreover, it is not a must to have this family with the characteristics of heterosexuality, biological procreation, family forms, or generational replacement. Nevertheless, most class societies have institutionalized daily maintenance and generational replacement processes in a system of heterosexual family forms, thus it is understandable that the system arranges the issue of reproduction of labor in the family institution (p. 158) as the way it exists. On the other hand, the system tries to reduce the need of domestic labor since the nineteenth century (Vogel, 2000); for example food preparation became less time-consuming, laundry became less tiring, and more importantly schools took over most of the responsibility of teaching from the mothers. With the developing technology

ready-made food in frozen forms to microwave, availability of daycare services in the market or as public service and study programs after the school hours may be considered as the factors for the reduction of domestic labor. However, in order to be able to afford those technologies or services, more of the household people have to work for the market (p. 163). Therefore, in terms of economy the unpaid care work that women do in the 'private' sphere substitutes the goods and services that the public sector has to provide otherwise.

“In the end if the system still ‘works’ it is because women guarantee unpaid transportation . . . , because they repair their homes, because they make meals when there are no canteens, because they spend more time shopping around, because they look after others’ children when there are no nurseries, and because they offer ‘free entertainment’ to the producers when there is a social vacuum and the absence of cultural creativity. If these women who ‘do nothing’ ever stopped to do ‘only that’, the whole urban structure, as we know it, would become completely incapable of maintaining its function” (Castells, 1978, pp. 177–8)

Considering all the unpaid work whether it is done in private homes or as voluntary work, social reproduction is generally fulfilled by women. Bezanson (2006) states that the labor involved in handling immediate social ties to survive and cope with economic difficulties is usually performed by women on behalf of the whole family.

“In the case of retrenched welfare states, which encourage reliance on volunteering and the third sector to fill the void left by a change in state mediation, women are often called upon as compulsory volunteers to manage broader problems, such as reconfigured school boards staffed by volunteer trustees” (Bezanson, 2006, p. 435).

Financial Value of Unpaid Care Work and the Neoliberal Privatization Policies

In 1800s Marx seemed to have realized that household activities were important forms of social reproduction to support and sustain capitalist economic production although not contributing to capital accumulation quantitatively (Cameron & Gibson-Graham, 2003; Gibson-Graham, 1996, p. 100). In practice what we call economy in the global sense is constituted of two parts; one is the market part and the other is the household part (Cameron & Gibson-Graham, 2003, p.59). Thus, in the household part mostly the care labor is an organic element of economic systems and without it the economy would not function properly in the capitalistic sense.

Therefore, economy itself needs the masculinity and femininity forms to be able to sustain the economy as it exists. As Cameron & Gibson-Graham (2003) indicate, masculinized form is the paid work and the feminized form is the unpaid domestic work which is child-based, nurture-oriented, and voluntary and community-based. This type of dichotomic classification of the feminist economists is named in different terminologies such as ‘production vs. reproduction’, ‘hand vs. heart’ and ‘exchange vs. gift’.

Below is Hazel Handerson’s Layer Cake with Icing diagram (Handerson, 1991). It shows that official market ‘economy’ as the dominant visible system rests on some layers of economic activities and states.

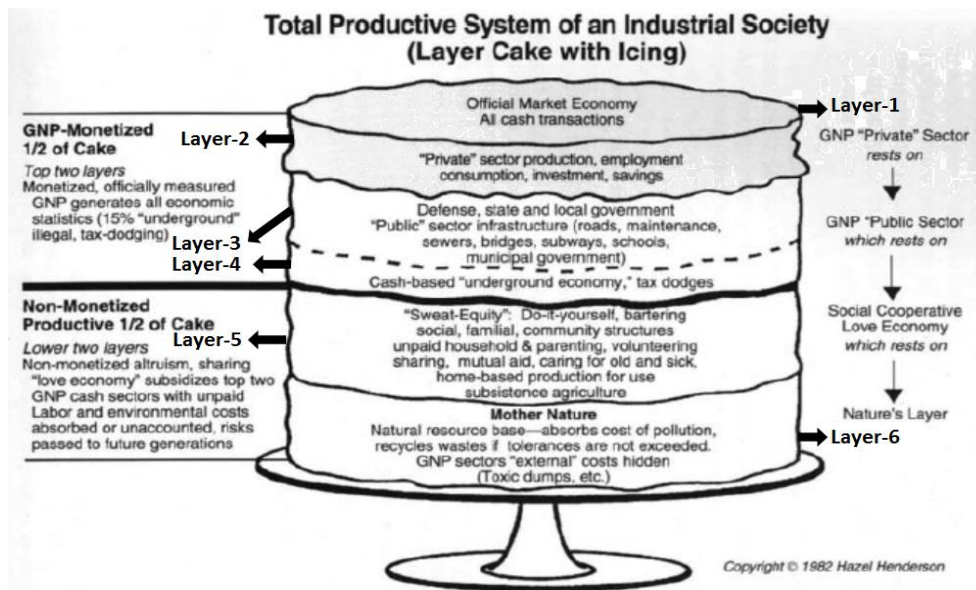


Figure 2. Hazel Handerson’s Layer Cake with Icing (layer numbers added by me).

Referring to the figure above, the education work is represented in the GNP public sector, the third level from the top, which is within the GNP-Monetized part of the economy and is purely ‘public’. On the other hand motherhood labor stands in the fifth layer, which is within the non-monetized productive part of the diagram. It is purely ‘private’. The mothers who are volunteering at the school studied in this research seem to be carrying the non-monetized labor (layer-5) to the GNP-monetized part of the economy (layer-3) and performing it there; thus directly producing value and subsidizing the public expenditures. Therefore the work we call non-economic such as housework, caring and nurturing, and building social relations and networks became observable to have an economic value.

In 1970s, there was a major shift in the economic paradigm and public policy which started in the United Kingdom with Margaret Thatcher. This shift included selling off public enterprises such as telecommunication and transportation to the private companies. The state started to withdraw from the public services and emphasized that this was for enlarging the area of individual responsibility, which

meant to transfer these services on women's unpaid labor in the home (Stinson, 2004). The transferred responsibilities were all the work performed traditionally by women. The main function of privatization is to decrease the labor cost either by transferring them to the 'private' sphere on women's shoulders or sub-contracting and outsourcing. In any case; by sub-contracting, or by transferring the services to the 'private' sphere, or by volunteering, the work load is transferred to women's either unpaid or low-paid labor.

Neoliberalism and privatization intensifies women's unpaid labor especially when the privatized areas are extensions of women's traditional responsibilities, such as healthcare, childcare and education.

“Privatization not only undermines good paid employment for women, it can also make women's life at home more difficult by intensifying, if not increasing, domestic labor and household relations, for which women are mainly responsible... [It is] particularly important with the privatization of health and social services since the nature of work in these sectors is most similar to the unpaid, domestic reproductive labor [done] by women in the home” (Stinson, 2004, p.18).

Women as unpaid workers produce much more value than estimated. Cameron & Gibson-Graham (2003) state that, unpaid workers produce almost equivalent value of goods and services produced by paid workers. For example in 1998 in the USA, Stinson (2004) states that the value generated from unpaid informal care giving was estimated at \$ 50.9 billion; to compare the value generated by the paid labor from the health service is 42 billion, from the education sector is 40 billion and the finance sector is 43 billion (p. 19).

Table 3. Estimated value of domestic labor for 1998 values (Pritchard, 2005).

	Per Week	Per Hour
Cooking	£58.89	£7.15
Cleaning	£15.00	£5.89
Childcare	£97.75	£6.29
Housekeeping	£115.30	£6.15
Driving	£25.94	£6.79
Gardening	£12.00	£7.35
Sewing	£8.29	£5.99
Other	£17.49	£6.11
Weekly Total	£407.39	

It is important to see the allocation of domestic labor within the capitalist economy. As Pritchard (2005) indicates, there was not a work area called as ‘housewife’ before capitalism. Domestic labor was performed but the rest of the labor was also domestic. Thus, domestic labor was not this much defined women-oriented. Today, even if the women do not actually perform the housework on her own, they are responsible for the chores to be performed. On the other hand, today many married women are employed in a paid job and without their earnings it would be difficult to sustain the standard of living for the family (Land, 1978). On the macro level, global capitalism depends on a vast reserve of women’s underpaid, as well as unpaid care labor (Zimmerman, Litt, & Bose, 2006a). Therefore, the neoliberal policies not only encourage women to work for the market mostly unregistered and with low wages and exploit their labor at an utmost level, these policies also make use of women’s unpaid care work at home and thus employ women in a heavy ‘shift work’.

Unpaid Women’s Labor within the School System

Public schooling is almost impossible without women’s unpaid reproductive labor.

Reproduction in and for a capitalist mode of production both daily and

generationally, is assigned to the work organization of family or household (Smith, 1998, p. 15). Hutchinson (2012) claims that mothers' educational work is performed largely within the private, domestic realm of the home, where women spend many hours supporting, resourcing and managing their children's school work (p.195). However, the mothers who are the participants of this research seem to be performing much work within the school environment, as well. Thus women performing the school chores within the school environment are also performing reproductive labor, which is defined in the 'private' sphere, but this time also within the public space.

Smith claims that the institution of public schooling in America has been sustained in part by social relations organizing women's unpaid labor (Smith, 1998, p. 18). School systems regulate the performance of motherhood according to the school routine. They prepare children for the school, get them do their homework, clean them, cook for them, emotionally surround them, make them sleep in time, wake them up and get them ready for school, take them to school, and so forth. There is a prerequisite labor sphere for the school system; the mother-labor, without which the school system would remain inoperable.

Voluntary Work

Voluntary work is generally defined as the unpaid work done outside the home (Taylor, 2005a). Voluntary work, which has historically referred to actions taken by a moral individual as a token of solidarity with others, has undergone a series of change in the neoliberal transition. For example, it is distinguished from the work carried out by family members and relatives, meaning that the work has to be

organized to a certain extent as opposed to ‘general spontaneous and informal helpfulness’ (La Cour & Hojlund, 2008).

According to the volitional definitions, volunteer work is considered to be the work done by an individual who has an option to accept or reject on her own terms (Stebbins, 2009). In another definition, voluntary work is defined to be performed within an organization (Musick & Wilson, 2008; La Cour & Hojlund, 2008), which includes the work that is performed by mothers in the school environment as an institution. The most important economic characteristic of volunteer work is its being unpaid either in terms of payment of money or in kind (Stebbins, 2009). Therefore in a proper way of volunteering the volunteer is not supposed to have an expectation or an interest, the most problematic part of which is defining the interest in terms of gaining social capital for example.

Baldock (1998) attempts to set a feminist theory of voluntary work and claims that volunteer work is an activity which people willingly contribute without wages and on regular basis, to a formal organization (p. 19). In her definition, the distinguishing part is that it is associated with formal organizations.

In definition, voluntary work usually consists of certain types of care practices (La Cour & Hojlund, 2008). Stebbins (2009) emphasizes that the beneficiaries of one’s voluntary work ought to be the people other than the ones from the volunteer’s family. This definition also puts the home-based care labor outside of the definition as women perform these care based activities for the close relatives. However, the classroom mothers who are in the center of this research are performing the care work in the school environment (in a formal organization) not only for their own children, but also for the children of the others.

Rochester et.al. state that there are three perspectives on Voluntary Work in

general:

- “The dominant paradigm: an altruistic act often seen as the ‘gift’ of one’s time. It takes place in the broad field of social welfare where it helps to provide care, support, advice and other activities for the benefit of people in need such as children, older people, people with disabilities or mental and physical health issues and people living in poverty or social exclusion. It is provided by large, professionally staffed and formally structured organizations (NGOs, hospitals, schools...etc.). Volunteers are trained for certain functions... and there is hierarchy (vertical volunteering).
- The civil society paradigm: the motivation for those engaged with this kind of voluntary action is seen to be rooted in self-help and mutual aid. Rather than delivering care and other services offering mutual support in self-help groups or campaigning for improvements in provision in the areas of public policy such as transport, environment, town planning. They operate in associations based entirely on the work of volunteers and self-help groups rather than non-profit agencies with paid managers and staff. Volunteers are not seen as helpers who are recruited to play specific roles within the organization but members of the association who provide it with leadership and, between them, undertake all of its operational activities. They are activists (horizontal volunteering)
- Volunteering as serious leisure: to view volunteering as a leisure time activity. Volunteers engage in activities because of an enthusiasm for the specific form of involvement and a commitment to acquiring the knowledge and skills needed to practise it. It may represent an opportunity to express other dimensions of their personality. In the fields of arts and culture and sports and recreation, such as theatre, music and dance; painting and sculpture; archaeology, local history and heritage; cycling groups. The organization is local societies or clubs. The role for the leisure volunteer is as performer, practitioner or participant but there is a range of other functions such as coaching, teaching or tutoring others; acting as directors, conductors or managers; officiating at matches and judging competitions; and carrying out administrative and support roles” (Rochester, Paine, Howlett, & Zimmeck, 2010, pp. 10-15).

In terms of the overall economy, there is a complex relationship between the state and the household and the growth of voluntary sector, which is sometimes called the ‘social economy’. This ‘social economy’ is a mediating policy to renegotiate the relationship between the state and the private (Stinson, 2004). As a matter of fact, voluntary sector plays a role of a transition; it transfers the public services to the domestic household, thus on women’s responsibilities. Therefore the next step of the

privatization can be implemented more easily. The voluntary work takes place in an organization which is a part of a system and apart from the direct beneficiaries of the voluntary work, also the system in which the voluntary action takes place is one of the first hand beneficiaries. That is to say, if a mother volunteers in a school system which is a part of the state mechanism, this means that the state is a direct beneficiary of the mothers' labor as whatever mothers perform takes over the responsibility of the state on an unpaid basis.

According to David Horton Smith 'voluntary altruism' occurs when there is (1) a mix of humane caring and sharing of oneself and one's resources; (2) at least a moderate freedom to choose the activity; (3) a lack of coercion from biophysical, biosocial, or socially compelling forces; (4) a sensitivity to certain needs and wants of a target of benefits; (5) an expectation of little or no remuneration or payment in kind; and (6) an expectation of receiving some sort of satisfaction for action undertaken on behalf of the target (Smith, 2006, p. 238). Although most, if not all, of the conditions are valid for Classroom Mothers there is a question of the 'expectation' and 'interest' in their participation in the voluntary action. All the definition and descriptions above define benefits in monetary terms, whereas there are different types of capital in Bourdieu's terms which should be considered in defining the 'altruism' in the voluntary actions.

'Marginal Volunteering' is another important point to highlight in defining volunteering action. Marginal volunteering happens when people volunteer not because of their own volitional choice, but because they feel considerable moral coercion to do the volunteering (Stebbins, 2009). This is also an important point to consider since the idealization of motherhood and the definition of the 'good mother'

versus 'bad mother' may create coercion on mothers to perform certain tasks in terms of volunteering.

History of Voluntary Work

Before the eighteenth century there were individualized charitable acts and they were not institutionalized or organized. However, towards the end of the century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was a shift towards the organized formal volunteering under the guise of philanthropy. In an era when bourgeois as a new class emerged, it can be claimed that "the 'volunteer' is a product of industrialization and it is the participant distinctions and divisions in social class that characterized the period of its creation" (Taylor, 2005a, p. 123). These groups were built by middle-class occupational groups such as medical doctors and they gained symbolic and cultural capital; that is they obtained knowledge and power necessary to transform themselves into the medical elite and secure their position near the top of the middle-class social hierarchy (p. 124).

Defining voluntary work, which is a product of industrialization, as the unpaid work done in the 'public sphere' is not a coincidence as the distinction between the public and the private sphere occurred with industrialization that enforced the divide between home and work. It would not be possible for the concept of 'voluntary work' to emerge unless there is an opposing concept 'employment', which connotes 'paid work', was in the use. In this case, there emerged three types of positions in terms of the characteristics of work: 1-Employed (works in paid work), 2-Unemployed (one who is not in a paid job), and 3-Volunteer works for an organization in the public space for charitable purposes but not paid (Kumar, 1988).

‘The volunteer’ was a gendered concept in the Victorian era, as volunteers were mainly women and men were in the upper hierarchies of these organizations rather than acting as ‘helpers’. For this reason, the main characteristics of the ‘volunteer’ was its being middle-class women (Taylor, 2005a, p. 124).

By doing charity work middle-class women were performing a mission of setting an example for the ones down in the social class order. In this way they found a place to legitimately act upon their roles in the public space as wives and mothers (Taylor, 2005b). It is clearly understandable that attracting women either from the traditional or the modern well-off is much easier as this has a historical tradition of class formation for the middle-classes.

As Taylor (2005b) indicates, the voluntary workers of the organizations were predominantly women, which still continues as a tendency with the impact of evangelism and other religious fundamentalism that categorize women as the guardians of the domestic sphere compatible with their nature and duties and regard paid employment equivalent to prostitution. In Turkey it is not different as many women from fundamental religious sects cook, knit and sell in the kermis fairs they constantly organize.

On the other hand it was not only the middle-class that participated in the voluntary organizations; the working-class were also participating in these organizations, whereas their motivation was driven by material circumstances and some cultural values. Taylor (2005a) states that working-class societies such as workers’ unions were primarily concerned with protecting members in the case of death or illness or providing their members with a living wage (p. 125).

Working-class societies had profoundly different aim compared with the middle-class societies. While middle-class charity societies were enjoying their well-

off position and gaining social capital, the central aim of the working class societies was solidarity (helping themselves) rather than helping the poor (Taylor, 2005b). They were fighting against the effects of industrial capitalism in a way rejecting the hypocritical generosity of the middle-classes who were the creators of the poverty they were experiencing.

Taylor (2005b) states that however, working class forms of community support were never named as voluntary. This is important to understand the issue of power and privilege in exercising the voluntary work of middle-classes as opposed to the working class solidarity and support. The difference in the discourse of these different practices of different social classes still exist (Fuller et al., 2008).

Why Do People Volunteer?

After an investigation on how voluntary work emerged in history and under which socio-political and economic conditions, investigating the reasons why individuals take part in voluntary work would give a wider opinion to locate the mothers work in the school environment.

It is difficult to understand the reasons of volunteering if all unpaid work in the public sphere is reduced to a model of voluntary work enacted by the middle classes. However, why people do unpaid public work in contemporary society is a more complicated issue (Taylor, 2005b).

There are two instrumental reasons for volunteering in terms of 'active citizenship' discourse. First, voluntary work is seen as a stepping stone by the volunteers for finding a formal employment. According to this perspective, people may get access to new social networks and develop new skills by doing voluntary

work and gain social and human capital (Giddens, 1998). Second, in the countries where youth unemployment is high, 'service learning' is put in the curriculum as a credited activity to pass the class.

Stebbins (2009) states that volunteering is motivated by two main attitudes: altruism and self-interestedness. On the other hand there are more 'realistic' motivations for individuals to volunteer such as using the voluntary work as a strategy for finding 'real' paid jobs. Voluntary work is a strategy for finding 'real' paid employment (MacDonald, 1996, p. 25), thus it is a good way of acquiring new skills (cultural capital) as well as getting to know new people and developing their social capital. Moreover, having done a voluntary job in the period that they are unemployed would present a smart excuse why they remained without a job for some time.

Taylor (2005b) criticizes the assumptions that consider voluntary work as a selfless activity, as the concept of 'work' is reduced to paid employment and economic reward, and thus voluntary work is put into a 'non-work' category. Although there are no financial benefits or they have very small rewards, by getting engaged in a voluntary work people are able to get a number of social, economic and psychological benefits (MacDonald, 1996, p. 29), which shows that they cannot be regarded totally altruistic; they may have an agenda of benefits besides some altruistic concerns. Regarding the voluntary work done by the mothers in the school, there also appears that they have an agenda of benefits either for their children or for themselves.

As for the reasons of volunteering, women who take some time off the work life in order to raise children, or immigrants who seek local work experience may use volunteering as a strategy to re-enter the work life (Handy & Mook, 2010). On the

other hand, some female volunteers in MacDonald's (1996) research were engaged in long term voluntary work. These female volunteers report that volunteering may have negative impacts on their possibility of finding a paid job as employers might find it unnecessary as they are already doing the same job without being paid. MacDonalds indicates that this is what especially happens when women volunteers are concerned (p. 30). Therefore, it is possible to think that when women are concerned, voluntary work may be a drawback rather than an asset in finding a paid job, as women are perceived as inborn caregivers.

Stebbins (2009) indicates that having pleasant social interaction, self-enriching experiences, and feelings of contributing to group success should be regarded as a factor in volunteering. However, more realistically MacDonald (1996) states that volunteering tends to confirm women's socially ascribed roles as carers and serves to extend the associated responsibilities into later periods of their life (p. 30).

In an attempt to understand why people volunteer, Morrison and Robinson (1997) make a definition of psychological contract which means that organizations create a perception on the volunteer about what she will get in exchange for her contributions. Rousseau (1995) explains that psychological contracts are implied contracts that the parties can withhold services or withdraw from the relationship whenever they feel the contract is violated. Taylor (2005b) on the other hand rejects this psychological explanation and regards them as invalid since they do not define the difference between the paid and unpaid work outside the private sphere and thus trying to explain the reasons of voluntary work psychologically obscures the political side of the issue.

Handy & Mook (2010) suggest two models to explain the reasons of volunteering.

1- The 'Private' Benefits Model: This is a consumption model assuming that individuals receive private benefits, including the 'warm glow' from the very act of giving.

2- Investment-focus Model: This is a model that sees voluntary action as investment suggesting that volunteers receive private benefits from the training and acquire skills through volunteering, which enhance their human capital. For this model volunteers build social networks that augment their social capital, as well.

Voluntary Work and Symbolic Capital

As Taylor (2005a) states in the meanings and practices of voluntary work issues like gaining power, privilege and respectability play a role as well as gaining community support, solidarity and reciprocity (p. 134)

“The mechanisms through which individuals find themselves in a position to take on unpaid work, either within a voluntary organization or informally in the community, involve a complex interplay between social and symbolic capital and work ethos on the one hand, and the social organization of labor that makes those positions available on the other” (Taylor, 2005a, p.134).

Normally, voluntary work is not possible without a private income; people usually mask the economic side of voluntary work by legitimizing it with the claim of moral interest. As a symbolic capital, voluntary work is important to reproduce and maintain one's class structure and practices (Taylor, 2005a, p. 128) as individuals with higher socio-economic status have higher rates of social and civic participation (Baum et al., 2000). Taylor gives an example from one of her interviewees who volunteered while he was at college, where he worked with a group who were

engaged in fundraising for local disadvantaged young people. 'It was his professional work, however, that provided him with access to high status unpaid roles in various charities' (Taylor, 2005a, p. 129). In the same sense, as volunteerism is associated as a 'white' activity historically, school volunteers have a higher rank in the public perception (Wang & Fahey, 2011).

Voluntary Work and Possibility of Empowerment

The question of gaining power by means of voluntary practices is an important issue to be able to understand the essence of the mothers' practices in the school environment. It is argued that individuals have a motivation of 'investment in human capital', to build skills and experiences and to write them in their CV, which would increase the possibility of employment (Hustinx et al., 2010). Musick & Wilson (2008) state that volunteers do not get any material rewards; even if they do, their expenditures exceed what they get materially. However, in this case, there is another material benefit that they get such as having new business contacts (p. 14). This motive may be called as 'gaining social capital'. Knowing people in some key areas should be considered as a form of empowerment.

Moreover, working alongside paid workers, volunteers are able to compare their own activities with those of paid staff, and this creates a sense of empowerment (Baldock, 1998, p. 30). This is especially valid when women as parents volunteer in the school context, where they feel as if they were teachers. On the other hand, in the communities that act as agents of change women feel that they are the part of the change in political terms and they feel themselves actively participating agents of change. This is valid not only when the organization has a political mission, but also

in the traditional organizations (Baldock, 1998, p. 30). However, at that point it is important to question whether it is possible for individuals to be empowered in the NGOs, where the financial support is usually gathered through the channels over the state, which itself is an apparatus to form and sustain the oppression mechanisms on behalf of neoliberal processes.

On the other hand, in terms of parental participation, there is a class issue in the levels of voluntary participation, as there are low levels of participation in the schools where minority groups are high in population. In such districts teachers are usually not satisfied with the parents' participation and they are not eager to get them in participation with the parent programs (Carey, Lewis, & Farris, 1998). Teachers who themselves have a middle-class culture in different levels usually prefer to cooperate with middle-class parents, and thus parental participation emerges as a middle-class issue in schools in practice even if the discourse implies the involvement of parents in general. Therefore, empowerment of women as parents usually work with the middle-class mothers who are more advantaged compared to the working class mothers, thus empowerment works for the relatively empowered, not the for the ones who really need it desperately.

In practice, women who enjoy levels of privilege and advantage are more likely to get involved in voluntary participation. According to a field research, women who are already privileged in terms of social contacts, access and participate in voluntary activities much more than the disadvantaged (Osborne et al., 2008). This indicates that the more social and cultural capital a woman has, the more possibility and access to voluntary participation takes place. This is similar to having financial capital as tool of investment; the more money one has, the more possibility emerges for earning more and more. These women who have more social and cultural capital

have a better access to voluntary work and they get more out of it in terms of benefits.

In terms of women's empowerment the issue of voluntary work has double sides. Although women might have an opportunity to act outside the domestic space, community care serves to reinforce gender inequality since care work is shaped by beliefs that women are 'natural' caregivers, they are devoted, nurturing, and empathetic. Moreover, voluntary work occupies women in ways that limit their access to conventional sources of power and status; they do not gain economic independence by this activity for instance. Thus, they are positively rewarded for doing socially beneficial work that ultimately reinforces their subordinate position in the gender hierarchy (Zimmerman, Litt, & Bose, 2006b).

Plug-in Style Volunteering vs. Critical Engagement

Terriquez (2011) conceptualized the engagement visions in voluntary work in two categories as 'plug-in style' versus 'critical engagement'. In the plug-in style, there is a professional who conducts and directs the activities of volunteers and the tasks to be done.

“Within a school context, plug-in involvement includes participation in school events, Parent Teacher Association (PTA) or other parent–teacher organization meetings, and volunteer activities. School personnel (or parents acting under the direction of a school administrator) typically define and dictate such activities, leaving limited space for parents to express school-related concerns. By contrast, critical forms of school-based civic engagement potentially offer parents an arena for voicing their interests and concerns” (Terriquez, 2011, p. 586).

As for the 'Critical engagement' style, the volunteers contribute to decision-making process and collectively get involved in the practices.

“Parents can also participate in grassroots organizations focused on school reform, or in informal collective efforts to improve their children’s schools. These efforts, which parents themselves may instigate, include working with school stakeholders to address safety, health, programmatic, and curricular concerns, or advocating for policy changes. Participating these critical forms of engagement are particularly warranted in schools serving low-income and Latino communities, which disproportionately suffer from classroom overcrowding, poor facilities, a shortage of qualified personnel, and the absence of challenging curricula” (Terriquez, 2011, p. 586).

Therefore, for social transformation, volunteering should be in the critical style, as it presents a circumstance both for the transformation of the individual and for the social setting. This is especially important when women are concerned since their participation in any unpaid activity is usually instrumentalized and exploited besides this style of labor reproducing the inequalities in terms of women.

Voluntary Action and Citizenship / Civic Engagement

There has been a link between voluntary action and citizenship for a long time. Especially after the emergence of the nation-states, it has been an important attribute of the citizen to contribute in the nation’s well-being. However, in the neoliberal stage the connection among the concept of citizen, employment and volunteering has been much more closely linked than ever before (Wheelock, Lie, & Baines, 2009). As it was in the nation-building era before, today the connection among those concepts is much related with the economic necessities of the system. Today, there is a discourse of ‘not waiting everything from the government’ and an ideal citizen is the one who also participates in the areas where the state abandoned, such as health, education and helping the poor.

The notion of citizen diverged from the definition in the welfare state and as a result there emerged 'active citizenship' discourse of the conservative governments (Wheelock et al., 2009) which changed the notion of the citizen as the citizen was the service taker in the welfare state whereas under the conservative governments the citizen is the 'do-it yourself' individual.

The characteristics of democratic, accountable citizenship are defined with the following features:

- 1- Membership in the governing bodies according to a stakeholder model of governance is suggested. According to this model the stakeholders in a school might for example be teachers, parents, communities, and business. They all may have different concerns about the nature of the institution, schooling, for example.
- 2- All the stakeholders have a voice, they may oppose some decisions and there is deliberation in making decisions.
- 3- Judgment on what is to be done is made by a deliberative process.
- 4- Accountability is important as a social and political process to institutionalize a dialogue about purpose, practice and performance of the choice made in deliberative processes (Ranson et al., 2003, p. 719).

Putnam (1993) claims that social capital is the 'features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks' (p. 167). Van Deth (2009) explains this view stating that the existence of a wide variety of associations is the reference point for the strength of democracy, and thus the decline in the membership in these types of associations, clubs, groups and organizations would result in the decline of democracy. Whereas, rather than their existence the main purpose that these associations serve is the crucial point to decide whether these institutions are

democratic or not. For example, they may well serve the reproduction of the inequalities in the system such as patriarchy, thus it is important to emphasize the quality of the daily practices and the discourses produced in these institutions.

Fiorina (1999) also draws attention on the ‘dark side of civic engagement’ (p. 395) reminding that civil society may reinforce some anti-democratic or non-democratic attitudes, as well. In this sense, feminists also criticize the imagination of citizenship defined with the active participation of women in the labor market as it ignores the crucial contribution of care labor mainly carried out by women (McKie, Bowlby, & Gregory, 2001). Supporting this argument Bezanson (2006) reveals the fact that the unpaid labor of women are naturally expected in the school or local charity environments as a part of civic and moral sense of duty (pp. 434-435).

In the active citizenship in the neoliberal discourse, care labor of women are overlooked but there is an extensive interest in voluntary work (Fuller et al., 2008), especially practiced by women, who usually volunteer in similar ways with the tasks associated with the care work (Gerstel, 2000). In any case, they are engaged in the voluntary work much more than men (Putnam, 2000) who in fact prefer to use voluntary engagement instrumentally to develop their professional careers through networking (Gerstel, 2000).

The notion of citizenship is redefined by the neoliberal state, which does not recognize the individual as an autonomous actor to create her reality within which she lives in, but as an active market-player whose wants, needs and desires are determined by the market (Van Heertum, 2010). In terms of the school system, mothers as volunteers act as the practitioners of the ‘motherhood’ defined by the neoliberal education system, and they perform the expected roles in order to perform the ‘idealized’ roles as mothers and to help them rescue in a system of inequalities;

however, doing so they perform the goals and objectives defined by the neoliberal system for them, which means that the ‘governance’ in Foucauldian sense applies on them.

Financial Value of Voluntary Work

Although unpaid care labor is considered reproductive, ‘unpaid voluntary labor is considered productive labor partly because it is eligible to measuring with empirical indicators’ (Musick & Wilson, 2008, p. 12). In this sense, the calculations made by the US Census Bureau in 2002 show that over 1.5 million non-profit activities account for 6.8 per cent of total national income and 11.4% of total employment (Destefanis & Maietta, 2008, p.143). Moreover, a return on investment calculation was made according to a study conducted in thirty-one hospitals in Canada and it was seen that for every dollar invested in the volunteer program in hospitals returned as \$6.84. According to the data elicited; volunteers created savings of more than one million dollars as well as obtaining increased patient satisfaction scores (Handy & Mook, 2010). This represents absolute exploitation, which means that all the income represents the surplus value in bulk.

Another research shows that in Teeside the UK, in a small region called Hartlepool, it is estimated that volunteer action had a value of £24 million per annum considering that each volunteer generates a worth of £4 per hour (MacDonald, 1996). Although a similar research has not been conducted on the volunteering mothers in the schools, mother labor in schools should be estimated to produce much more than the other volunteering areas as each student’s presence in the school rests upon a mother labor behind the scene.

Sexual Division of Voluntary Labor

There has been many researches on the sexual division of labor in the professional work market, however, there is also an evidence of a sexual division of labor within volunteer work (Baldock, 1998, P. 20). Focusing on the sexual division of labor is significant since women are performing voluntary work as if it was a full-time job, men usually do voluntary work in their leisure time.

Stebbins (2009) categorizes voluntary work in three main headings according to the way they are performed. First, voluntary work may be conducted as 'casual leisure' which is a category like other leisure activities such as play, relaxation or entertainment. This is usually done by an altruistic desire to help people. Second, voluntary work may be conducted as 'serious leisure' which is a kind of 'career volunteering'. In this type of work volunteers perform their professional jobs unpaid for helping people. In this category, working in the board of directors of an institution as a treasurer, working for a hospital program as a nurse or as a teacher for students, can be mentioned. The third category is 'project-based leisure' which is a temporary effort for a project or a campaign such as volunteering in a festival, working on an election campaign, serving on a publicity campaign for environmental issues.

Considering the categories above, women and men differ in their ways of part-taking based on the gender identities. Men usually take part in sport, recreation, and hobbies, while women predominate in welfare, community, education and youth training (Baldock, 1998). Women usually take part in childcare-based activities, and in health, education and community service organizations (Lowndes, 2000). In

general within the same voluntary institution women are more likely to be fundraising as men are engaged in sports-related activities (Taylor, 2005b).

“When men and women participate in particular areas of volunteer work, they do so in distinctly different activities. For example, male volunteers in welfare service delivery tend to work in 'men's work', such as chauffeuring, household repairs, or gardening, whilst women's volunteer work covers the entire range of 'women's work' from typing, office cleaning, tea making, to the provision of personal care services for the elderly or chronically ill and counselling in crisis situations involving domestic violence, rape or child abuse” (Baldock, 1998, p. 20).

In the developed countries the volunteering practices are no more regarded as altruistic activities. Instead, main motivation behind volunteering is seen as receiving some personal reward for their efforts, in the form of companionship, skills training, or empowerment (Baldock, 1998, p. 25). This is a shift from a welfare nation-state notion of volunteering to a neoliberal notion. Nevertheless, the notion of compulsory altruism still exists in the discourses that describe women volunteering to provide services without receiving anything in return (Baldock, 1998, p. 25) since this is seen as inherent to their gender identity as mothers and carers within the ‘private’ sphere of their family and local community (Edwards, 2004).

Women and Voluntary Work

Voluntary sector or the ‘social economy’ is a transition mediator for transferring the public services of the former welfare state to women’s unpaid labor in the domestic terrain. Women constitute the greatest proportion of the volunteering population.

There are some factors that stimulate women to engage in voluntary work:

- 1- Since women are excluded from paid work

- 2- Since women see voluntary work as a means to step out of the domestic space
- 3- Since the neoliberal governments need voluntary work to get rid of the former state services and transfer it to an unpaid area.

In this respect, marginality of women from unpaid work makes them available for volunteer work (Baldock, 1998, p. 29). Therefore, instead of creating the 'reserve army of the unemployed', neoliberal governments prefer creating an 'active army of unpaid workers', which is much efficient.

In some instances women who have little material resources and receive a support from the kins and friends, try to pay it back when available and especially mothers pay it back by unpaid care work. It is also valid when women receive social aid; they cope with being seen as parasites who receive goods and services from the broader commons while contributing nothing in return (Fuller et al., 2008). As a matter of fact, women usually pay it back to the society by continually doing unpaid care work.

At the other end of the same stick, with the above given reasons, women who are employed in a full-time work are less able to participate in voluntary work (Osborne et al., 2008) as they can hardly find time for it since they are doubly employed with the formal work outside home and the informal care work in the home.

On the other hand, when women are not employed in a formal job, they feel themselves empowered working along with the formal employees in an institution (Baldock, 1998), thus they feel moral worth by volunteering since they demonstrate 'productive' activity (Fuller et al., 2008). In terms of the volunteering mothers at

school, mothers gain prestige and feel that they are worth it whenever they require a favor from the teacher.

Within the school environment, mothers are taken for granted for the work that has to be done without budget allocation. Not only schools but also local charities recruit women for volunteer caring work and although the work done voluntarily is not temporary but rather requires continual effort, they do not recruit them, they require their labor in a voluntary sense (Cancian & Oliker, 2000).

In a research in the USA it is stated that around 60 per cent of local volunteers are women (MacDonald, 1996, p. 23). However, classifying women into a single category would lead to blindness in terms of social class. As for the volunteers, there is a stereotype of a middle-class 'lady' as volunteer women do tend to be white, middle class, middle aged and well-educated (Taylor, 2005b). Active involvement in voluntary work requires time, flexibility, and financial resources and the level of involvement of mothers in education often depends on the extent to which their husband's earnings make their time available (Landeros, 2011).

Women's Voluntary Work and Neoliberal Policies

As mentioned above, privatization of government services and the decline of social welfare state gave way to an increasing demand of volunteers, which is an inexpensive way of substituting the budget cuts (Handy & Mook, 2010). Thus, at the start of the twenty-first century public officials are increasingly calling on American citizens to voluntarily help provide critical public services (Scott, 2002).

Volunteering is instrumentally functional for governments to reduce expenditures. Particularly with respect to expanding the scope for non-governmental

actors to provide services to welfare recipients and other vulnerable individuals voluntary work in the non-profit sector has been seen as a key component of neoliberal welfare state restructuring (Fuller et al., 2008). Thus, voluntary work is a key issue in neoliberal transformation of the welfare state. Handy & Mook (2010) state that volunteer work not only reduces the relative cost and increases the productivity of labor, it also has benefits from the results of it politically such as satisfying the volunteers as feeling contributors and not questioning the situation, and internalizing that one should not wait everything from the state.

Voluntary work gains importance especially in localities undergoing economic decline (MacDonald, 1996). For instance, the Danish welfare state has slowly begun to change its line of argumentation on voluntary social and humanitarian work which it defined as superfluous activity priorly; now there is a discourse indicating that volunteering is valuable and acknowledgeable and thus today the Danish state expects a great deal from voluntary social effort (La Cour & Hojlund, 2008).

Kisby (2010) states that the British Prime Minister Cameron claims providing individuals and communities with more control over initiatives designed to promote the public good would represent ‘a big advance for people power’ and a ‘big society’. Kisby indicates that this is nothing more than an attempt to justify massive cuts in public spending.

“.. [as a result of] the credit crunch in the United Kingdom... government’s need to spend hundreds of billions of pounds precisely to prop up banks and the money markets to enable the free market to keep functioning. Several bailed-out banks have reported large profits over the past year. While the banks lent recklessly prior to the credit crunch, now they are failing to supply loans to individuals and businesses that need them. What is the government’s response? It would prefer to talk about public sector reform than reform of the banks. Rather than looking principally to bankers and

others who work in financial services—the chief beneficiaries of several years of prosperity—to help pay off the debt their extreme risk-taking and flawed financial decision making helped cause, the coalition government's big idea is to look to ordinary citizens to shoulder the burden, through increasing taxes, cutting public spending and encouraging citizens to do their 'duty' by running services themselves wherever possible. The 'big society' is perhaps not so much cynical, as simply profoundly misguided... the altruism Cameron favors applies principally to ordinary citizens; it doesn't apparently require a significantly greater contribution to the public good by the super-wealthy.... with Cameron's and Blond's 'big society', primary responsibility for society's problems did not lie with the government, but rather with the community" (Kisby, 2010, pp.485-487).

Baldock also provides an explanation on how the voluntary sector overtook the responsibilities of the welfare state indicating that voluntary work is an organic extension of the waged work market.

"...volunteer work is part of this work organization, and that volunteer work in social welfare is an unwaged extension of the paid labor market in which female volunteers—like their counterparts in waged work—form flexible and expendable pools of labor, available to take up volunteer work when governments reduce expenditures by contracting-out and privatizing services to the non-government sector" (Baldock, 1998, p. 28).

Formal organizations that conduct social services on behalf of governments allocate volunteer work extensively although they receive government funds for this purpose. These organizations function as extensions of the state (Baldock, 1998, p. 28) and the volunteers see themselves functioning like state officials and this makes them feel empowered in some ways. They are carrying most of the burden of caring for the sick, the disabled and the disadvantaged (MacDonald, 1996, p. 31). Although the volunteers feel empowered, there is great potential for the political and economic exploitation of their 'labors of love', as the state cuts back on the welfare spending and transfers responsibility for social welfare on to unpaid individuals and voluntary groups thus making jobs redundant in this field (p. 32).

The development of the non-profit sector is closely related to the reduction in the impact of the government in the economy (Destefanis & Maietta, 2008, p.144) as it is cheaper to use volunteers than to hire waged workers. Baldock (1998) argues that there is a continuum between volunteer and waged labor markets and paid workers are replaced with volunteers in times of economic recession, and volunteers are replaced by wage workers in times of expansion (p. 29). As these are types of work that involve care labor, women are usually allocated when there is a need of voluntary labor.

The state tries to regulate the voluntary organizations in every field managerially (La Cour & Hojlund, 2008). Like staff members, volunteers are increasingly supervised to ensure quality and safety and the performance is monitored (Vissing, 2008). They are somehow inspected whether they are paying back for the social capital they obtain. This is a kind of managerialist approach in the voluntary sector, which is quite compatible with the features of the neoliberal state. There is state intervention in the voluntary so-called 'decentralized' areas of public welfare which is compatible with the characteristics of the neoliberal state as it has never withdrawn from the area of regulation. The neoliberal state does not fund, but it regulates.

Voluntary Work and Women as Parents within the School System

It is a fact that for women with young children volunteer work is the most convenient way of stepping into the public space as a result of sexual division of labor (Baldock, 1998, p. 22). For women with young children schools seem to be the most convenient place to perform voluntary work and it is the place where utmost reward

in a variety of areas can be elicited. La Cour & Hojlund (2008) classify the voluntary social work in schools in three categories: 1) directly, client- oriented work, comprising the social work that addresses the client, 2) indirectly, client- oriented activities, which comprise activities for the aid of people who are not directly present and applying to activities, and 3) citizen-based voluntary social work. In terms of this research the exemplification of categories can be as follows:

- 1- CMs taking care of the children in the school and helping them when they need (directly client oriented)
- 2- CMs collecting Money and fundraising to purchase the needs of the school and making necessary arrangements (indirectly client oriented)
- 3- Developing networks with the local municipality and canalizing them to the needs of the school (citizen-based voluntary social work)

Some reports also show us that mothers are used to carrying out some health and education related governmental programs voluntarily (Berlin, Charles, Di Giacomo, & Gill, 1964) for which they not only provide voluntary labor but also, funding, professional equipment, organization and practical application of the procedures after period of training. In fact, such practices are supposed to be performed by the government itself; but government rather acts as a triggerer of the voluntary action for these state-responsibility areas to load the burden of all kinds on the shoulders of the Parent School Associations (namely mothers).

There are social class differences in the practice of the mothers volunteering in the school. For the middle-class schools, although elementary schools are professional and managerial areas, there are many mothers directly contributing to the work of the school as volunteers, some of who do regular weekly duties of a

secretarial or quasi-secretarial nature; some supplement the teacher's work in the classroom; others on call for special events, such as accompanying their child's class on trips or helping with parties, plays and fund-raising occasions. Whereas in the working class schools, there are very few volunteers, and their attendance is occasional (Smith, 1998, p. 19). Thus it is the middle-class mothers who are mobilized to support the educational work of the school with supplementary educational work at home (Smith, 1998, p. 22). The 'good mother' discourse leads women to practice their unpaid care labor outside the domestic sphere in every space that their children are present. Thus, school becomes an organic part of mothers' unpaid care labor. The dynamics that this care labor is transformed into voluntary work (that is, also performed for the children of the others') is an issue of neoliberal transformation. In this way private care labor turns into voluntary work and is transferred to the public space.

The labor power hours that the mothers provide for schools can be devastating when added together in a school year. Should the government be obliged to pay staff members to accomplish the same tasks, it would cost thousands of dollars (Vissing, 2008).

Motherhood

Patriarchal Ideology, Capitalism, and Motherhood

An ideology is a collective rather than an individual conceptual system by which a group makes sense of and thinks about the world. In this sense, a dominant ideology reflects the ideas and views of a dominant group and attempts to justify this

domination over other groups by making the others internalize that the existing order is inevitable. Regarding women, viewing motherhood as natural, a patriarchal ideology of mothering locks women into biological reproduction and denies their identities and selfhood outside mothering (Glenn, 1994, p.9). In this respect, our lives are part of natural events and socio-political oppression and exploitation and ideologies are the ways in which we live our social relations (Appel, 1996).

Freeden (2003) makes a list of ideas, beliefs, opinions and values that make a view of a political ideology. According to this, a political ideology;

- 1- exhibits a recurring pattern
- 2- is held by significant groups
- 3- competes over providing and controlling plans for public policy
- 4- does so with the aim of justifying, contesting or changing the social

and political arrangements and through processes of a political community (p.32).

Althusser (1971) defines ideology as the medium that constructs the individual at a deep psychological level through family/school link. According to Gramsci (1971) ideology operates at various overlapping levels the highest and the most elaborated of which is 'philosophy'. He defines the subsequent levels as 'common sense', 'popular religion' and 'folklore' in sequence. He argues that going to the lower levels, the ideology becomes less deliberate and it is accepted as default.

Then how can we conceptualize the 'patriarchal ideology', the most dominant ideology affecting women's lives? Patriarchy is realized inside a series of complex relations within and among different social settings or sites. Within this ideology, gender differentiation is produced and reproduced through its operation in every part of life such as work places, family life, cultural forms and practices (Walker & Barton, 1983, p. 4). The patriarchal control within these areas of life does

not refer only to individual men (husbands, brothers, fathers) but also male-dominated institutions that control women as a group (Glenn, 1994, p. 17).

Concerning that women are controlled by men, we see ‘motherhood’ and ‘sexuality’ as distinctive features that women have. These features are controlled to maintain patriarchy, in which a person is considered as an entity that grows from men’s ‘seeds’. Thus, patriarchy defines not only the relationship between men and women but it also defines the relationship between the mother and the child (Rothman, 1994, pp. 141-143).

Castells (2010) claims that a fundamentalist restoration, bringing patriarchalism back under the protection of divine law, may well reverse the process of the undermining of the patriarchal family (p. 301). Moreover, it seems easy to reinforce the patriarchal family form as gender divisions are intimate relationships and are deeply embedded in social structure (Fox, 2001).

Thinking in terms of motherhood, ideologies of mothering are not practiced in isolation, they rather exist as part of complex ideologies that sustain patriarchy, capitalism, and technology (Glenn, 1994, p. 12). The ideology of motherhood justifies women’s homebound existence and keeps them outside the centers of real power (Glenn, 1994, p. 10). Moreover, the motherhood ideology includes several contradictions. For instance, mothers are romanticized as life-giving, self-sacrificing, and forgiving; and demonized as smothering, overly involved, and destructive. Similarly, mothers are seen as all-powerful-holding the fate of their children and ultimately the future of society in their hands – and as powerless-subordinated to the dictates of nature, instinct, and social forces. In modern life where women started to take part in life outside home, the patriarchal ideology accords itself and asserts a doctrine that a mother’s interests must be subordinated to the child’s (Glenn, 1994, p.

11). In this sense, women who work outside home support their children's education with a hidden assumption that mothering is not a real work but it is something natural (Reay, 1998a).

In order to see how patriarchal ideology is applied on women, looking at the individual level might be useful. The dominant ideology operates on individual women to regulate cultural norms of gender behavior according to social roles, marriage roles and work life. In the social level, patriarchal ideology regulates appropriate forms of gender differentiation in terms of the practices made possible in the economic and political spheres (Walker & Barton, 1983, p. 3).

Not only the discourses but daily practices also regulate and socially construct gender identity; mothers and fathers are defined in interaction and thus doing parenthood is literally doing gender (Fox, 2001). In this ideological context, not only the circumstances in which women should give birth prescribed, but the age at which they should give birth and how they should live after birth are also the subjects of political statements (Phoenix & Woollett, 1991). Thus motherhood is a duty of women but women seem to have been given no authority over the practices of it.

Ideology and the Discourse of Motherhood and Childhood

Within the artificial divide of the 'public' and the 'private', mothering usually functions as a mediating role by coordinating family and school schedules; negotiating services from a variety of agencies and institutions and alike (Glenn, 1994, p. 6). Thus, women's unpaid work such as mothering, domestic labor, or informal care has an important impact on the sustainability of the patriarchal

ideology when they are practiced in the public sphere such as schools (Baldock, 1998, p. 19).

Under the ideology of capitalism, workers do not own or control the products of their own labor which Marx names as 'alienation'. Regarding the mother-child relation in the private reproductive space, mother is the worker and the child is the product (Rothman, 1994, p. 149) and the mother does not have authentic control over the child but rather she performs the patriarchal practices over the child; thus the mother is alienated with her child.

As mentioned before, Glenn (1994) explains that with the rise of industrialization, manufacturing gradually shifted out of the household into capitalist industry and thus the households became the unit of 'reproduction', which refers to the activities and relationships involved in maintaining people on a daily basis and intergenerationally. A natural division of labor was posited, with men ruling the 'public' sphere of economy and polity, while women and children inherited the shrunken 'private' sphere of the household. In that period children gained a special meaning as innocent beings who needed a devoted care work, which referred to mothers as 'naturally' born for it (p. 14). This vision confined the child and the mother in a small space and thus the mother had a total power over the child (Dally, 1982; Badinter, 1981), sometimes having 'couple insanity' together. Moreover, treating mother and child as a single entity with unitary interests denies personhood and agency to both (Glenn, 1994, p. 13). Therefore, the discourse of mothering does not recognize that mothering is work (Griffith & Smith, 2005), it is rather regarded as a type of existence.

Maternal Authority, Maternal Anxiety and Schooling

The discourse of mothering mobilizes the work, care, and worries of mothers in relation to their children's schooling (Griffith & Smith, 2005) and reinforces the nuclear family as a standard type of family organization.

“In these ways, the discourse of mothering mobilized women, particularly middle-class women, as mothers to support the educational work of the school with their own work; to be performed under a variety of unspecified conditions. The child's dress, health, regularity of attendance, social behavior in the classroom, and scholastic performance referenced the mothers' work behind the scenes. The mothering discourse located her responsibilities as a mother; the educational discourse... interpreted or read off the virtues of a family and particularly a mother from the child's appearance and performance in the school setting. Being successful as mothers meant being attentive to schools and teachers; this dynamic legitimated the authority of the latter” (Griffith & Smith, 2005, p. 40).

Since the mother takes all the responsibilities regarded with the child, she also deals with the state services such as health and education (Ribbens, 1993), which gives her an access and representation in the public space. Education is the most intense area where mothers take place. Since mothers have a mediating role between the private sphere and the wider social context, the changes in the public policy creates shifts in mothers' responsibilities. The neoliberal shift requires more and more 'mother labor' in the schools to support their children's education despite the rhetoric of freedom and choice associated with markets (Reay, 1998c). As mothers have to act in the public sphere (market) for their children within the neoliberal policies, they find themselves in a competitive and individualistic environment which causes a type of anxiety about their own performance and responsibilities.

To explain the anxiety that mothers experience, it should be indicated that the discourse of mothering is set upon certain normalities and this leads to pathologizing of mothers, rather than problematizing their role (Reay, 1998a). Moreover, current ideals of mothering contain strong pedagogical elements, conceptualizing mothering in terms of its educational functions (Standing, 1999b). In the early twentieth century, child development was defined as a field of specialized study and research in universities, and a parent education movement gave way to a certain type of psychology (Walkerdine, 1984). Psychologists were considered as experts and sources of information in child development, and they were defined as the main source of guidance if a woman wanted to know what would help children to succeed in school (Griffith & Smith, 2005). Thus, schools became institutions not only to judge the studentship of children but also motherhood of women.

Construction, Idealization and Normalization of Motherhood:

Patriarchy and Capitalism Hand-in-Hand

There is an organic relationship between the mother-labor and the surplus target of capitalism. Kumar & Hill explain the relationship of unpaid time of labor and surplus as follows:

“The fundamental principle of capitalism is the sanctification of private (or corporate) profit based on the extraction of surplus labor (unpaid labor time) as surplus value from the labor power of workers. It is a creed and practice of (racialized and gendered) class exploitation, exploitation by the capitalist class of those who provide the profits through their labor, the national and international working class” (Kumar & Hill, 2009, p. 2).

In this respect, women's labor contributes to the surplus in two ways in the neoliberal times. First, the domestic unpaid care labor decreases the cost of the labor power which operates in the public space in the capitalist labor force market. Second, with the voluntary labor in the public sphere women undertake the responsibilities of the welfare state and thus substitute the budget cuts.

A neoliberal capitalist state ruled by the global forces is not compatible with the interests of women at all. Neoliberal economic policies and the dominant key global economic organizations such as the World Bank insist on minimizing social spending and scaling back welfare state programs (Zimmerman et al., 2006b, p. 296), which will in return be transferred to unpaid care labor of women of middle and working classes.

For the internalization of this burden by women the notion of 'science' comes for help. Conventional psychology constantly tries to provide ideas about circumstances in which motherhood should occur and how mothers should interact with their young children (Phoenix & Woollett, 1991). In this way, the construction of motherhood is embedded in the concept of 'scientificallity' and thus mothering construct gets in a symbiotic interaction with 'the science'. This is how the 'normal mother' is constructed. Therefore, motherhood, which is a mangle that women are placed in, is in fact a product of the 'scientific' research done over middle-class, married, unemployed women.

While neoconservative feminism and liberal feminism argue that women's mothering is inevitable and that society should strive to make mothering as rewarding as possible without changing the patriarchal structures in society, feminist in the psychoanalytic and radical feminist tradition argue that mothering is socially constructed and is the inevitable outcome of patriarchy (Miedema, 1998).

Idealization can be considered as a way of governmentality since by idealizing an entity you define what it is, how it acts and reacts and what its limits are. According to Dally (1982), emphasizing the importance of family, mother love, mother-infant attachment and constant mother-care, society makes life increasingly difficult for mothers. Dally also claims that idealization is a way of hating and this idealization process hurts the subject. She defines the process by explaining the difference between admiration and idealization stating that the one who idealizes women are not fond of the picture of the existing woman profile. Moreover, this ideal picture leads women to depend on the idealized picture as reference.

The most prominent example of idealization of women can be seen in history after the World War II, when running daycare centers that were set up during the war to encourage mothers to work appeared expensive for the government after the war. For this purpose the government attempted to reduce unemployment by pushing women back into the home and finding moral justification for so doing (Dally, 1982). This was the official and directly political idealization of motherhood.

There are several tools for the idealization of motherhood such as media and the education system which constantly reinforce the ideal wife-mother image (Wolpe, 1978, p. 323). By these reinforcements and the practices there is a danger of motherhood becoming an 'identity' in a prescriptive way in a Foucauldian sense. If motherhood is defined as the name of a category and is considered a prescriptive identity, this means that it is a compulsory category and thus it becomes eligible for power to operate on this category.

Power, Knowledge and Performativity: Enacting Mothering

Performativity can be explained as everything said indicating a practice and performance. Butler (1993) defines performativity as the discursive practice that enacts or produces that which it names (p. 13). Performativity is a technology, a culture and a mode of regulation that includes judgments, comparisons and displays as means of control and regulation and represents the worth, quality or value of an individual or organization within a field of judgment (Ball, 2004, p. 143).

Butler (1993) states that namings like ‘boy’ and ‘girl’, ‘man’ and ‘woman’ are performative since they create the gendered subject that they name. For Butler gender is an act that has been performed, much like a script, and people, as the actors make the script a reality by constantly repeating it. Thus as Ball (2004) indicates, by repeating defined actions constantly as mothers, a new professional subjectivity is produced.

For Foucault (1990), knowledge cannot be separated from power, which is disciplinary or productive. This conceptualization is different from a more conventional understanding of power as it refers to a tool held by the dominant and practiced upon the powerless (sovereign power). For him, disciplinary power is produced and has effects in the ways of thinking and on the institutionalized practices, or technologies (Foucault, 1991a). In this sense discourse and its performative effects represent potentials politically (Butler, 1997). Therefore, discourse is much more than talk as discourses occur in visual representations, bodily movements and gestures, and social and institutional practices as well as speech and writing (Youdell, 2010: 134).

In this sense to be a mother means to enact mothering, which is a multifaceted and constantly changing and agonizingly iterative performance (Chandler, 1998). As mothering is a constantly reconstructed notion the 'classroom motherhood' represents a professionalized version of this enacted mothering, moreover it is labeled and institutionalized.

Cultural Reproduction of Mothering and Subordination of Women

Arnot (2002) discusses major aspects of the processes through which the sexual division of labor is culturally reproduced in education. She offers three major aspects:

- 1- The internalization of domestic division of labor and symbolic classification of tasks mediated through the family and school contexts
- 2- The structural reproduction of male-female hierarchy and male dominance in schooling and the different forms of pedagogy operating in the transition from the domestic sphere to the productive spheres
- 3- The reproduction of masculine vs. feminine identities through dichotomies in education such as, 'instrumental skills vs. expressive skills', 'public knowledge vs. private knowledge', and 'discipline vs. spontaneous creativity', which also consists hierarchical stratification of academic disciplines.

Instruments such as hierarchical observation, normalizing judgment, and their combination in a procedure is the main factor in the success of disciplinary power

(Foucault, 1984b, p. 188) In this sense women are disciplined with the discourse of motherhood in the school system as well as the domestic realm.

Foucault (1984b) makes a reference to the principles of the concept of schooling claiming that the school trains the bodies as an imperative of health, obtains competent officers as an imperative of qualification, creates obedient soldiers as an imperative of politics and prevents debauchery and homosexuality as an imperative of morality (pp. 190-191). Although he refers to students who are exposed to these disciplinary forces, it is also valid for women as mothers of these children since schools also discipline mothers with the daily routine of school practice on their gender identity. Thus, school itself reproduces and sometimes reconstructs gender identity.

Changes in not only family life but also the school life with the assigned roles on mothers have an important impact on mothers' lives (O'Brien, 2007). According to Smith (1998) the discourse of mothering mobilizes particularly middle-class women to support the educational work of the school with supplementary educational work at home (p. 22). The 'good mother' discourse draws mothers into the public domain to perform their unpaid labor in the school for the system of education. Thus, the school becomes a part of the care work responsibilities. These responsibilities and 'duties' are transformed into the form of 'voluntary work' within the neoliberal policy processes and thus care work which is defined in the domestic sphere is transferred to the public sphere as voluntary work and it becomes a public service.

As also mentioned above, professionals are constantly developing discourses that create anxiety for mothers and thus contributing to the construction of a specific kind of motherhood identity. Smith (1998) calls them 'discursive

regulators' and claims that these are effective in mobilizing women's energies, anxieties, thought, and above all, time to coordinate what they do at home with their children in relation to what their children are doing at school. (p. 22).

Not only the mothers themselves but also the academics who write about parental involvement in education take women's mothering for granted (Smith, 1987). Moreover, in education and in the world of work women are seen as 'natural' carers because of their maternal role. This is the core point there women's subordination and exploitation begins as this is not only seen as a natural job and duty but also an identity for women. It developed among the middle-classes during the industrial revolution as part of the new ideology of domesticity and womanhood (Abbott & Wallace, 1990; Fox, 2001; Allen, 1984). As motherhood is defined as the core reason of women's subordination, one has to search for a kind of domination and subordination relation in every practice that carries the label of 'motherhood'. As a radical feminist Allen (1984) asserts, motherhood is men's appropriation of women's bodies as a resource to reproduce patriarchy. That is to say, biological reproduction itself is the ideological reproduction of patriarchy in a patriarchal society. Therefore, one can claim that the notion of classroom motherhood is a tool for reproducing patriarchy within the school system.

Emotional and Care Labor

Definition of Emotional Care Work

The term emotional care work refers to the affective and uncommodifiable aspect of mothers' caring in a variety of fields one of which is education. There is a difference

between domestic care work which can to a certain extent be commoditized and paid for and emotional care work which involves a substantially different set of relationships (O'Brien, 2007). Emotional care work mainly constitutes abstract features rather than a concrete set of work performed. According to Lynch (1989), emotional care work can be defined as the efforts of maintaining intimate relationships through looking out for, thinking about, and acting in the interests of another, despite the costs to oneself, thus is altruistic in essence. Therefore, many features of educational work done by mothers for their children in and outside of the school can be considered as emotional care work.

To exemplify what emotional care work is, mothers' engagement in extensive and intensive listening; listening to children's questions and concerns; listening for when their children did not voice anxieties; organizing their day to be available and on call when children might need their support; and attempting to do this in ways that were not intrusive or unacceptable to children may be referred (O'Brien, 2007). In the discourses of motherhood emotional labor is defined as 'sensitive mothering', by which mothers are forced to behave in particular ways in relation to their children in educational and in psychological terms (Hutchison, 2012, p. 198).

With the concept of emotional care work, one should mention the concept of 'emotional capital' which refers to the social and cultural resources generated primarily by women through affective relations within the private sphere of the family (Gillies, 2006, p. 284). These are the conceptualizations of the two terms 'emotion' and 'care' in which women are trapped, regulated and disciplined.

In an article in a completely different discipline, business administration, Kart (2011) states that emotions are valuable resources to use in the improvement of

organizations by proper regulations. He explains that it is the profit motive that underlies in the emotional regulation strategies which leads to transforming emotions into a profit generating tool. For him emotions, which are seen as a part of the work life, are gradually being integrated into business relations and regulated. From this perspective the neoliberal policies are constantly attempting to regulate motherhood and underlying emotions which remind one of that motherhood is an issue which is also being handled in a managerial way by the system.

Gillies (2006) states that emotional investments are made by parents as part of their desire to promote their children's wellbeing and prospects (p. 285). Mothers see the love they have for their children as a primary motivating force for their care, and their continuing supportive efforts in their children's education (O'Brien, 2007).

Intensive Mothering Ideology and Emotional Labor

The way in which mothers' care is produced and understood is socially and culturally constructed. Culturally dominant concept of maternal care is named as the 'ideology of intensive mothering', which requires that mothers be always ready and waiting to provide their children with emotional availability, be on the watch permanently, and, do this under any circumstances (O'Brien, 2008). Intensive mothering is an ideology shaped by 'expert' knowledge on developmental child psychology and 'scientific' methods of mothering, and justified by dominant cultural norms. Intensive mothering ideology, which assigns emotionally absorbing, and labor intensive practices on mothers, assumes that mothers are made for childcare (Hays, 1996). Intensive mothering, based on the ideal social construction of family (Medina & Magnuson,

2009) is the ideal type of mother which is compatible with the requirements of neoliberal policies.

Hartman (2004) criticizes the intensive mothering ideology claiming that it is an important decline in gender equity. O'Brien (2007) also indicates that intensive mothering ideology is dangerous, since it is a means of regulating and inspecting the caring work done by mothers, and by this way mothers who do not have the resources to meet the ideal standard of care power are pathologized. A picture of an intensive mother is illustrated by Dally (1982) gives an idea about the consequences of such mothering.

“Mothers... resist all forms of developing independence in their children. They often fail to teach them the rudiments of self-care because a child who cannot boil an egg or wash his clothes or even operate a machine in a launderette is less likely to be independent... They may even make it difficult for a child to settle down at school or do anything outside the house. They may for instance be so jealous of the child making relationships with anyone else that they instil in the child a deep mistrust of all teachers, of school work or discipline of other children of their own age... Such children may be regarded as disruptive by teachers and referred to child psychologists for treatment. Or they may be brought by the mother herself, who is happy to have the child ‘treated’ for something that is ‘wrong’ as long as no one has the temerity to suggest that what is wrong is the mother herself” (Dally, 1982, p. 208).

Some mothers who are deeply conquered by the intensive mothering ideology cannot bear their young children to learn anything about the world except through themselves (Dally, 1982) which might result in the explanation above. Nevertheless, many mothers, despite their daily efforts in educational care, carry a deep feeling of guilt as they always have a voice in their brain telling them they are not doing well enough (O'Brien, 2007).

On the other hand, there is a class difference in the ideological shaping of mothers and all the definitions and regulations are described according to white

middle-class mothers who have the time and money to allocate all her time for their children. However, this is presented as the normal mother and mothers of the lower class are then labeled as unconcerned, irresponsible and incompetent mothers.

According to Gillies (2006) these mothers are represented as lacking mothering skills and insensitive. As the motherhood ideologies are defined concerning the middle-class mothers, working class mothering practices are regarded as deviations, which the interviews of this research verifies, as well.

Care vs. Proprietary Control

Smith (1984) claims that there is a nuance between care and propriety control as mothers usually walk from one part to the other. She states that the manner in which parents may treat children, or concepts used to describe such treatment, may be best represented in terms of analogies with property relations. The central idea in a model of property as Smith explains is the notion of a 'right' just as landowners have the right to manage their own land. Similarly, parents have the right by law to rotate and manage their children's lives by making choices about their life paths. In this sense, propriety control is a kind of decision-making authority over the child, which brings its essence from the soul of the patriarchal family. This definition is mostly compatible with the middle-class understanding of the child care. I would claim that this type of propriety control also operates on women's unpaid labor by the school system.

Emotional and Care Labor at Schools: Middle-Class vs. Working Class Mothers

Lareau (1987) asserts that middle-class parents are active in their children's school by monitoring their children's progress in school to ensure that the kinds of educational opportunities needed are available to their children, whereas parents from working class are not involved in the same way. However Reay (1998c) opposes this idea claiming that it is difficult to simplify the issue in the middle-class activity versus working-class passivity. Working class mothers also act at a different level but all mothers are engaged in practical, educational and emotional work to their children's education.

Gillies (2006) indicate that professional discourses around education and child development are grounded on middle class privilege, while working class mothers face challenges that necessitate alternative values, practices and emotions (pp. 281-282). As children of economically impoverished families do not perform well in the centrally organized high-stake tests compared to the children who are from better-off families (Sacks, 1999), working class poor mothers who are mostly immigrants or single mothers are blamed of being 'bad' or insufficient' mothers (Dudley-Marling, 2001).

Forms of Capital and Power

The second concept chunk in the literature review chapter revolves around and focuses on the concepts of ‘capital’ and ‘power’. For this purpose the conceptualization of capital in Bourdieu’s writings and power in Foucault’s discussions will be reviewed. To be able to see what classroom mothers are gaining within the school system the issue will be discussed around the concepts such as ‘human capital’, ‘gendered habitus’, ‘social and cultural capital’, and ‘social class of women’.

In this subsection, the concepts such as ‘power’, ‘hegemony’, ‘domination’, ‘symbolic violence’, and ‘social space’ will also be defined to be able to understand the mothers’ position and their relationships with the other actors within the whole system of relations.

Women’s Cultural and Social Capital

Human Capital

The concept of ‘human capital’ encapsulates the notion of ‘investment’ as it refers to an understanding that people invest in themselves, by means of education, training or other activities, which raises their future income by increasing their lifetime earnings. The reason why it includes the term investment is since people spend money on education to produce income in the future and this expense is different than the one done for consumption. Consumption produces immediate satisfaction or benefits, but

does not create future income, whereas when one invests money the income is not immediate, it is rather for future (Woodhall, 2001, p. 219).

There is a hierarchy of abstraction in terms of the forms of physical, social and human capital as physical capital is wholly tangible and is embodied in observable material form; human capital is less tangible and is embodied in the skills and knowledge acquired; and social capital is the least tangible and exists in the relations between persons (Coleman & Hoffer, 2000).

Schools are the main institutions where human capital is created (Coleman & Hoffer, 2000). In terms of the relation of human capital with parents, Coleman & Hoffer (2000) state that the human capital possessed by parents should be complemented by social capital embodied in family relations, otherwise it would not contribute to the educational growth of the child. Therefore, it does not matter whether the parent has enough human capital or not, what matters is whether the human capital is combined with the social capital and that this combination is practiced within the family.

Gendered Habitus and Tacit Learning

Bourdieu has developed the concept of habitus to demonstrate not only the ways in which the body is in the social world, but also the ways in which the social world is in the body. He describes habitus as ‘the product of social conditionings, and thus of a history’ (Bourdieu, 1981). Habitus as Bourdieu (1994) elaborates, is a property of social agents such as individuals, groups or institutions. For him ‘habitus’ incorporates ‘structured and structuring structure’ (p.170). This means that habitus is ‘structured’ by the combination of a person’s past and present circumstances, which

can be exemplified as the family she was born and brought up, the educational experiences. On the other hand habitus actively structures as with a certain habitus a person's present and future choices and practices are influenced by that person's habitus. The reason why it is defined as a structure is that it is not random and it has a systematic order which constitutes certain tendencies that generate certain perceptions, appreciations and practices (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 53).

Habitus is 'a socialized subjectivity' and 'the social embodied' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, pp. 127-128) therefore, it is a structure that is internalized by individuals by which the objective is embodied in the subject and then it also becomes the 'subjective'. As Maton (2008) explains, habitus is a kind of appreciation resulting in the institutionalization of the social norms in the body and embodiment of the individual, which means that we carry our own history within our practices and bring it into our present reality (p. 51). This is the way we make certain actions in certain ways, because habitus is shaped by concrete interactions in concrete social network (Crossley, 2008).

Derived from Bourdieu's conceptualization, there appears the notion of 'gendered habitus' which refers to the internalization of the division of labor between men and women. The clearest expression of the gendered habitus is the way mothers feel that they were made for mothering. As a result women themselves accept men's limited involvement in care work as a given reality which is natural and universal. Reay (1998b) claims that the operations of gendered habitus is constitutive of, rather than determined by, social structures, that is by practicing gender roles, gender identity and gendered habitus is reproduced and reinforced.

Gendered habitus is important in enacting the personal history of women to be practiced in support of children's education. Reay (1998b) claims that while

middle-class women replicating and reproducing maternal habitus by closely engaging in their children's schooling, working-class women are attempting to transform this maternal habitus, which is a harder to perform.

Another important issue related to maternal habitus and mothers in schooling is that this represents a specific kind of learning and re-learning, in my opinion. Should we consider habitus as an embodied history, internalized as a second nature and thus has been forgotten that in fact it was something historical (Fowler, 2002), one would think that this should have been learnt in a particular way, or the formation of habitus must be considered as a process of learning.

Bourdieu (1998) illustrates habitus as 'having the game under your skin' (pp. 80-81), in which he means this game is played for a long time throughout the history and the rules are embodied in the game and the game is embodied in the individual. In a sense I may assert that it is not the individuals that play the game, rather the game plays with the individuals, or is played within the individuals. Therefore, one should ask the question about the ways in which the game is learnt and internalized; or the game teaches itself and becomes a part of the social organism.

Polanyi refers to 'tacit learning' defining it as uncontrollable since the individual is unaware that she gains this knowledge. By tacit learning the individual knows more than she can tell (Polanyi, 1966, p. 4), that is she is not aware that she knows but she shows that she knows, by her practices. At this point Fowler (2002) states that Bourdieu's concept of habitus is a somatic knowledge which occurs without conscious effort and this can be theorized to be frequently gained through incidental learning. In this respect the CMs in this research have been passing through a process of learning how to gain power and operate the power within the

school system, which is important to analyze the characteristics of their process of ‘empowerment’.

Ideology and Mothers’ Cultural Capital

Cultural capital includes a wide range of ‘subtle modalities in the relationship to culture and language’ (Bourdieu, 2000) which can be exemplified as manners, preferences, orientations and linguistic competencies. Bourdieu classifies cultural capital in three sub-categories in terms of the states it is presented: 1- in the embodied state (amalgamated in mind and body), 2- in the institutionalized state (presenting itself in institutionalized forms like educational capabilities), 3- in the objectified state (represented as cultural goods like books, artifacts, dictionaries and paintings) (Bourdieu, 2001).

Bourdieu does not consider cultural capital as the only capital accumulated in the individuals rather it exists in a relationship with others forms of capital, thus one should have an idea about the concept ‘habitus’ which influences the creation of cultural capital as well as about other forms of capital like social, economic, and symbolic capitals. To make a quick overview; ‘social capital’ is made up of social networks which is accumulated within the social processes between the family and wider society. Economic capital is the economic wealth which can be generated from economic interactions whereas symbolic capital can be exemplified as the authority and charisma which reflects personal qualities and individual prestige (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 733). Moreover, ‘symbolic capital’, represents legitimation, power and prestige which can be drawn from economic, cultural and social capital, which is

class-based since only certain forms of cultural capital (middle class forms) generate symbolic capital (Gillies, 2006).

At this point Gramsci's term 'common sense' gains importance. 'Common sense refers to 'the significance of, a constantly fluctuating discursive mix, that accommodates apparent contradictions, allowing one social group to hold views and opinions that do not appear to serve their particular interests' (Kenway, 1990, p. 179). Motherhood is among such common sense notions which operate on women by everyone including women and is not for the interest of women, at all. This concept has a relationship with the forms of capital that Bourdieu asserts. Eagleton (1991) claims that educational system contributes to reproducing the dominant social order not so much by the viewpoints it fosters, but by this regulated distribution of cultural capital as symbolic violence. This symbolic violence operates not so much by the teacher speaking 'ideologically' to the students but by the teacher being perceived as in possession of an amount of 'cultural capital' which the student needs to acquire.

The notion of motherhood has an important impact in making of the cultural capital. Reay (1998c) claims that mothers appear to be the agents of social reproduction by bridging the gap between family, social class and children's performance in the classroom. Mothers allocate time for accumulating the cultural and social profit, thus mothers' time allocated for this purpose can no longer be considered as free time (Reay, 1998b).

Therefore, it is possible to see that class is much more than materiality and socio-economic status. In this research CMs appear to be accumulating cultural capital for their children while they were doing the same thing for themselves as well; one may even claim that they are doing this for themselves by using their children as a means.

In a research conducted by Diane Reay it was found out that what make difference in the active participation in the school environment was the cultural capital of the mothers rather than their feeling of familiarity with the school. Thus, she states that it was middle-class women's confidence, their self-presentation as entitled, the certain conviction that their point of view was the correct one and their clearly articulated knowledge of the system and how it worked that counted (Reay, 1998b).

Middle-Class Mothers and Their Cultural and Social Capital

The class differences and the level of the cultural capital that the mothers have make difference in the relationship with the teacher in the school environment as the sense of power and confidence the middle-class mothers bring to the school results in teachers being persuaded to their point of view, whereas even if when working-class women felt the courage to go into school to talk to the teachers, they often end up with less than they were asking for (Reay, 1998a).

Social capital can be defined as both the material and the immaterial resources individuals and families can activate for accessing certain resources by using their social ties (Horvat et al., 2006). This means that individuals who have well-formed networks of family, friends and acquaintances can acquire a quality of life, which enables to increase their capacities to manage their lives, from getting paid employment, surviving crisis, to living well (Bezanson, 2006, p. 427). However, there is a class difference in the nature of gaining and activating this social capital as Horvat et al. (2006) claim that network ties connecting parents of school peers is

primarily a middle-class phenomenon and working-class and poor families do it by kinship.

In the feminist scholarly environment emotion is considered as a form of social capital together with other capitals and emotional capital helps create social positioning. Therefore, emotional capital is a variation of social capital used primarily by mothers to secure educational advantage for their children (Allat, 1993). It is the social and cultural resources generated primarily by women through affective relations within the private sphere of the family (Gillies, 2006). Emotional capital is primarily activated in the private sphere by women and it involves knowledge, contacts, and relations as well as access to emotionally valued skills and assets mainly activated for family investments in children (Nowotny, 1981).

Emotional capital can also be defined as a form of gendered knowledge built through practices of care, through the positive emotional relations one has experienced over time, and through the personal and emotional support one has available in the present (O'Brien, 2008). Gillies (2006) draws attention to the unconscious nature of emotional capital and states that although emotions can turn into important resources, they are not consciously accumulated or they cannot be spent like money.

Reay (2004) underlines the fact that emotional capital is different from other forms of capital such as cultural, economic, social and symbolic, because the content of emotional capital varies between different class contexts and thus emotional capital interrupts clear links between the increase in emotional capital and educational success (p. 68).

Emotions represent a form of capital in the educational field (Diane Reay, 1998a) as it is a resource that involves specifically mothers in performing what they

identify as the 'moral work' of being a 'good mother' through caring for their children, including educational care (O'Brien, 2008). Emotional capital is a gendered resource, however as Gillies (2006) claims that the emotional capital that working class mothers have is overlooked or pathologized. Thus, working-class mothers are considered to be deprived of not only in terms of economic but also of emotional capital although they deeply care about children and generate important levels of emotional capital. For this purpose Gillies (2006) attempts to make a more class-neutral definition of emotional work by claiming that emotional care is the emotional investments that mothers make to help their children's wellbeing and this investment may be directed towards day to day survival at school as well as maximizing formal educational opportunities and prospects.

Power and Women's Social Capital: Gaining Power over the Child

When the issue of women and power is concerned, women are usually defined as the ones who lack power. Duffy (1986) opposes this idea claiming that this is in fact a male-oriented approach to power. Moreover, from this perspective women often appeared trapped, confined, and restricted while men were steeped in potency (p. 31). The view that women's domestic responsibilities and their identification with the private domain make them impotent in the public sphere ignores the fact that women's role in the family and the relationship between this private domain and the public sphere vary considerably from class to class, from one historical period to the next, and from one period in life to another (pp .33-34). Thus, women are automatically labeled as 'powerless' as the resources which feed power, the manners in which power is exercised, and the social structures which house power is viewed

from a strictly masculine perspective (p. 34). In order to gain a non-sexist understanding of power one should examine the role of 'social capital' in terms of women (p. 35).

The social capital that contributes to a student's development is not the values that her parents hold, but rather it is the functional community that her parents have relationships with (Coleman & Hoffer, 2000). As for the CMs, mothers gain community social capital by coming to the CM position, through which they have the opportunity to set relationships with some official bodies and gain social capital which they accumulate as an investment for the future of their children. This is certainly a power accumulation not only for their children but also for their own.

As a matter of fact, as a socially disadvantaged group, women have no other choice but watch instances where they can accumulate social capital. As Molyneux (2002) claims, the activities performed under the name of social capital are in fact the coping strategies of poor women in times of economic crises, indicating that 'social capital gaining' is an inherent feature of womanhood (p. 180).

Power and Empowerment

To comprehend the issue of power and empowerment, some concepts such as social space, hegemony and domination should be addressed.

Thomson (2008) states that in Bourdieu's terms field is a site of struggle and dialectic, a context in which practices take place. Field is competitive like a football pitch and different social agents use various strategies to maintain or improve their positions. The main aim of the game is the capital accumulation, which is both the product of and a process within the field. Considering different levels of different types of capitals, some players may perform better in a specific field and become more successful than the other players. On the other hand, players do not come to the field with unchanging previously gained capital; space or field is not only produced by social relations it is also a producer of social relations (Lefebvre, 1991).

For Bourdieu it is not sufficient to look at what was said, or what happened to understand interactions between people or to explain an event or social phenomenon; one must examine the social space in which interactions, transactions and events occurred (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 148). In this respect, for Bourdieu society is a space of social relationships, similar to a geographical space, and individuals spend effort and time which produce movement (Bourdieu, 1985). Social space is the context that shapes lifestyles and habitus which gives way for the emergence of classes and the accumulation of power and emergence of dominance (Crossley, 2008). In other words, the configuration of this social space is determined by the arrangement of various forms of capital which can translate into power, control and influence (Gillies, 2006).

Power and Hegemony

Bernstein (2000) proposes that power and control are embedded in each other. For him, power relations are creators, legitimizers and boundary reproducers between different categories of groups as well as gender, class, race, discourse, and agents. Power is an entity that operates on the relations and sets up legitimate forms of communication for each category, whereas control on the other hand carries the boundary relations of power and socializes individuals into these relationships. Therefore, control establishes legitimate communications and power establishes legitimate relations between categories.

In this sense, individuals may exercise power also by the creation, control and/or support of organizations, institutions or other social structures. Some indirect reflections of power can be illustrated in some individuals who play key roles in founding, directing and supporting institutions, organizations and groups which affect, directly or indirectly, the prevailing social definitions (Duffy, 1986, p. 37).

As for the concept of social hegemony in Gramscian sense can be defined as the “spontaneous” consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is ‘historically’ caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production (Gramsci, 1971, p. 12). For him social hegemony is often communicated as commonsense ideology and common culture, even though it is an expression of the power of the dominant elites. Gramsci conceptualizes hegemony to be based on the relationship between the superstructure and the economic base. For him, there are two main ways in which superstructure reproduces capitalist relations. The first is the

concept of ‘spontaneous consent’ by which superstructure reproduces capitalist relations together with ideology. The second is the ‘legal’ structure of the state (Gramsci, 1971, p. 12).

Williams (1977) claims that hegemony is a whole body of expectations and is not only political but also cultural (p. 110). Michael W. Apple explains that hegemony refers to an organized assemblage of meanings and practices, the central, effective and dominant system of meanings, values and actions which are lived, rather than an accumulation of meanings that exist at an abstract level somewhere in our minds (Apple, 1990, p. 6). It is important here to remember that one of the most prominent spaces where hegemony is created is the family and the other is the school. By inserting the family within the school system one may create a transformation however, both are dominantly patriarchal in their existing state and they reproduce the system in terms of economy, culture and hegemonic state façades constantly with the patriarchal baggage they inherit.

Domination and Symbolic Violence

Domination facilitates the reproduction of power relations from one generation to the other in the class-divided societies (Morrow & Torres, 2002). Schubert (2008) refers to Bourdieu’s idea of symbolic violence as the result of symbolic domination which he closely linked with language which is considered as a form of domination (p. 183).

Combining the concept of symbolic violence with education Bourdieu & Passeron (1990) argue that all pedagogic action is a kind of symbolic violence since

it is the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power (p. 5). Schools teach and socialize students on particular things in particular ways (Schubert, 2008).

There is an inconsistency between the working-class habitus and the field of education and thus the individuals from lower classes are blamed for their poor performance which is a symbolic violence that reproduces social class hierarchy (Schubert, 2008). Therefore school system applies symbolic violence on not only students but also mothers as it defines the ways in which motherhood should be practiced and performed. CM position is specifically a defined version on mothering for schooling. Moreover, symbolic violence is inherent in the consumption culture in the neoliberally transformed school systems. As an example, in the Beehive Primary School the mothers who are unable to participate or contribute to the activities, most of which is characterized as a ritual of consumption, declare that they feel deeply excluded, which as a result makes them feel inferior and thus internalize the superior position of the CMs.

Participation and Parental Involvement

The last conceptual group to focus in the literature review part is generally on the participation and then specifically on parent participation and its allocation in the neoliberal educational policies. For this purpose, this conceptual group will be handled under the subheadings of ‘participation’, ‘parental involvement’, and ‘motherhood in school’. In terms of the participation issue several public participation theories will be discussed and will be related with the needs of the neoliberal policies. Later, participation in terms of critical pedagogy and adult learning process will be handled to be able to shed light to alternative ways of participation for individual and social transformation. In the parental involvement sub-section the ways in which neoliberal policies emphasize parental participation and how this feeds social reproduction when mothers are involved will be focused. Later, the class issue in the forms of parental participation at schools will be elaborated. In the third sub-section, there will be more on parental involvement and the instances in the school system will be defined looking at the classroom mother practices and this will be combined with the participation theories.

Participation

In this research one of the main concepts mentioned to understand mothers’ presence in the school system is the participation. According to Lave & Wenger, participation is set up on the situated negotiations and renegotiation of meanings which implies that understanding and experience are in constant interaction and they are mutually constitutive (Lave & Wenger, 1996). In terms of this research the negotiated

meaning is processed through the notion of motherhood. Making sense of and redefining the notion of motherhood and then institutionalization of this notion for the interest of each party (the school system and the women themselves) is an important point to understand the mutual reconstruction of motherhood.

Public Participation Theories and Neoliberal Participation Model

There have been several theories on public participation. Weblar & Tuler (2002) explain them in six categories. The first category is the 'Management Theory' which is originated in managerial theory. It is developed considering the ways in which managers make effective decisions and it suggests to apply them to participatory organizations to decide on the participatory strategy to apply. The second is the 'Collaborative Learning' which approaches public participation from a normative constructivist learning theory. The third is the 'Decision Analysis' which is based on a systematic value-structuring approach. The fourth is the 'Procedural Justice' approach which sees people's satisfaction, perceptions of fairness and support for authorities as important elements of participation. In this approach there are several criteria such as the use of accurate information, representativeness, participation in decision making, and the suppression of bias. The fifth is the 'Theories of Democracy' which is based on the criteria of democratic theory and participatory democracy. The last is the 'Fairness and Competence' approach which is an extension of the communicative approach that began with Habermas's theory of communicative action and universal pragmatics. It proposes a normative theory of what public participation in Western, developed democracies should be (p. 181).

“Governmental agencies and private companies that initiate and organize public participation are experimenting with innovative methods. These ‘social experiments’ include citizen juries, citizen panels, internet conferencing, advisory boards, water quality councils, scenario workshops, informal roundtables, living room meetings, deliberative opinion polls, and visioning conferences, to name a few. But no matter what they are called, these processes involve bringing people together so they can talk about a specific issue, become informed about it, and arrive at a strategy for what to do” (Webler & Tuler, 2002, p. 179).

Critical Pedagogy and Political Participation as a Form of Adult Education

Jean Anyon (2009) suggests reimagining schools and classrooms as social justice building spaces and adds that people do not ‘become political’ and then take part in contention; rather, participation in contention creates new, politicized identities.

“Participation creates individual participants; and it also leads to groups their own collective identity as social change agents. belonging to a social group or network increases a person’s chances of participation in contentious politics; and in this phenomenon we also find important evidence that initial participation makes further participation more likely” (Anyon, 2009, p. 391).

As Lave & Wenger (1996) indicate, learning not only constitutes specific educational activities, it is rather a social phenomenon that involves the whole person with all of her relations in the society and community. Therefore it is possible to see CMs and all other mothers’ presence and activities within the school environment as a sort of adult learning in a critical sense. In this sense, learning means being involved in new activities and performing new tasks and functions and then gaining new understandings, which also involves a construction of identities due to being in interaction with the social others.

Regarding this fact, a specific form of motherhood identity which is embodied in the function of CMs is constructed within the school environment

within all these interactions. In this sense I see social practice as a learning practice and similarly learning practice as a participation practice and thus school stands for a space not only for the learning of students, but also a learning space for mothers. Moreover, with the notion of CM the school becomes a space for enacting power socially and culturally. Once mothers are turned into CMs and penetrate into schools, they start to share the power of the teachers and the administrators and there starts a power conflict as this was not the intention in the implementation of neoliberal educational policies.

Parental Participation

There are few indications that, prior to the 1960s the issue of parental participation was discussed (Dudley-Marling, 2001).

Ever since the mid-seventies increasing number of parents have been coming into school as classroom helpers. This development is by no means without its critics, since it coincided with an increase in educational cuts. Yet moral scruples about parents working alongside teachers as unpaid aides can be looked at from another perspective. Parents identify a wide range of benefits both for themselves and their children and are seldom, if ever, unwilling to take part in this kind of venture (Edwards & Redfern, 1988, p. 112).

The issue of parent participation was first suggested with The Plowden Report (1967).

By the time Lady Plowden's Committee of Inquiry into children and their Primary Schools began to take evidence in the mid-1960s, research indicated that closer links between home and schools were essential for educational advance (Edwards & Redfern, 1988, p. 16).

With the Plowden Report there was an official acceptance of the importance of involving parents in their children's education for the first time and

recommendations were made about how this involvement should be performed. In the report one of the main recommendations was the formation of parent-teacher associations (PTA) (Edwards & Redfern, 1988), which still functions in Turkish school system.

After the Plowden Report the issue became academically popular in the last several decades however the main concern was the impact of parental involvement on the educational success of the children (O'Brien, 2007), which I object principally as this approach accepts the unpaid care labor of mothers as default, moreover by academically researching on the issue mothers' unpaid care labor is normalized. This research on the contrary tries to find answers on the question 'why mothers?' and 'how?' part of this participation. 'Parental involvement' is a gender-blind terminology that veils the relational and emotional aspect of educational work done by mothers (O'Brien, 2007).

Brown (1990) states three waves about parental involvement:

... 'first wave' involved the development of elementary state education for the 'lower orders'. This schooling of the working-class was primarily concerned with the inculcation of basic information and knowledge seen to be appropriate for their predetermined (ascribed) place in society... The 'second wave' can be characterized as one involving a shift in educational ideology and policy from that based upon social ascription to one based upon 'age, aptitude and ability'. Paramount importance is placed upon individual merit and achievement as a determinant of one's educational and occupational career... The 'third wave' can be characterized in terms of the rise of the ideology of parentocracy. This involves a major program of educational privatization under the slogans of 'parental choice', 'educational standards' and the 'free market' (pp. 66-67).

Docking (1990) states that there are three broad positions concerning parents in terms of parental rights and involvement. The first position sees parents as 'problems'. In this approach schools believe parents lack the necessary knowledge, skills and insight to determine what is in the best educational interest of their

children. The second position sees parents as ‘customers’. According to this approach, parents are choice makers of their children’s schools and they have the right to get information about their children’s progress, teaching methods and curriculum content, and they have the right to get relevant advice to help their children. The third position sees parents as ‘non-dominating partners’ and regards them as default participants when the mainstream events of the school life are concerned.

When the terminology ‘parent-teacher partnership’ is used one must regard that partners have equal value with different skills. In this sense, parents may be partners in the education of their own children and could help them at home, or they may be regarded as partners in policy-making and curriculum development (Docking, 1990). On the other hand, Edwards & Redfern (1988) claim that ‘parents as partners’ is usually opposed by many teacher unions since it threatens their ‘expert’ position.

The policies are written as if the term ‘parent’ referred to both fathers and mothers, however, in practice parent involvement refers to the work of women in support of children’s schooling (Dudley-Marling, 2001). They have misrecognized the gendered nature of the labor that supports children’s schooling as ‘parental involvement’, yet have expected, mothers as carers, to do this work (O’Brien, 2007; Smith, 1987; Griffith, 1996). Thus, the term ‘parent’ is an ideologically deceptive discourse; in fact ‘parent’ means ‘mother’. With this respect, the traditional division of emotional care is taken for granted in the literature.

Involvement of Parents in the School Routines

As mentioned above, parental involvement is presented as an ungendered concept although it is ‘maternal’ rather than ‘parental’ involvement and it is an extension of household work since the coordination of household and school day is a part of the invisible everyday household work of mothers (Standing, 1999b).

Parental “involvement” is a volunteering practice either in classrooms or in inner-school projects such as fund-raising, since it is considered to be of benefit to the school as a whole. In this case parents, mostly the middle-class, work as unpaid teachers’ helpers (Biklen, 1993) performing tasks such as tidying the library and repairing the books taking children swimming or accompanying the on outings. In some schools these mothers take more initiative and offer help outside the core curriculum such as sewing, cooking and pottery. In general the teachers’ choice of the parents is made according to how close their backgrounds are to the teachers’. Thus, volunteer parents are usually white, middle-class and educated women (Edwards & Redfern, 1988).

Akkök (1999) states that the philosophy beyond the parental involvement programs, in the report of UNESCO dated 1993, is empowering the individuals with the lifelong skills to cope with the demands of their present circumstances for effective functioning in their family and in the community (p. 3). However, the most prominent legal regulation enabling the participation of parents in school administration in Turkey did not come into force until 2004. It came within the frame of article no 16 under the Basic Law of National Education numbered 1739 (Çamurcu, 2005).

Models for Involving Parents

There have been several models for involving parents within this globally popular approach of parental participation.

“The Protective Model”

Swap (1993) indicates that in this model, the functions of school and home are separated. The main assumptions of this model can be summarized as follows:

- Parents delegate the responsibility of educating their children to the school.
- Parents hold school personnel accountable for the results.
- This delegation of responsibility is accepted by the educators (p. 28).

This model, which eliminates the notion of parents as the child's first and most important teachers and that the parents really know their child better than anyone else does, has been characteristic of both public and private school situations (Springate & Stegelin, 1999).

“The School to Home Transition Model”

In this model, parents are attributed the role of supporting the objectives of the school (Swap, 1993). Assumptions of this model are:

- The continuity of expectations and values between home and school fosters children's achievement.
- The values and practices that contribute to school success outside school should be identified by school personnel.

- Parents should be aware of the importance of schooling, they should support school expectations at home, provide suitable conditions to support school success at home, and ensure that the child's academic and social requirements are met (p. 30).

Springate & Stegelin (1999) state that the role of parents in supporting the school through holding bake sales, building playgrounds, providing class materials, and preparing food for school parties typifies this model. For a parent to be able to perform all these tasks she should have enough time, skills and social know-how to fit in particular groups.

“The Curriculum Enrichment Model”

The logic behind this model is the importance of the continuity of learning between home and school. In this model the values and cultural histories of many children are omitted from the standard school curriculum, leading to a disruption of this continuity between home and school and often to less motivation, status, and achievement for children in school. These omissions deform the curriculum, leading to a less accurate and less comprehensive understanding of events and achievements and to a perpetuation of damaging beliefs and attitudes about immigrant and oppressed minorities (Swap, 1993, p. 3E).

This model assumes that;

- In order to enrich curriculum objectives and content, parents and educators should cooperate

- Both parents and teachers are seen as experts and resources in the process of delivery in a relationship between home and school based on mutual respect (Swap, 1993, p. 39).

According to this model parents can serve as volunteers within the classroom, reading to children and assisting children in physical activities; they can play an active role in decision making with respect to services to children by means of site-based decision-making councils and policy councils (Springate & Stegelin, 1999).

The Neoliberal Understanding of Parental Participation

Although there were no clues that teachers expected parents to take an active role in their children's schooling prior to the 1960s (Lareau, 1989), now the idea that 'there should be a close and intimate relationship between families and education or between home and school in order to achieve effective ... schooling' (David, 1993c, p. 11) is taken for granted. This shift seems to have occurred after 1980s with the implementation of the neoliberal policies.

This shift in the approach started with the partnership in which professional educators were more dominant than parents in 'child-centered' education, then evolved into to a partnership in which parents became rather more equal with professional educators in their involvement and participation in children's education. Today the emphasis has been replaced with a concern for parental control or dominance of the educational process (David, 1993a, p. 32), which ascribes a consumer or a customer role to parents. On the other hand the OECD Report (1997) phrase this in a 'smarter' way indicating that this enables teachers and parents to

bring their unique insights and experience to the joint task of educating children (p. 16).

The political discourses on parent participation all indicate a certain type of parent who is a middle-class mother from a nucleus family, and who has a husband to earn enough money so that she could look after the children full-time (Dudley-Marling, 2001, p. 23). This type of engagement in educational support indicates an understanding of education as a private responsibility rather than a public service (O'Brien, 2007). This situation puts the working-class or lower-class mothers in a position of scapegoat as they do not have enough resources and capital to deal with their children in a middle-class sense.

In the neoliberal political context where educational budgets are restrained, involving parents presents a cost-effective approach (Corno, 1996). Compatible with this financial policy, neoconservative discourse reframes the concept of citizen who does not claim universal social rights from the state but takes care of herself on her own and by her own means (Smith, 1998, p. 13). Parents are expected to be available both at home and in the school to work with their children in support of their education (Standing, 1999a, p. 57). In this picture family values are especially emphasized as family is the trap where women are detained for their unpaid labor.

Philip Brown clarifies the position of the neoliberal state vis-à-vis the family as follows:

The deregulation and privatization of schools shifts the responsibility for educational outcomes squarely on the shoulders of the schools and parents. If the school did not produce 'the goods' it was a poor school, and another should have been selected (assuming that a better alternative was available). Therefore, if one's child did not perform and achieve to the expected level, then one, as a parent, must look to oneself for the reason. Perhaps it was because one did not give sufficient attention to the 'choice' of school, or perhaps it was because any additional cash one had was spent on a holiday in Spain, rather than invested in education. There is nothing morally wrong with the former course of action, it demonstrates consumer sovereignty, but

of course it is no good looking to blame the State for personal decisions: one cannot have freedom without responsibility! (Brown, 2001, pp. 79-80).

As the parent (mother) is assumed as a consumer of the service called 'education' on behalf of her child, it might be useful to show how parents are handled in a consumer-oriented approach in education system. Woods (1992) presents four models of consumer empowerment to clarify the parents' position, stating that a consumer is someone who pays for goods and services in taxes, through the community charge.

The first model is the 'Competitive Market Model'. According to this model since there is a competition among the producers, consumers' interests and rights have to be protected and promoted. This model sees the schools as a medium sized business (Woods, 1992).

The second model is the 'Personal Control Model'. According to this model, consumers are considered as the active entities to work on, modify and transform the products by using them. This model welcomes the collective action coming from the parents and they share the legal responsibility of guaranteeing that the child is educated (Woods, 1992).

The third model is called the 'Quality Assurance Model' which defines the standards and specifications of a good service and gives the parents a recipe on what they should expect as an educational output. In this sense the measure of the expectations is the scores to be gained in the national testing system (Woods, 1992).

The fourth model is the 'Participative Model' in which consumers can influence the decision-making process through dialogue. This dialogue includes parents making complaints or suggestions, volunteering or taking part on the decision-making bodies (Woods, 1992).

Dehli (1996) indicates that the state requires democratic involvement of parents (mothers) in local self-managing schools, however by doing this, these self-managing schools become dependent on voluntary parental (maternal) labor and funds collected from parents, thus parents (mothers) fill in the gap that the state withdraws from and they act as surrogate teachers in classrooms and pseudo-administrators in school. Policies not only advocate, but also mandate parental involvement (Blackmore & Hutchison, 2010). In this case not only the professional value of teacher is discredited but also the duties of motherhood are expanded.

Blackmore & Hutchison (2010) state two discourses clarify the neoliberal policy about parental involvement. The first is a 'deficit' discourse that indicates working-class, immigrant or single-mother parents as the ones who fail to be good parents since they are unable to support their children's education (Auerbach, 1995). The second is the 'agentic' discourse that indicates middle-class parenting norms characterized by active involvement in a variety of areas in the school including PTAs, fundraising activities, tutoring, and school governance (Crozier & Reay, 2005).

Parental Participation in Turkey

In Turkey, neoliberal educational policies started to take place visibly in the early 1990s. The most dramatic budget cut appears in 1993 in the statistics (Özdoğan, 2013). This is also the year when the notion of classroom motherhood and mothers' participation in the schools appear systematically in the education system in the primary schools.

In these years the mostly discussed topic about the schools was the money paid by parents to the schools under the name of ‘contribution to education’. Parents were being asked to pay for schooling expenses unofficially. The school administrators were being told to take care of the school with their own resources, however when parents were complaining about this practice to the official bodies, they were being told that they do not have to pay. Nevertheless, parents had to pay these ‘contributions’ and in a couple of years it became a usual procedure internalized by parents, as well. Within the same period the discourse of ‘parental participation’ started to be uttered more frequently.

After the practical implementations settled down and internalized, some legal implementations started to take place in Turkey. As an example of the legalization of the decentralization, the Office of Research and Development in Education under the Ministry of Education put ‘Student-Parent-School Agreement’ in action with the notice no 92 on October 10, 2005 (Yolcu, 2011).

Similarly, in order to regulate the establishment methods and principles of public and private primary schools an alteration was made in the Regulation of Primary Education Institutions on May 2, 2006. According to this regulation parents were defined with some participatory roles such as taking part in the boards and commissions in the schools (Kartal, 2008).

Today, under these arrangements the burden of schooling is transferred to the parents and schools are left without any financial resources.

The Key Reasons Underlying Parental Involvement

The answer to the question why parental participation is needed has a variety of answers from the officials and the parents. Below the rationales from the official perspective and the parents' perspective are stated according to the OECD Report (1997) .

The reasons given by officials

1. Democracy: Many countries including France, Germany and Denmark, consider the parental involvement issue as a right in a democratic sense.
2. Accountability: In a more market-oriented sense parental involvement in the governance of schools is seen as a parental right regarding the school-family partnerships as a business-like cooperation through which the two parties receive mutual and complementary benefits which enable them to operate more effectively.
3. Consumer choice: Another market-oriented approach based on the understanding of parents as consumers assumes that parents have the right to choose schools, and also to influence the way in which they operate. They pay, so they should have a voice.
4. Lever for raising standards: Based on the studies of parental participation and academic achievement parental involvement is seen as a way of improving school performance. Parents get more out of what they pay.
5. Tackling disadvantage and improving equity: This reason is also related to the 'lever of raising standards' reason but this time the issue of cultural differences is concerned.

6. Addressing social problems: In some countries schools are considered as solution centers for some social problems such as drug and alcohol abuse by teenagers, sexual promiscuity and teenage pregnancy, child abuse, violence, and the gang-based street culture and alike.
7. Resources: Parents, besides providing extra funds for schooling, may also make the schooling more 'cost-effective' by directly putting their labor in some activities as helpers (OECD Report, 1997, pp. 26-27).

Reasons by parents:

1. Improved achievement: Parents want to improve their children's performance and they need to find ways to help them to achieve better.
2. Parental education: Parents want to improve themselves in terms of some academic and pedagogical issues in order to be better able to help their children achieve at school.
3. Communication: Parents want to know more on what happens in school.
4. Influence: Parents wish to have an impact on the curriculum and they want the schools to transmit their own values in the school.
5. Support for the school: Parents are aware that schools are not funded enough, thus they help by financially funding, or by fundraising or assisting with their labor in kind.
6. Support from the school: Parents want to attend school activities for self-help and general help in finding solutions to certain problems such as health issues, adolescence problems, and drug abuse (OECD Report, 1997, pp. 27-28).

Parents' (mothers') existence in schools exhibit different types of effects in practice in schools. Once parents get in an interaction with teachers, schools staff, administrators and other parents, they start to take part in shaping the dynamics in the classrooms and the school (Hassrick & Schneider, 2009). Therefore rather than external actors they act as insiders in the school.

Moreover, parents are usually positioned as adjunct teachers and they are instructed in what and how to do things. They are made part of the 'discipline' in Foucauldian terms.

They are thus invited to come into the school's panopticon and to see through the school's gaze as well as being directed to maintain the moral order of the school through their disciplining of student bodies beyond the geographical boundaries of school space (Keogh, 1996, p. 130).

Family as a Surveillance Tool: Proper Human Outputs

Phoenix & Woollett (1991) claim that the aim of child welfare policies is surveillance to ensure that children are brought up in ways acceptable to professionals in state institutions and to prevent children from giving up the school and become criminals or dependent on welfare agencies.

Reay states that the gendered nature of parental involvement has an impact on the relationship between women and social reproduction, which is different from the orthodox perspectives that consider mothers' role as peripheral in the domestic space passively (1998c). However, they are not only contributing to the reproduction process in or out of the school but they also reproduce gender differences and inequalities (Fox, 2001).

Mothers' Participation and Social Class

Parental involvement, in the way as it is, sustains the existing social inequalities by reproducing the hierarchies of gender, class and race (Reay, 1998a); for example schools which rest upon the moral imperative of care work, assume that 'parents', in reality that is mothers, will be available to do this work (O'Brien, 2007). Or, regardless of their social class, schools require certain kinds of behavior from all parents disregarding that not all cultural resources are equally valuable (Lareau, 2001; Blackmore & Hutchison, 2010).

Diane Reay indicates that class difference can be understood in terms of differences in cultural capital and time available (Reay, 1998b). Bourdieu (2000) states that the different classes or sections of a class are organized around three main positions. The first category is the lower position which is excluded from participation in 'high' culture. They are represented by agricultural professions, workers, and small tradespeople. The second category is the intermediate position which is represented by the heads and employees of the industry and the business, and the intermediate office staff. The third category is the higher position represented by higher office staff and professionals (p. 57).

In this sense, parental involvement in schools in its apparent form seems clearly gendered and classed as it is the middle-class mothers with social and economic resources and flexible work practices who are eligible to respond to policies advocating parental involvement (Blackmore & Hutchison, 2010; Reay, 1998a). For example reproduction strategies such as participation in extra-school and

extra-curricular enrichment activities are the activities and practices that make up the middle-class child (Vincent & Ball, 2007; Walkerdine & Lucey, 1989).

On the other hand it is not the low socio-economic parents that the schools seek in the schools. On the contrary, they are seen as the obstacles to education and they are not wanted within the school. They are more likely to have limited contact with teachers, they perform domestic support for education indirectly behind the curtain (Lareau, 1989) and thus they are considered as deficient when they do not meet the schools' expectations (Lareau, 2001) and they are seen as key problems in the educational system (Lightfoot, 2004).

Parental Involvement: A Burden or a Crack for Emancipation?

It is also claimed that mothers are empowered by seeing themselves as good and moral persons for doing the school work domestically (O'Brien, 2007). With all the negativities involved because of the patriarchal and capitalistic engagements, parental involvement may have an impact on teacher and parental agency and parental involvement discourses both control and empower parents and teachers (Crozier, 2000).

It is neither wholly 'oppressive' nor 'liberating'. It is only by recognizing and holding these opposing readings of the course in tension, that an analysis can be formed which appreciates both its strengths and weaknesses (Vincent & Warren, 1998, p. 191).

On the other hand, government policies can either free parents from combining both job and home responsibilities or leave these conflicts untouched forcing individuals and families to find ways to cope on their own (Zimmerman et al., 2006b).

In case this care work is taken from the hands of mothers without implementing any other thing, in turn women might be left without all the power they have in the society, since these are suppressive activities, they can find a crack to pass on to the power-gaining part of the game. As Foucault (1984a) states, liberty is a practice and there may always be a certain number of projects to modify some constraints, but these projects cannot assure people's liberty automatically (p. 245). The actors within the project, even if they are the victims, can affect, reverse and reactivate the project with a different aim.

Moreover, schools are not the only sites to start liberty and democratization. Should schools are surrounded with other liberating and democratizing activities on the other sites of the society; it would be more realistic to expect a social transformation.

Alternative Parental Participation

There is an effort to discuss the need for an alternative to the conventional ways of parental participation. For example, Auerbach (2010) states that the traditional frame of parent involvement is instrumentalistic and is a means to the end of raising student achievement, and it is not a true partnership as it does not include the marginalized populations. Thus, conventional school-family partnerships operate on narrow school agendas and mandate for collaboration and therefore more authentic partnerships should be set up.

Liberating and authentic partnerships can be characterized as respectful alliances among educators, families, and community groups that value relationship building, dialogue, and power sharing as part of socially just, democratic schools.

Thus a meaningful parent involvement needs to go beyond selling cookies for charity (Handerson, Mapp, Johnson, & Davies, 2007). An alternative may be developed with a notion of shared development objectives and policies, shared ownership, shared decisions about where aid is targeted, shared rights, shared responsibilities, and shared implementation strategies (Mason, 2011).

Mothers as Parents in Schools

Educational Care Work, Motherhood and Women's Class

Educational care work is among the other care work that women perform. Its being educational makes a certain type of women important to mention: mothers.

Mothers' caring efforts for their children have been assumed, rendered invisible, and are not counted as productive effort although this work of care is a fundamental and ethical labor (O'Brien, 2007). Thus, care labor, which is considered unproductive, is indeed a fundamental type of labor for social and economic life. Mothers produce care labor but they have no visible means to activate this in the public sphere.

When mothers' care-labor is considered, it is always the middle-class women who are paid attentions to. According to Dudley-Marling (2001) there is a strong relationship between the academic success and the socio-economic status which results in the understanding that parental involvement equals to academic success and thus usually the poor mothers or the poverty itself is blamed. Gillies (2006) indicates that the assumptions drawn from developmental psychology were

utilized to promote middle-class childrearing practices as normal and desirable, while working class mothering was represented as lacking and insensitive (p. 283).

The public school system has become institutionalized in relation to the supplementary educational services provided by the unpaid work of middle-class women (Smith, 1998, p. 23). Therefore, the motherhood discourse in the school system assumes a woman who is married, who does not work outside the home but her husband does, and thus a middle-class woman. In this picture the working class mother is seen as a deviation of motherhood in the school system since she does not have sufficient assets and capital to provide the voluntary work. In fact the working-class mother also gives a vast amount of domestic reproductive labor to keep the school system going.

Middle-class mothers are highly engaged in intensive education work with their primary school children by regularly carrying them after-school activities in order to secure future educational advantages (Lareau, 1989). However, there is a presumption that all the parents have the same availability of time, knowledge and various cultural and material resources disregarding the situation of working-class mothers who are held responsible for their children's school failure (Dudley-Marling, 2001). This makes the working-class mothers persist emotional, material and cultural inequalities in doing educational care work (O'Brien, 2007). On the other hand, emotional investment is also made by working-class mothers whose capacity to care and support their children's education is often compromised by a lack of financial capital.

Neoliberalism and the Reserve Army of Mother-Labor Behind the School System

With the internationalization and marketization of education all education sectors seek business sponsorship on the one hand, and on the other hand schools demand increased 'voluntary' parental (maternal) contribution of funds and labor (Blackmore, 1999). Neoliberal policies require mothers' involvement in education however; this does not have a value or payment. The discourse of motherhood functions to veil the ideology behind the exploitation of this specific type of labor.

The household is a specific type of work organization structured by the external organizations in the market such as the working day hours, school schedules, opening hours of the stores, the scheduling of leisure activities and holidays. Women is the worker in this organization and as for education, organizing children's relationship to the scheduling of the school and paid work is itself work since school is compulsory, school hours are inflexible and a specific type of employment for these chores is necessary (Griffith & Smith, 2005). Thus, when the attendance is taken in the classroom by the teacher, it is not only a check on the presence of student but also the presence of the mother behind the student. Education is compulsory and motherhood is compulsory as well, since they are inseparable.

Arnot (2002) states that the family and the school are interwoven spheres of activity simultaneously responding to each other. Similarly, compulsory schooling assumes that a parent (the mother) is available to take and collect children as school hours are not compatible with full-time employment for both parents (Abbott & Wallace, 1990), there should be a full-time mother.

Compulsory education system considers the child and the mother as a unit (Ribbens, 1993) and mothers' educational support work is viewed as part of a

‘subcontract’ on the educational responsibilities (Dudley-Marling, 2001). It is the mothers’ support that ensures the smooth running of the school organization (Standing, 1999b) especially in the neoliberal system.

Emotional Burden of Schooling on Mothers

Parental involvement is presented as a neutral policy for increasing student achievement; however as schoolwork is considered as women’s work, parent involvement inflates the material and emotional burdens on mothers (Dudley-Marling, 2001).

In a research conducted by Dudley-Marling (2001) on how school failure effected families, the results show that the school system results in the feeling of failure of parenting for mothers. She states that the burden of guilt was a uniquely maternal response to school troubles and the demands of schooling had diminished the quality of mothers’ lives by stealing from them many of the pleasures and personal satisfaction of being women and mothers. Therefore the myth of the ideal mother is reconstructed over the school system and the feeling of guilt falls to the mothers’ share.

Mothers’ Work at School – ‘Legwork’?

Besides getting the student ready for the school, mothers perform many complementary educational works such as helping the child with her reading, with his spelling, with her math or with other specific skills that bear directly on the tasks a child is expected to do in school, including assuring that any homework is done in

time. These complementary educational works creates the conditions under which the work of teaching is done. If teachers must spend time making up for what is absent from the preparation of at least some of the children in her class, then she or he has less time to spend on other educational objectives (Griffith & Smith, 2005, p. 69).

Mothers seem to have a lot of 'leg work' such as researching schools and their suitability, making contact, visits and phone calls, preparing children for assessment tests, supporting the daily organization of schoolbags, organizing books and equipment and their purchase, liaising with teachers and staff, supporting children through their assessment tests, helping with homework, listening to children talking, listening out when children did not talk, finding opportunities for communication, and organizing transport to school for children (O'Brien, 2007; O'Brien, 2008). These are among the 'job descriptions' and daily routines of motherhood, which can be named as 'leg-work' without which it would be impossible to run the schools the same as they do today.

Women's Empowerment and Mothering at School

There are two contested views in academia on the ways in which state is related to women's empowerment and advancement. For the first view supported by the Nordic feminists the power of the state to compensate and redistribute the burdens of care work is acceptable and the state may be regarded as a potential partner and ally in moving toward the goal of a woman-friendly state, which they call 'social mothering'. On the other hand the feminists in Europe and United States focus on the coercive consequences of state welfare policies in terms of gender equity seeing the

state as a patriarchal force, as a potential oppressor or adversary and not necessarily a friend (Zimmerman et al., 2006b, p. 296).

Besides these academic discussions the mothers interviewed for the research purposes usually state that they feel empowered seeing themselves as good and moral persons for doing the voluntary work at school (O'Brien, 2007).

Although the obligations of mothering towards young children are burdensome psychologically, such maternal responsibility may also contribute to a potential of empowerment by means of the experience of power and authority within the designated area of responsibility (Ribbens, 1993, p. 59).

The issue of power and empowerment through the ideological assumptions of a mother's work is contested as though the problem is rather political and practical and thus should be tested with the power of practice.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

Research Methodology: Starting Grounded, Going CHAT

The aim of this study is to understand the role of mothers in the neoliberal transformation process and the relation of this role with the patriarchal neoliberal capitalistic ‘naturalization’ of motherhood. The research also intends to see the ways in which women use the given motherhood role to penetrate the power positions in the school system and how this act reproduces the gender and class inequalities.

The researcher went to the field school regularly for three months (one semester) and observed, interviewed and took notes. When the scene clarified and the points to focus emerged, the researcher realized that using the methodological approach of Cultural Historical Activity Theory would enrich the research, as well, since there were many tensions among the actresses and actors, which would be the basic signal to watch for in the field.

In this chapter, the paradigm, the approach, and the design of the research will be explained, as well as the research questions, the research setting, the characteristics of the participants, the data collection procedures, the data analysis model and the ethical assurances.

The Paradigm

Among the well-known research paradigms (positivist, post-positivist, critical/feminist and poststructuralist) this research is constructed upon a critical and feminist paradigm below which Hatch clarifies.

Table 4. The Critical/Feminist Research Paradigm (Hatch, 2002, p. 13)

	ONTOLOGY (Nature of reality)	EPISTEMOLOGY (What can be known; relationship of the knower and the known)	METHODOLOGY (How knowledge is gained)	PRODUCTS (Forms of knowledge produced)
CRITICAL /FEMINIST PARADIGM	The apprehended world makes a material difference in terms of race, gender and class	Knowledge as subjective and political; Researchers' values frame inquiry	Transformative inquiry methods	Value mediated critiques that challenge existing power structures and promote resistance

In terms of ontology, critical theorists and feminists assume that the material world is made up of historically situated structures and these structures have a real impact on the life chances of individuals, as for this research women as mothers. These social and economic structures have a real effect on the individuals and the social interactions caused by these structures situate individuals into unequal positions such as gender, social class and ethnicity (Hatch, 2002). Within this framework, feminist research focuses on the material and power differences in terms of women, which is one of the important points of view in this research.

In terms of epistemology, for the critical and feminist paradigm, knowledge is subjective and political inherently within the ontological setting mentioned above.

There is always a mediation of values for the knowledge and thus during the investigation process the researcher and the researched are always in interaction and the researcher influences the research and the knowledge elicited. According to this paradigm the research process and the values are integrated, they do not exclude each other. Therefore, the research and the knowledge elicited can never be apart from the political positioning of the researcher (Hatch, 2002).

As for the methodology, raising the consciousness of the oppressed is among the purposes as it may lead to social change. So, this is a transformative method because it leaves space for the researcher-participant interaction. From the feminist position, this is for changing the position of women in a positive way. Considering the result of the research as a product, what a critical and feminist researcher produces is a criticism of the perceived material world and its mechanisms to maintain the ongoing system. Thus, the product should lead to awareness, resistance, solidarity and revolutionary transformation (Hatch, 2002).

In a critical / feminist research paradigm, the researcher should be actively involved and engaged in the process rather than studying it (Hatch, 2002). In this research it is aimed to see the values, power, and politics in the school environment, which quite well fits into the critical theory. Power relations and the patterns of dominance among women (mothers) and the others in the school environment are focuses on, and it is performed by looking through a political lens in which certain groups apply power over the other groups in the school. What makes this process critical is that, there is a search for an emancipatory path as much as it could be derived from the analyzed situation.

By looking through the lenses of the critical paradigm, I as a researcher can see the assumptions of the subjects in the school environment and the power relations

among them. The best method to perform this type of task is qualitative interviewing and observation and they were conducted for this research for three months.

What makes this research feminist is that, it aims to evaluate how gender is affecting educational policy and its implementation by eliciting information from women; it considers women's experiences (Stanley & Wise, 1993). Moreover, this research aims at criticizing, re-evaluating and transforming the place of women in the education system.

Reflexivity as a Means of Feminist Perception

In relation with the feminist paradigm, reflexivity is another notion of this research including the researcher as a subject within the research. Bourdieu's philosophy of action is almost the same notion with the idea of reflexivity as it unveils the mutual relation between the researcher and her habitus (Deer, 2008). To be able to become reflexive the researcher should realize the invisible determinations inherent in the intellectual and academic stance of herself which Bourdieu (2001) names as 'ethnocentrism of the scientist'. In this respect, as a researcher I always kept in mind that I was a woman and a mother myself listening to the women and mothers. I explicitly put forward my position and feelings by listening to them without feeling the anxiety of hurting the 'objectivity' of the data I was gathering.

The Approach

This research is conducted mainly in a qualitative approach. The characteristics that define the research as qualitative are its being interpretive, experiential, situational

and personalistic. Qualitative research relies mainly on the perception of people and their understanding (Stake, 2010). As a matter of fact, the subject matter of this research (mothers in the school system) is a general phenomenon; however the subject is investigated on a micro basis in a single school setting, in this research. This single case is unique in some parts and thus an emphasis is put on the nature of this particular setting drawing conclusions and ideas by interpreting the data (Stake, 2010).

In this respect, the researcher saw herself as an instrument observing action and the context but as an instrument that plays a subjective role in this study by using her own personal observation and experiences in making interpretations. As it is known, observation and interviewing are the mostly used methods in qualitative research (Stake, 2010).

Starting with the Grounded Theory

In terms of the analysis approach, Grounded Theory is preferred because there were no researches at all on this issue in Turkey. Thus, it was appropriate to go and see what was taking place in the school and the context itself would tell what to focus and pay attention on. For this purpose prior to choosing the field school, another pilot research was conducted and observations and interviews were made at another school in İstanbul. This pilot school was located in a poorer neighborhood and the practices of the mothers in the school were less intense. At the end of the 2-week observation in this first school, the general picture started to emerge. As a result, I decided to conduct the main research at another school which was neither in a poor nor a well-off neighborhood. The field school was also visited basically grounded;

however some questions had already emerged in terms of the research. Nevertheless; the instances, the phenomena and the relations in a lower-middle class neighborhood school would still change the emergent questions. Thus, the first couple of weeks the research in the main field school is conducted in a grounded approach.

The features of the research were suitable for the grounded approach at the first phase due to some reasons. First of all, as Denscombe indicates the main features of a research based on the grounded theory (Denscombe, 1998: 280), the purpose of this analysis was to develop concepts by using the texts and talk as the data input formats on the progressing practices of Classroom Motherhood. The interviews were recorded and transcribed then texts were generated. The purpose was to derive meanings and find implications on the mothers' presence in school and how they interacted with the other subjects and power positions. In this respect, the focus was not on the specific words but on the meanings within the context. Compatible with the grounded theory there was a plan of analyzing the data by coding certain features, meanings and meaning chunks to be able to interpret the texts; this plan is applied for the collected data in the main field school. There emerged hundreds of meaning chunks which later on were re-chunked, eliminated, merged and redefined.

After two weeks visiting the field school, the main points to focus in the research became clarified, which were the activities of various actresses and actors in the system, how they interacted and what tensions occurred. This was the time a decision of combining the grounded approach with a different approach was made; the 'cultural historical activity theory'. As a matter of fact, this change in the approach was rather a combination than a shift. Therefore, the data collection procedures were organized according to the Grounded Theory, whereas in the processing of data and derivation of meaning many features of the Cultural Historical

Activity Theory (CHAT) were used. Thus, there is a mixture of two methodologies in this research which is a preference since it appeared more useful to find better answers to the research questions.

Combining It with the Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT)

Cultural Historical Action Theory (CHAT) provides a theoretical framework for social researches to understand and describe the interaction between individuals and the environment in natural settings. Vygotsky developed his theory using Marx's political theory which focuses on material production and sees the environment and the individual as a single unit to analyze. He claims that the individual and the environment are the parts of a complex system and human consciousness is created by the participation of the human in the activities (Yamagata-Lynch, 2010, p. 15). This was the most important reason for the decision in combining the CHAT approach to the analysis, as women were not considered as 'mothers' or as gratuitous givers of service and labor in an essentialist manner. The research paradigm compatible with an approach, interested in the physical, cultural and cognitive environment surrounding mothers and how they were acting and developing consciousness within the environment. This includes not only the question of how the environment was effecting their actions, but also how they were effecting the environment.

Below are some of the key concepts of CHAT to clarify the choice of integrating this approach to the grounded approach. In this respect, the concepts of mediated action, object, object-oriented activity, zone of proximal development and activity systems analysis will be explained.

Mediated Action is a semiotic process. Human consciousness develops through interaction with social others in an environment. By this way, individuals find new meanings in their world. People are not passive by means of their interactions; they modify or create activities. These activities have an effect in the transformation of tools and people around them (Scribner, 1997). Post-Vygotskian CHAT theorists broadened the scope of Mediated Action by introducing human activity as the unit of analysis that is distributed among multiple individuals and objects within the environment (Zeek, Foote, & Walker, 2001).

Object is the goal of the activity and it motivates the individual to participate in the activity. It also represents the material gains expected as a result of the activity.

Object-Oriented Activity is the mediational process that individuals participate to reach the goal. Individuals learn from the mediated action and they develop a consciousness accordingly; Vygotsky calls this as ‘internalization’. In the object-oriented activity there is an interaction among subject, object, motivation, action, goals, socio-historical context, consequences, and activity (Lazarev, 2004). When an activity is performed, the occurring events and the experienced results of these events qualitatively changes 1- the participant, 2- her goals and motives for participation, 3- the environment, and 4- the activity itself (Kaptelinin, 2005). When an activity is institutionalized it becomes strong and long-lasting as a tool within the culture (Cole & Engeström, 1993).

Zone Of Proximal Development (ZPD) is a distance or a difference before and after the action. For example, before solving a problem the learner has a level. After solving the problem with interaction s/he develops and improves. ZPD is the difference between those levels. ZPD is the metaphorical place where interpersonal

and intrapersonal activities blend and fuse; they are no longer different entities.

Individual consciousness is a shared embodiment between the individuals and their environments including the social others (Yamagata-Lynch, 2010, p. 19).

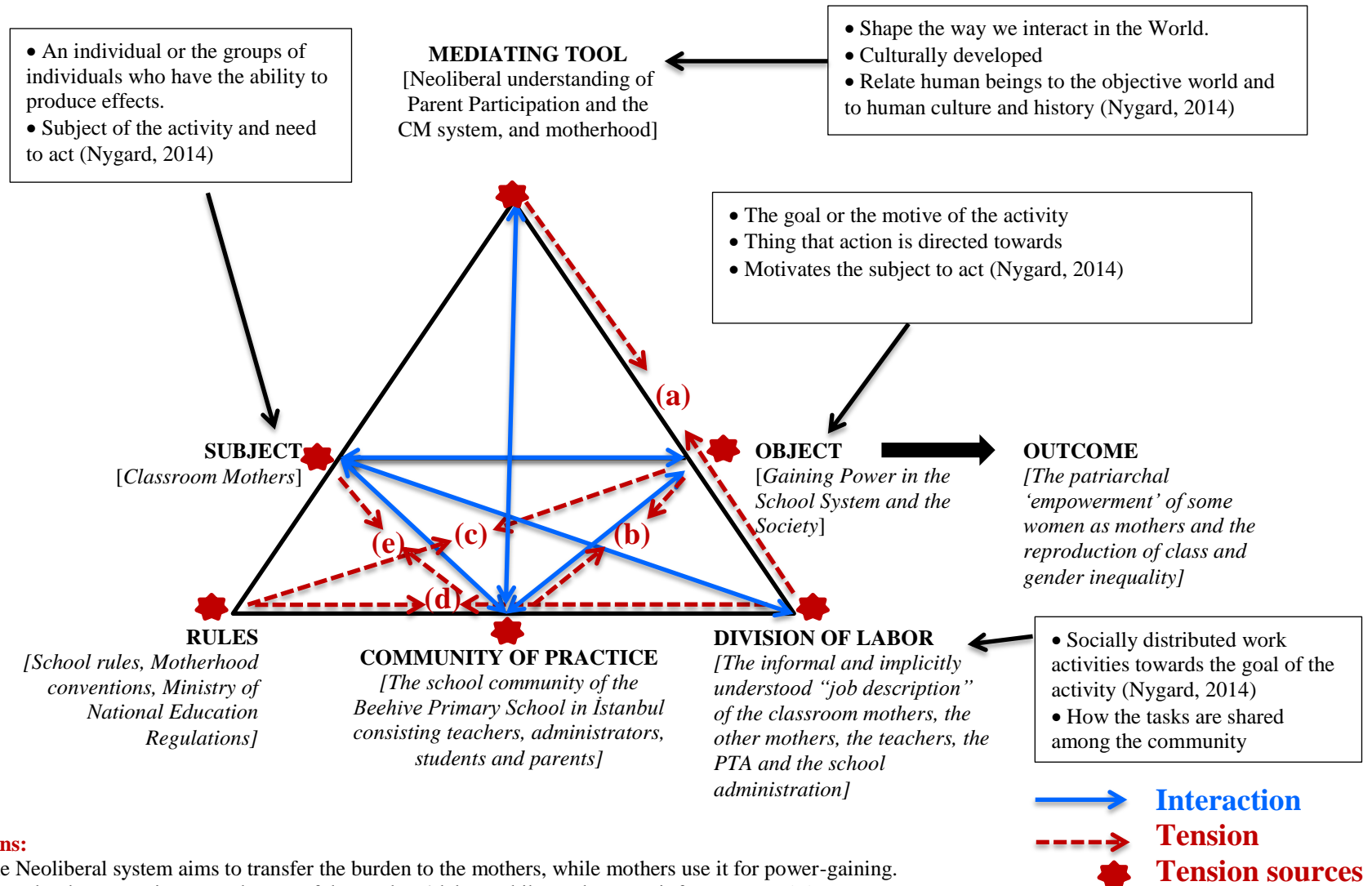
Activity Systems Analysis is an analytical method in the activity system developed by Engström (1987). It is used to draw a visual map of the co-evolutionary interaction between the individuals, the environment they act within and the mechanism that these two affect each other. Within this framework mediated action is a model of human activity that explains sociopolitical situations (Cole, 1996). This is especially important for this research as this analysis method enables to use CHAT in social and political contexts, which otherwise seems to be too psychological and person oriented. For Engström (1987), the object-oriented activity is the unit of analysis in the activity systems analysis. By this way, the researcher can critically experience the participants' activities and they can examine the collective meaning-making process and identify critical activities to find answers to her research questions (Yamagata-Lynch, 2010).

Figure.3 is the Engström's (1987) Activity Systems Model which is modified for this specific research. The top triangle is Vygotsky's original mediated action triangle. Here subject is an individual or a group (in the case for this research, classroom mothers), the tool is the social others (in this research case the teachers, the children, other mothers, the school administration, the family or the local government), the object is the goal or the motive of their activity (in this research case, the power the CMs want to gain within the school system). Engström adds the downside part of the figure and makes it a larger triangle by adding rules, community and the division of labor components. Within the process, as Yamagata-Lynch explains, subjects may find out new tools while experiencing the activities and

sometimes one tool may be discarded over time as they engage in new activities (Yamagata-Lynch, 2010). For the second part of the large triangle, 'rules' means regulations, either formal or informal, which draws the lines for the activity on its correctness and acceptability in the community. By 'community' we mean the social group that the subject acts within.

Below is the triangular diagram of activity systems analysis (Figure.3) which is adapted and formed for this research using Engström's diagram.

Figure 3. Activity Systems Analysis Diagram of this research



Tensions:

- (a): The Neoliberal system aims to transfer the burden to the mothers, while mothers use it for power-gaining.
- (b): The school system aims to make use of the mothers' labor, while mothers use it for power-gaining.
- (c): The school system needs mother labor, but does not want them to gain power
- (d): The school system needs to allocate mother labor, but does not want them to penetrate into power positions by the self-defined job description of the CM.
- (e): The community needs CM workforce but rejects their power position

“Activity Systems” is a popular methodology especially if the researcher works with data from complex learning environments (Yamagata-Lynch, 2010, p. 9). It is designed to enhance understanding of human activity situated in a collective context (Kaptelinin, 2005).

“In this model, the subject is the individual or groups of individuals involved in the activity. The tool includes social others and artifacts that can act as resources for the subject in the activity. The object is the goal or motive of the activity. The rules are any formal or informal regulations that in varying degree can affect how the activity takes place. The community is the social group that the subject belongs to while engaged in an activity. The division of labor refers to how the tasks are shared among the community. The outcome of an activity system is the end result of the activity” (Yamagata-Lynch, 2010, p. 2).

Considering this research, the subject is the Classroom mothers; the tool is Neoliberal understanding of Parent Participation and the CM system; the object is Gaining Power in the School System and the Society, the rules are the informally set system of classroom motherhood, the school rules, the motherhood conventions, the Ministry of National Education Regulations; the community is the school community of the field school in İstanbul consisting teachers, administrators, students and parents; the division of labor is the informal and implicitly understood “job description” of classroom mothers, activities of CMs, other mothers, teachers, PTA and the school administration; and finally, the outcome is the patriarchal empowerment of women as mothers and reproduction of class and gender inequality.

The most fitting part of this methodology in this research was that it asserts that the contextual systemic contradictions and the nature of each individual component in an activity system can create tensions within a system. For Cole and Engeström (1993), human activity usually triggers tensions because of the contradictions within the system.

“Tensions arise from the influences that systemic contradictions have on an activity and can affect the interactions between components in an activity system. Tensions can affect the subject’s ability to attain the object by taking a role as an obstacle, making it difficult for the subject to attain the object, or by taking a role as an enabling influence for the subject to attain the object” (Yamagata-Lynch, 2010, p. 2).

The general setting in the research indicates that there are certain tensions among the school administration, the official educational system, the teachers, the classroom mothers and the ‘other’ mothers. All the power, class and gender relations are set up on the tension among those subjects. The tensions shown in Figure 3 are listed below:

- (a): The Neoliberal system aims to transfer the burden to the mothers, while mothers use it for power-gaining.
- (b): The school system aims to make use of the mothers’ labor, while mothers use it for power-gaining.
- (c): The school system needs mother labor, but does not want them to gain power
- (d): The school system needs to allocate mother labor, but does not want them to penetrate into power positions by the self-defined job description of the CM.
- (e): The community needs CM workforce but rejects their power position

The systemic contradiction affects the rules the tools and the distribution of labor components of the activity system by introducing tensions (Yamagata-Lynch, 2010, p. 4). In the research, there is a tension between the mothers’ power and the official national education department which can be seen in the ordinance it issued declaring that there is no such a position as Classroom Motherhood. On the other hand, there is a tension between the community and the subject as the teachers interviewed all declared that there is no such thing as classroom motherhood and

they do not need it while applying the classroom motherhood process regularly. Another tension is between the classroom mothers and the school administration as they are fed up with the interference of the mothers into their power space but they cannot prevent. The last tension is among the classroom mothers and the “other mothers” since the “others” claim that there is a discrimination against them as classroom mothers are favored by the teachers. With the effect of these tensions the outcomes may change or the object of the activity may collapse altogether. Taking this CHAT approach into account this research shows whether the subjects are satisfied with what they elicit out of the process, as well. Thus, the activity system methodology clearly applies in the context of this research with some of its tools.

As Matusov (1998) claims, Vygotsky overemphasized the transformations that individuals experienced and did not sufficiently address the individual’s influence on the transformations of the social environment. However, this research explains how women, the classroom mothers, are also transforming the schools system. Thus, the CHAT method is not too much individual-focused (Engeström, 1987) in this research as the sociopolitical situation, the neoliberal educational transformation process, is taken into account. The whole action going around the individual subjects within the context is not considered as the sole instance; rather the effects of the larger social, economic and political process of neoliberal transformation giving its tone into the whole process is taken into consideration.

Consciousness development is a self-regulated meaning making process driven by goals and motives in which individuals or groups of individuals choose to participate (Yamagata-Lynch, 2010, p. 21). Moreover, activity emerges through a mutual process that transforms both the subject, the object, and the relationship between the subject, object and the context (Davydov, 1999). Within the school

system studied, there appears to be a specific type of consciousness developing and it is driven by the goals and motives that the mothers choose to participate. In this respect the CHAT approach seems to be a good tool to understand the process in the school in terms of mothers.

Production of the subject is a historical process and to understand this process we should focus on the process of learning which constructs this subject person (Lave & Wenger, 1996). The presence of these women (mothers) in the school environment constitutes a type of learning process for them. This is a learning process in which they try to elicit power, penetrate into the mechanisms of official systems and operate there. Nevertheless, it is an area of discussion whether the outcomes of this learning are critical and whether it reproduces the patriarchal system which women are oppressed by.

The world is socially constituted of both the objective forms and systems of activity, and the agents' subjective and intersubjective understandings of them. That is, the world and its constituted forms reciprocally produce and constitute each other. Thus, the knowledge of the socially structured world is produced, reproduced, and changed in the course of activity (Lave & Wenger, 1996). In terms of the research not only the mothers who are constituting the school environment and the power relations by penetrating into the school space through the fractures in the structure using the notion of motherhood, but also the needs of the patriarchal capitalist neoliberal system constitutes the ways in which the mothers use and utilize the power relations and reconstruct their existence within the school system. One cannot understand the ways in which the mothers transform the school environment and the ways in which they are transformed by the school environment without taking the historical formation of womanhood/motherhood and the tools of patriarchy into

account. This is the reason why this research needs to connect a mosaic of different approaches articulating into feminist critical approach in terms of the research methodology.

To summarize, it should be emphasized that some principles of CHAT clarifies the reasons for choosing CHAT as an accompanying approach of analysis. First, activity system is the primary unit of analysis that is it assumes a co-evolutionary interaction between the individuals, the environment and the social mechanism. Second, multi-voicedness is another feature of CHAT which means that there are multiple points of views and interests within the activity system. This feature is also compatible with the research as it aims to picture the issue from the googles of different subjects such as the CMs, the other mothers, the PTA, the school administrators and the teachers. Third, history is taken into consideration as it shapes and transforms the activities over time. In the research neoliberal processes and this historical level of capitalism is taken as the background for the activities taking place in the school system. Another characteristic of CHAT which is compatible with the research is that, contradictions are seen as sources of change. In this research there are multiple contradictions that lead for tensions and generation of an alternative paradigm is only possible by understanding and analyzing these tensions. It is quite Marxist in a respect that it sees dialectics as a means of change. The last but not the least, CHAT sees a possibility of expansive qualitative transformation in the analysis and one of the aims of this research is to shed light to an alternative way of women's empowerment and a parental participation in a different paradigm for the future researches.

Using Bourdieu's Field Theory in Combination with CHAT

In this research I found the CHAT and Bourdieu's Field Theory very compatible and complementary to analyze the social relations and positioning of a certain group or groups of people. Thus, I use the CHAT approach together with Bourdieu's Social Space Graphing since their combination makes a good cooperation of approaches to better analyze the research setting in regarding the research questions.

The field theory of Bourdieu is used in this research in order to generate a 'Capital Positioning Chart' which would help the researcher and the reader to literally visualize the positioning of the mothers and their various capital accumulations in mutual relation.

Bourdieu suggested three steps which could be used to investigate a given field in terms of capital positioning which is rephrased below:

1. Analyze the positions of the field vis-à-vis the field of power.
2. Map out the objective structures of relations between the positions occupied by the social agents or institutions who compete for the legitimate forms of specific authority of which this field is a site.
3. Analyze the habitus of social agents, the different systems of dispositions they have acquired by internalizing a determinate type of social and economic condition, and which find in a definite trajectory within the field... a more or less favorable opportunity to become actualized (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, pp. 104-105).

By using this approach researcher is able to reveal the correspondences or 'fit' between a position in the field, and the 'stance' or position by means of taking of the social agent occupying that position (Grenfell, 2008). Bourdieu offers that in and of

equilibrium position in a field, the field mediates what social agents do in specific social, economic and cultural contexts. Namely, the field and the habitus constitute a dialectic through which specific practices produce and reproduce the social world that at the same time creates them. By using this visual charting, one can see the power relations and the capabilities of the agents within the given field. This chart is generated for the mothers within the given school system.

The Design

This research is conducted in a field where almost no data could be reached so far in Turkey. Within the research index in Turkey the researcher could not find any studies on classroom mothers focusing on the mothers' role in the school system. This is the reason why it is preferred to start with the grounded theory; as the main aim was to see the field and gather as many data as possible. The research design is generated in a manner that the topic and the context suitably fit in. Below the stages generated and applied throughout the research process is listed:

- 1- The researcher defined what information and knowledge is to be elicited about the research topic, and made brainstorming notes, generated literature areas that would elaborate the understanding of the field. (Motherhood, Parent participation, neoliberal policies in education, unpaid labor, voluntary labor, mothers and school)
- 2- The researcher went and observed the school and the mothers and saw what activities were being practiced.
 - a. Had some informal spontaneous chats with mothers, classroom mothers, the school administrators and the teachers.

- b. Observed what they were doing
 - c. Observed who they were interacting with
 - d. Observed the manner of their interaction
 - e. Took notes and generated questions over what she observed
 - f. The researcher made a mind map of what she observed and took notes, saw what types of fields and sub-fields emerged as she generated questions upon the observations.
- 3- The researcher put her participants in categories, wrote questions on the subjects she sought information about each participant category, and wrote questions to ask them.
- 4- The researcher made appointment arrangements for the interviews and the observations
- 5- The researcher conducted the first interviews with one participant from each category (one with a teacher, one with an administrator, one with a classroom mother, one with a non-classroom mother, one with a PTA member).
- 6- After the initial pilot interviews the researcher revised her questions, generated new ones and eliminated the irrelevant questions.
- 7- The researcher conducted the interviews by tape-recording and took observational notes.
- 8- After finishing the data gathering process (observations and in-depth interviews) the researcher transcribed the interviews and elaborated on her observations by taking more notes on them.
- 9- The researcher read the field notes and transcriptions of the interviews and generated umbrella codes (larger headings of the topics mentioned in the interviews).

- 10- The researcher copied and pasted the relevant parts of the transcriptions under the umbrella headings
- 11- The researcher reviewed the data under the umbrella coding and made sense of the data.
 - a. Added on to the literature that needed expanding
 - b. Made subcategories or new categories of the literature which needed additional reviewing (emotional and care labor, power and empowerment, women and social capital)
- 12- The researcher read the literature and took notes on the field data
- 13- The researcher took the categorized data under large headings and re-categorized them with detailed sub-headings under the relevant larger heading.
- 14- The researcher underlined the indicator of tensions, conflicts and power struggles and grouped them relevantly
- 15- The researcher took notes on the conflict-marker observations and statements in the interviews and combined them with the relevant interview transcriptions
- 16- The researcher made a visual map of the relations, tensions, and outcomes of the investigated environment and put it on a socio-historical political background by drawing lines about the effects (mind-mapping).
- 17- The researcher saw whether the picture made sense with what was going on in the field and compared it with the ideal picture in her mind.

The Research Questions

The researcher had vague questions in mind and thus went into the field on the basis of the grounded theory. After a two-week observation, the following research questions appeared:

- 1- What is the role of mothers in the neoliberal transformation process in the school system?
 - a. What is the relation of the neoliberal transformation and the patriarchally 'naturalized' form of motherhood?

During the research on the grounded theory basis, some other questions emerged which gave the researcher an idea that the following two questions should be investigated on the basis of the Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT), focusing on the occurring tensions during the process:

- 2- How do women use the patriarchally defined motherhood role to penetrate into the school system to gain power?
 - a. What are the characteristics of the power elicited by these mothers in the school system?
 - b. Does the positioning of mothers in the school system reproduce class and gender inequalities?

Therefore, the research questions that aim to find answers with this research are categorized into two mainframes which have their sub-questions. The first part of the research questions aim to describe the existing situation with its practices and incidences, and the second part of the research questions aims to describe and

analyze the relations and instances that create tensions and thus change in the process.

The Research Setting

The research is conducted in a primary level school in the district of Şişli in İstanbul. Şişli is one of the most central districts of İstanbul and is highly diverse in terms of the population. The reason of this diversity is that, during the rural-urban migration of 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, Şişli has attracted many immigrants around its periphery as it was one of the business centers and the accommodation regions for the urban well-off.

The center of Şişli still remains one of the busiest business centers but the first circle around the core is a residential area with former rural immigrants who now have their third generation with urban culture. Formerly, they had their shanty houses and within a 40-50 years' time they gained their land titles and this transformed both their positions in the city and their houses. In the second circle around this first circle the social structure is a bit more lower-class.

The public school where the research is conducted is a favorite one among the parents to send their children. To be able to understand this popularity the public schools within the neoliberal transformation in Turkey should be categorized. During the neoliberal transformation in the education system, the public schools are left without any public financial support. The schools are provided with nothing but the school building and the publicly paid teachers. Thus, the parents are forced to support the school financially in all terms from the payment of the city water to the electricity and from the classroom fixtures to the wages of the cleaners in the school.

With these conditions schools have transformed according to the districts and the neighborhoods they are located. The neighborhoods with more well-off population have developed and equipped their schools with the sufficient funding collected from the parents, while the poorer neighborhoods lacked even the basic school needs and the equipment. Not interestingly, the well-off schools started to take part in the higher ranks in the “success” lists of the city schools, whereas the poor neighborhood schools remained “rubbish” for the families who had no better “choice”.

Moreover, relatively well-off families living in different parts of the city, started to compete for sending their children to these “successful” schools even if their houses were far apart from the neighborhood where these schools were located. The chances of the families to send their children to better quality public schools are in direct proportion to their financial status.

Public schools were categorized informally into 3 sections: “the upper-quality”, “the middle-quality” and “the rubbish¹”. Upper quality public primary schools were filled with the children of the well-paid professionals such as the architects, doctors, engineers and the like. These schools collected large amounts of money from the parents and the above mentioned professionals are able afford it. In terms of the amount, these upper quality public schools collected much less money from the parents compared to the private primary schools, where they pay around 10 to 20 thousand US dollars annually. The middle quality schools were popular among the middle class parents who could afford less but would like their children to obtain the best education they could, in order to be able to have a chance for a better secondary school education by entering the high-stakes national exams. Finally, the “rubbished-out” schools are usually the ones where the excluded attend; the gypsies,

¹ This is the terminology developed among the classroom mothers interviewed. This is a direct transfer of their terminology.

the roman, the newly migrated Kurds and the newly migrated others. Neither those children nor their families have a vision and a hope of transition to a better secondary school and a better future.

The field school of this research is among the “middle-quality” schools. Middle-class parents with less financial opportunities send their children to this school due to a couple of reasons some of which are listed below:

- Some of these families live around this central neighborhood (which means they can afford to live in the neighborhood) send their children to this school.
- Some of these families live far away but they can afford to pay for the school service to send their children to this school
- The teachers in this school are experienced and they have a reputation of making the children get good results in the national high-stakes exams.
- The school is a full-day school which offers study-periods until the end of the work day. This makes the school an attraction for working parents.

One of the most important features of the school is that, it attracted relatively low-income middle-class families who are representing the socio-economic level that has a desperately greater hope for the education to get their children socially upwardly mobile. This is also valid for the “upper quality” public school attendants but not for the “rubbished school”. The Beehive Primary School is chosen among the middle-quality schools since it is much more “restless”, active, instable, and “ruleless” compared to the “prim and proper” rule-based “upper-quality” public schools, besides the fact that the middle-quality public schools represented a wider proportion in the school system. In the Beehive Primary School the notion of “Classroom Motherhood” would tell more as there was more social conflict and thus more social action.

The school is located just in the edge of the district center, which indicates that it is easy to commute for the out-comers. The environment around the school is lively as there are many business places, hospitals, official bureaus and cafes.

The school has one nursery class, fifteen primary education classes (three grade 1 classes, three grade 2 classes, three grade 3 classes, three grade 4 classes and three grade 5 classes), and 15 secondary level classes) which were not included in the scope of this research). The teachers, parents (mothers) and classroom mothers of 16 classes from nursery grade to grade five, and the school administrators were included in the research.

The Participants

Fifty-two participants were interviewed in total. Each interview lasted for around forty minutes to two hours.

The participants could be categorized as follows:

- 12 primary school classroom teachers
- 1 counsellor teacher
- 18 classroom mothers
- 18 non-classroom mothers
- 3 administrators

For the CMs, the classroom teachers and the school administrators rather than choosing a sample group, almost all the CMs, school administrators and the classroom teachers in the filed school were interviewed. On the other hand, the non-CM mothers were randomly sampled among the mothers who showed up in the school every day.

Apart from the interview categories the following sites were observed for 3 months (one semester):

- Teachers' room and interaction of teachers and their talks
- Cafes around school and the observation of teacher- CM, CM-CM, Mother-CM interactions
- Principal's office and the interaction of teachers, students, CMs, Mothers
- Vice-principals' rooms and the interaction of teachers, students, CMs, Mothers
- School gate and the mothers, teachers, children interacting
- School corridors and lunch hall during the lesson breaks and the lunch breaks

Below is a list of the interview participants:

Table 5. The Number and the Distribution of the Research Participants

TEACHER	CLASSROOM MOTHER	NON-CLASSROOM MOTHER	SCHOOL ADMINISTRATOR
Grade-1 – 2 people Grade-2 – 1 person Grade-3 – 3 people Grade-4 – 3 people Grade-5 – 3 people Counsellor – 1 person	Grade-1 – 4 people Grade-2 – 2 people Grade-3 – 3 people Grade-4 – 3 people Grade-5 – 3 people Former CM – 2 people Kindergarten – 1 person	Grade-1 – 2 people Grade-2 – 3 people Grade-3 – 2 people Grade-4 – 4 people Grade-5 – 1 person Special Needs – 5 people Former Parent – 1 person	Principal – 1 person Vice-principal – 2 people
TOTAL: 13 Teachers	TOTAL: 18 Classroom Mothers	TOTAL: 18 Non-classroom Mothers	TOTAL: 3 School Principals
TOTAL INTERVIEWEES: 52 People			

The Classroom Mothers

As for the Classroom Mothers (CM), the demographic data is presented below:

Table 6. The Demographic Information of the Participant Classroom Mothers

CLASSROOM MOTHERS							
NU	PSEUDONYM	CHILD'S GRADE	EDUCATIONAL STATUS	# OF KIDS IN THIS SCHOOL	AGE	DURATION IN COM POSITION	EMPLOYMENT STATUS
1	Berna	1	High School	1	38		Quit work for children
2	Jale	1	Primary School	2	40	1 year	Housewife
3	Mine	1	High School	2	36	1 year	Quit work for children
4	Pinar	1	Primary School	2	40	1 year	Housewife
5	Aynur	2	High School	1	26	1 year	Quit work for children
6	Ceyhan	2	High School	2	37	2 years	Quit work for children
7	İrem	3	Undergraduate	1	33	4 years	Quit work for children
8	Nevin	3	Undergraduate	1	33	1 year	Medical Nurse
9	Lale	3	Undergraduate	1	43	3 years	Quit work for children
10	Oya	4	Primary School	2	35	1 year	Quit work for children
11	Kiraz	4	High School	2	35	5 years	Quit work for children
12	Hayal	4	Two-year assoc. univ. degree	2	34	6 years	Quit work for children
13	Feza	5	High School	1	40	5 years	Housewife
14	Emine	5	High School	2	46	5 years	Quit work for children
15	Güliz	5	Two-year assoc. univ. degree	1	36	5 years	Quit work for children
16	Dila	Kindergarten	High School	2	35	4 years	Quit work for children
17	Aylin	Former CM	High School	1	49	5 years	Quit work for children
18	Buse	Former CM	Vocational High School	2	43	4 years	Office woman at school

As it can be seen from the above table, 13 of the 18 CMs quit their job for looking after their children and dealing closely with their children's education. Two of the CMs are 'working' mothers, and three of the 18 CMs interviewed are 'housewives'. This simple demographic data gives us an idea about the mothers who preferred to become CMs. Most of the CMs seem to have quit their paid jobs for their children.

As for their educational level, most of the CMs (10 out of 18) are high school (lise) graduates, three are primary school graduates, 3 are university graduates and 2 are two-year degree university graduates.

The non-CM Mothers

Demographic data for the non-CMs are as follows:

Table 7. The Demographic Information of Participant Non-classroom Mothers

NON-CLASSROOM MOTHERS					
NU	PSEUDONYM	CHILD'S GRADE	EDUCATIONAL STATUS	# OF KIDS IN THIS SCHOOL	EMPLOYMENT STATUS
1	Zeynep	1	Undergraduate	1	Teacher
2	Çimen	1	Primary School	2	Housewife
3	Uğur	2	Two-year assoc. univ. degree	1	Former Teacher (now housewife)
4	Yeliz	2	Undergraduate	2	Teacher
5	Şeyda	2	High School	1	Office clerk
6	Verda	3	Undergraduate	2	Teacher
7	Rana	3	High School	1	Quit work for children (now housewife)
8	Ümran	4	Undergraduate	1	Public officer
9	Betül	4	Primary School	1	Housewife
10	Cemile	4	Primary School	1	Housewife
11	Didem	4	Primary School	2	Husband forced to quit (now housewife)
12	Tülin	5	Primary School	1	Housewife
13	Elif	Special Needs Class	Primary School	1	Housewife
14	Ferda	Special Needs Class	Primary School	1	Housewife
15	Gaye	Special Needs Class	Primary School	1	Housewife
16	Hatice	Special Needs Class	Primary School	2	Housewife
17	Jülide	Special Needs Class	Primary School	1	Housewife
18	Aslı	Former Parent	High School	1	Office manager

Looking at the same demographic data for the mothers who are not CMs, there appears a different picture. 12 out of 18 mothers (67% of the non-classroom mothers interviewed) are ‘housewives’, three mothers are teachers and the remaining three mothers do office work.

As for their level of education most of the randomly selected mothers were primary school graduates (10 out of 18), four mothers were university graduates, three were high school (lise) graduates and one was two-year degree university graduate.

The Teachers

Most of the teachers were male (8 out of 13 teachers) and they had an experience over 35 years as a teacher. Teachers from every grade of the primary level were interviewed. One of the teachers was the counselor teacher who was female and had the fewest years of experience in teaching.

Table 8. Demographic Information of Participant Teachers

TEACHERS				
#	PSEUDONYM	SEX	GRADE	EXPERIENCE
1	Fahri	Male	1	40 Years
2	Fatma	Female	1	34 Years
3	Emir	Male	2	33 Years
4	İlke	Female	3	33 Years
5	Necmi	Male	3	35 Years
6	Burhan	Male	3	33 Years
7	Meltem	Female	4	35 Years
8	Hilal	Female	4	37 Years
9	Ali	Male	4	31 Years
10	Demir	Male	5	36 Years
11	Cafer	Male	5	33 Years
12	Galip	Male	5	37 Years
13	Olca	Female	Counsellor	2 Years

The School Administrators

There were three administrators in the school, one school principle and two vice-principles. All of them were male and they had an experience of more than 30 years in average.

Table 9. Demographic Information of Participant School Administrators

SCHOOL PRINCIPLES				
#	PSEUDONYM	POSITION	SEX	EXPERIENCE
1	Ahmet	Principle	Male	41 Years
2	Murat	Vice-principle	Male	21 Years
3	Levent	Vice-principle	Male	33 Years

Data Collection Procedures

Before indicating the data collection procedures I will clarify the process of finding the field school, getting in touch with the participants, the engagement process and gaining trust, becoming an insider day by day and the transcription process.

Touching upon these points would give an idea of the process that the researcher went through as a woman and a mother besides being an academic researcher.

Choosing the School

As mentioned in the introduction chapter, a pilot study was conducted in a primary school in a relatively poor neighborhood in İstanbul. It was by the help of my brother's wife who is a primary school teacher. She was talking about classroom

mothers mostly in a manner of complaint. I visited the school and contacted with the classroom mothers with her help. Meeting them by means of a classroom teacher was easier. After having an idea on what was going on, the idea of finding a middle-quality school became clearer considering the potential social conflicts.

In search for the classroom mother issues, nearly 30-35 people who had children in the primary level education in the public schools were asked about their opinions prior to the field research. Some of them were sending their children to 'upper quality' public primary schools, some were sending to 'middle-quality' ones and some others were sending their children to the class they called 'rubbish'. I listened to the stories and anecdotes from each of them and realized that stories were more colorful, more complicated and more restless in the 'middle-quality' schools. These were the schools where the lower-middle class families were sending their children and these mothers were desperately struggling to help their children achieve and have a better further education in the future levels; they still had a hope for upward social mobility for their children by means of education.

Among the similar schools this field school which I give the pseudonym 'Beehive Primary School' appeared the most appropriate for the research; regarding the social dynamism, liveliness and activity. It was the school where three of my relatives' children were attending and presented convenience in contacting with the school administration, the Parent Teacher Association and the teachers. Moreover, the counselor teacher was a graduate of my own university by coincidence, which helped in terms of convenience.

During the first visit to the school I was 8 months pregnant for my son. When I told them that I was conducting a research on mothers in the school, it was quite understandable for them. They even promised to help me in every aspect since

they thought that this ‘poor pregnant woman’ needed help. I visited the school every day until the birth of my son. One and a half months after the birth I continued visiting the school until the end of the next semester. Thus, I was present in the school almost more than a semester.

Becoming Insider Day by Day

At first, especially some female teachers, the CMs who had close relations with the PTA, and the PTA members approached with caution and were relatively reserved. They were not sure if the researcher was ‘watching them to find their faults’. Later on, with all the other teachers, the CMs, the administrators and the mothers, they got used to my presence and they started to share their problems with me. The reason why they changed their attitude had a couple of explanations. First of all, they observed me for a couple of weeks to see if I was bearing what I have heard to the others. Later, they realized that I was reserved, since otherwise the word-of-mouth mechanism which works in the speed of light would decipher me. They heard my own personal life from me; I was asking experienced mothers for advice in terms of looking after my son. They were so eager to help. They were sometimes suggesting me not to come to school every day, as my little baby would need me. We were sharing our baby caring experiences and giving advice to each other. Then we became friends and started to have a cup of coffee in the nearby cafes and we chatted from this and that. This was the time when they started to tell me the ‘truth’. It was also the time when I decided that it was time for arranging appointments for the interviews.

As for the interviews, the counselor teacher helped me a lot doing the legwork for me on her own will. The mothers, the teachers and the CMs were working on my behalf to find more people for me to interview and they were persuading them that I was a very reliable person and they could tell whatever they really think. I felt so lucky having them around me. I thought that it was a good idea just to observe for a couple of weeks and develop personal relations rather than directly interviewing with them. Now they have my contact information and we still sometimes get in touch.

In terms of observation, I took a lot of notes in the corridors, in the administrative rooms and in the teachers' room, as well as in the PTA room and the cafés. In the initial observation stage, I took no notes explicitly as it would create a feeling of 'someone is watching us' in the participants. Instead, I noted down my observations at home or in the class hours when everyone was dealing with their work.

In terms of the interviews, I explained them that whatever they would tell is precious for me and teaches me a lot; and that it was very hard for me to take notes while listening to them. I explained them that because of this recording the interview would help me much. Later, I told them in detail about what I would do with the recordings after the interview emphasizing that 'confidentiality' was a must in terms of the validity of my research, thus neither the name of the school nor the people would be disclosed. In the recording process I only had two participants who told me they would not feel comfortable with the recorder. One of them was a primary school female teacher and the other was a CM who told me that she felt uneasy about the possibility that her husband would learn she talked to a recorder. For these two cases I only took notes and did not record anything at all. During the note taking process I

asked them for feedback on my notes, for example I was asking: 'I wrote exactly this sentence', did I understand it correct?'. By this way, they were sure that I was not doing anything against their own personal will.

Doing the Transcriptions of the Interviews

In the transcription process, I was advised by the colleagues to hire someone to transcribe the interviews to save time since I had interviewed with 52 people and an average interview lasted between 40 minutes to 2 hours. I decided to listen to one single interview and then decide to hire someone for transcription accordingly. However, I found myself taking a lot of side notes while listening to the interviews because the tone of the voice, the background voice, and the interruptions were reminding me of the visual stage of that moment and this was giving me new ideas for my analysis. I was living that moment again, remembering the gestures, the postures and the mimics of the participants and I was also remembering what I was thinking at that moment. This was something very important for me, and I decided to transcribe all the interviews on my own.

In-depth one-on-one interview and observation are used as source of data for the research. To see interactions between people including naturally occurring actions, responses and language observation is a useful research method (Denscombe, 1998, p. 273). In this respect, observation is used as an initial phase of data collection, in the later parts of data collection process I continued with one-on-one in-depth interviews along with the observation method.

The Observations

The main aim of the observation method is to see the natural behavior which is considered as an existing part of the individual's response habits which is not consciously performed (Crano & Brewer, 2002, p. 198). As Hatch (2002) indicates, the goal of observation is to understand the culture, setting, or social phenomenon being studied from the perspectives of the participants. Observers attempt to see the world through the eyes of those they are studying. The idea is to be there in the social setting, to make a careful record of what people say and do, and to make sense of how the participants make sense within that setting (pp. 72-73). For this reason the initial part of data gathering is organized as an observation period as it was important to gather spontaneous information about the context and the participants in order to be able to compare with the data derived from the interviews. By means of the initial observational study, it became possible to understand the ways in which more detailed data could be gathered and a sense of trust could be provided for the further data gathering process in the interview phase.

The Interviews

When interviews are used in conjunction with observation, they provide ways to explore participants' perspectives more deeply on actions observed by researchers (Hatch, 2002, p. 91). According to Crano and Brewer (2002), interviews involve some form of interaction between the investigator and the respondent, and this factor distinguishes the technique as an interactive one. This feature of the technique

together with its dependence on verbal or linguistic responses constitutes a major strength and a drawback at the same time (p. 223).

The Feminist Interview

The Feminist researcher creates an atmosphere in which the women interviewee feels knowledgeable by urging them to tell their life stories in their own way rather than restricting them with close and rigid questioning (Reinharz, 1992, p. 25). Thus, feminist researchers prefer 'unstructured research interview' or 'open-ending interview' which consist open-ended questions to maximize eliciting the picture of the interviewee (Reinharz, 1992, p. 19). Some feminist researchers who conduct intensive interviewing name their method 'phenomenological interviewing', an interviewee-guided investigation of a lived experience that asks almost no prepared questions (Reinharz, 1992, p. 21). These types of interviewing provide an opportunity for the interviewee to report her ideas, thoughts, and memories in her own words rather than in the words of the researcher. This asset is particularly important for the study of women because in this way learning from women is an antidote to centuries of ignoring women's ideas altogether or having men speak for women.

Moreover, 'digression' and 'researcher self-disclosure' is important for feminist interview. Digression is as important as the core information (Reinharz, 1992, p. 25) as it is the woman's own initiative and own word, where she can actualize herself in the interview. Besides, researcher's self-disclosure is an important part of feminist interview as the sincere and authentic feelings and ideas of

the interviewer contributes to the real interaction between the researcher and the interviewee and creates trust.

I have prepared the research questions at the end of the second week of the observations. These questions were not directly asked to the interviewees; rather I put a check mark when the interviewee spontaneously gave an answer for the questions. When there were some questions left unanswered, I asked them directly.

Data Analysis Model: Inductive Analysis

Inductive thinking refers to starting the analysis from specific instances and reaching to general conclusions step by step. The researcher starts with specific elements of data and evidence, puts them into a meaningful whole and discovers connections among the data. By searching patterns of meaning in data the researcher can make general statements about phenomena under investigation (Hatch, 2002).

Hatch clarifies the steps in an inductive analysis as follows:

- 1- Read the data and identify frames of analysis
- 2- Create domains based on semantic relationships discovered within frames of analysis
- 3- Identify salient domains, assign them a code, and put others aside
- 4- Reread data, refining salient domains and keeping a record of where relationships are found in the data
- 5- Decide if your domains are supported by the data and search data for examples that do not fit with or run counter to the relationships in your domains
- 6- Complete an analysis within domains

- 7- Search for themes across domains
- 8- Create a master outline expressing relationships within and among domains
- 9- Select data excerpts to support the elements of your outline (Hatch, 2002, pp. 161-162).

In this research the data collected by observation and feminist interview techniques are analyzed inductively by categorizing the data into semantic chunks, drawing interrelations among the semantic data chunks to find out the themes and the outcomes are interpreted according to the theoretical framework.

Ethical Assurances

In this research the study is conducted by making in-depth one-on-one interviews with mothers, teachers and school administrators. For the study, the human research criteria are vividly inquired and carefully implemented. Before the field research and the in-depth interviews, an application was made to INAREK (Research Ethics Committee of Boğaziçi University) and the application is approved with the registration number 2012/27 (Appendix A).

For the purpose of eliciting consent, an informed consent form is used and shared with the participants. The participants were informed in detail about the scope of the research and their possible contribution as well as the strict confidentiality rules applied. After ensuring that the name of the school, the teachers, the parents and the students will be kept confidential, the participants were asked for additional permission for tape-recording their voice during the interviews.

The interviews were conducted in calm and an unreserved manner and thus the participants were eager to give more information throughout the interviews. The participants were given the information that, at any time during or after the interview they have the right to renounce to participate and the records and the notes would be removed from the database of the research. All the participants were asked to sign the consent form prior to the interviews. After conducting the interviews and transcribing them, the data collected is shared with the participants and their consent is taken before using the data in the study. The data analyzed in the following chapter is used after taking the official written authorized consent of the participants.

CHAPTER 5

THE PRESENTATION AND THE DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS: SCHOOL AS A CONTESTED TERRITORY OF POWER AND SUPPRESSION – CLASSROOM MOTHERHOOD AS A POWER POSITION

In this chapter, in terms of the overall concerns of the study, the school and the mother's unpaid labor is situated in the neoliberal context focusing on the tensions and negotiations between the volunteering mothers in the Beehive Primary School and the rest of the actors (the state bodies, the school administration, the teachers, and the other mothers) in the school system. The mothers' presence in the school system reflects the characteristics of the patriarchal motherhood role attributed to women. In this study these features are inferred in the ways in which women utilize this patriarchal maternal role to penetrate in the power positions of the school system.

In addition, related with the overall concerns of the study, another focus of this research is the ways in which the mothers' practices and attitudes in the school field reproduce the class and gender inequalities. In this respect, the differentiations in the mothers' attitudes in their participation process and the tensions created by their praxis are elaborated. The research identifies and illustrates certain characteristics of the activities and relationships in the school environment to signal the reproduction of gender inequality and the exclusion generating from the class differences.

In terms of the organization of this chapter, first the socio-economic structure of the district and the climate of the school are described as a geographical and cultural sub-context of the research. After the contextualization of the urban

social geography and the school climate by the use of the field data, the issue of mothering for schooling is expanded with regard to the Classroom Motherhood (CM) as a notion and a process. Subsequently, the social class of the mothers acting and interacting in the school environment is addressed in order to discover the reproduction of the inequalities among women as parents in terms of power and empowerment processes. Later, the discussions on power are associated with the field data on the tensions among the actors in the field. The analysis and the discussion of the power tensions are followed by the analysis and discussions on the data on the cohesiveness and the concordance of the notion of classroom motherhood with the needs of neoliberal educational policies.

The Socio-economic Structure of the District and the Climate of the School

The research is conducted in a primary level school in İstanbul in the district of Şişli, which is one of the most central districts of İstanbul and is highly diverse in terms of the population. Şişli owes its diversity to the rural-urban migration of 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, attracting many immigrants to its periphery as it was one of the business centers and the accommodation region for the urban well-off.

Şişli still remains one of the busiest business centers but the first residential circle around the core is inhabited by the former rural immigrants who now have their third generation with urban culture. These residents formerly had their shanty houses in the neighborhood and within a 40-50 years' time they gained their land titles and this transformed both their positions in the city and their houses into a better level. The social structure in the second circle around this first circle exhibits a more lower-class inhabitation.

The school in which this study is conducted is a popular school among the parents from the middle class who have a noteworthy focus on their children's education. This popularity can be understood referring to the categorization of the public schools in the evaluation of the parents. As the schools are left without any public funding in the neoliberal transformation process of the education system, parents are forced to support the school financially in all terms from the payment of the city water to the electricity and from the classroom fixtures to the wages of the cleaners in the school. As a consequence, schools have transformed according to the districts and the neighborhoods they are located. The neighborhoods with more well-off population have developed and equipped their schools with the sufficient funding collected from the parents, while the poorer neighborhoods lacked even the basic school needs and equipment. Not interestingly, the well-off schools started to take part in the higher ranks in the "success" lists of the city schools, whereas the poor neighborhood schools remained "rubbish" and served for the families who had no better "choice".

Moreover, relatively well-off families living in different parts of the city, started to compete for sending their children to these "successful" schools even if their houses were far apart from the neighborhood where these schools were located. The chances of the families to send their children to better quality public schools are in direct proportion to their financial status.

Public schools were categorized informally into 3 sections: "the upper-quality", "the middle-quality" and "the rubbish". Upper quality public primary schools were filled with the children of the well-paid professionals such as the architects, doctors, engineers and the like. These schools collected large amounts of money from the parents and the above mentioned professionals are able afford it. In

terms of the amount of contribution fee, these upper quality public schools collected much less money from the parents compared to the private primary schools, where they pay around 10 to 20 thousand US dollars annually. The middle quality schools were popular among the middle class parents who could afford less but would like their children to obtain the best education they could in order to be able to have a chance for a better secondary school education by entering the high-stakes national exams. Finally, the “rubbished-out” schools are usually the ones where the excluded attend; the gypsies, the roman, the newly migrated Kurds and the newly migrated others. Neither those children nor their families have a vision and a hope of transition to a better secondary school and a better future.

The Beehive Primary School where the research is conducted is among the “middle-quality” schools the parents of which have a moderate income but not adequate to send their children to private schools. One of the most important features of the school is that, it attracted relatively low-income middle-class families who are representing the socio-economic level that has a desperately greater hope for the education to get their children socially upwardly mobile. This is also valid for the “upper quality” public school attendants but not for the “rubbished school”. The field school is chosen among the middle-quality schools since it is much more “restless”, active, instable, and “ruleless” compared to the “prim and proper” rule-based “upper-quality” public schools, besides the fact that middle-quality public schools represented a wider proportion in the school system. In that school the notion of “Classroom Motherhood” would tell more as there were more social conflicts and thus more social action.

The school is located just in the edge of the district center, which indicates that it is easy to commute for the out-comers. The environment around the school is lively as there are many business places, hospitals, official bureaus and cafes.

The school has one nursery class, fifteen primary education classes (three grade 1 classes, three grade 2 classes, three grade 3 classes, three grade 4 classes and three grade 5 classes), and 15 secondary level classes (which were not included in the scope of this research). The teachers, parents (mothers) and classroom mothers of 16 classes from nursery grade to grade five were included in the research.

The Climate and the Culture of the School

The school has a large building in which the first and the second level of primary education are conducted as well as the nursery level class. Thus, the first impression when I first entered in the school was the buzzy noise of the screaming children and the teachers shouting at them during the break time. It was as if some invisible hand pushed all these human-beings into this large building and forced them to stay in there and perform some predetermined tasks in the predetermined hours daily. I thought that these people, the children and the teachers must be transforming into screaming beings in the moment they step in the school field, although they would act normally outside.

Another remarkable issue was that the school gate outside and the school building inside were full of mothers wandering around or sitting. These mothers looked as normal pieces in the picture and their presence seemed to be normalized. However, some of these mothers were less active and looked a bit more traditional

and some others were active within the school building and they looked more modern, with regard to their appearance.

When I asked Fahri, a male classroom teacher with forty years of experience, he told me that these mothers were everywhere in the school and it was not like this ten or fifteen years ago.

“I’ve taught in various cities in Anatolia for 18 years, and then I came to İstanbul. Mothers would not attend even to the parent-teacher meetings in Anatolia. Some fathers would, but we would find them in the coffeehouses when we had to talk to them. You could never see mothers in the school, because their husbands would not let them out in the public place, especially to talk to a male teacher. But here you see mothers everywhere and every time... ” (*Fahri – Male Grade-1 Teacher with 40 years of school experience – CMs of his classroom are Berna & Jale*). – APPENDIX E.1 –

Then he compares a variety of sites in terms of parent participation and different parent profiles within İstanbul since he had taught in very poor neighborhoods as well as highly well-off neighborhoods. The information he gives below draws a brief picture of the parental panorama of a variety of schools in different socio-economic locations.

“When I came to İstanbul, I realized that parents seriously attend parent-teacher meetings. But it was not the same everywhere in İstanbul. For example in Sultançiftliği [*a poor district of İstanbul where conservative recent domestic immigrants live – my note*] when we would attempt to do a parent meeting, less than 10% of them would show up. They wouldn’t even know where the school was. But the parents were mothers anyway, because fathers were working. Then the textile sector started up in the region and the mothers also started to work outside, but again it was the mothers who attended the parent meetings.

When I worked in Nişantaşı [*a rich neighborhood of İstanbul where upper-middle class people live – my note*] almost all the parents would attend the parent meetings. They were considering the education of their children with utmost importance; they would share every detail about their children with us...

... Then I came to this school. It is also very good here... 99% of the parents attend the meetings. When they are not available, they would call and inform me...” (*Fahri – Male Grade-1 Teacher with 40 years of school experience – CMs of his classroom are Berna & Jale*) – APPENDIX E.2 –

Hilal, a female classroom teacher with 37 years of experience, makes a comparison of different neighborhoods that she taught and defines the social and parental atmosphere of ‘The Beehive Primary School’ in comparison. She is not fond of the residents of the neighborhood and the parents since she underlyingly thinks they are not ‘proper middle-class’ people. This may be translated as these people have the financial capital but the teacher looks down upon them as they do not have enough cultural capital.

“Parents pay some amount during the registration and thus they feel themselves powerful here. I didn’t see it in Alibeyköy [*a poorer neighborhood in İstanbul – my note*]... A parent comes in school here and says ‘hist, look here’, or touches on my shoulder... I don’t like parents here. This neighborhood was a shantytown before, but now this place has developed and there are many hospitals and facilities established here. The value of the land increased and now they have some money. They used to stay without food and water but now they have money, they have a couple of apartments for rent and they live in good houses now. They are ‘nouveau riche’, but they could neither become urban nor stay villager. They are faltering in between” (*Hilal – Female Grade-4 Teacher with 37 years of school experience – CM of her classroom is Kiraz*) – APPENDIX E.3 –

Another male classroom teacher with 37 years of experience emphasizes that the neighborhoods with different socio-economic backgrounds require different types of teacher profile and have different relationships with teachers.

“Since 1982 the parent profile has changed much... I worked in a school in Nişantaşı for 17 years and then came to this school. I observe that the parent profile changes constantly... Before that, I worked at a school in a slum area. People were in unity and solidarity there. Parents were more respectful... In the more well-off neighborhoods or the neighborhoods with more cultured parents let’s say, teacher has to work harder. One has to show that s/he is a successful teacher. These schools force the teacher to work harder to increase the success rate of the school...” (*Galip – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 37 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Güliz*) – APPENDIX E.4 –

As for the socio-economic position of the parents in the school, a former classroom mother's statements give us information about the profile of the parents in the school.

“The students attending this school are the children of the public officers or the doctors and nurses in the hospitals. There are some parents with poor economic conditions, as well, but the majority of the parents here own food markets or have two or three apartments (*Aylin (49) – High school graduate – PTA president – has 1 kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Former CM*). – APPENDIX E.5 –

The school consists of a variety of economic and social capital owning mothers.

Some have economic capital but not a kind of cultural capital in the same level.

There are also mothers who lack both and it is almost impossible to see them as CMs unless they have different social capitals such as kinship or neighborhood with influential people. A non-classroom mother (N-CM) Rana, who transferred her son from a higher rank school to this school because of the argument she had with the teacher, is an example that did not prefer becoming a CM because she thinks that the mother profile in the school is low. She gives the differences of a higher status school with the Beehive as follows:

“The parents in the previous school and this school are completely different. There are assertive, responsible and self-conscious mothers in the previous school. Since it is a school with ‘study time’ the government accepts registrations by drawing lots among the candidates. There is no such thing here. I come here and see some mothers in their pajamas in the school gate... When the parents’ level of education decreases, it is reflected to our children. I mind what kind of people my child is educated with. I didn’t use to go to the previous school so often, but I do it here... The teacher here insisted very much on my becoming a CM but I rejected because I cannot bother myself with some mothers who would argue with me on the cost of the extra books to buy. I can’t work with parents who don’t check the schoolbag of their children. Nothing works out with these people...” (*Rana – High school graduate – Quit work for childcare – Her child attends grade*

Some of the interview parts that indicate the variety in the school composition in terms of the parent profile can be cited as follows:

“Compared with the previous schools I taught in İstanbul, I can tell that the parent profile in this school is high. They are sensitive, interested and participative; I mean they are in a position to share the load of the teacher. They contribute in the compensation of the deprivations in the classroom, they contribute economically and culturally. As you may see our classrooms are well-equipped and you may see our parents in the corridors and realize how eager and knowledgeable they are...” (*Emir – Male Grade-2 Teacher with 33 years of school experience (CM of his classroom is Aynur).* – APPENDIX E.7 –

The vice principle Murat remarks the diversity of the school in terms of culture and social class complaining about the social groupings as a result of this diversity.

“Some parents never ever drop in at the school, but some others never set their foot outside the school, on the other hand. Some mothers are housewives. They don’t have any work at home. They come and hand in their children to a secure place and then go home and do their work; and then they come and pick them at the end of the school day. But, look, some mothers are always here, they bring food and feed their children in the school. This is a question of culture. Some parents do not have a culture of living in an urban place; they behave the same as they do in their village... One can tell that the socio-economic status of the parents in this school is good. However, this school is interesting; you may see socio-economic positions of two opposite ends; some are well-off and some others are poor. There is nothing in between here... Besides, this school is culturally extremely diverse. There are people in this school from all around the country. There are parents from the Blacksea and from the Southeast and their social lives are very different from each other. Because of this, there are some...let’s not say groupings...but differentiations...” (*Murat – Male School Vice Principle with 33 years of school experience).* – APPENDIX E.8 –

There is diversity in terms of the mothering styles due to the above mentioned culture and social class differences.

“There are some parents who are here only for their children. On the other hand there are some mothers who just aim to get out of the home by any means. There are also some mothers who are in the school in order to keep the relations well with the school administration... Besides, the parents who never show up are not few in number (*Zeynep – University graduate – Teacher at the same school – Her child attends grade 1 – Has 1 kid in this school – Teacher: Fahri / CM: Berna & Jale*). – APPENDIX E.9 –

As it can be understood from the interviews, the parent profile exhibits a characteristic of certain financial and cultural capital features in a variety. Bourdieu argued that only looking at what was said or what happened may remain inadequate and to be able to understand the interactions between people or to be able to understand a social phenomenon, examining the interactions, transactions and events on the social space would give a deeper idea on the issue (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 148). Below is a sample Social Space Graph which is illustrated by Crossley.

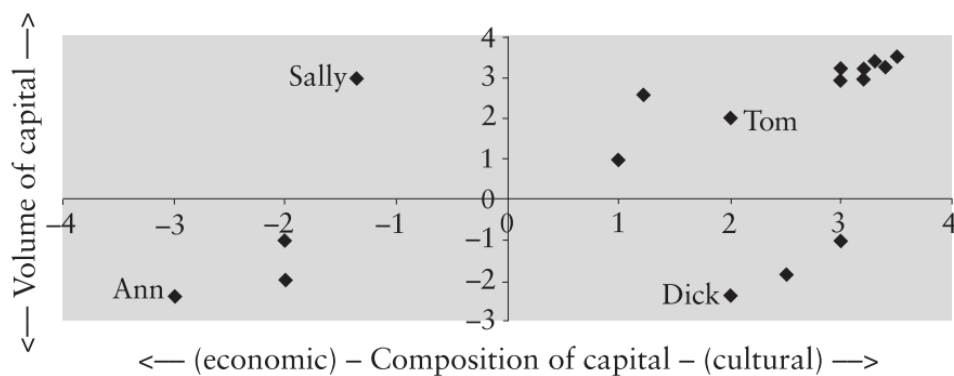


Figure 4. Sample Social Space Graph (Crossley, 2008).

The map in Figure 5 is developed using Bourdieu’s ‘Social Space Graph’ to identify and address the participants in terms of their economic and cultural capital.

The categorization of the participants into certain capital quadrants have some criteria applied to create the below graph. The educational background and the previous work experience of the mothers together with their stated income level is graded and scored. The scoring criteria are as below:

Table 10. The Social Space Graph, Participant Locating Criteria

Points	EDUCATION	WORK STATUS	HOUSEHOLD INCOME
	CULTURAL CAPITAL		ECONOMIC CAPITAL
2 point	Primary school	Housewife	Poor – seeks help
4 pts.	High-school	Low-paid job	Low-income household (only the father who is an unskilled laborer works)
6 pts.	Two-year university	Helping for her husband’s small business	Moderate-income household (Both mother and the father works as wage earners; or the father is a skilled laborer)
8 pts.	University	Has/had her own business	Above average-income household (The father is engaged in small business and trade)
10 pts.	Post-graduate	Professional credible job in the market	High income (The father runs a small business; the mother has a car to drive to school; the family may have full-time domestic workers at home)

According to the criteria, the grading of the CMs and N-CMs compared with the overall position of the teachers appeared as below:

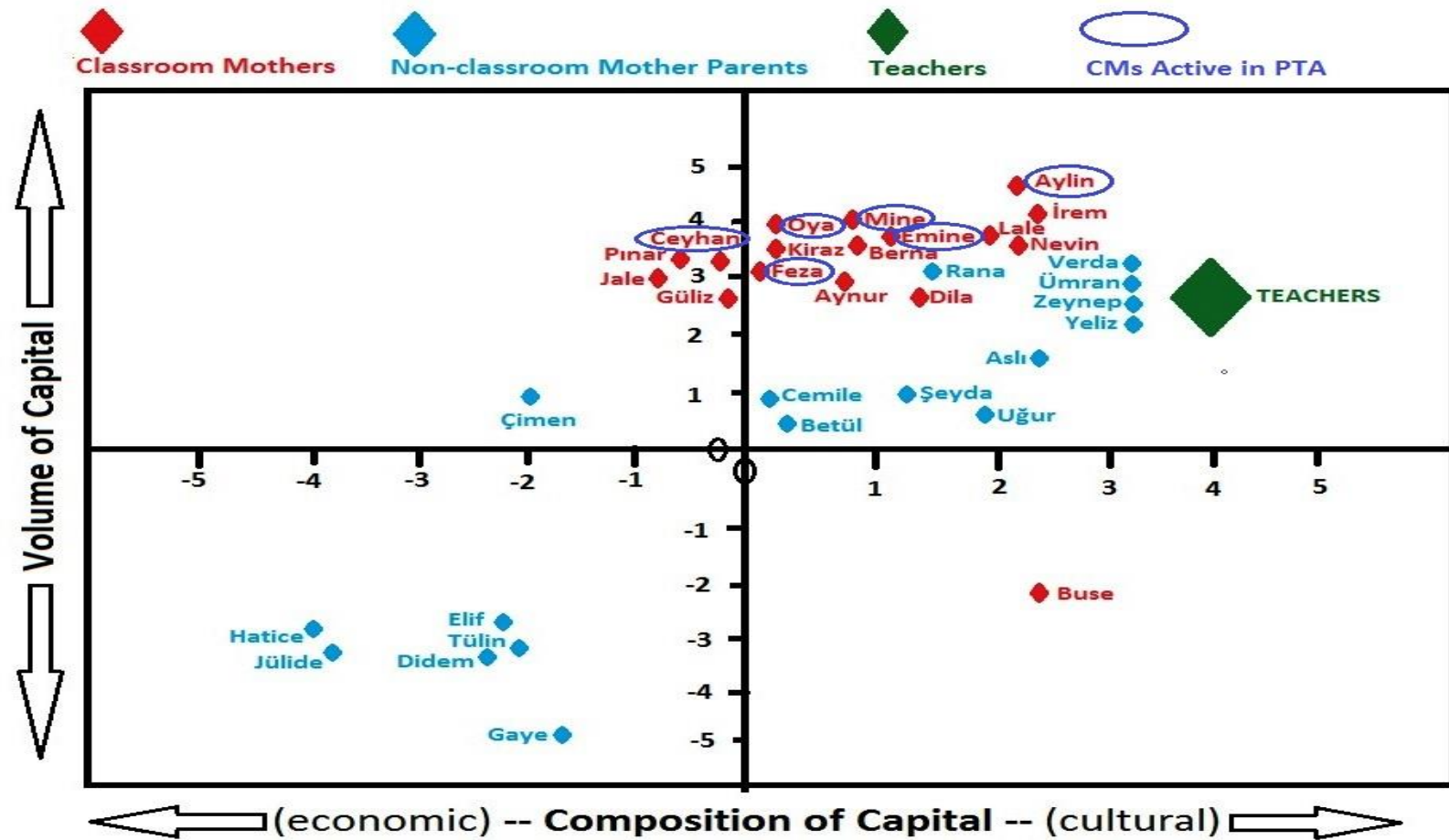


Figure 5. Social Space Graph of the research participants in the Beehive Primary School

As it can be seen from the Social Space Graph, all the Classroom Mothers (CM) are in the highest quadrant of the space; this means they have both economic and cultural capital in a sufficient level to elicit power in the school environment. There are some exceptions regarding this issue; for example Buse, a former CM, does not have enough economic capital, however, she has an exceeding amount of cultural capital compared to the rest of the CMs. This is one asset that enables her to become a CM. Another asset that can be elicited from the research observations about her situation is that Buse has some personal characteristics to compensate her economic capital deficiency. She is very humble and modest and thus she does not present a kind of threat to the existence of the other CMs as a 'rival'. The economic-cultural capital owners in higher ranks are able to manipulate her and can make use of her labor and cultural capital, which means that she is eligible to be applied a certain type of power on her. She is usually described as 'easy going' by the PTA member CMs (Aylin, Oya, Feza, Emine, Mine, and Ceyhan), who are the most influential mothers among all the CMs in the school.

However, some CMs have less cultural capital compared to the majority of the CMs, but their economic status seems to compensate for this deficiency. On the other hand, the non-classroom mother parents (N-CM) exhibit a picture of 'all or nothing', since they seem to be divided into two groups, one of which is the group who has both the cultural and economic capital, the second the ones who have very little of both. Another interesting point is that the N-CMs who have more economic and cultural capital represent the most complaining group in terms of the practices of the current CMs and the PTA. These are the mothers who are candidates for the PTA management as an opposing group.

In another respect, this portrayal of the capitals for this research group need a 'Social Capital' aspect to make a stronger and a more complete picture of what is happening, since there are certain kinship, friendship and small-interest relationships among mothers and the teachers and this would make a deeper explanation of what is going on in the school. The 'social capital' seems important in this school and it is a key issue for gaining other types of capital.

As a result, it is understood that CM as a power position can only be occupied with sufficient volume of cultural and economic capital compared to the rest of the population in the field. Nevertheless, the most prominent factor seems to be economic capital. On the other hand although it is not demonstrated in the Social Space Graph, and economic capital seems to be the most critical factor, in fact the key factor is the social capital for the transference of capital strategy.

Studying the school in terms of socio-economic context, the rest of the chapter deals with the following major concerns:

- 1- What is the role of mothers in the neoliberal transformation process in this school system?
 - a. What is the relation of the neoliberal transformation and the patriarchally 'naturalized' form of motherhood?
- 2- How do women use the patriarchally defined motherhood role to penetrate into the school system to gain power?
 - a. What are the characteristics of the power elicited by these mothers in the school system?
 - b. Does the positioning of mothers in the school system reproduce class and gender inequalities?

Mothers as Parents by ‘Nature’

To situate the role of mothers in the neoliberal transformation process and its relation with the patriarchal capitalistic ‘naturalization’ of motherhood, it is important to locate the presence of mothers in the school environment.

Mothers and Parenthood at School

Mothers’ presence in the school is almost always justified by the nature of motherhood, not only by the mothers, but also by all the other participants of this study. Even if the policy papers use the term ‘parent’ without exception, the term does not refer to both fathers and mothers in practice, since parent involvement refers the mothers’ labor in support of their children (Dudley-Marling, 2001). Moreover, mothers’ becoming active parents at school is an urban issue and eleven out of thirteen teachers emphasized this difference in space and time.

“Fathers don’t exist in education. It’s always the mothers who deal with education. This is how it has to be. Before, in the villages fathers would appear when you call the parents, because men wouldn’t let the wives out. Women are always in the third level in the society in Anatolia. I’ve never seen mothers as parents in the villages. In the city mothers are in the front as parents... Parent is the mother here in the city... This is the natural way. The first and the real teacher is the mother. I approve mothers’ parenting in the schools” (*Ali – Male Grade-4 Teacher with 31 years of school experience CM of his classroom is Hayal*). – APPENDIX E.10 –

The issue of fathers’ absence in the above interview is also verified by the mothers:

“When my younger daughter started the first grade in the primary school, I required help from my husband to help her reading exercises. Since the father had never gone to school with my daughter nor dealt with any of her homework, my daughter does not know the father-factor in education. She reacted against the idea that her father would help her in the reading

exercises and said: ‘No! Daddy can’t help me, he doesn’t know how to read and write...’ According to her, daddy is illiterate because it is always the mother who helps her doing homework. Daddy only sits on the coach and watches TV; he doesn’t have anything to do with education for children” (*Emine (46) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Cafer*) – APPENDIX E.11 –

“Fathers come home in the evening. They say ‘ouch I am so tired’ and they just sit in front of the TV stretching their legs. And then in the morning they get up and go to work, but my work never ends... It is always the women, who are suppressed and it is always men who oppress” (*Tülin – Primary school graduate – Housewife – Her child attends grade 5 – Has 1 kid in this school – Teacher: Cafer, CM: Feza & Emine*) – APPENDIX E.12 –

The counselor teacher, who has an opportunity of constant touch and observation of the mothers and the children, indicates that mothering is an identity for these women and they perform and try to show what they perform as ‘ideal mothers’:

“Motherhood is these women’s identity. They want to show that they are doing a good job. They are performing their good motherhood here in the school. Their definition of ‘good mother’ varies. Some think that the longer you stay at school the better mother you are. Another criterion is doing whatever their children want. Let me tell you another ‘motherhood show’... For example, the child is sick, the mother takes him to the hospital and in the afternoon when the hospital work finishes, the mother drags the poor child to the school although he is ill; and tells the teacher how dreadful it was to wait in the queue and how she endured difficulties to take him to the hospital, by painting in glowing colors. In the meantime, the child can hardly stand on his feet. And then the mother says ‘I didn’t want my boy to fall behind in the class and I brought him to school again’. The child has to go home and have a rest, but she brings him to school just to be able to tell the story and show what a good mother she is”. (*Olca – Female Counselor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*) – APPENDIX E.13 –

Oya, the CM of one of the grade 4 classes in the school, almost verifies the counselor teacher about motherhood being an identity:

“I feel as if I was born for my children. No work feels difficult in the class because my children are also in this class...”. (*Oya (35) – Primary school*

graduate – CM of Grade 4 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Meltem) – APPENDIX E.14 –

Nevin, a medical nurse and the CM of one of the third grade classes, implies that her main work is motherhood, although she is a professional medical person in a state hospital. One needs to ask when she finds time to sleep listening to the following words from her:

“We are at school every day. I am a nurse and in order to be able to deal with my son I work in the night shift. In the daytime I am always at school. Now I will take my son for lunch. He is single child and I do everything for him. You can find me in the school every minute” (*Nevin (33) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – has 1 kid in this school – Medical nurse – Teacher: Necmi) – APPENDIX E.15 –*

Motherhood Chores and the School

In this part there will be longer citations from the interviews as it is very functional at this phase to illustrate what mothers are doing for schooling. This presents importance to understand the role of mothers in the neoliberal transformation process in the school system.

David Harvey’s reference to the flexi-time working in the neoliberal transformation period (Harvey, 2005a) is counter-represented in the work pattern of the mothers laboring for education. Rather than choosing their available time to do the work, mothers’ time seem to be predominantly scheduled by the school chores. Here are some examples on how a mother’s time is ‘disciplined’ and regulated by means of the school system:

“I get up early in the morning and before waking my child up I prepare the breakfast. And then I go and wake my daughter up kissing her gently. I help her while she washes her face and puts on her socks. I comb her hair; get her to eat breakfast. And then, I prepare some snacks for her to have a quick bite during the breaks. Then I help her dress up and then I take her to school. If the teacher hasn’t arrived, I wait for him to show up and ask him if he needs anything. If there is no need for help, I rush back home, because I have to get the lunch ready for the kids before the lunch hour of the school. Time runs quickly and comes the lunch time. Then I rush to the school, I get my children and bring them home for lunch. After lunch I bring them back to school. In the mean time I tidy up the house and prepare dinner. Then at the end of the school time I go back to school and bring them back home. When they are back home, I wash the kids, and feed them. Then I do whatever I can do to relax them; I listen to them, and then they have a play-time. When they play, I tidy up the kitchen. Then we start doing homework. I help them do their homework and solve tests until 8.30 p.m., and then comes the bed time. I make them brush their teeth. I read stories to them before they sleep, but I feel asleep while reading the stories. I am rushing until they sleep. Then, if I can find any energy I watch TV for a short while, but by the time all the TV programs go halfway, and I don’t feel like watching the rest. Then before I go to bed I prepare the school uniforms for the next school day... I do them all on my own, nobody helps me... (*Jale (40) – Primary School Graduate – CM of Grade 1 – has 2 kids in this school – Housewife – Teacher: Fahri*) – APPENDIX E.16 –

One of the CMs, Mine (36) CM of Grade 1, states that she had been doing triple job, one job was the household chores, the second was school chores as CM, and the third she was working for her husband’s small business. She then decided to quit the business and devoted herself to the household and the school chores. This triple employment may go quadruplet or as far as it may go until the last drop of the mother’s blood, which presents a ‘translation of flexi-work’ for women in the neoliberal economy. As a matter of fact, it is not the ‘time’ which is ‘flexible’, it is the ‘woman’ who is made flexible; time is predominantly scheduled with the educational chores on the contrary.

In addition to Jale’s chores Oya (CM of grade 4) tells about some extra work she does, which is also mentioned by almost all other mothers:

“After I help them do homework, I help them read the books I bought for them for extra work. Then I prepare them for sleep. After they go to bed, I

open their school bags and check them in case they may forget the tools for the art class. Then I look inside their books and notebooks to see if the teacher had told them to buy some stationaries for the class, if I see any, I go and buy them in the morning and bring to school. I also check the school bags to see if there are any sharp tools like knives and alike. I have to keep them away from dangers. Then I tidy up the house and go to bed. You know, it's the same everyday..." (Oya (35) – Primary school graduate – CM of Grade 4 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Meltem) – APPENDIX E.17 –

Below is a demonstration of an actual and real motherhood and classroom motherhood routine, which is performed by a mother who internalized and ideologically felt contented with the work she does. She was the most interesting mother figure interviewed and observed and she represents an overly-emphasized typology of what a mother for school is:

"I get up at 5 a.m. in the morning and I start to prepare the breakfast at six. I make the tea; I prepare the fruit-juice for children. They get up at 7 a.m., wash up and dress up. I make them eat their breakfast without fail. And then I check their school bags one by one. I have hung the study programs on the walls in their rooms. Say, it's Wednesday today, I check what classes they take on Wednesdays. I check my daughter's bag; since I don't want her feel ashamed in front of her friends if the teacher asks where her books and notebooks are. I support her and count the things she must have in her bag on that day and I make her check them out, in fact I check them out myself. While I check whether she has done her homework looking in the notebooks and books, she combs her hair. Then I do the same thing for my son in turn. When I take them to school, I enter my daughter's class and wipe her desk and clean. Then she asks her friends if they did their homework or not. In the meanwhile, I watch her out of the corner of my eye and cock an ear on what they are talking, in order to see whether she behaves appropriately. I even watch her in the corridor during break times in order to see whether she misbehaves her friends or teachers. But, thank God I have always received positive feedback about my kids so far. Especially my daughter is a good model of student. My son is a bit sensitive; whenever his teacher shouts, he feels sensitive and thinks that his teacher doesn't like him. He is a bit delicate, you know..." (Ceyhan (37) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 2 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Especially escaped from participating in the research) – APPENDIX E.18 –

As far as I learnt from the counselor teacher and other N-CM mothers both her son and daughter are known to be problem children in the school. Therefore, her overrepresentation of the appropriateness of her kids' behaviors makes sense, as she

tries to prove the ‘good-mother’ness. Ceyhan goes on telling their daily motherhood chores as follows:

“Then, the class-hour starts. I rush back home and tidy up, cook for children and bring their lunch to school. When I bring the lunch, I chat with the mothers outside the school [*she is a CM and she can easily enter the school whereas the other mothers are not easily let in – my note*]. I ask these mothers whether they have any problems with the teachers. I also want to learn whether they have any financial, familial or psychological problems personally. I learn whether their children have any problems at school because we may help them as the PTA. At lunch time I enter the classes of my kids to feed them. I stand over the kids. When they finish their lunch they show me their empty plates and when they go and wash their hands, they show me that they washed their hands. I don’t easily believe that they wash their hands, therefore, they make me smell their hands to make me sure that they washed them properly. Then I send them to the school garden one by one. The students on duty tidy up the classroom in the meanwhile. When the class bell rings I gather them in the classroom, sit them in their desks and make them pose like a flower, I mean I make them cross their arms and sit still silently until the teacher comes. And then I deliver the class to the teacher and go out of the classroom. After that, first I drop in the PTA room to see if we have anything to do. I ask whether we have a program, since sometimes we have theatre shows at school and we as PTA sell the tickets and make calculations. We have fees to collect from the parents, as well. There are some poor students in our school, we make a list of them and subsidize them. Then I go home and prepare the dinner. I get back to school at 4.30 p.m. and ask other CMs ‘what have you done ladies? Is dinner ready at home? Are we ready for the evening?’ They laugh, because we have another work shift at home. We have husbands. How can we be disregarding of our husbands just because we come to school and work here daily? We also take ultimate care of our husbands. In the evening I pick my kids up from the school and before we leave the school gate I ask them whether there is any school equipment to buy for the next day. If there is, we do the necessary shopping before we go home. While going home I question my daughter on what she has done at school until the evening. What problems did she have? What did she do with which friends in the class? When? What lessons did she learn? How did the other students perform? (Ceyhan (37) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 2 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Especially escaped from participating in the research) – APPENDIX E.19 –

There are many stories told in the interviews about the ‘spying’ activities of some CMs using their own children to collect information, in order to take the information to the teacher to make close relationships with the teacher. The CMs use the tensions

between the other mothers and the teachers in order to develop closer relationships with the female teachers.

“I learn all of these. I definitely listen to her. And then I turn to my son and ask the same things to him. My son is a bit active, I mean very little. I like him talking. When we go home they both start to talk about their problems. And then our father comes, and I make them tell the same things to our father. Poor daddy works until the evening... I make kids tell about their day to daddy one by one. I tell them, ‘first you tell my daughter’, and then ‘now you tell my son’... They tell what they did at school one by one. We never turn on the TV at home. We keep TV off until a specific hour. All the homework is done, and then the TV is turned on. We did all the homework together with my daughter until grade 3. Now she is grade 6. Even though I don’t understand her courses I pretend as if I understand, so that her self-confidence would develop; I don’t want her to think that her mother does not understand. I give ideas for her performance and project homework. She always shares her ideas with me and with her father. I always direct her. We decide what project she would perform altogether and she prepares it accordingly. And then I do the same things for my son. I show him and he applies and I always watch him. I read stories to him and then I check whether he understood it or not. We do their homework and finish them all. And then the finished homework goes to the father’s check and he checks out. My kids solve two pages of tests every day before they go to bed. They solve the tests with the father. They do the homework with me but solve the tests with their father...” (*Ceyhan (37) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 2 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Especially escaped from participating in the research*) – APPENDIX E.20 –

Not only the school days but the weekends are also the workdays for mothers in terms of educational activities. If this should be called the ‘flexi-time’ of the neoliberal era, one may claim that there is no other time to get flexed if a mother is busy 24 hours a day and 7 days a week. The references below show that mothers are 7/24 heavy educational workers.

“Oh, and we also have the weekends. On weekends I get up at 7.30 a.m. and we are at the swimming course at 8.30. I make my daughter eat her breakfast on the way to the course, because we do not have enough time for it. At 10.30 the swimming course finishes and we are at home at 11.00 and I prepare the course books for my daughter as she goes to dersane (private teaching course). I take her to the course at 11.00. And then I come back home and make my son eat his breakfast and take him to the English course at Yıldız Technical University. His course starts at 1.30 p.m. and then I leave him there and come back to the dersane to pick my daughter up at

2.30 p.m. And then I come home and two hours later I go to the English course to pick my son up. We come home and I start preparing for the dinner. The weekends go like this. In the evening they want to watch a movie or play monopoly. My life goes on like this since I was 20. But I am very happy” (*Hayal (34) – College graduate – CM of Grade 4 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Ali*). – APPENDIX E.21

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“On weekdays I rush in the school as a CM and then on weekends I get up at 8.00 in the morning and take my kids to the swimming course, and then I take them from the course and take them to the English course. The summer comes, everybody has rest at home but I take my elder daughter to Burhan Felek Volleyball course, on the other side of Istanbul. There is a Gymnastics club a bit further away from the volleyball course, and I take my younger daughter to there. Staying at home is not allowed for me. Education means knowing everything in terms of social life. Education means the national exams, the SBS (secondary level transferring exam), education means to take the kids to good schools. But doing this they also have to be educated socially, they should have a voice in the society. I will take the kids to tennis for example, if she knows the names of three punches in tennis, that’s enough for me. I also wanted to send them to the guitar course but we came up short on money after so many courses, because it is only my husband who earns for our living. Thus, I opened up the internet and now I am trying to learn a couple of music notes on the internet in order to teach it to my kids. I will start learning to play the guitar after this age because of my kids [*she laughs*]...” (*Emine (46) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Cafer*) – APPENDIX E.22 –

The way they talked and the appetite of their body language during the interview implies that they were so eager to tell the researcher their story of motherhood, and how good they were performing. They were all in an effort to persuade the researcher that they were very happy in what they were doing because they were exhibiting examples of ‘proper mothering’ practices. It was apparent from the type of the glance on their eyes awaiting approval from the researcher after every chunk of performance they were telling. This exhibits a clue that they have handled the issue as a part of their identity and performance.

According to the field data elicited from the observations and the interviews, there are countless items of work (accounting, animation, cash-collecting,

child-caring, cleaning, coordinating, counselling, health-caring, fundraising, doing laundry, lobbying, doing office work doing public relations, purchasing, repairing, doing secretarial work, coordinating sub-contractors, substituting teachers, helping teachers, training the students...etc.) that mothers perform every day with a 'discipline' imposed by the official school system. Therefore, mothers' work is not only determined by the concurrent patriarchal rules but it is also disciplined by the capitalist life order which keeps people operating within certain time schedules. Considering this fact, it can be asserted that mothers are not 'flexible' workers of the neoliberal capitalist system, they are rather strictly regulated by the production order and their time is tightly scheduled. This regulation seems to present a conflict or incompatibility with the idea of the 'flexible work' inherent to the neoliberal policies. As a matter of fact, 'flexi-time' work is a strategy of neoliberal economic policies which has an intention of decreasing the value of the labor and making the work precarious for the labor force without any social security or security of job. However, women are already unpaid workers and they are deprived of social security and their social security is defined with the husband's job security. As women are already unsecured and unpaid heavy workers of the capitalist system and this flexi-time working is not valid for unpaid women's labor; because there is no need for reducing their wages as they are unwaged already. Therefore, neoliberal policies strictly plan, schedule and regulate women's labor force by means of the regulations and schedules of the social welfare work abandoned by the neoliberal state and transferred to the domestic realm on women's shoulders. These areas of work include education, health and all other care work for the elderly, the children or the disabled.

Therefore, when women are concerned the rules operate on the reverse side and exceptions start to emerge in the rule. As the neoliberal policies make the work

life flexible for the market, it strictly regulates the ‘daily lives’ of women. In fact ‘daily life’ equals to ‘work life’ for women as they also lead the daily lives of the others at home. The daily-lives of the household are the work-life of women. This type of work-life turns each household into a work-station in a worldwide assembly line, the workers of which are always females.

The Functions and the Practices of the Classroom Mothers:

Who Needs Them?

To be able to deal with the research question on the role of the mothers in the school system, it is important to understand the other actors’ needs beside the neoliberal context in general.

Below are some references to the teachers’, mothers’ and the school administrators’ ideas on the practical purpose of the CMs’ being legitimized. The data gathered from various actors in the school system give an idea of who particularly need the CMs a part from the need of the overall neoliberal capitalist system.

“There are times when we are not present in the classroom, for example I need to go to the bank, or go to the hospital. At these times the CM comes and takes care of the class. Thank God there are CMs, otherwise our work would be difficult. We couldn’t do any of our work outside the school. Today the work of the teachers is heavier compared to the past, there are many things that make us busy in the school, and for example there are many school chores like interim school reports. We always need CMs except for the rural places” (*Fahri – Male Grade-1 Teacher with 40 years of school experience – CMs of his classroom are Berna & Jale*). – APPENDIX E.23 –

“Let me give you an example from my class. I don’t have a single CM, I have a commission of mothers which consists of four mothers. There is such need in urban schools. We need reference books for the courses. One needs to have the books ordered, collect the money, and distribute them to class. These are all legwork... For instance a short while ago the printer ran out of

the toner. I called one of them, they arranged... I mean, when you are in a big city you need mothers to buy something for the class. I can't go out to Cağaloğlu and buy all these staff. I don't have time for that. CMs fetch these things. If there were no CMs, all the detailed staff that keeps one on the go would remain undone. Say, we need a locker or a bookcase, the CM goes and talks to the carpenter, takes him to school, makes him do the measure-ups, gets the staff done and places it in the class. Who would do it? Or, our classroom computer breaks down. Who would get it fixed? These chores take a whole day. CMs are very useful in these terms. However, should the state give the classroom ready and equipped to us, we wouldn't need CMs. Since the school has neither the financial nor the labor resources for these staff, we desperately need CMs... You wouldn't need them in a village school but you have to have them in the city. If you live in a huge city like İstanbul and if the state gives you a completely empty classroom, just four walls, you have to have CMs... Fortunately there are CMs, otherwise I wouldn't get my job done..."(*Fatma – Female Grade-1 Teacher with 34 years of school experience – CM of her classroom is Mine*). – APPENDIX E.24 –

"It is not official but it is quite an ease. I mean, it is an ease in terms of the teacher, the students and the parents. When we go for a school trip we cannot collect money as teachers because it is forbidden. Parents do it among themselves. The CM comes, organizes the school service and the food to be cooked. If there were no CMs, I would have to do everything for the class, especially collecting money and doing the cleaning... At the end of the school year CMs collect all the equipment such as the computer, the curtains, the projector bought for the class, and they take them to their homes and keep them until the next semester" (*Cafer – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 33 years of school experience - CM of his classroom are Feza & Emine*). – APPENDIX E.25 –

"These chores are out of my job description. I mean, I don't want to worry about whether the child is thirsty or not... If there is a statement in the law which states that primary education is free and compulsory, the state should take care of the children that are kept in the class more than ten hours a day. Not only this, if all the needs were supplied by the state there would be no need for a CM" (*Demir – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 36 years of school experience – Has no classroom mother*). – APPENDIX E.26 –

The counselor teacher reveals another function that the CMs are used by the classroom teachers stating that there are extra courses opened in the school to improve the children in the courses that they are doing poorly. These courses are paid courses, for which the parents pay a certain amount of money to the teacher who are in fact the same classroom teachers. There is a financial income for the teachers and

the more the children attend these extra courses the more extra money the teachers earn. The money earned is almost as much as the teachers are paid by the government. Thus, opening these courses in the school for the students means a duplication of the teachers' incomes. CMs are used to create more demand on these courses. As the counselor teacher states:

“The teacher applies discrimination between the students who attend those courses and the ones who don't attend. The teacher pressures the students to attend the courses. The student that does not attend the courses gets the grade as much as she does in the exam, but the teacher gives extra credit to the ones who attend the courses. The student raises her hand to take a word but the teacher gives the word to the one who attends the course. CM's child is always among the ones who attend the courses. Moreover, the teacher directs the CM to persuade other mothers to send them to the course... The CM goes to the other parents one by one and tells them that her child is doing poorly in the class and it is a must to send her child to the course. I mean, teachers are getting the CMs to do their dirty work. In return, the CM's child always gets good grades. That's what CM's want anyway... On the other hand teachers do not want to bother with the parents and they use the CMs for this purpose. Other parents do not talk to the teacher, they tell whatever they want to tell to the CM and the CM tells it to the teacher... There is a hierarchy created by the teachers... Teachers pass the unwanted workload over the CMs. Teachers get CMs prepare the classroom boards or clean the classrooms. Teachers think that they work more than hard enough for that little wage and they don't want to take home some extra work (*Olcay – Female Counselor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.27 –

The school vice-principle Murat emphasizes that there is a need for education rather than teaching, however due to the central curriculum the teachers have to finish certain topics within the given time and this make the teachers too busy to deal with the extra work. On the other hand, seeing that these teachers can somehow find extra time for giving paid courses in the school, the allocation of CMs must have another explanation rather than the short of time and load of work on teachers. This may indicate a change in the work ethics and teacher attitudes towards their profession within the neoliberal transformation.

On the other hand, the presence of active mothers in the school seems to ease the work of the school administration especially since they transfer the responsibility of finding funding for the school to parents:

“Today, there is nothing that the state allocates to schools other than the teachers. The state builds the school, sends the teachers and leaves it alone. All the needs are met by the parents and by the local municipality by the help of parents again. Say, there is a need for air conditioning in the classroom. It is easy for the parents, they collect the money. For instance, there are security cameras in our school; all are bought by parents with the PTA collaboration. Parents can watch their kids from home. Before there was theft in the school, now there is not anymore” (*Murat – Male School vice Principle with 33 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E. 28–

Another vice-principle makes comments on the presence and functions of the CMs in terms of the teachers’ need and justifies that there has to be a type of mother-work to handle all these ‘dirty work’.

“For example, the child pees on herself. Either the CM cleans it or if she doesn’t want to handle it herself, she phones the kids’ mother and calls her to school. That is, the teacher’s teaching hours are not violated, and the teacher doesn’t have to deal with this unpleasant situation. This dirty work is done by someone else. I mean ‘classroom mother’ as the name implies, she has to be the mother for the whole class. ... Or, let’s say the teacher wants to have a cup of tea during the break time or s/he has a work outside the school; at these times CMs take care of the class... On the other hand, schools need CMs’ labor since they subsidize a kind of deficiency in the school. CMs totally cover up teachers’ inabilities. The inabilities are teachers’ faults though, therefore not all the classes have CMs. Not all the teachers allow for a CM. If there were no financial needs, there wouldn’t be a need for CMs” (*Levent – Male School Vice Principle with 21 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.29 –

In terms of the picture from the CMs’ point of view, they seem to be feeling some kind of power, taking part in a core-public issue with a degree of authority.

“We lead the class when the teacher has some work outside... Even if the teacher isn’t there we can get in contact with the mothers and hand in the children. We take care of the children in case they hit somewhere and hurt themselves. We buy the extra books, cleaning stuff; we go to the carpenter’s and provide the bookshelves and the lockers. The teacher doesn’t have time for these” (*Mine (36) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 1 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Fatma*). – APPENDIX E.30 –

“We make a bridge between the parents and the teacher... We help the class organizations” (*Kiraz (35) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 4 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Hilal*). – APPENDIX E.31 –

“CMs are the main squeeze of teachers. Some teachers don’t want any CMs but we make things convenient for them. If there weren’t any CMs, they would get tired of doing all the staff, but as we are doing everything for them, they spend less time” (*Feza (40) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 1 kid in this school – Housewife – Teacher: Cafer*). – APPENDIX E.32 –

“Sometimes I feel myself like a teacher. Sometimes our teacher goes out when he has work outside the school, those times he calls me for help. When I substitute the teacher that day, children call me ‘teacher’, I like it very much. They call me as ‘teacher’ because I do the same things as the teacher does” (*Dila (35) – High school graduate – CM of Nursery class – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Did not prefer to participate in the research*). – APPENDIX E.33 –

“The teacher doesn’t want to leave fifty students in the class and go for taking photocopies; she tells it to you and goes on with the class. You go and buy things from the stationaries or when there is a school trip she calls you for help. We organize the birthday parties for the kids. We clean the class and the desks. The teacher chooses the CM according to her qualifications, though” (*Buse (43) – Vocational high school graduate – Tea-lady in the same school – has 2 kids in this school – Former CM*). – APPENDIX E 34. –

Some non-classroom mother parents (N-CM) seem very irritated in deed because of the existence of the CMs and they do not approve the system so much:

“It is the teacher who requires a CM. I definitely don’t think that the school administration is very fond of the situation” (*Şeyda – High school graduate – Office clerk – Her child attends grade 2 – Has 1 kid in this school – The teacher especially escaped from participating in the research / CM: Ceyhan*). – APPENDIX E.35 –

“It is because the teacher is unable to deal with everything. You know, it is the same thing as the corporate firms have managers and the manager has an assistant; this was what the teachers were looking for, and CM came out” (*Rana – High school graduate – Quit work for childcare – Her child attends grade 3 – Has 1 kid in this school – Teacher: Burhan / CM: Lale*). – APPENDIX E.36 –

“They should definitely get all these CMs out of the school. The teachers should do their work themselves...” (*Ümran – University graduate – Public Officer in a government office – Her child attends grade 4 – Has 1 kid in this school – Teacher: Meltem, CM: Oya*) – APPENDIX E.37 –

As a result, it seems that the work load of teachers and the notion of the neoliberal understanding of parental participation combined together and a form of teacher assistant emerged in the public schools which have middle class density. Middle class mothers seem to have found a way to leak into the system and they try to have a function and a public existence in the education system.

The Job Description of Classroom Mothers

In this subsection the actual practices of the mothers in the school environment will be presented in order to demonstrate data which would provide answers both for the first and the second research questions. That is to say with the data presented below it will be possible to see the ways in which mothers are functionalized in the neoliberal school system as well as their ways of penetrating in the public space by using their patriarchally defined roles.

As it can be seen in the official documents in the Appendix D, the volunteering parent discourse has already been situated in the written realm. In these documents, parents are considered as ungendered entities however, in practice the defined space is, almost without any exception, filled by mothers in the schools.

In terms of the field school, the interviews and the observation with the CMs and the teachers give detailed information about what a CM is supposed to perform and what they actually do and how they do it. Below, after the references, the works they practically perform are listed with the names of the jobs in the market.

“The CM informs the mothers when there is a problem with their kids... They sanitize the classroom on regular basis. I mean, they wipe the desks, clean the windows... For motivation they make cookies for the children every fifteen days... sometimes there are epidemics in the city, these times they disinfect the classes...” (*Fahri – Male Grade-1 Teacher with 40 years of school experience – CMs of his classroom are Berna & Jale*). – APPENDIX E.38 –

“Teachers perform the purchasing-selling stuff over the CMs” (*Galip – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 37 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Güliz*).

Therefore, mothers work like counselors, cleaners, window cleaners, and animators.

“They supply all the necessary equipment for the classes. Say, we need a printer or curtains, they go get them... They clean the windows, wipe the desks. It is no problem for them... All are mothers, no fathers show up ever... Equipment supplies, repairments, publicity of the activities... Teachers direct them from the behind... If they didn’t do these jobs, teachers would have to do all” (*Emir – Male, Grade-2 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Aynur*). – APPENDIX E.39 –

Therefore, mothers work like purchasing officers, cash collectors, office-personnel, repairers, public relations specialists.

“I use them to make some announcements... They supply additional resources like, say there are water boxes in the classes and they buy water, toilet paper, sugar for tea, liquid soap... If you make connection they are like office boys or accountants or caretakers... There were 7-8 parents organized by the CM to disinfect the class every day when there was an epidemic of influenza” (*Necmi – Male, Grade-3 Teacher with 35 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Nevin*). – APPENDIX E.40 –

Therefore, mothers work like accountants, and public health workers.

“They clean and tidy the class during the lunch break... they wash the curtains and the table-cloth and iron them and then bring back and fix them in the class. ...CMs talk to the other parents in the class on the issues to be performed in the class” (*Meltem – Female Grade-4 Teacher with 35 years of school experience – CM of his classroom are Berna & Jale*). – APPENDIX E.41 –

Therefore, mothers work like laundry women, and coordinators.

“Curtains have to be hung, bookcases are to be tidied, and CMs do these. Some little kids used to pee on themselves; they clean them and change their clothes. We have a medicine cabinet, they supply medicines for it and they use it whenever children need. They find out what is needed for the class and education, they collect money for it and buy it. For example they bought a vacuum cleaner for the classroom, I am very meticulous in terms of cleanness and neatness, you know. She sets a bridge between the parents and me. My CM learns what children need and tells it to me” (*Hilal – Female Grade-4 Teacher with 37 years of school experience – CM of her classroom is Kiraz*). – APPENDIX E.42 –

Therefore, mothers work like child-minders, and first aid personnel.

“It is different to be a CM in the nursery class. There may be ceremonies or parties; I am there to organize and support and keep everything clean. I help the teacher to make the kids obey the rules. Say, there is a tiring course that day, the teacher calls me for help and I do the classified files of children’s work. Usually I stay in the class with the teacher all day... In the morning we hang our coats and wear the overshoes and the teacher assigns me with the necessary duties to be done that day in the class” (*Dila (35) – High school graduate – CM of Nursery class – has 2 kids in this school – Quit*

work for childcare – Teacher: Did not prefer to participate in the research).
– APPENDIX E.43 –

“In fact, there is no rule on what a CM does; it all depends on the teachers’ demands. CM is the parent who is approved by the other parents, thus they usually accept what she offers. It is the teacher who draws the lines and determines the limits of the relationship” (*Demir – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 36 years of school experience – Has no classroom mother*). – APPENDIX E.44 –

Therefore, mothers work like teachers’ aides.

“CMs stay at school all day and help the teacher... They are the ones who teachers rely on for the trivialities. They are our security so that we are not doing something wrong with the collected money...” (*Ahmet – Male School Principle with 41 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.45 –

Therefore, mothers work like treasurers and pay clerks.

“When parents eagerly come to school they are very useful. They deal with the outside needs of the school. They visit the public offices, municipalities and so on to provide the school with the necessary money or equipment” (*Murat – Male, School vice Principle with 33 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.46 –

Therefore, mothers work like lobbyists and fundraisers.

“When we enter in the class, we line the kids up. We clean and tidy the teacher’s desk. If the desk cloths are on the floor, we tidy and lay them on the desks again. Then I wait for the teacher to arrive. If the teacher has a work outside the school he asks me to stay and take care of the class for one hour and I lead the class by making kids draw pictures or I read them stories. When there is a need, we collect money for it; we buy crammers for the teacher to use in the classes. When the children need, we help them exercise” (*Jale (40) – Primary School Graduate – CM of Grade 1 – has 2 kids in this school – Housewife – Teacher: Fahri*). – APPENDIX E.47 –

“I come to school every day in the morning and in the evening. I was here all day every day in the second semester since students had dance shows and we prepare them for it. Whatever is needed for the shows, we go and find and buy, say bags, toys, present boxes... We take the children and make them memorize their roles. We made a dance show in the 23 April... We

went to the tailor and had the costumes prepared. If we hadn't done all those things, there wouldn't be a show like this" (*Berna (38) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 1 – has one kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Fahri*). – APPENDIX E.48 –

"We supply the class the necessary equipment and services. For example we collected money for the cleaning of the room and we made mother of a child in this class whose economic status was very bad, clean the windows" (*Pınar (40) – Primary school graduate – CM of Grade 1 – has 2 kids in this school – Housewife – (Teacher: Did not prefer to participate in the research)*). – APPENDIX E.49 –

Therefore, mothers work like suppliers, subcontractor coordinators, and trainers.

"CM is a mother. Her duty is to help the kids and the teachers in the school. If the students or the parents have any problems in the school, familial or with the teacher, we solve the problem... I come to school in the morning and quickly we look around in the class and tidy it together. I tell them to hang the coats there, put the bags here... Sometimes kids drop their food on the floor or forget their belongings in the class. There is a need for a CM, because CM means the right arm of the teacher. The class has forty students, the teacher tries to handle it but as the teacher and the other parents have chosen me, I see it as duty... I am here during the lunch break because children may forget eating their lunch. I come in the class and say "enjoy your meal" to the children. They ask 'oh is it lunch time?' Some kids tell me lies in order not to eat. Mothers warn me on the phone to take care of their lunch. I stare at the ones who don't eat. Or, I tell them that the teacher would take them to the computer class if they eat. I know kids better than their mothers do" (*Ceyhan (37) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 2 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Especially escaped from participating in the research*). – APPENDIX E.50 –

"In the lunch breaks we are here and we warn the children who don't eat their lunch and to eat them all, and tell them to wash their hands. Some kids look at other children while they eat ice-cream and we go fetch ice-creams for them too. We deal with them as if they were all our children... There is no one here to tell us what to do. We come to school. Our teacher sometimes has to leave the school 10 minutes early and we take care of the class until the bell rings" (*Aynur (26) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 2 – has 1 kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Emir*). – APPENDIX E.51 –

"When I come to school kids run and hug me. When the teacher has work outside I take care of them in the class and I teach them Maths and Turkish, or I read them stories. I sometimes read stories to them even when the teacher is in the class. If only I had studied and become a teacher" (*İrem*

(33) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – has 1 kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: İlke). – APPENDIX E.52 –

Therefore, mothers work like childcarers, and substitute teachers.

“CMs work rather like accountants and secretaries in the school... For example the toner of the printer runs out and I go and buy a new one. Rather than organizing it I do it myself. I find it more tiring to persuade other mothers do it” *(Nevin (33) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – has 1 kid in this school – Medical nurse – Teacher: Necmi). – APPENDIX E.53 –*

Therefore, mothers work like accountants and secretaries.

“Being CM is being teacher when teacher isn’t there and being mother when the mother isn’t there. Especially in the first grade I was here all day every day. When the kids have adaptation problems I help them. When the class has needs, I go and buy. I help the kids to perform their personal sanitation. I help them eat their food. There were kids peeing on themselves in the first grade. I all looked after them. There were kids crying too much or not wanting to join the games; I all dealt with them. Sometimes the teacher was late to school; I was there to teach them... Our teacher Burhan is a very idealist one. He wants the best of everything. Me either... To make our children use the best of everything I went and bought dust-free chalk, printer, speaker system... I went and searched the market and bought the best quality for the best price. When the children cries I take them out of the class and wander around the school. I bought them tiny presents to motivate. Sometimes some mothers come late, I wait with the kid in the school for the mother until she comes” *(Lale (43) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – has 1 kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Burhan). – APPENDIX E.54 –*

“There is no description of what a CM does at all, but they created all types of work for themselves from cleaning the desks to collecting money. CMs consider all these work as duties of themselves. They derive a duty for themselves from each work item within the school. For example they come to school in the morning and although the teacher doesn’t want such help they line up the kids in the class soldierly; ‘make triple lines deary’. They line up the kids and muster them, keep them in order. They decide which child should sit with which child. Which curtains should be hung in the class, or, whether a TV or a DVD should be bought” *(Ümran – University graduate – Public Officer in a government office – Her child attends grade 4 – Has 1 kid in this school – Teacher: Meltem / CM: Oya). – APPENDIX E.55 –*

To sum up, the motherhood duties within the school as CM can be listed as below alphabetically:

- 1- Accountant
- 2- Animators
- 3- Cash collector
- 4- Child-carers
- 5- Cleaner
- 6- Coordinator
- 7- Counselor
- 8- First aid personnel
- 9- Fundraiser
- 10- Laundry women
- 11- Lobbyist
- 12- Office-personnel
- 13- Pay clerk
- 14- Public health worker
- 15- Public relations specialist
- 16- Purchasing officer
- 17- Repairer
- 18- Secretary
- 19- Subcontractor coordinator
- 20- Substitute teacher
- 21- Supplier
- 22- Teachers' aide

- 23- Trainer
- 24- Treasurer
- 25- Window cleaner

As it is shown in the list above, mothers' work in the school can be categorized into twenty-five different waged-professions which have already been practiced in the labor market. Should there be an attempt to define motherhood, it would already include all of the chores above. Therefore, being a CM is being a mother and the term 'voluntary parent' does not provide the relevant content of the work being done. The work is motherhood, which includes all the trivialities of daily routines as well as the emotional labor.

Therefore, the mother is the one who inhabits a specific labor force which is constituted of everything related to a child. Considering that 'the child' is defined as the one who cannot survive on her own, the definition of motherhood becomes something like 'the doer of everything' for the survival of a human being. The kind of substitute or the subsidizer that the neoliberal abandonment of the public school funding's require is exactly a mother; a doer of everything without any payment. This time the mother serves the survival of not only her child, but also of the neoliberal state in both direct and indirect ways.

Classroom Mothers Playing the Teacher's Role

As a continuation of the previous sub-heading, it is important to highlight the 'substitute teacher role' of the CMs to be better able to find answers on the mothers' role in the school system within the neoliberal transformation context.

The neoliberal policies opened a space for mothers in the public schools with a certain need of subsidizing the withdrawal of the state funds from education, and this is performed by the use of some discourses such as 'parental participation' and 'good mothering'. However, once the mothers penetrate the school system they play the game with their own rules and ways of doing. From that point on, neither the state bodies nor the teachers feel contented since these mothers are active subjects rather than passive objects in the school system.

"Not only have the CMs, but all the mothers elected for the PTA had a psychological drive to abuse their positions for their own interests... There are teacher who feel irritated of their coming into the school every time they like. Sometimes we, too, feel fed up with them, sincerely... Some CMs do their best to help the kids in need, but there are also many CMs that assign themselves with the authority of the teacher. We hear that there are really great tensions between the CMs and the teachers in some other schools. We don't have such big tensions though" (*Murat – Male School vice Principle with 33 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.56 –

This intrusion may happen with the approval or the request of the teachers:

"We do reading exercises for the children with my assistant CM. We do it even when the teacher is working in the classroom, since the teacher request it. There are 48 students in the class and the teacher is unable to deal with all of them. The teacher usually deals with the ones who have difficulty in reading and we deal with the ones who can already read. Otherwise the children who can read do not leave the teacher alone to help the children in need" (*Berna (38) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 1 – has one kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Fahri*). – APPENDIX E.57 –

“I am also an authority in the classroom. Sometimes the teacher has work outside the school and cannot come to the first class, these times I sit them still and keep quiet. When I am cheerful they sit on top of my head, thus I stay a bit cool and harsh. We read books, we do what the teacher normally does in the class” (*Mine (36) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 1 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Fatma*). – APPENDIX E.58 –

There are times when the CMs intervene in the ways of doing things without the approval or the request of the teachers. They can directly change the ways of doing things in the classroom assigning themselves as the authority:

“Parents first call me on the phone rather than calling the teacher. My mobile and land phone constantly works from 6 a.m. till 11 p.m. Some forget their homework; some forget their bags in the school. Parents are aware that I know everything, they directly call me. I don’t let them call the teacher directly. They call me first and I talk to the teacher and inform them. I assigned myself this way. I am like a second teacher... I have an assistant CM but she is pregnant and can’t come too often... For the 23 April we decorated the class. I told the teacher that I want to decorate the class with my students and that I would assign them duties. This festival is the children’s festival... We did all the decoration together... When the teacher has meetings I enter the class and teach the lesson. I teach as if there is a teacher in the class. Sometimes the teachers who are on duty are amazed with the silence of my classroom. To be frank, I see myself as the teacher. I assign the children with certain duties... There are two students on duty in the classroom every day. I assign them with duties; one picks the pencils up, the other picks up the rubbish and puts it in the bin. It is me who sets the rules. During the other break we hung the coats up on the hooks. At 2 o’clock we have fruit hour and we watch documentaries or cartoons. I told the teacher that children should watch the documentaries or the cartoons and eat their fruit. At that time everybody takes out their fruit and puts on the desk and watches the documentary... For example there is a kermis in the school and I told the kids to put some coins in their moneybox to buy a present for their mothers from the kermis...” (*Ceyhan (37) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 2 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Especially escaped from participating in the research*). – APPENDIX E.59 –

“I felt that I am useful here... I help children do activities. I like it very much, because all the children enjoy it. For example the English course in the school is inadequate and I will enroll my kid to a course outside. I don’t only do it for myself. I do it for everyone and inform the other parents... Because I am the CM, the parents come and talk to me rather than the

administration or the teacher... Our teacher does whatever I tell. I choose some books for the children and my choice is bought. I choose and arrange the extra courses for the children” (*Feza (40) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 1 kid in this school – Housewife – Teacher: Cafer*). – APPENDIX E.60 –

Moreover, some CMs do not hesitate being called ‘teacher’ by the students as this shows an approval of their position in an honoring way. This reinforces their feeling of right to act like a teacher. However, they do it in a patriarchal and dominating way as they had learnt it from their childhood, and thus they reproduce the patriarchal model of teacher-student relationship:

“Children call these CMs as ‘teacher’ and this attracts my attention. They don’t feel the need to correct them that she is not the teacher. They like it this way. But, they are influential and have authority on the children as much as the teacher. When I enter the class to drop my kid, I always see her there trying to discipline the children as if she were the teacher” (*Yeliz – University graduate – Teacher at the same school – Her child attends grade 2 – Has 2 kids in this school – The teacher and the CM did not prefer to participate in the research*). – APPENDIX E.61 –

“When the teacher attends a meeting the CM enters the class and teaches... I witnessed one; she stood up and went to the black board and tried to teach the children Maths... One time, I stayed in the class to see what they are doing during the handcraft activities. Children call her ‘teacher’ but she doesn’t correct them, she likes to be called ‘teacher’, she doesn’t tell them ‘I am not your teacher, I am your CM’. On the contrary, she pretends to be a teacher” (*Şeyda – High school graduate – Office clerk – Her child attends grade 2 – Has 1 kid in this school – The teacher especially escaped from participating in the research / CM: Ceyhan*). – APPENDIX E.62 –

Some CMs may exceed the lines and try to show that they know better than the teacher her/himself:

“I think they exaggerate their position. I see it from some parents and some of my teacher colleagues. There are CMs that are trying to compete with the teacher and get ahead of the teacher. I mean while they are trying to help...

they have a high sense of responsibility let's say. But here sometimes the limit of sincerity is exceeded. It is a bad situation in the name of the teacher. I wouldn't like to be in that position to be frank. It is talked in the teachers' room but I also witnessed two CMs. They would almost teach the lessons the teacher should teach. They enter the class and say 'teacher, let's do physical training today'. The teacher was a gentleman but the roles seem to be confused to me. We have another parent; she sickens the teacher literally; 'Teacher! Let's do this, let's not do that'... I mean the teacher doesn't want to reflect it much but her frequent comings irritate. She is in the school the whole day. She intermeddles in the details of the teaching job. I don't approve parents interfering that much" (*Verda – University graduate – Teacher at the same school – Her child attends grade 3 – Has 2 kids in this school – Teacher: İlke / CM: İrem*). – APPENDIX E.63 –

Therefore, rather than seeing CMs as passive and exploited mothers in the school environment, it should be realized that they are actively taking part with the notion of CM as a means and they are trying to gain power and have a word in the school as an end. Therefore, they try to get back what they give.

The Process of Becoming a Classroom Mother

Participants gave different responses on the process of becoming a CM, according to their positions; while CMs say that they are chosen by the teacher, the teachers say that they are elected by the parents. On the other hand, parents claim that they have no choice but approve the CM that the teacher chooses, or they claim that the candidates are priorly chosen by the PTA and the election is rather an enactment.

There are times when there is an election among the candidates:

"Parents elect the CM. Some volunteers come out among them. They agree among themselves and elect a representative and help her" (*Fahri – Male Grade-1 Teacher with 40 years of school experience – CMs of his classroom are Berna & Jale*). – APPENDIX E.64 –

"At the beginning of the school year we make a meeting and declare that we need a CM, and whether there are any volunteers. One or two mothers raise their hands. And then I ask which one they would choose. They choose

accordingly” (*İlke – Female Grade-3 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of her classroom is İrem*). – APPENDIX E.65 –

“Sometimes problems with parents emerge on this CM issue. For example there are three mothers and they say ‘I can be the CM’. Then I tell them to choose one among them” (*Galip – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 37 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Güliz*). – APPENDIX E.66 –

“The CM is chosen in the first parent meeting in consensus. The teacher says that he wants a CM and asks whether there are any volunteers. A couple of people ask for it and they became CMs” (*Zeynep – University graduate – Teacher at the same school – Her child attends grade 1 – Has 1 kid in this school – Teacher: Fahri / CM: Berna & Jale*). – APPENDIX E.67 –

Most of the participants, especially the CMs state that they are chosen directly by the teacher:

“I choose the commission among the volunteers myself. Then I ask them if they agree” (*Fatma – Female Grade-1 Teacher with 34 years of school experience – CM of her classroom is Mine*). – APPENDIX E.68 –

“CM is chosen with the absolute control of the teacher. The teacher chooses the CM. It is under the control and the authority of the teacher. The teacher chooses the one who has a better potential of helping. The teacher decides on this after the first meeting... We are not involved in the process at all” (*Levent – Male School vice Principle with 21 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.69 –

“It’s me who chooses to be the CM. Friends required. The teacher looked at the volunteers and chose me. She said ‘I want to work with you’...” (*Mine (36) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 1 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Fatma*). – APPENDIX E.70 –

“Last year I helped to another CM friend. The teacher also liked my work. He likes it very tidy and neat and he requested it from me this year” (*Nevin (33) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – has 1 kid in this school – Medical nurse – Teacher: Necmi*). – APPENDIX E.71 –

“It is usually the choice of the teachers. Not with an election. I didn’t require it but the teacher chose me. Then the parents became pleased with me and I continued” (*Hayal (34) – College graduate – CM of Grade 4 – has*

2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Ali). – APPENDIX E.72 –

“I didn’t become CM, the teacher chose me” (*Aylin (49) – High school graduate – PTA president – has 1 kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Former CM).* – APPENDIX E.73 –

“Some teachers do not want to collect money and they choose CMs to perform this work. The thing called CM is the teacher’s choice. We even do not make any elections” (*Uğur – College graduate – Former primary school teacher – Her child attends grade 2 – Has 1 kid in this school – The teacher and the CM did not prefer to participate in the research).* – APPENDIX E.74 –

Ümran, a parent who is a well-educated and self-confident public officer, states that she happened to learn what was going on in the PTA and was aggrieved by their assaults. She claims that the PTA has much influence on who is going to be a candidate and be chosen.

“You know just the same as the students who want to be the ‘class president’; these mothers eagerly want the teacher to see them and strive to be CMs. They need to feel themselves good. You may think that the CMs are elected by the parents, but not. There is a group of people in the PTA and it is priorly defined who will be the candidate. The parents who come to the meeting just approve it unknowingly. They are like a school gang” (*Ümran – University graduate – Public Officer in a government office – Her child attends grade 4 – Has 1 kid in this school – Teacher: Meltem / CM: Oya).* – APPENDIX E.75 –

It is revealed that although teachers have the main influence on which of the candidates should become a CM, the PTA has an influence, as well. Therefore it can be claimed that rather than practicing democratic participation, these mothers have to have some social or cultural capital to be eligible CMs in the eyes of the teachers.

This capital may present the relations of some mothers with the PTA in the form of

social capital, or it may be their capabilities and their education level in the form of cultural capital.

Why Would a Mother Want to Become a Classroom Mother?

Related to the research question which focuses on the ways in which the mothers use the patriarchally defined motherhood role to penetrate into the school system to gain power, it is important to see the mothers' motivation of becoming a CM which represents a power position in the school system.

Over-mothering: The Helicopter Mother

The CMs demonstrate an over-caring motherhood practices predominantly compared to the rest of the mothers. Moreover, they affirm their over-mothering practices in the interviews in a manner of accomplishment.

“I quit my job for my son. I was working when my daughter was going to primary school. My daughter asked me one day ‘mom, you always sent me to the nursery schools, why didn’t you leave your job for me but you did it for my brother?’ In fact, my son was allergic and the doctor told me that I should choose either my job or my motherhood. Therefore I left the job... Everything is for my son...” (*Ceyhan (37) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 2 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Especially escaped from participating in the research*). – APPENDIX E.76

“I come to school every day. My kid is pleased with the situation because he feels safe nearby me. He seeks compassion. He is upset when I don’t show up. He says ‘when you weren’t here they did this and that to me... Other kids say to each other that my mom comes every day and that they shouldn’t pick on me’. They stay out of my kid in case I see and complain about them to the teacher. My kid is introverted and the other kids are very aggressive. They broke his tooth. It happens whenever I don’t come to school. (*Oya*

(35) – Primary school graduate – CM of Grade 4 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Meltem). – APPENDIX E.77 –

“We constantly keep an eye and hand on our children. Not only in the primary school, but even also at the university I should keep being such a mother” *(Kiraz (35) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 4 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Hilal). – APPENDIX E.78 –*

“I have always sought after my child. Not someone else but I should look after my child. I paid for the voluntary insurance for myself and I quit work. I had been doing handicraft work which I also sent abroad. But I all gave them up. I have never represented an ordinary mother. If I were an ordinary mother I could have done many things but I chose my son” *(Aylin (49) – High school graduate – PTA president – has 1 kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Former CM). – APPENDIX E.79 –*

Upon the observations made in the field school the mothers cited above representing helicopter mothering practices are in fact the CMs who are doing the school work for themselves rather than for the teacher or for their children. These are the mothers who are in the middle of the power struggle and who attach to the power position of the classroom motherhood religiously as well as the other CMs. Therefore, the motivation of these mothers wanting to become a classroom mother gains importance to understand their power-praxis in the school with the other actors.

The Motivation Behind Classroom Motherhood

Although not all the mothers prefer becoming a CM, there is a strong competition to become one:

“Some parents are very eager to become CMs. Sometimes there is a severe competition. For example if last year she had problems with the CM, this year she wants to become a CM” *(Cafer – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 33*

years of school experience (CM of his classroom are Feza & Emine). – APPENDIX E.80 –

One of the reasons why they want to become a CM is explained in terms of the social environment of the school according to the interviews:

“Some of them want to be closer to their children and some others want to improve her social relations. ...” (*Fatma – Female Grade-1 Teacher with 34 years of school experience – CM of her classroom is Mine*). – APPENDIX E.81 –

“Some mothers are fed up with the household chores and that’s why they prefer” (*Pınar (40) – Primary school graduate – CM of Grade 1 – has 2 kids in this school – Housewife – Teacher: Did not prefer to participate in the research*). – APPENDIX E.82 –

“There is a need for gaining an identity and having a voice in the public for me. There are some CMs that are unhappy in their marriage and at home, and they come here to see and prove that they are valuable. There are some others who want to forget their roles in the home and they want to come and socialize here. They already perform the roles that they do here, but they gain prestige when they do it at school, otherwise it is worthless doing the same thing at home” (*Aylin (49) – High school graduate – PTA president – has 1 kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Former CM*). – APPENDIX E.83 –

“We as CMs satisfy some of our feelings I think. Like filling in a gap... It is like being inside the society, being closer to the teacher... You exchange your ideas with the teacher, and being together with the teacher all day satisfies you. CMs think that the teacher deals better with their child... But there is another reason that they go outside the home and have a good time. It is difficult for a housewife to go outside, but going to the child’s school is a legitimate reason to leave home” (*Buse (43) – Vocational high school graduate – Tea-lady in the same school – has 2 kids in this school – Former CM*). – APPENDIX E.84 –

“Their aim is about the education of their children; to be closer to their child and the teacher as well as to the administration” (*Emir – Male Grade-2 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Aynur*). – APPENDIX E.85 –

Therefore, according to the above cited reasons, one of the reasons why mothers want to become a CM is that they want to gain social capital and by means of their position to elicit some privileges for her child and for herself socially.

There are some other reasons cited below which focus on the desire of the mothers to control both their own children and the other children in the classroom with a feeling of protecting their own child against the vulgarities of other children:

“Generally they don’t work outside and want to do something in their own way. They want to show themselves and that they are important and useful... My CM’s child is a problematic one... She is being treated... She always walks around in the class and misbehaves to her friends. May be that’s why she became a CM” (*Burhan – Male Grade-3 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Lale*). – APPENDIX E.86 –

“Some of them seek privileges. Some others want to protect their children. Usually they have more than one child in the school and they want to control all of them by dropping in every time they like. Say, she is the CM for the grade 1 but also controls her kid in the seventh level. It is their own desire to become a CM” (*Demir – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 36 years of school experience – Has no classroom mother*). – APPENDIX E.87 –

“I became a CM because I didn’t want to get apart from my daughter. I became a mother when I was 35. I always kept my daughter in front of my eyes. I left my work to look after her because my husband didn’t let me work. Then I gave all my energy to my child. She is a little bit naughty and I was worried that someone would hurt her. With an instinct of protection I became a CM” (*Lale (43) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – has 1 kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Burhan*). – APPENDIX E.88 –

“My first reason is to be closer to my child. CM’s are free to enter the school any time they want. Besides I feel myself useful and valuable here. I am not useful at home. My son was hit on the stomach in the school and he was operated. Then his teeth were broken when he fought with his friends at school. And then my daughter fell down and hit her eye to the metal part of the desk and she barely survived with one in a million probabilities, otherwise she would lose her eye. So, I had already decided to come to school every day even if I hadn’t become a CM” (*Hayal (34) – College graduate – CM of Grade 4 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Ali*). – APPENDIX E.89 –

“Mothers want to become a CM because they have no trust in their children or in the environment. They may feel bored at home and think this as a social activity... The children of the parents in the PTA are usually the most problematic ones, they are naughty or they can't do well in the courses. By becoming a CM they gain advantage for their children's grades” (*Zeynep – University graduate – Teacher at the same school – Her child attends grade 1 – Has 1 kid in this school – Teacher: Fahri / CM: Berna & Jale*). – APPENDIX E.90 –

The above mentioned practices and motivations elucidate that over-protective mothering practices represent a motivation to become a CM. They overemphasize a notion of control in the meaning of motherhood and in the practices of mothering.

Another reason appears to be another practice of control as a mothering practice but this time applied over the teachers:

“For example we had a problem with a student; the teacher gave her 4 points for her behavior. She is successful but she really has problems with her friends. Her mother came and turned the place upside down shouting ‘how dare you give my kid 4 for the behavior score’... She felt degraded as a mother. This happened last year. And this year, I saw that she became a CM. She made an explanation like that: ‘I saw that they misunderstand misinterpret my child's behavior. Now I am here in the school from now on’. Now she observes the behaviors of the teacher and her daughter and she will check it in the report again” (*Olcay – Female Counselor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.91 –

“These mothers are usually the ones who want to be in the forefront and they want to direct things. Their houses are closed to school... They want to manage the classroom according to their own desires and interests. Children call them ‘teacher’ and they feel that they have a status here although they are housewives... It seems that they are over-protective mothers but this is not the main reason; they want make the society see them. They have something to tell at home in the evening” (*Yeliz – University graduate – Teacher at the same school – Her child attends grade 2 – Has 2 kids in this school – The teacher and the CM did not prefer to participate in the research*). – APPENDIX E.92 –

“There are two types of CMs. The first group is the ones who poke their nose in everything in the class. They have leadership characteristics. The

second group humbly helps the teacher” (*Verda – University graduate – Teacher at the same school – Her child attends grade 3 – Has 2 kids in this school – Teacher: İlke / CM: İrem*). – APPENDIX E.93 –

Another reason for their preference of becoming a CM is their desire of power in the school:

“ The mothers who are desirous to become CMs have similar personalities in fact. They are authoritative. They don’t work outside. But they are the ones who have the last word at home too. Not having had enough education to climb the corporate ladders is a thorn in their flesh... That’s my observation... They usually have university graduates in their families but they are not themselves. They always talk about them and they still compete with them. They are really competitive...” (*Olca – Female Counselor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.94 –

“A mother becomes a CM in order to have information about everything in the school. I think her child is the second reason...” (*Çimen – Primary school graduate – Housewife – Her child attends grade 1 – Has 2 kids in this school – Teacher: Fatma / CM: Mine*). – APPENDIX E.95 –

The patriarchal definition of motherhood constructs the mothers as the ‘controlling’ entities in order to shape the society in the traditional way. Mothers usually practice this as a personal attitude rather than social. However, it has social consequences and it serves the sustainability of the established patriarchal practices.

Their desire of control indicates a level of mistrust in the school system, as well. This implies that they think the teachers do not perform pedagogical work, the administration does not perform justice and order, and students do not perform social codes of acceptable behavior. These mothers want to be present in the school to protect their children from the deprivations of these practices in the school. By practicing a presence in the school there emerges an assumption that they do it by means of controlling and manipulating the activities of the others.

In addition, defining the mother typology would give an idea on the capital status of these mothers and their class position.

“The mother shouldn’t be in short economically to be elected as a CM because she has to make a lot of phone calls, sometimes she will have to buy something from her own budget even though she collects it back. She has to afford all these. She has to have a large social environment. I mean she has to be economically in good condition and she has to have time and social environment” (*Levent – Male School vice Principle with 21 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.96 –

“It is important for a CM to be in good conditions economically. I sometimes buy books for the library from my own budget. .. Some parents can’t afford some needs and I also pay for them” (*Berna (38) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 1 – has one kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Fahri*). – APPENDIX E.97 –

“For a mother to become a CM she has to have her home closed to the school and she has to be in good condition economically. They also should be compassionate” (*Hayal (34) – College graduate – CM of Grade 4 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Ali*). – APPENDIX E.98 –

Hence, the mothers that prefer becoming a CM are the ones who have economic capital predominantly. On the other hand the research shows that the economic capital should be combined either with the social capital or cultural capital to be activated and transferred to a power position.

The Social Class of the Classroom Mother

In this sub-heading the social class issue will be focused on to see the class differences among the mothers in the school. This will enable the research to present some answers for the research question regarding the ways in which the positioning

of mothers in the school reproduce the class and gender inequality. Under this sub-heading the reproduction of the class inequality and the effects of social class difference in the motherhood position in the school will be dealt with.

In the Beehive Primary School, there are many mothers wandering around in and out of the school. They are all mothers but not all mothers are the same. While some mothers are up in the middle of the administrative mechanisms, some others can only watch everything from a distance.

“CMs are the mothers who make their living with their husbands’ money but they somehow have an independence from them. They have cars and they can buy good brand goods for their kids. But they do not have that much money anyway, because if they had, they would send their children to private schools... Other mothers are swirps; they cannot step out of the door without a permission of their husbands. They are not in good condition economically and you can understand it from their clothing. That’s why they cannot dare to push themselves into the scene to be become CMs”
(*Ümran – University graduate – Public Officer in a government office – Her child attends grade 4 – Has 1 kid in this school – Teacher: Meltem, CM: Oya*). – APPENDIX E.99 –

“In general CMs are well-off, they have plenty of time. They are well-groomed. They try to look cool, their walk is even different” (*Aslı – Vocational High school graduate – Office Manager – Former school parent – Has 1 kid in this school – CM: was Aylin – now, the PTA president*). – APPENDIX E.100 –

Social Class and the Presence of Mothers in the School

Mothers, especially the middle-class strive for providing an education level over the standard that the neoliberal state presents. Middle-class mothers are doing this in the private-schools as well, but there are no CMs in the private schools, or even if there are a few, they do not have the same function as the ones in the public schools.

Below are the citations from the interviews of highly experienced teachers who have had many years of experience in every part of the social scale. Some citations of the CMs are also included.

“Before this school, I taught at a school in a slum area of İstanbul for two and a half years. Mothers in that poor school wouldn’t come to school at all. Both their level of education and economic level were very low. It was very different from here. If the parent is not well educated, she doesn’t deal with her child’s education either. It was a Romani neighborhood. They would never come to school nor attend parent meetings. There was a CM but she wouldn’t do anything. She would also come only to the parent meetings like the few other parents. Parents in the Romani neighborhood or in rural Anatolia would never require extra course materials. But here, they constantly require extra course materials and they make organizations to buy them. They are constantly searching for the better. They collect money for this reason” (*Burhan – Male Grade-3 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Lale*). – APPENDIX E.101 –

“The CMs and the mothers in the PTA are much wealthier compared to the other parents. They have possessions and properties. Actually that’s why they are so self-confident against the teachers and the administration” (*Olçay – Female Counselor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.102 –

“Before this school I worked in Çağlayan and it was not even remotely close to this school environment socially. I wouldn’t know the names of the CMs in that school. They would never drop in every minute. But here, the parents see themselves equivalent with the teachers. The parents in this school are more cultured and they have their own business, they are much well-off. They often come together and go to the café. They gather in the PTA room and they have a chat. They can easily criticize the teachers. In the school in Çağlayan you wouldn’t see such a thing” (*Yeliz – University graduate – Teacher at the same school – Her child attends grade 2 – Has 2 kids in this school – The teacher and the CM did not prefer to participate in the research*). – APPENDIX E.103 –

“My son’s previous school was a more affluent one. The CMs there would make decisions together with all the other mothers in the class. They make blogs on the internet and share course material and even their homework. They have google-groups to communicate with all the other mothers. This school is very different. The level of education is low here. In the affluent school each mother was like a CM. They would directly go to the principle and argue and call the administration to account. In that school CM is

nothing there because every mother is a CM. But the parents are much wealthier and educated there” (*Rana – High school graduate – Quit work for childcare – Her child attends grade 3 – Has 1 kid in this school – Teacher: Burhan , CM: Lale*). – APPENDIX E.104 –

Rana’s words indicate that the position of CM is a power position provided that the rest of the parents in the school have lower economic and financial capital than they do. Otherwise, in an equivalent situation the position of the CM remains symbolic. This uneven social and economic capital distribution in the Beehive school is also stated by some others CMs.

“There are very ignorant parents here. They bring lahmacun into the class and make the class smell bad, or they leave the food remains after the lunch in the classroom. Working mothers are better but they do not have enough time for it. Housewives have much more time and they show up more but they do nothing for the needs of the class...” (*Mine (36) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 1 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Fatma*). – APPENDIX E.105 –

“The mothers here are suppressed and kept at bay. They make gossip with the other women like themselves but they do not communicate with the educated CMs” (*Berna (38) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 1 – has one kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Fahri*). – APPENDIX E.106 –

“I do not want the parents enter in the school. There are different people; some are atheists and some are Kurds... I see our teacher as incapable in terms of leading the parents. He listens to them too much. He should bump his fist on the table, but he doesn’t” (*Lale (43) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – has 1 kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Burhan*). – APPENDIX E.107 –

As it can be understood from the citations, the social and the economic capital of the CMs usually far exceed the rest of the mothers. In some more affluent schools as every mother has an equivalent level of social, economic and cultural capital, the dynamics are different.

On the other hand, it is revealed that social class is a contested issue, especially when the social class of women is concerned. Class categorizations are constructed upon the male labor market participation and this overlooks the complexity inherent in the relationship between the gender and the social class (Reay, 1998a). However, when women are concerned it is the social and cultural capital that makes the predominant difference among the social class of these mothers at school.

By focusing on class as process not position, class can be seen as determined not simply by men's occupational status, but also produced by women in their work as mothers (Reay, 1998a, p. 21).

According to Bourdieu (1994), class does not lie in the agency or the structure, rather it exists in people's interactions. Family forms and the ways of living are also 'integral to the active process of constructing and reconstructing class relations' (Smith, 1983, p. 7). Thus social class is 'a complex of social relations coordinating the activities of our everyday worlds with those of others with whom we are not directly connected. Such relations exist only as active practices' (Smith, 1987, p. 135). Therefore mothers working in the school environment voluntarily are not only doing gender, but they are doing class as well. They are producing and reproducing class and gender inequalities.

Class categories sometimes function as social identities represented by some organizations that organize, mobilize and reflect the interests of a certain class (Crossley, 2008). In terms of the PTA in the Beehive Primary School, families are generally lower-middle income group; however, the PTA is established by a certain common taste, perception and power model. Therefore, the CMs and the PTA represents a 'relatively' upper-class within the school.

What makes these women working in the PTA or as a CM is their collective action, which transforms them from being separate individuals to a class, as they not only act but identify themselves collectively. They tend to share similar tastes, lifestyles, outlooks, dispositions and a tacit sense of their place in the world or “class unconsciousness”; that is, class habitus (Crossley, 2008, p. 93). These mothers make home-visits to each other, and they even do it with the teacher and they get socialized. Moreover, they take their children to the same out-of class extra activities and they reinforce their relations and identities.

CMs in the public schools gain power over their position and this position presents hegemonic features, because their power comes not only from their unpaid labor but from their social and economic relations as well. On whom this hegemony is applied is another point as it is not the state or the official bodies that are dominated by these middle-class mothers. The state and its representatives are affected from the situation but it is a restlessness coming from the tension of losing the ‘regulating power’ rather than being dominated, which is good in terms of the mothers and the ‘others’. However, these CMs, the relatively middle-class mothers in this lower-middle-class primary school, are dominating the working class mothers and their children and acting hegemonically over them. They gain this power by means of their relatively larger economic, cultural and social capital.

The Social Class of the Classroom Mothers

As elucidated above, social class is not something that can only be explained by the income or the production forms of people especially when women are concerned. Therefore, Bourdieu’s notion of different forms of capital is important in order to

locate the CMs in a class position vis-à-vis the rest of the mothers in the school.

Therefore some other attributes that define the social class of the mothers gain importance.

“The mothers who are more eligible for the CM position are the ones who have better communication skills, self-confidence and education. The ones in this school are relatively affluent and they do not work outside” (*Emir – Male Grade-2 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Aynur*). – APPENDIX E.108 –

“A couple of weeks ago we went for a meeting in another school with our vice principle and the PTA president. Can you believe that, all the women who were PTA presidents of different schools had the same hair style with the same platinum blond hair. Moreover, they are very well-groomed” (*Olçay – Female Counselor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.109 –

“A poor mother cannot become a CM. She has to pay the phone bills and buy extras...” (*Jale (40) – Primary School Graduate – CM of Grade 1 – has 2 kids in this school – Housewife – Teacher: Fahri*). – APPENDIX E.110 –

“I had a spinal disc problem on my back during my pregnancy and I looked after my son with a live-in nannies and domestic workers at home” (*Aylin (49) – High school graduate – PTA president – has 1 kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Former CM*). – APPENDIX E.111 –

“A mother in bad economic condition does not become a candidate to be a CM. She would prefer to work in the market to earn money rather than spending her time here in the school unpaid. The mothers who have no economic worries and want to have a place in the society become CMs” (*Buse (43) – Vocational high school graduate – Tea-lady in the same school – has 2 kids in this school – Former CM*). – APPENDIX E.112 –

“CMs are women who spend their husband’s money, most of them have cars, they can go to the shopping centers and buy whatever they like and they feel more independent from their husbands. However the other mothers have to ask for a permission from their husbands to go two meters away from home” (*Ümran – University graduate – Public Officer in a government office – Her child attends grade 4 – Has 1 kid in this school – Teacher: Meltem / CM: Oya*). – APPENDIX E.113 –

“When we first elected the CM for our classroom, we didn’t know anyone. One of the CMs we chose had bad economic conditions, but the others were wearing better quality clothes and you could understand that they are wealthier. In the meantime they eliminated the CM with bad economic condition and took over the control. The poor CM couldn’t feel the strength to struggle against them and she surrendered. I mean clothing is important for the CMs, they always show that they are in better economic condition by their clothes and appearance” (*Tülin – Primary school graduate – Housewife – Her child attends grade 5 – Has 1 kid in this school – Teacher: Cafer / CM: Feza & Emine*). – APPENDIX E.114 –

The CMs show their social class by their clothing and they are better able to speak in the public. They are relatively affluent and they can easily get in contact with the teachers because they are relatively more educated. During my observations in the café, it was important to see the female teachers and CMs together chatting and drinking coffee. They were all well-groomed and the rest of the mothers wouldn’t even try to go and take a seat at their table. They usually buy presents to the female teachers, which is a way of power application and domination.

Landeros (2011) claims that parent–teacher relationships are primarily relationships among women. By means of this relationship CMs are able to escalate their children’s school success as well as their social capital accumulation. Crossley (2008) indicates that children from culturally wealthy backgrounds inherit embodied dispositions of wealth and this is recognized and valued by the teachers and thus these students appear brighter and more articulate to their teachers because they ‘speak the same language’ (p. 95). There is a similar case in the Beehive school in terms of the children of the CMs. They are adored by the teachers, and the teachers see them successful. Even if they are not successful or well-behaved, they are tolerated by the teachers. One may see the project homework hung on the walls always include the CMs child’s name.

Classroom Motherhood as a Power Position

In the school environment the position of CM presents a power position, and the rest of the mothers in the school are aware of the situation. CMs gain this power by means of a variety of capitals. For example they have the emotional capital which is a variation of social capital; briefly a gendered knowledge. Emotional capital they have involves contacts, relations and access to emotionally valued skills and assets as well as the knowledge (Nowotny, 1981). This is what makes them ‘the mother’. By having this capital, they have a potential access to the position of classroom motherhood.

However, emotional capital is not enough for accessing the CM position, as every mother is supposed to have it, although it is mainly attributed to the middle-class mothers and working-class mothers are considered in a deprivation of such capital. Nevertheless, they need to have economic, cultural or social capital to accompany this emotional capital. In the research school, the mothers in the CM position seem to have accessed this position mainly by the economic and cultural capital accompanying the emotional capital, as it can be seen from the Social Space Graph below.

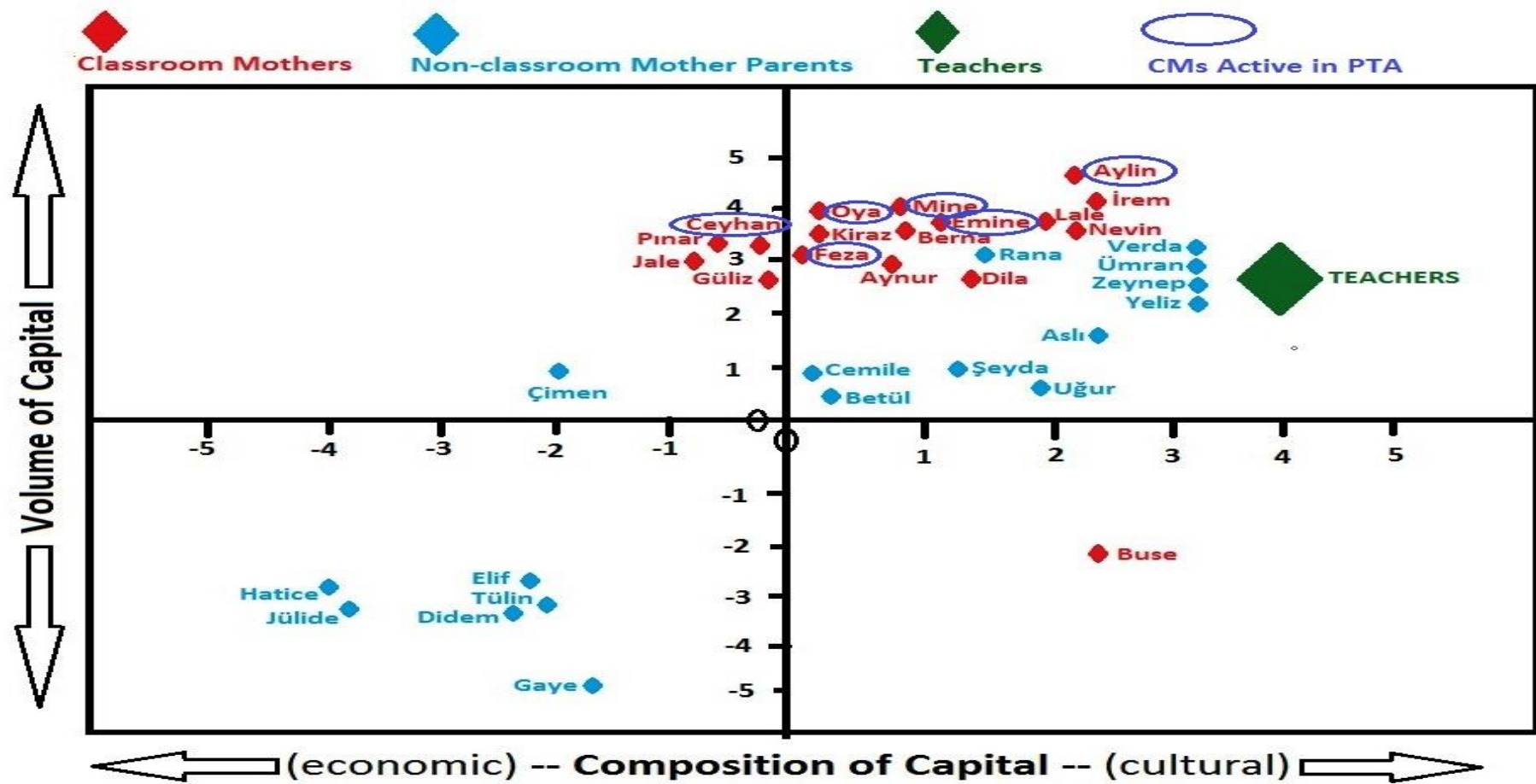


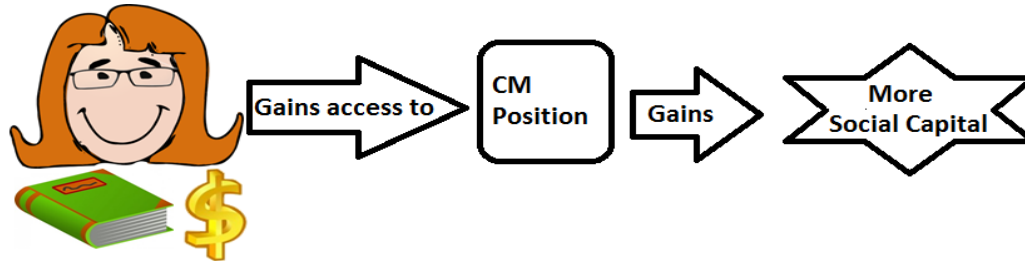
Figure 6. Social Space Graph of the research participants in the Beehive Primary School

Social Capital as the ‘Catalyzing Capital’

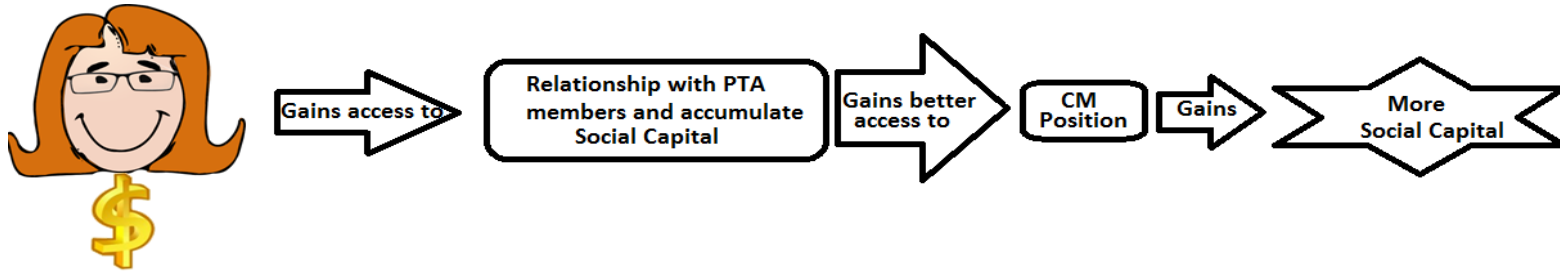
On the other hand, there seems to be different strategies for entering the power position for the CMs. For example most of the CMs seem to have both the economic and cultural capital together. They are the ones who have easier access to the power position. However, there are also CMs who relatively lack the cultural capital but they have equivalent social capital as they have relations and acquaintances as well as kinships or neighborhood relations with the CMs who have both economic and cultural capital. I claim that it is the economic capital that makes them get in contact with each other and develop a certain form of social capital. That is, the mothers with less cultural capital but enough economic capital easily get in touch with the CMs on the upper right-hand side of the chart and they become friends, bring their children to the same paid extra-school activities and they transfer their economic capital to social capital. Or, in the example of the former CM Buse, a mother may have enough cultural capital but insufficient economic capital. In this case, she may transfer her cultural capital to social capital by activating her capabilities in the social environment and sharing the same space and thus become friends. This is what happened in Buse’s case. Then in her story, she transferred her cultural capital into social capital and she became a CM. And then she transferred her social capital into economic capital and she had a paid job in the school.

The figure below is an illustration of the power gaining strategies in the school in terms of the process of becoming a CM:

1) The mother who has both economic and cultural capital



2) The mother who has economic capital but not adequate cultural capital



3) The mother who has cultural capital but not adequate economic capital

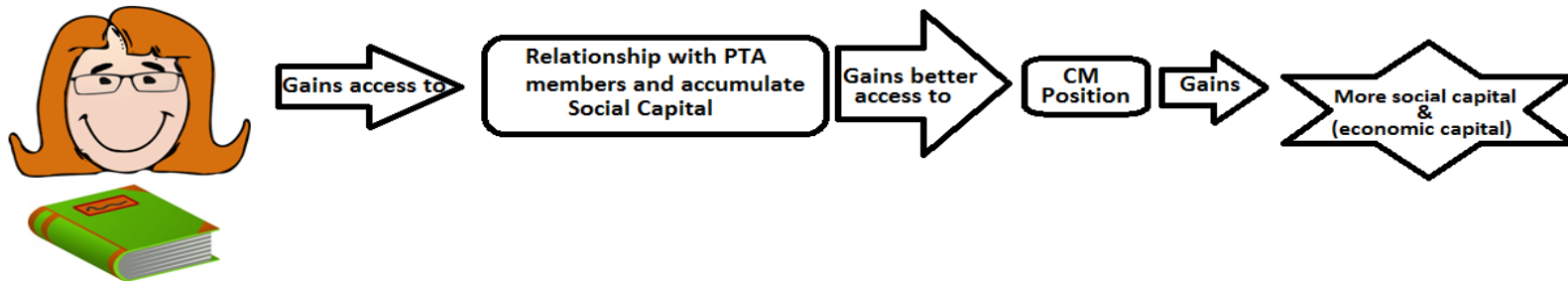


Figure 7. Power-gaining strategies of mothers in the school environment

As it can be seen in terms of the transference of the capital, ‘social capital’ represents a key factor to access power positions especially in the lack of economic and cultural capital. In case of lack of economic capital, a CM uses her cultural capital to accumulate social capital first, which refers to Buse’s case in the research. Once the sufficient social capital is gained, then there is an easier access to power position. It is the same when there is a lack of cultural capital. When there is sufficient economic capital but insufficient cultural capital, the mother gets access to setting relations with the PTA members and accumulates relevant social capital. After the accumulation of social capital there emerges a possibility of gaining access to the CM position, which is represented by the CMs Pınar, Jale and Güliz’s cases.

Therefore, the ‘social capital’ is a key factor in the transference of capital to reach the power positions in the case of this study. I name the social capital as the ‘*catalyzing capital*’. To explain the term it can be stated that ‘catalyzing capital’ is the key factor in reaching the power positions in the lack of one or two other capitals. It may be one of the capitals of economic, cultural, social, symbolic or emotional capitals depending on the situation. The catalyzing capital refers to a stepping stone for transferring one capital to the other, in a position which transference from capital ‘a’ to capital ‘b’ is difficult. In this case the individual transfers her existing capital first to the catalyzing capital, the transfer from which is easier to the target capital (the key capital for the power position).

‘Dispossession of Social Capital’ and ‘Network Blockage Strategy’

In many of the interviews CMs stated that they either do not let other mothers directly talk to the teacher or it is the teacher’s choice not wanting to talk to the

parents. Therefore the CMs developed or started to perform another duty as acting like the teacher's secretary. In this case, the other mothers are not let talk to the teacher; first they have to see the CM and the CM would take the issue to the teacher.

“Parents first call me on the phone rather than calling the teacher. My mobile and land phone constantly work from 6 a.m. till 11 p.m. Some forget their homework; some forget their bags in school. Parents are aware that I know everything, the directly call me. I don't let them call the teacher directly. They call me first and I talk to the teacher and inform them back. I assigned myself this way. I am like a second teacher... (*Ceyhan (37) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 2 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Especially escaped from participating in the research*). – APPENDIX E.115 –

“CMs see themselves privileged because they see themselves very closed to the teacher. Moreover, they can make a promise to the other parents saying ‘I will talk to the teacher and solve your problem’. However, the parent can come the other day and talk to the teacher one-on-one herself. CMs abuse this relationship and they prevent and block the dialogue between the teacher and other parents” (*Verda – University graduate – Teacher at the same school – Her child attends grade 3 – Has 2 kids in this school – Teacher: İlke / CM: İrem*). – APPENDIX E.116 –

Similar statements are elicited from different CMs in the interviews and this was also uttered by the N-CM parents both as a positive and a negative instance. At this point it is important to see the power gaining and power sustaining patterns of CMs in the school. As mentioned above, the social capital seems to be a catalyzing capital which enables different mothers with different backgrounds gain power and reach the necessary power positions. To be able to explain the power sustaining strategies of the CMs, I developed two concepts which I name ‘network blockage strategy’ and ‘dispossession of social capital’.

Network blockage strategy is a social capital acceleration strategy when there is a conflict or a struggle of gaining certain social capital among some groups or members of a group. For example CMs block all the other mothers' networking

possibility by not letting them talk to the teacher one-on-one. CMs urge them to call the CM initially and she would communicate with the teacher on their behalf. By this way while the CM is developing a deeper social network with the teacher, at the same time she prevents other mothers, especially the ones who have equivalent or more cultural or economic capital to develop a network with the teachers and thus she eliminates the possibilities of threat over her power position. Network blockage strategy may include a variety of techniques of building a dam in front of the possible or existing social capital flow between the other parents and the teacher in this case. In this way the possible need of social interaction flow between the parent and the teacher is blocked by the CM and exploited on the CM's interest as it is the CM who uses this communication need to develop a deeper social tie with the teacher. That is to say, the CM uses someone else's need of social interaction to strengthen her own network ties. It is a kind of social exploitation and surplus gaining technique over the social relationships.

Dispossession of social capital, on the other hand, is the result of the network blockage strategy when 'successfully' applied. It is a result of the power strategy that accumulates social capital by blocking other people's social interaction opportunities and using them for one's own interests. In this way, in a given social space, a group of people control the social capital gaining channels and keep a majority of people in continuous deprivation, which helps sustain the power holders' position. In this position the power holder has an accumulation of social capital by dispossession, which means that although others might have had opportunities to build social networks, the power holders do not let it happen and keep the power coming from the accumulation and monopolization of the social capital in their hands. Therefore it is a social capital accumulated by dispossession which is defined

vis-à-vis the group that the power is applied upon. The important thing is not to gain a ‘certain’ amount of social capital, but rather keeping an amount of social capital in a higher level compared to the other group to be able to sustain the power position over them.

Adult Learning Practices of the CMs: Power-Gaining vs. Empowerment

Every practice in a social setting is a kind of learning. The social practice itself is a type of learning which not only teaches to the practitioner but also to the others around her. The CM position in the school setting is also a learning practice for women who constantly interact, have conflicts with each other and find a solution. Moreover, the power struggle itself is a strong learning practice. The social individual can learn to reproduce the current power relations by certain performativities, as well as to reconstruct herself against the performativities and thus emancipate herself.

‘Informal learning’ takes place when individuals consciously try to learn from their own experiences. On the other hand, ‘incidental learning’ or ‘tacit learning’ occurs when individuals learn as the activity takes place. It is unintentional, random and unorganized. The person learns but sometimes she is not aware that a type of learning takes place. It is a by-product of a certain activity (Foley, 2000, p. xiv; Fowler, 2002).

In this sense, mothers practicing and experiencing an almost formal or semi-formal work environment and interacting with certain formal and informal bodies and subjects in the school environment are in a process of tacit/incidental learning. During their practice, it is not only the CMs who change but also the actors such as

the school administration, the teachers and even the students change as an effect and by-product of their practices. Moreover, not only the individuals or the groups, but also the school practices (culture and climate) change.

The important issue here is ‘what’ knowledge is learnt and ‘what’ knowledge is reinforced in this practice. As mentioned in the previous sub-headings, CMs together with all the other actors are practicing power-gaining strategies. It is important here to differentiate between ‘empowerment’ and ‘power-gaining’. Empowerment is a feminist methodology which refers to undoing the socially discriminated or disadvantaged groups being excluded from the decision making processes related to their own lives in the society. Therefore, if we think about empowerment for the mothers in the school, we should consider their being in the decision-making mechanism as a group but with a certain view of consciousness about the discrimination or suppression applied upon them. On the other hand, ‘power-gaining’ is the act of obtaining ability to control the behavior of others in a social group. It has a negative connotation, because power is applied upon some others, whereas empowerment refers to the self in terms of development. Linguistically speaking, power is a dative case as you apply power on someone, however; empowerment is a reflexive case in the conceptualization of practice.

In this case, the practice of CMs and mothers in general in the school system with the influence of the neoliberal policies present both power-gaining and empowerment practices. However, in this research the general characteristics of their practice and their discourse indicate that there is mostly a lack of critical consciousness on their social positions as mothers or women. Therefore, even if they may practice empowering instances, in general they act and react within the given gender roles patriarchally. They are trying to turn the suppressed mother position into

a hegemonic position within the school individually rather than gaining a social consciousness as a group and questioning their practices at the same time.

Therefore, within the CM position, mothers are not only reproducing gender and patriarchy, but also they are practicing self-suppressing actions as they apply them on their own gender-mates. The result is the 'breastocracy', a concept I offer for the masculinely empowered female. This concept will be elaborated in the following sub-sections. I call this result as breastocracy since they are turning the nurturing breast into a torturing phallus and applying patriarchal power upon their own identity in 'the public' which is defined as the masculine realm. Yet, there is a possibility of producing a counter-practice in terms of transforming masculine power practices into feminist solidarity practices, therefore producing gender empowerment rather than doing gender.

I call the practices of mothers in the school as 'power-gaining' rather than empowerment because they practice the performativities of 'good-mothering' to become powerful in the school, which refers to reproducing gender in essence. Landeros (2011) states that in a competitive community, good-mothering is measured by child's overt behavior and progress, therefore mothers put energy into the child's schooling. This action is on mother's behalf rather than the child. Thus, professional motherhood becomes result oriented, individualistic and status driven.

This status is elicited by different capital gaining strategies by different mothers according to their social class. As Gillies (2006) states, 'symbolic capital' represents legitimation, power and prestige which can be drawn from economic, cultural and social capital, which is class-based since only certain forms of cultural capital (middle class forms) generate symbolic capital. Therefore, especially the mothers who own more economic capital relatively try to gain more of social capital

by means of the CM position. A mother who lacks both economic and cultural capital never becomes a CM. As a result, the mothers who own better financial capital, transfer it first into social capital and then they gain titles and transfer it into symbolic capital.

“Some mothers feel privileged in the CM position and they use it against the teacher. They consider themselves very powerful in the school... For example the PTA president, a former parent of my class, tried to dominate us and apply hegemony on us. I stroke an attitude against her and she cried and went to the school principal’s office. I also went there and defended my rights” (*Meltem – Female Grade-4 Teacher with 35 years of school experience (CM of his classroom are Berna & Jale)*). – APPENDIX E.117 –

“I decide on how my child will pass her spare time. Other mothers can’t judge whether their children stayed doing nothing or they studied. We sometimes decide on what activity to do together with the teacher. For example my daughter doesn’t like art and painting. I prevent the teacher to get the children to draw and paint pictures and direct him to another activity. Our previous teacher used to attend a lot of meetings and I had to do the classes. These times I was keeping the kids busy with music instead of painting and drawing, because of my kid’s choice” (*Lale (43) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – has 1 kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Burhan*). – APPENDIX E.118 –

“A CM can make do anything in the school very easily. It is very easy for her to do this because she has acquaintance and social relationship with everyone” (*Zeynep – University graduate – Teacher at the same school – Her child attends grade 1 – Has 1 kid in this school – Teacher: Fahri / CM: Berna & Jale*). – APPENDIX E.119 –

“They are very much concerned with every detail at school. They dominate us; their voice is heard in every activity to be done in school. One day my daughter came to me and said ‘mom my hair has to be straight in the 23 April ceremony’. But my daughter has curly hair. The CM has a right to tell how my daughter’s hair would be in the activity. She even feels no need to ask it to the parents... Another day the CM took my revenge on my daughter since we had quarreled the previous day... The CM suggests to send our children to an English course; we vote the idea and only 10 people accept the idea over 37 parents; but she disregards our choice and decides to send the kids to the English course indicating that she will pay for the rest of the students herself. I don’t understand where she finds that much money... CMs are trying to organize the school disregarding the parents, the PTA and the school administration... They even try to do the work of the counselor teacher by observing the kids in the garden but she goes and complains

about them to the teacher by discrediting the kids in the teacher's eyes. They egg the teacher on feeling hostility on certain children. She fills the teacher's ear with her own ideas and makes the teacher tell it to us as if it was the teacher's idea, and then we cannot do anything" (*Çimen – Primary school graduate – Housewife – Her child attends grade 1 – Has 2 kids in this school – Teacher: Fatma / CM: Mine*). – APPENDIX E.120 –

As it can be seen from the interviews, the network blockage strategy is actively used by the CMs to de-power the other parents. The CMs gain certain access to the power positions with their economic, cultural or social capital. However, eliciting the CM position is a stepping stone, because they activate certain power-gaining strategies to penetrate the public space in a stronger manner, using the CM position.

The Privileges of Being a Classroom Mother

In this sub-section the data regarding the research question concerning the ways in which CMs produce and reproduce the gender and class inequalities will be presented.

CM position provides mothers some practical advantages on the following issues:

- They can enter the school whenever they like,
- They can develop good relations with the teachers,
- They have an opportunity to deal with their own children all the time,
- They develop better relations with and have an access to the PTA,
- They gain social status.

"It is important to become a CM to be able to climb the social ladders. These labels are important in our society" (*Ümran – University graduate – Public Officer in a government office – Her child attends grade 4 – Has 1 kid in this school – Teacher: Meltem / CM: Oya*). – APPENDIX E.121 –

- They have a voice on the activities to be done in and out of the class.

“I decide on how my child will pass her spare time. Other mothers can’t judge whether their children stayed doing nothing or they studied. We sometimes decide on what activity to do together with the teacher. For example my daughter doesn’t like art and painting. I prevent the teacher to get the children to draw and paint pictures and thus I direct him to another activity. Our previous teacher used to attend a lot of meetings and I had to do the classes. These times I was keeping the kids busy with music instead of painting and drawing, because of my own kid’s choice” (*Lale (43) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – has 1 kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Burhan*). – APPENDIX E.122 –

- Teachers tolerate their children and give better marks

“They build closer relations with the teacher and they exploit it. For example, they cherish dearly and require extra points for their kids in the report times... They think they deserve it with their labor. They even promise other mothers to get extra credits for their children” (*Verda – University graduate – Teacher at the same school – Her child attends grade 3 – Has 2 kids in this school – Teacher: İlke / CM: İrem*). – APPENDIX E.123 –

- They develop outside relations, such as the publishing houses, related with the school.
- They gain excessive social capital and have the power to get things done by using these relations.
- They can do business by means of the social relations they gain. Some of them sell textile goods and some others sell cosmetics to all the women in the school.

“CMs do business to be frank. One of them sells the AVON products, the other sells the KOTTON textile products. A couple of days ago they gathered in the café and sold bed gowns. Provided that they keep their relations good with the teachers, they buy goods from them. Becoming CM

opens doors for trade as it does for many other things. It is a means to get to know the parents and the teachers personally. They have the phone numbers of all the parents and they can call them and tell about what they sell”
(*Olcay – Female Counselor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*). –
APPENDIX E.124 –

Regarding the privileges they gain by means of the CM position, most of these privileges are related to the mothers’ own interests and relatively few are related with their children. As it is understood, the CM position gives a woman many different capital transfer opportunities, which can empower them as well as make them, gain power to apply on others.

Tensions over Classroom Motherhood:

The Power Clash with the Other Actors in the School

This research uses the Cultural Historical Activity Theory as a methodological tool in order to analyze the tensions and see the power relations over these tensions in a given social, cultural and historical setting. There are certain tensions taking place with the mothers’ presence and power-gaining activities within the school. There are tensions arising in terms of the PTA, the school administration, the teachers, the other parents, as well as among the CMs themselves.

In this section, the tensions among all the actors in the school system will be displayed with regard to the notion of the classroom motherhood and the mothers’ presence in the school system in general. By means of the analyses on the tensions, it will be possible to situate CM roles according to all the research questions. Namely, by focusing on the tensions, the role of the mothers in the school system, the ways in which the mothers use this role to penetrate the power positions in the public space,

and in what ways they are reproducing gender and class identities by doing so will be disclosed.

The Classroom Mothers, the Parent-School-Association
and the Local Municipality Relations

The Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) is the main power position in the Beehive primary school. With the neoliberal educational policies decentralizing the schools in terms of the funding and monetary issues, the PTAs became the money-safe for the schools. As it has the financial power, PTAs have much more voice than the previous types of associations in the schools ever before. Therefore, the access to this position gains importance in terms of having power in the school, which can be observed from the election processes for the PTA.

The financial focus of the PTAs makes them accessible for the middle-class parents rather than the working class ones, as the working-class parents usually do not have enough economic and social capital to occupy such power positions. Therefore, while the middle-class women struggle for occupying the place in the PTA, the working-class mothers usually play the role of using their votes for the elections.

“The PTA elections are extremely competitive in our school. Groups criticize each other as if they were political parties... They criticize the practices in the previous period. They introduce themselves and make speeches on what they would do when they come in power. They give promises and make propaganda by declaring their 2-3 year plans [*he laughs*]. Some people in the groups do not know that we are teachers and they require our vote, thinking that we are parents... I really like it, you know...” (*Cafer – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of his classroom are Feza & Emine*). – APPENDIX E.125

“All the financial issues are under the control of the PTA here. This gives them power. If there is something to do, it is the PTA who influences the decision... It was winter and the upper floors of the school were cold. The president of the PTA told it to the school principle and suggested purchasing electric heaters, but he didn’t want to do it. The president of the PTA said ‘it will be done, that’s it’, and then she went and bought them. I think she organized the parents for it. It is much easier for the PTA president to get in touch with the parents compared to the school principle. She sent a couple of parents to the school principle afterwards, and then the principle felt obliged to” (*Olcay – Female Counselor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.126 –

“I am a candidate of the PTA presidency for two years, but I couldn’t manage. I mean I couldn’t manage to make a good campaign. Last year we got 100 votes they got 180 votes. But they are in power for the last 7-8 years. They are in a better communication with the school administration. They have all the contact numbers of the parents in the school. I don’t have such opportunity... In the last election they were worried about the number of votes we would collect and they prevented me talk in the meeting just before the elections... They had already seated their clappers in the front row, they didn’t let me talk” (*İrem (33) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – has 1 kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: İlke*). – APPENDIX E.127 –

“I don’t like the PTA members. I just go there to pay the school fee. They handed out flyers to vote for them, but I don’t vote for the PTA. They do favor for the parents who pay more, but they laid obstacles before me just because I didn’t pay more. Yet, I had moved to this neighborhood just because of this school. I don’t trust them” (*Nevin (33) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – has 1 kid in this school – Medical nurse – Teacher: Necmi*). – APPENDIX E.128 –

“I have the sole authority to sign about the financial affairs. The local directorate of national education excluded the school principals from this authority... I and my team are the main authority in this school. But I do not want to hurt the administration anyway, so I sometimes ask them about a couple of things. Nevertheless, I have the sole signing authority whereas the school principal’s signature is invalid without mine” (*Aylin (49) – High school graduate – PTA president – has 1 kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Former CM*). – APPENDIX E.129 –

“Mothers from similar backgrounds socialize together. Their children do the same. Our children cannot enter the group of children whose mothers are in the PTA or are CMs. We are always excluded. Being a CM gives these women a right to be included in the privileged group. This is definitely a

clan system. If the CM has an ego to manage, she enters the PTA. They are in close contact with the local municipality. Most of them are active in the women's branch in the municipality" (*Ümran – University graduate – Public Officer in a government office – Her child attends grade 4 – Has 1 kid in this school – Teacher: Meltem / CM: Oya*). – APPENDIX E.130 –

Therefore, some CMs take part in the PTA whereas some others don't. The CMs who are active in the PTA have privileges as they have a better chance to accumulate social capital by means of doing lobbying in the local municipality. Therefore, the PTA gains its power not only from the financial force but also from the political relations with the local municipality.

"Other local municipalities help the schools, as well. For example I live in a different district and I see the billboards on which the municipalities publicize their help to certain schools... PTAs are usually in close relationship with the schools. PTA reaches the other parents over the CMs. Another thing, the municipalities manipulate the parents according to the agreements they make with the PTAs. I don't know, for example, they take the parents to their meetings. I don't want to talk politics but sometimes especially during the local elections they get the parents participate in their activities and they make use of them... Women want to become CMs because they are closer to the teacher and another thing they have a title. One of CMs in the previous year's became PTA president. I mean becoming a CM is a stepping stone for the PTA. A kind of political struggle it is" (*Galip – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 37 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Güliz*). – APPENDIX E.131 –

"We had a CM before; she started working for the municipality at a tenured job by means of her PTA relations. Now she conducts projects for the municipality. She passed on to PTA from the CM position, and then to a position in the municipality from the PTA position. If ever they wish they could pass on to the political life from the CM position" (*Olca – Female Counselor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.132 –

"PTA has many relationships from the Local Directorate of the National Ministry of Education and the local municipality. They have really strong relations. Just request one thing from them, they would immediately arrange it from the local municipality. For example, I was going to take the students for a trip and I wanted to arrange a service bus from the municipality and I couldn't even reach them for a couple of days. I told it to the PTA and they

instantly arranged the bus. They establish these relations by means of their position in the school. That is, their position in the school opens them new doors. They go to the municipality with the capital they gather here” [*as the counselor teacher was a graduate student in my university it didn’t surprise me when she used the terminology ‘capital’*] (*Olcay – Female Counselor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.133 –

The relationship between the PTA and the local municipality presents a mutual interest relationship. It is a give-and-take relationship as the PTA allocates labor and its social capital in return for financial support:

“If the mayor is going to visit our school, the PTA activates all the CMs to activate all the parents and a pompous ceremony is organized. This is what the mayor wants and he is able to do it by means of the PTA. The mayor gets sports halls constructed in the school and then next to Atatürk’s saying on the wall the mayor’s is also hung. This is a political investment in the schools and it is done over the PTAs” (*Olcay – Female Counselor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.134 –

“Our dearest mayor would come let’s say. We inform the CMs and get them to inform the parents and prepare food and they gather the parents for our dearest mayor’s visit” (*Feza (40) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 1 kid in this school – Housewife – Teacher: Cafer*). – APPENDIX E.135 –

“Last year almost every month or twice a month our local directorate of National Education, the head official of our district and our mayor visited our school. The last time our mayor came, he promised that our school would be the pilot school in the district. He especially wants our team to stay in power in the PTA. We are trying our best...” (*Aylin (49) – High school graduate – PTA president – has 1 kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Former CM*). – APPENDIX E.136 –

“The PTA works for the mayor as if it was the election office. Parents shouldn’t be considered as a vote stock. My PTA shouldn’t work under the control of the municipality... PTA visits the municipality three days a week. Why? We will give a plaque to the mayor... The mayor tells them to send the mothers to take a photograph with the mayor... I am against the schools being made part of the politics. My son was singing a march to the mayor. I want my son to learn Atatürk... I am against turning the parents into instruments for politics but they do it because most of the school’s work is done by the municipality” (*Rana – High school graduate – Quit work for*

childcare – Her child attends grade 3 – Has 1 kid in this school – Teacher: Burhan, CM: Lale). – APPENDIX E.137 –

“They are very much in the municipality’s pocket. The municipality promises them for health check-up, breakfasts, concerts, dinners and so on but the PTA members use this opportunity for the interest of the mothers who are closer to them. They are always posing with the mayor and thus there becomes a populace of the mayor. The mayor comes and his photos are taken with our children. Then they send it to our homes to hang it on the wall. If the mayor has a speech outside, parents are gathered and taken there just to applaud him. PTA says that it is useful and beneficiary for our school, and the parents go there for this purpose” (*Ümran – University graduate – Public Officer in a government office – Her child attends grade 4 – Has 1 kid in this school – Teacher: Meltem / CM: Oya).* – APPENDIX E.138 –

The researcher stayed in the PTA room for long hours and sometimes for the whole day to make observations. It is a room where parents frequently drop in to pay a fee for something. It is like a pay desk and they constantly collect money. There were some parents who, after a popsy talk, sold much cosmetic equipment to the mothers and the teachers. They were also taking new orders to bring later.

On the other hand the PTA room seemed to be a comfortable place for the students. In the first days I thought that it was a welcoming place for all the children, and then I realized that the pupils visiting the PTA room were mostly the children of the CMs or of the parents who had close relationship with the PTA. They were calling the CMs as ‘aunty’ and constantly requiring something from them.

There was a young man in his 30s who was coming to the PTA room very frequently and taking something from the drawer or leaving some other things. Then I learnt that he was the school service responsible from the sub-contracting firm. It seemed a bit weird to me for this man coming in and doing something in the room so comfortably.

Another observation to mention is that all the active PTA members were very well-groomed. They were wearing formal smart business clothes and their hair was done as if they were managers in the business centers. They all seemed to be very busy but their attitude of rushing attracted my attention since there was something that reminded me of an imitation of doing business. These women were rushing busy but they were doing it in such a manner that they would like everyone around to realize them. They were acting blatantly. It was as if they wanted to persuade people that they are very busy, charismatic and important persons.

Neoliberal educational policies transformed these mothers into plaza women. Specifically the administrators of the PTA were highly feminine, especially when they had funding visits to the municipality that day. They were like fundraising window models using their femininity and their social network; namely their embodied cultural capital and their social capital.

Power Conflict Between the School Administration and the CMs

In terms of the tensions which are important for the analysis of the mothers' presence in the school system, another important dispute is between the CMs and the school administration. Since mothers tend to interfere with the power positions in the school, the school administration is one of the parties affected by the situation.

“It is only the school administration who wouldn't like the presence of the CMs at school, because they want to administer the school on their own without any intrusion. There was an official meeting at the Local Directorate of the Ministry of Education and the director gave directions to the school principals saying ‘parents are everything for us. You cannot talk about them or talk to them negatively’. This is an official directive and thus the school principals cannot do anything. There is a new information line established: ‘ALO 147: The Ministry of Education Complaint Line’. By using that line a parent can call the Ministry of Education directly and make

complaints about the school principle or the teacher. This is a crime hotline. The school administration has to be kind to the parents. Thus, when there is a problem between the teacher and the school administration, the teacher takes the parent behind her and in this case the school administration loses in case of a conflict with the teacher” (*Olcay – Female Counselor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.139 –

Therefore, whoever makes alliance with the middle-class parents in the school is the strongest. Their position gives these women a great power in the school.

“Instead of the teacher, the CMs come and tell us if there is a need in the classroom. But I feel uncomfortable because of this situation. That’s alright, she is a parent of our school, but I do not want a buffer in between my teacher and the administration, to tell the truth” (*Murat – Male School vice Principle with 33 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.140 –

This shows that CMs apply the ‘network blockage strategy’ not only on the parents to keep parents away from communicating with the teacher, but they also apply it on the teachers to hold the communication with the administration in their hands. Using the power of communication and information CMs are creating a power field for themselves by splitting and buffering the communication between the teacher and the school administration. Therefore, information and the social means of communication are used as a power tool.

“We, as administrators, don’t deal with the CMs. Administrators usually see the intervention of someone from outside the school as offensive, especially when these administrators are above a certain age” (*Levent – Male School vice Principle with 21 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.141 –

This is a direct threat to the classical understanding of the state entity in schools as these women are in fact offending the bureaucratic male power in the schools.

“The school administration has to recognize the presence of CMs in the school because when the teachers are on leave for specific reasons they have to require our help” (*Kiraz (35) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 4 –*

has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Hilal). – APPENDIX E.142 –

“We stood against the principle and complained about the CMs. He said: ‘I understand all these problems and I know who creates these problems... I wouldn’t let those CMs to step in the school, but there is a strong pressure on us, therefore I have to let them in’ (*Ümran – University graduate – Public Officer in a government office – Her child attends grade 4 – Has 1 kid in this school – Teacher: Meltem / CM: Oya*). – APPENDIX E.143 –

The neoliberal education system cannot give up the mother labor in the schools as the school system in its current form collapses otherwise, without the state support. Therefore it forces the school administrations to keep up with the presence of mothers in the schools, as they are subsidizing the lack of state funding.

Power Conflicts Between the CMs and the National Ministry of Education

Another power conflict is the between the CMs and the National Ministry of Education. Although they want to ‘include’ the parents (mothers) in the running of the schools, they do not want them to interfere with the administration field which is another power position. Hence, it is the mothers’ interference with the ‘regulation’ role of the neoliberal state that forces the ministry to define limits in the presence and the activities of the CMs in the school.

“At the meetings of the District and Provincial Directorates of National Education the CMs are not approved. The administrators in the meeting ask us ‘who is the school principle? You or they?’ ... They make sentences indicating that there should not be anyone else who has a power in the school other than the administrators. They have the same view in the District Directorate as the school administrators; they shouldn’t interfere with the administrative issues. They should deal with their own business’ (*Levent – Male School vice Principle with 21 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.144 –

The Ministry of National Education published an official document declaring that the CMs are not official and the necessary actions be taken. The document and the translation are shown below:

T.C.
MİLLÎ EĞİTİM BAKANLIĞI
İlköğretim Genel Müdürlüğü

Sayı : B.08.0.İGM.0.73.04-200/ 3645 18 MART 2011

Konu : Sınıf Anneleri

.....VALİLİĞİNE
(İl Millî Eğitim Müdürlüğü)

İlgi : a) Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Okul Aile Birliği Yönetmeliği,
b) Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı İlköğretim ve Orta Öğretim Kurumları Sosyal Etkinlikler Yönetmeliği.

İlgi (a) Yönetmelik'in 5'inci maddesinde belirtildiği üzere; okul ile aile arasında bütünleşmeyi gerçekleştirmek, veli ve okul arasında iletişimi ve iş birliğini sağlamak, eğitim-öğretimi geliştirici faaliyetleri desteklemek, maddî imkanlardan yoksun öğrencilerin zorunlu ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak ve okula maddî katkı sağlamak üzere ilköğretim okullarımızda okul aile birlikleri kurulmaktadır. Okullarımızda her türlü geliri toplama ve harcamaya okul aile birliği yönetim kurulu yetkilidir.

Bakanlığımıza ulaşan müracaatlarda; bazı okullarımızda sınıf anneleri adı altında velilerden görevlendirmeler yapıldığı, görevlendirilen bu kişilerin sınıfın çeşitli ihtiyaçları için velilerden aidat adı altında paralar topladığı, ders araç-gereci temini yönünde faaliyetlerde bulunduğu, zaman zaman derslere müdahil oldukları dile getirilmektedir.

İlgi (b) Yönetmelik'te ise sosyal etkinlikler kurulunda görev alan ve öğrenci kulübü ile toplum hizmeti çalışmalarında faaliyet gösteren gönüllü veli uygulaması bulunmaktadır.

İlköğretim okullarımızda gönüllü veli uygulaması dışında sınıf anneleri adı altında mevzuatta yer olmayan uygulamalara mahal verilmemesi için okul yönetimimizin uyarılması hususunda gereğini rica ederim.

Ahmet Murat ALTUĞ
Bakan a.
Genel Müdür V.

“According to the applications done towards our ministry; it is stated that in some schools there are some parents assigned under the name of classroom mothers and that they collect contribution fees in order to supply some needs in the classroom, engage in the activities of supplying course materials, and take part in the classes at intervals”
(www.egitimekrani.com, 2011).

Atatürk Bulvarı 06648 Bakanlıklar/ ANKARA
Bilgi için : G.GÜLMEZ Şb.Md.
Telefon: (0 312) 413 15 98
Faks: (0 312) 417 71 05
iogmokullar@meb.gov.tr | iogm@meb.gov.tr

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According to the above mentioned document it can be denoted that the neoliberal policies demand to exploit the mother-labor unconditionally. That is, they demand women to work for the education system without any payment but they do not want them to have a voice in the system. This is compatible with the ‘regulation’ function

of the neoliberal state. This is the limit of the decentralization; one can give the labor but not have the control over what the labor is given on. It can be seen in this official declaration that they demand 'parent participation' but not classroom mothers as active political subjects, since they step inside the state's 'regulating' or controlling force by using certain strategies. The official bodies react against the power that the mothers started to acquire in the school system, not against the labor that they allocate.

However, things usually do not proceed as they are planned. Hence citing Foucault will describe the situation in which the state is enmeshed:

“... if one governed too much, one did not govern at all – that one provoked results contrary those one desired.... that is to say, that the government not only has to deal with a territory, with a domain, and with its subjects, but that is also has to deal with complex and independent reality that has its own laws and mechanisms of reaction, its regulations as well as its possibilities of disturbance...” (Foucault, 1984a, p. 242).

Tensions and Negotiations between the Classroom Mothers and the Teachers

Related to the second research question regarding the ways in which the mothers use their role to penetrate in the school system by occupying the power positions and by borrowing the roles of the power-position-occupant actors, it is important to mention the tensions between the mothers and the teachers.

Mother – Teacher Power Relations

Although in the micro level it seems as if it was the teachers' need to allocate mothers in the school system and share their roles with them, teachers experience tensions as well as some negotiations with the mothers.

“Some parents are know-all type... They think that they know better than the teacher. They think ‘I have the money; therefore I can suppress the teacher. I send my child to the extra course; therefore the teacher has to give good grades to my kid. If you urge them to send their children to the extra paid courses, she would call you in favor” (*İlke – Female Grade-3 Teacher with 33 years of school experience (CM of her classroom is İrem)*). – APPENDIX E.145 –

“I mean, if you throw cold water into a cooked meal, it doesn't have a taste. Similarly, if you insert money to education, it loses its taste. This is the current situation. Then what happens? The teacher is not paid with what he deserves by the state. Consider that 3000 TL is the limit of poverty according to the trade union. If you are paid under the poverty limit as a teacher the parent would try to manipulate you with her money. The mothers use this by exceeding their limits and use their money as subjectifying themselves. They interfere with everything because they hold the money” (*Ali – Male Grade-4 Teacher with 31 years of school experience (CM of his classroom is Hayal)*). – APPENDIX E.146 –

“One can observe the ‘customer’ attitude of the parents when one looks at the extra paid courses. It is the same teacher that gives the courses and the parents pay for it. In fact she does not think that this will be helpful for the child, they pay it to develop better relations with the teacher. She thinks ‘I pay you for this extra course and therefore you have to give high grades to my child’. Once the child attends the extra courses, her grades improve no matter if she learnt something extra or not... This money relation not only affects the attitude of the parent but also of the teacher” (*Olca – Female Counselor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.147 –

“This year all the students in the class attend the extra paid course that the teacher gives... Since a majority of the mothers are working mothers, they told that they don't want homework. The teacher insisted that the homework should be given and the students should deal with the lesson subjects at home, as well. Although the teacher insisted much, the mothers didn't accept it and now there is no homework” (*Lale (43) – University graduate –*

CM of Grade 3 – has 1 kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Burhan). – APPENDIX E.148 –

There are also conflicts between the CMs and the teachers as well. Below are some data derived from the teachers.

“I can’t stand parent interfering the ways in which I do my work, I simply can’t accept it. But I felt this way sometimes. If a mothers insists that her child should sit in the front row, or that I should deal with her child more, this means that she is interfering with my work” (*Fahri – Male Grade-1 Teacher with 40 years of school experience – CMs of his classroom are Berna & Jale*). – APPENDIX E.149 –

“It is always me whose decision is practiced. I mean nobody can do anything without my initiative, I don’t let it” (*Fatma – Female Grade-1 Teacher with 34 years of school experience – CM of her classroom is Mine*). – APPENDIX E.150 –

“Teachers should be in cooperation with the parent, but this results in the domination of the teacher by the parent... I never surrender to the parent” (*Emir – Male Grade-2 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Aynur*). – APPENDIX E.151 –

“CMs want to take over the teacher’s position or they even want to get ahead of the teacher if the teacher lets her. But I don’t let this. If she finds an opportunity, oooh, certainly they wouldn’t miss it. It is their personality. They feel an urge to put themselves in the front, they always say ‘I did this, and managed that. I am successful at everything’. However they have managed nothing in their lives. Some CMs have the feeling of satisfying their ego, and the school presents a scene for it” (*İlke – Female Grade-3 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of her classroom is İrem*). – APPENDIX E.152 –

“CMs sometimes interfere with the teacher’s work unnecessarily, I mean, they want to. Because this I do not set close relations with them, otherwise they would constantly require favors for their kids... They want to interfere with everything about the school. If the teacher is new at this school, they immediately try to manipulate the teacher. For example they act as if the management of the class was their core job and they tell the teacher what to do, what to buy, what subject to teach. Sometimes they compare the class with the other classes. But the teachers in this school are very experienced and they don’t let them do that” (*Necmi – Male Grade-3 Teacher with 35*

years of school experience –CM of his classroom is Nevin). – APPENDIX E.153 –

“If you let the CMs they would like to manage the whole class including the teacher. But we don’t let them that much. Sometimes they come and tell us what to teach, or even how to shout at the children to keep them silent. If we let, they would lead us. For example she comes and tells me that the teacher of the other class taught this and that subject, and wants me to teach the same. She wants to decide on whether I should first teach addition or multiplication. I told her ‘I am a teachers’ school graduate, if you have a treatise or a scientific book on the issue, I can happily read it’ . . . If the teacher transfers some of his roles to the CM they go high wire. . . If the CM takes me for dinner or to a holiday and pays the bills, she would definitely make me pay the price for it” (*Cafer – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of his classroom are Feza & Emine).* – APPENDIX E.154 –

“The relationship that the CMs set with the teachers is problematic. . . Sometimes the CM takes advantage of the teacher’s goodwill. For example the teacher pampers the CM telling her ‘you can do this and that very well’ . Then the CM feels spoiled and she can even see the right to insult the students in the class. She penetrates the realm of teacher’s authority. Therefore, the relationship between the CM and the teacher breaks” (*Murat – Male School Vice Principle with 33 years of school experience).* – APPENDIX E.155 –

CMs verify the interview data gathered from the teachers; however they are happy with their own attitudes.

“When there is a problem, the mothers first visit me before the teacher. Sometimes I feel nervous thinking that the teacher would misunderstand me. One time a student came to me because he was hit on the nose by his friend. Our teacher didn’t like it. I went and apologized. But there are CMs who pokes her nose in everything and a CM was scolded by the teacher and the teacher told her ‘Look here, who is the teacher, me or you?’ . . . I don’t interfere with the teacher’s work that much. . . Sometime kids like me so much that I feel uneasy in case the teacher resents. Sometimes the teacher needles me on that and says that it is a joke; but I know, it is not a joke” (*Mine (36) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 1 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Fatma).* – APPENDIX E.156 –

“Sometimes I decide on the issues that the teacher should decide on. For example about the shape and the kind of the bookcase to be bought for the class, I said no, it will be as I want and I brushed him off. Say, we will buy books, I am a mother who deals with religious issues, and I chose the books

to buy despite the objection of the teacher... Now I even don't ask him, just go and buy whatever kinds of books I like for the students in the class. I think I am doing it the right way. I know the teacher, if you insist on something a couple of times, he surrenders" (*Lale (43) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – has 1 kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Burhan*). – APPENDIX E.157 –

One may mention that these are related to the personalities rather than a social phenomenon; however, most probably similar personalities have always existed in the school context but they were not located in such a social relation pattern.

“Affluent, entitled-minded mothers employ self-management strategies to enhance their own status and that of their child in order to minimize the inherent risks of a capitalist economy. Without intervention by school administration, such individualistic-oriented behavior snowballs into altering the power hierarchy of the school away from educators to the favor of parents. Reliance on teachers as ‘experts’ was no longer a taken-for-granted aspect of the parent–teacher relationship in schools where this occurred. The enhancing of individual ‘good mother’ status came at the expense of the democratic ideals of education as well as teacher professionalism” (Landeros, 2011, p. 260-261).

It is the context of the neoliberal policies that gives way to such a pattern which was inherent in the assumptions and the discourses of the patriarchal understanding of the mothers, their mother-power and the ways in which they create domination by means of this power.

The Mother – Female Teacher Relations

To be able to understand the tension concerning mothers in the school environment, it is important to see the difference of the relations that the mothers construct with the male and the female teachers. It is the gender codes that make the difference in

the ways and attitudes they set the relationships. There is a sense of female rivalry when the relationship of the mothers with the female teachers is concerned.

“Parents are all women and they always complain about the female teachers. Fathers almost never show up and when they ever show up they are more moderate. However, mothers think that they know everything better than the teacher and that they are the authority... The CMs of the male teachers act at a distance. They generally do not tend to poke their noses to everything. But they become friends with the female teachers after a while. Once the distance is removed, CMs start to authorize themselves over some issues” (*Olcay – Female Counselor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.158 –

“When a teacher has a problem with the mother of a child personally, she sends the CM to talk to the child rather than doing it herself. The CM works like a spy, offers chocolate to the child and learns familial information from the child about the mother. For example this teacher had slapped on the child’s face once and the mother had come and had a quarrel with the teacher on that. Now the teacher is investigating whether the mother herself beats the child, too. This becomes the teacher’s personal issue and she uses the CM for it... However, if a similar thing happens with a male teacher and if he realizes that the child is beaten by the mother, he immediately comes to me and informs me to do something professional, because I am the counselor teacher... What happened then, the student came to me and said that she would never ever talk to the CM again as she gossips on her. See, what happens, the child learns not to trust the adults...” (*Olcay – Female Counselor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.159 –

It seems women are more relational and they apply the indirect strategies of solving problem and they personalize it. This is because of the inferior status of women who lack power and thus who always has to search indirect ways to solve problems; because confronting the problems related with people means confronting both the issue and the person. However, women and all the other powerless sections of the society have a tendency of perceiving things personally and solving problems indirectly.

In the instance above the CM seems to realize that doing ‘dirty work’ together was an opportunity for getting closer with the teacher. Such instances also present the moments of opportunities to equalize one’s self with the other in a higher status, which becomes another indirect way of gaining power.

The Classroom Mothers and the Male Teachers

Male teachers seem to be more convenient to manage for the CMs, as they are trained since the childhood and they have practice on how to manage a male figure indirectly as they all have husbands.

“CMs are like the housewives for the male teachers. They are comfortable with it. They get the same things done in the house by their wives; and here the wife is the CM... The CMs get the male teacher to do everything they want because the male teachers are not aware of the tricks they play. They can’t do the same thing to the female teacher because she instinctively understands what they are doing. Because of this, they have a different strategy with the female teachers and they try to become friends” (*Olca* – *Female Counselor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.160 –

“I preferred a male teacher because it is difficult to endure the caprice of women. She like one and hates the other... Male teacher behaves all the parents equally. Since we represent different genders, the work he does and the work I do becomes different and there is no clash” (*Ceyhan (37)* – *High school graduate – CM of Grade 2 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Especially escaped from participating in the research*). – APPENDIX E.161 –

“I wouldn’t want female teachers because they have complexes... I never enroll my kid to a female teacher’s class. They bring their familial problems to school” (*Lale (43)* – *University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – has 1 kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Burhan*). – APPENDIX E.162 –

“Male teacher is better because they do what women want. Female teachers have more egos against females” (*Feza (40) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 1 kid in this school – Housewife – (Teacher: Cafer).* – APPENDIX E.163 –

“When the teacher is female she can draw the line when the CM exceeds it. But male teachers are bit relaxed on that. They do not think that the CM pokes her nose on her work. They see her as a mother. However, female teachers quite instantly realize that the CM exceeds the line. Male teachers are very used to a woman to pick up after them...” (*Verda – University graduate – Teacher at the same school – Her child attends grade 3 – Has 2 kids in this school – Teacher: İlke / CM: İrem).* – APPENDIX E.164 –

CMs prefer male teachers as they think that they are easier to control, persuade or ‘manipulate’. These women are used to handling men as they usually do it with their husbands. On the other hand, as female teachers are already aware of the patriarchal feminine tactics, CMs have difficulty in handling them in the same way as they do with the male teachers. In this case, they activate their economic capital to buy presents, to take the teachers on holidays and thus to become close friends. After eliciting the ‘friendship’ it becomes a give-and-take issue, and they can handle with the female teachers this way.

Power Conflict Among Mothers: The ‘Athena’ or the ‘Arachne’?

With reference to the ancient Greek Mythology, I name the middle-class mothers who have power in the school environment as ‘Athena’ the goddess of strategy, and the working class mothers who lack cultural, and economic capital and thus have less social capital which locates them away from the power position as ‘Arachne’ who was turned into a spider by Athena since she claimed to be as powerful and intelligent as Athena. According to the mythology, since she was turned into a spider

she hides in the corners of the houses working and knitting silently and is not seen in the public (the space of power) so often.

The Social Relations of the CMs and the Other Mothers

The social relations and the socializing activities in and out of the school is important to see the interactions, inclusions and exclusion of the mothers who are not classroom mothers with some reason.

“Parents call for getting information on a variety of tiny things like the homework or the deadline of a project. I sometimes call them and we chat. There happened to be very special friendships with me and some mothers in my child’s class. I enrolled my son to an English course and we send our children to the same course... We don’t like to meet with the other mothers at homes, we prefer café, or we sometimes go to the cinema... We sometimes collect money together to help a poor parent in the class...”
(Kiraz (35) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 4 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Hilal). – APPENDIX E.165 –

“We meet with the parents in the café or at home. Sometimes we make house parties. We are much closed with 14-15 parents. We work like a team. Sometimes I take the children of some parents who have babies at home” (Hayal (34) – College graduate – CM of Grade 4 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Ali). – APPENDIX E.166 –

“I know all the other CMs and I am closed with a few of them. We share information with them and chat. But we don’t come together as CMs. We are already together with the ones whom we are closed with. We sometimes get together in the PTA room as CMs if there are certain tasks to do” (Feza (40) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 1 kid in this school – Housewife – Teacher: Cafer). – APPENDIX E.167 –

“Sitting at that café for 6-7 years, we have built very nice friendships. This 10-12 people know each other’s problems. Both our and our children’s social environment develops. They are not CMs, they are normal parents... I have a kid in the fifth grade, she has one in the fourth grade and I can easily help her and answer her questions. They also come to school every day. They call me and tell if they can’ come and say ‘don’t worry about me’. We enrolled our children together in the same courses, swimming, English and

so on” (*Emine (46) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Cafer*). – APPENDIX E.168 –

As it can be seen from the fragments of the interviews above, the CMs socialize either with the mothers who are CMs or with the mothers who have the same economic and cultural capital with the CMs. They cooperate, act with solidarity and socialize together. They talk about the ‘really other’ mothers when they collect money to help them. They usually consider them as ‘ignorant and insensitive’ unless they are employed. Therefore the ‘othering’ process applies mainly upon the mothers who are housewives with low economic and cultural capital.

Perception of the Other Mothers on the Role of the Classroom Mothers

There is a grouping of mothers in terms of their cultural and economic capital. When they come together they transfer these capitals into social capital and they help each other for their own interests. Some other mothers are not allowed in these groups and this creates a tension as well as it intensifies the structure of the grouping and creates counter groupings against the power group.

“I was late for the vaccination at school and had forgotten that one parent wouldn’t let her child to be vaccinated. When I arrived the vaccination of our class had already finished. Then this parent just rushed into the class and shouted at me blaming me not doing my job properly. They think that we are waged mothers doing this CM job” (*İrem (33) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – has 1 kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: İlke*). – APPENDIX E.169 –

“Other mothers question why they are not in the PTA administration and why they are not chosen as CMs. There is a great competition. They think that the CMs are unnecessarily close to the teachers and the administrators.

I can say a woman is a wolf to women” (*Emir – Male Grade-2 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Aynur*). – APPENDIX E.170 –

“Most mothers are in rivalry with each other. They especially compare their children with the others’. Sometimes she does all the homework and sends it to the teacher, because she can’t stand the neighbor’s child getting 100 and hers 70” (*İlke – Female Grade-3 Teacher with 33 years of school experience (CM of her classroom is İrem)*). – APPENDIX E.171 –

“CMs, the former CMs and the teacher get socialized in the café when the delivery of the course grades approaches; they talk to the teachers for their own children or each other’s children to increase the grades, in order to have them get the certificate of success. They use all their effort to get the success certificates... They consider themselves as ‘excellent mothers’. They say that they do this all for their children but it is not like that; they do it for themselves, because whose child got what grade is a topic of gossip among these mothers. They even tell it to their children ‘you got the certificate because of me’...” (*Olca – Female Counselor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.172 –

“CMs can influence the teachers easily. When there are school trips, the CMs go there for free, and also the friends of the CMs and their children can go to the school trips for free. Some mothers opposed this and told that in this case they also want to help the CM then. But, these CMs and mothers are a group around the teacher and they don’t include you in the group” (*Uğur – College graduate – Former primary school teacher – Her child attends grade 2 – Has 1 kid in this school – The teacher and the CM did not prefer to participate in the research*). – APPENDIX E.173 –

“These CMs do not have high cultural accumulation, and to become something they need to enter in the mechanism and act like that in order to elicit it. The ones who managed this became CMs and they entered into the PTA. They say they are doing all these things with a voluntary intuition. If so, why don’t they deal with the children in the ‘special needs class’? They are the ones who need voluntary help the most. On the contrary, they exclude these children and their mothers. They have thrown them aside in the school building” (*Ümran – University graduate – Public Officer in a government office – Her child attends grade 4 – Has 1 kid in this school – Teacher: Meltem / CM: Oya*). – APPENDIX E.174 –

“The children of the CMs are more comfortable. They think that their mother has close relationships with the teacher and I can do whatever I want. The system is set upon this; the children of the CM and her stooges are favoritized by the teacher. The grouping of the mothers is directly

reflected to the groupings of their children. The children of these mothers are more popular and they make friends, not letting the other children inside the group” (*Ümran – University graduate – Public Officer in a government office – Her child attends grade 4 – Has 1 kid in this school – Teacher: Meltem / CM: Oya*). – APPENDIX E.175 –

In fact Ümran is not a lower class mother. She is well-educated and she has an administrative job in a public office. The reason why she is excluded is that she constantly deciphers the attitudes of the mothers against the children. She intentionally hasn't preferred being a member of the elite group; on the contrary she opposes their practices. That is the reason why she is excluded. It seems that the CMs and their social group are afraid of her being so undiplomatic. She refuses to play the game with their rules.

Hence women as mothers penetrate in the school system by means of the needs of the neoliberal state; however, they 'disappoint' the system by not playing the victim's role, and by actively penetrating into the power positions. They not only penetrate into certain power positions, but also they create and construct them. However, the way in which they do this represents dominantly patriarchal, hegemonic and oppressive strategies and thus these strategies do not present any clues for women's empowerment and solidarity by any means.

Therefore, the social capital as a key factor is built by means of the cultural and/or economic capital. Especially when the women-to-women relations are concerned the most important strategy to gain power is the ability of transferring any asset into a social capital. Moreover, as the social capital accumulates, the possibility of sharing it reduces, and therefore it leads to a monopolization of social capital accumulation. This is the mechanism that sustains the inequality between the mothers (and children) who have more economic, and/or cultural capital and the ones

who are deprived of it. The sustainability of the inequality in the school depends on the inaccessibility to the ‘social capital transference mechanisms’. In order to access this mechanism, one has to have either economic or cultural capital, or preferably both. The only exception for this vicious circle would be ‘owning a level of social capital from the beginning of the game’, which may appear mostly in the forms of kinship relations.

Rivalry among the Classroom Mothers

Although there is a grouping among some CMs and their close friends, there are some CMs that do not find themselves very closed to the PTA. Both categories of CMs have some rivalry relationship between and among each other.

“I have four CMs in my class since we are grade 1 and we need much help... Two of the CMs in my class had grouped against the other two since two of them were candidates in the PTA elections from the rival list. They don’t have a terrible relationship but they just say hello to each other, not more” (*Fatma – Female Grade-1 Teacher with 34 years of school experience – CM of her classroom is Mine*). – APPENDIX E.176 –

Therefore, the political power relations are important in the school besides the personal relations. This indicates importance of the political atmosphere in the school.

“Sometimes there is a competition among the CMs. For example if I have given tests to the students, the CM of the other class follows it and requires the same from the teacher of her class. It may also occur about the activities in or out of the class” (*Cafer – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of his classroom are Feza & Emine*). – APPENDIX E.177 –

“The grade-2 CMs do not act together, for example, they compete on the contrary. There is also the same competition among the teachers. CMs are in better relations with the CMs that are from different grades” (*Olcay – Female Counselor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.178 –

“We are much more active than the other class; we prepare cookies and meals for the kids every fifteen days or so. But this doesn’t happen in the other class as the teacher doesn’t want. We collect money and buy presents for the teacher but the teacher of the other class refuses. Thus we are much more active compared to them” (*Berna (38) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 1 – has one kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Fahri*). – APPENDIX E.179 –

“I take classroom motherhood as a duty... I don’t think that the other CMs have as much sense of mission as I do. No other CM can present this much concentration on the duty as I do” (*Ceyhan (37) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 2 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Especially escaped from participating in the research*). – APPENDIX E.180 –

“There is a competition among the CMs. We do something for the class and the other CM does the same immediately after us... In the first year we talked at the café that the girls would wear denim skirts and the boys would wear denim trousers. Then another CM told this to the teacher of her class as if it was her own idea. The teacher said that they would do it for their class and that we can’t do it. Then we had to find something else. They steal our ideas; now we hide our ideas and don’t share them until the last minute” (*Hayal (34) – College graduate – CM of Grade 4 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Ali*). – APPENDIX E.181 –

“We were in the second grade, and the CM of the other second grade class was coming to me and telling ‘I did this and that for my classroom. Our teacher did that for our class’ and was trying to compete with us’. We are trying to do the best for the children but she was telling us what present she bought for the teacher and asking what we did” (*Feza (40) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 1 kid in this school – Housewife – Teacher: Cafer*). – APPENDIX E.182 –

The citations above demonstrate that there is a strong performance competition among the mothers in general. This kind of a performance competition is a reflection

of the ‘good mother’ ideology. Women are trying to ensure that they are doing the best in the public sphere and this seems to be their criterion for success. Therefore, there is variety of competition areas that the CMs or mothers in general act; one is the performance competition over their children, the other is the performance competition over their classroom mothering practices, and another is the magnitude and the swiftness in their social capital accumulation. In fact, all the three categories are self-focused and it can be claimed that the CMs are focusing on their own self rather than the school or the child.

“Especially the women who are closer to each other are in a rivalry relation” (*Ümran – University graduate – Public Officer in a government office – Her child attends grade 4 – Has 1 kid in this school – Teacher: Meltem / CM: Oya*). – APPENDIX E.183 –

“We were two CMs in the first grade and the other CM was collecting money. Then she said ‘I pass this to you’ and then didn’t deal with anything from then on. After a while she left the CM position. Because, she thought that I had very strong relations in the school with the school administration, I had very rich social contacts. She realized that she wasn’t called to certain places with us and she quit. She also showed reaction to our teacher because my position had made her uncomfortable” (*Emine (46) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Cafer*). – APPENDIX E.184 –

Moreover, during the competition some mothers realize that their social and cultural capital was not sufficient to sustain her CM position, as in the example above. As a result, they prefer to give up the competition rather than taking a secondary role. This represents a social context of praxis which produces envy and rivalry rather than solidarity and cooperation for women.

Classroom Mothers and the Neoliberal Education:

A Match or a Mismatch?

In this sub-heading the effect of neoliberal policies and practices of mothers will be discussed with regard to the research question on the role of the mothers in the school system in the neoliberal transformation processes.

The neoliberal policies withdraw fund allocations from all the public services including education. With the lack of financial resources the public schools are left with the four walls and the teachers some of which are not funded by the state. Leaving the empty buildings and the teachers in the middle of the education arena with a compulsory curriculum, the rest of the work is transferred to the parents with the discourse of 'parental participation' and 'good mother'. Since the parent refers to the mothers in practice, mothers started to be located in the school chores with their unpaid care-labor.

For the sustainability of the lack of state funding, a type of institutionalization was needed, and therefore the PTAs came to the forefront of the stage. However, it is not the institutions but the real individuals who perform the practical work. Therefore, this institution started to get organized over the mother-work and the two ends of the discourse 'parent participation' (represented by the PTAs) and 'good mother' (represented by the CMs) started get closer and integrated. This formed an organization established, run, and activated by mothers and mother labor. However, although the organization was constituted of mothers, the form of the organization presented highly patriarchal, hierarchical and hegemonic features. Moreover, it represented social class domination as generally the middle class mothers who had relatively more economic, cultural and social capital have had

access to it. This is remarkable since the institutionalization itself represented a power position not only within the school system, but also in a wider political sphere such as local municipalities.

The Neoliberal School as ‘Cooperative Businesses’

It is possible to see the characteristics of a neoliberalized school in the words and the practices as well as the stories and the histories/herstories of the participants including the mothers, the teachers and the administrators.

“The state has no contribution in the schools, not even a chalk. So what would you do if the windows are dirty? You can’t have the students do it. Parents offer to clean them but it is wrong; what if she falls down from the window? One of our colleagues had one of the parents clean it one time. She was poor and they would reduce her monthly fee by this way. The cleaners in the school do not clean the windows... The fee of contribution to education started in 1992. It is collected volitionally. They collect registration fees for the first year compulsorily. The cleaning sub-contractor is paid for a couple of months by this way... May be the parents should pay more...” (*Ali – Male Grade-4 Teacher with 31 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Hayal*). – APPENDIX E.185 –

“The cleaning is done by a sub-contracting firm and the PTA pay for it with the money they collect from the parents, of course... I am against the practice of parents doing the cleaning. How much more could we lean on them? I don’t let my parents do that much. I wait for the sub-contracting firm to come and clean. But my windows are filthy. We’ll see what happens... If only everything would be ready in the classes and there wouldn’t be monetary issues between the teachers and the parents. There would be no need for a CM then...” (*Fatma – Female Grade-1 Teacher with 34 years of school experience – CM of her classroom is Mine*). – APPENDIX E.186 –

Sub-contracting system is deep into the school system and the very basic needs like sanitary, hygiene and cleaning are burdened on the mothers’ shoulders both to

organize and to practically perform. The daily chores of the school became the mothers' genuine personal problem. As a matter of fact the schools started to be run by mothers as a kind of business. Speaking with 'the discourse', if they were 'good mothers' they would consider the ways in which the school could be run in an efficient way. The schools are run by the mothers as a kind of 'cooperative business association'² – a type of business –, the members of which pay for their children's education and take part in the decision-making mechanism.

“There is a parent meeting in the beginning of the semester and they are told how much the books and the fees would cost. Parents accept it or not, we collect that money in three months' time. The state gives no budget at all. According to the law the parents shouldn't pay any money for anything. But the reality is not even remotely close. In this huge school there are only two tenured cleaners. We pay for the rest of the cleaners. There are annual exams; I also collect money for it. My work is something like accounting”
(Nevin (33) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – has 1 kid in this school – Medical nurse – Teacher: Necmi). – APPENDIX E.187 –

When the schools are transformed into small cooperative business associations, which are a type of business, there emerged a need for accountants, preferably an unpaid one. This is compatible with the economic structure of the schools as many of the CMs stated in the interviews that they were working like accountants.

Therefore, as the decentralization and school-based management was the main political act of the neoliberalism to cut off the funds from the schools, PTAs are the tools for it. That is to say, Parent Teacher Associations are in fact small business structures that are established to run the schools. This business is in the form of a consumer cooperative, which is a type of business owned by its customers.

² A cooperative is an autonomous association of persons who voluntarily cooperate for their mutual social, economic, and cultural benefit. Consumer Cooperatives include non-profit community organizations and businesses that are owned and managed by the people who use its services. In 1994–2009 the EU and its member nations have gradually revised national accounting systems to "make visible" the increasing contribution of social economy [NGOs – my note] organizations (Monzon & Chaves, 2008, p. 550).

Therefore, schools are turned into mother-run cooperative business associations in the neoliberal economy.

It should also be noted that naming the business as ‘Parent Teacher Association’ is profoundly a masking discourse that prevents to perceive it as a market entity. Thus, this makes a smooth transition from the school as a public service in the welfare state, to the school as a business. In this sense, all the schools are businesses but some are run by private companies (private schools) and some are run by cooperative business associations called PTAs (public schools).

The Changing Parent Profile

In the neoliberal transformation era, the public schools are turned into cooperative businesses and thus parents are transformed into a type of customer. But this is a do-it-yourself customer just like one buys food in a self-service restaurant. You do all the work apart from cooking (teaching, in this school’s case) nevertheless you pay for it.

“I have worked in every part of Turkey. The parent profile varies according to the social and cultural situations. In the rural, parents do not deal with the school; whenever we would call them to school they would say ‘will ask for money again?’ They would escape from us. It is very different in İstanbul. When I first came to İstanbul in 1995, I was shocked by the parent profile” (*Cafer – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 33 years of school experience (CM of his classroom are Feza & Emine)*). – APPENDIX E.188 –

“This profile became more prominent after the transition to the eight-year compulsory education in 1997. They abolished the Discipline Committee and nobody failed the class. After combining the primary and the secondary levels into one, the parents of the small children started to visit the school more often. In fact it is not safe to keep the very young children with the older ones” (*Ahmet – Male School Principle with 41 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.189 –

“Motherhood has changed much. When we were young the child would eat, play outside and would grow. But now, you have to feed the child with a balanced diet for her physical health... You have to keep her psychological health well. You are trying to bring up the child in a place like Istanbul and there are a lot of alternatives here thus you have to lead her in the right direction. You have to help her choose the right friends and be careful... I don't think my mother would consider such details while she was bringing us up” (*Nevin (33) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – has 1 kid in this school – Medical nurse – Teacher: Necmi*). – APPENDIX E.190 –

“There are so bad high schools left behind that I am struggling in order not to be obliged to send my child to a bad high school and make bad friends. There is an ordinary high school near my house; you should see what typologies come there. Students are selected by good schools and the leftovers are put into that school. ‘Rubbish schools’ I mean. How can I send my child to such a school? I am constantly uploading my child and searching for the best and an affordable dersane to send her. We are complementing the mother work with education. As breastfeeding your child is a must, dealing with your child's school became a must for a mother. In today's education system it is the mother's duty to make the child successful, because the necessary education is not given in the schools anymore. The course books don't write anything useful for the kids. Because of the teachers and the books who don't educate our children anymore, education became the mother's duty and job. Today's education system pushed the responsibility of education into the duties of the motherhood” (*Emine (46) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Cafer*). – APPENDIX E.191 –

“Teachers can't stand criticism especially about their profession. When the parent comes, the teacher directly starts in the defense position. They are right in a way because the parents never visit and talk to the teachers in order to thank or appreciate. They come whenever there is a problem” (*Olca – Female Counselor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*). – APPENDIX E.192 –

Urbanization and the Emergence of the Classroom Motherhood

The emergence of the classroom mothers go as far as the mid-1990s, the era when a large rural population migrated to the cities for political and economic reasons.

“It has been 15 years since I came to İstanbul and there has been a CM ever since” (*Necmi – Male Grade-3 Teacher with 35 years of school experience (CM of his classroom is Nevin).* – APPENDIX E.193 –

“I have worked for 27 years in İstanbul. As far as I see, the CM started to emerge in 1993-94. But it definitely and widely started in 1996.” (*Murat – Male School Vice Principle with 33 years of school experience).* – APPENDIX E.194 –

“I am a teacher for 44 years and there was no CM in the small cities. Since 1993 when I started to teach in İstanbul, there has always been CMs” (*Ahmet – Male School Principle with 41 years of school experience).* – APPENDIX E.195 –

There are implications that the institutionalization of the PTAs is an important issue to focus on as it highlights the ways in which the schools are turned into cooperative businesses in Turkey as a smooth transition model.

“After the PTA, these CMs became more formal, they call them ‘class representative’ formally. When there is a need for the parents to make collective decisions, then there is a need for a representative to organize and share information. In fact this is the job description of the CM and it has to be within these limits” (*Demir – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 36 years of school experience (Has no classroom mother).* – APPENDIX E.196 –

“There weren’t CMs before, there were School Preservation Societies (Okul Koruma Dernekleri) and then this turned into PTAs and they would occasionally drop in the school. They didn’t use to have such formal rooms and they wouldn’t come to school every day like a job as it is in this school” (*Hilal – Female Grade-4 Teacher with 37 years of school experience (CM of her classroom is Kiraz).* – APPENDIX E.197 –

With the rapid urbanization after the 1990s the both the silhouette and the soul of the city changed. Urbanization created a shift in the human relationships. With the crime rates increasing outside in public and inside the houses (domestic violence) parents

started to take their children to school holding their hands. The maternal anxiety is reinforced in terms of the children's security.

“There was no such thing as CM in the outside of the big cities. It was safer outside. There are all kinds of bad things in the street. In the rural, the parents wouldn't show up and the kids would come to school on their own. But here mothers have to hold their children's hand and bring to school, they take them to the school garden and they still don't believe that they are safe and they enter in the classroom. They become classroom mothers...”
(Ali – Male Grade-4 Teacher with 31 years of school experience (CM of his classroom is Hayal). – APPENDIX E.198 –

“Maybe it's because people have changed. You can't trust anyone, you can't let your child go alone, and you have to deal with his everything. In Malatya people used to trust each other. In İstanbul people are afraid of trusting each other.” (Nevin (33) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – has 1 kid in this school – Medical nurse – Teacher: Necmi). – APPENDIX E.199 –

“I have been in this school for eight years and there is CM since then. Before, I was working in a poor school in İstanbul and there was no such thing as CM. It was me who was dealing with everything... I saw CM in İstanbul...” (Meltem – Female Grade-4 Teacher with 35 years of school experience – CM of his classroom are Berna & Jale). – APPENDIX E.200 –

However, not every school has CMs inside although they are in urban places.

“It depends on the school. I was working in a poor school in Kağıthane and there was no such thing as CM. I saw it here. I worked in the city in Batman and there was never such a thing. Now there is in Adana for example, my sister-in-law is a CM in a school in the city center. In Kağıthane, people were very poor and there were no CMs. In fact, the teachers wouldn't let these parents to be in the school because the parents were very poor and they were not educated. The mothers had not seen any other place in İstanbul except for Kağıthane for many years. These schools were poor. It is different here.” (Zeynep – University graduate – Teacher at the same school – Her child attends grade 1 – Has 1 kid in this school – Teacher: Fahri, CM: Berna & Jale). – APPENDIX E.201 –

Therefore, for a school to have CMs inside it has to be in an urban place, but it also has to be a school where middle classes send their children. As stated by the experienced teachers even if the school is in the middle of İstanbul, if it is a working-class neighborhood and if most of the parents are working class, CMs are not observed in the school system. This is because of the non-existence of the middle classes of some sort, since the middle class family is the one who still has a hope for upward social mobility by means of education.

On the other hand, even if the working-class mothers showed up in the schools, they are not preferred by the teachers as CMs because they do not own the adequate economic, cultural and social capital to substitute some of the duties of the teachers and the state. The schools which have no such human resource (relatively educated, economically well, socially rich middle class mothers) are left out with its own fate and they are now called “the rubbish schools” by the parents themselves.

“The first school I taught was in Sultanbeyli and the CM was a very educated woman. There were many excluded children in the school and they were very introverted and passive children with no good relationships with friends. They were all in need and this CM would buy them their clothing and their school equipment by organizing other well-off parents... It was like a solidarity organizer to be a CM. Here too, in our class there are six or seven children in need and nobody would ask money for them, moreover their needs are bought by the PTA.” (*Fahri – Male Grade-1 Teacher with 40 years of school experience – CMs of his classroom are Berna & Jale*). – APPENDIX E.202 –

On the other hand, the notion of CM which emerged with the neoliberal policy implementations and drew women’s unpaid labor into the public realm to substitute the deficiencies caused by the abandonment of the state responsibility, has a flipside of the coin as an opportunity to organize solidarity within the urban public. As it is indicated throughout this chapter, the middle class mothers may be a driving force

for this. The reason why middle classes are needed is that because there is always a need for a certain amount of economic, cultural and social capital to be able to create mobility in the society. This is why the middle classes have more potential to create social movements

What Happens When the Mother-Care is Taken out of the School?

Under this heading the first research question which asks about the role of the mother-labor in the field of education will be analyzed. For this purpose the mothers are asked what kind of a situation would occur if the mother labor in the homes and in the schools would be erased from the picture with a hypothetical mother-labor-strike. By mother labor, not only the labor in the school environment, but all the domestic labor that supports education is referred. Thus, by a hypothetical mothers' strike it is meant that mothers give up working both at home and in the school or for the school.

“If there were no mother-labor the lessons and the classes would go down to zero. If I don't work, my son would come to school late, he wouldn't bring his books with him, he comes to school in dirty cloths. There would emerge a lot of health problems in the school, and psychological problems as well. Without mothers, children can't be educated at all. The school system would go upside down if the mothers go on strike for a month” (*Tülin – Primary school graduate – Housewife – Her child attends grade 5 – Has 1 kid in this school – Teacher: Cafer, CM: Feza & Emine*). – APPENDIX E.203 –

“If you remove mothers from the picture, everything would be burdened on the teacher and he would remain inadequate. If there was no mother-labor, there wouldn't be any educational institutions” (*Berna (38) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 1 – has one kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Fahri*). – APPENDIX E.204 –

“If mothers would go on a strike it would be a tragedy. There would be an uprising at home since there would be no meal at home and everywhere would be messy” (*Jale (40) – Primary School Graduate – CM of Grade 1 – has 2 kids in this school – Housewife – Teacher: Fahri*). – APPENDIX E.205 –

“Most children wouldn’t show up in the school. They can’t do it on their own. Maybe the schools wouldn’t exist if the mothers didn’t work” (*Aynur (26) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 2 – has 1 kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Emir*). – APPENDIX E.206 –

“If you removed the mother-labor the school would be devastated. Would the teacher do mothering or teaching? There would be no education... Then we would need extra teachers to do the care work for the kids. There wouldn’t be a thing called education. We as mothers both do the care work and the education work at the same time... The teachers would go nuts and be confined in an asylum” (*Ceyhan (37) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 2 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Especially escaped from participating in the research*). – APPENDIX E.207 –

“I even can’t imagine... Everything would stay undone and the classes wouldn’t start on time” (*Oya (35) – Primary school graduate – CM of Grade 4 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Meltem*). – APPENDIX E.208 –

“If the mother labor is removed, there the students would end up unsuccessful and unhealthy. The classes wouldn’t start before 10 a.m. The teachers would go crazy. The education system would collapse” (*Hayal (34) – College graduate – CM of Grade 4 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Ali*). – APPENDIX E.209 –

“If there is no mother labor, children would become miserable. The school would become miserable. There wouldn’t be an order. Children would come to school hungry... The lessons wouldn’t start on time. Once we had a parent. She gave up looking after and dealing with her child. We realized that the child is in a miserable situation, his clothing is ragged, and he is hungry and sleeping in the class. He started to fight with his friends constantly. He lost a lot of weight and his grades went down. He was sleepless and he didn’t attend the classes in time and sometimes he didn’t show up at all. Then I learnt that the mother was in a severe depression that was why the child was so miserable. This is what would happen to all the children if the mother labor is taken out of the education picture. When you remove the mother labor in the picture, the child is destroyed” (*Feza (40) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 1 kid in this school – Housewife – Teacher: Cafer*). – APPENDIX E.210 –

“Well, the kids would be in miserable conditions. They wouldn’t arrive at the school in time, they would remain hungry, horrible things would happen. Education would be destroyed. No homework would be done. I go home and study first and then I teach it to my child. Education would destroy. Since the classes are very crowded the teachers can’t teach adequately. For this reason mothers bridge the gap. If mothers were removed, the teachers would be very tired and there would be no order in the school. The student deprived of education, cleaning, and hungry and

moreover deprived of love would be a disaster. Love labor is also important. Let me say in short, if you remove mothers from the picture there would be no education” (*Emine (46) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 2 kids in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Cafer*). – APPENDIX E.211 –

“If you remove mother labor from the picture the social environment would be catastrophic until the children can find their personality. The teacher would exceed their limits of endurance. Especially for the young kids, nothing could be done in the school without mothers. Schools can’t exist without mothers. Mothers always are in the school invisibly because they don’t consider our work as a job. Mothering is like a duty, not like an occupation. Thus they never appreciate what we are doing” (*Güliz (36) – College graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 1 kid in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Galip*) – APPENDIX E.212 –

Mother labor or care labor is a key factor in the field of reproduction. This specific labor reproduces:

- 1- The existing labor force,
- 2- The future labor force,
- 3- The capitalist production mode,
- 4- The gender ideology,
- 5- The suppression of women’s identity.

Without these reproductory activities the ‘production’ remains impossible.

Therefore, reproduction is not a kind of side-production supporting the production; it is in the core of the production process and is a key part of the production itself.

The effects of the removal of women’s unpaid labor would be as strong as the removal of the capitalist market production. Although the idea of the labor-strike is a widespread one, the idea of care-labor-strike would prove even more efficient. However, this special type of labor has a disadvantage to be mobilized in the form of a strike, due to the characteristics of the direct beneficiaries. Even though the unpaid care-labor has indirect but dramatic impacts on the capitalist production system, the

direct beneficiaries of this type of labor is almost always the first degree relatives or the immediate family of the women. For this reason, a part of this labor is called ‘the love labor’. This is the critical part in the defect of the possibility of performing such a strike. This love labor notion is in the core of the ‘family ideology’. Therefore, family is the institution where this specific type of labor is institutionalized, ideologized and internalized.

On the other hand, this specific type of labor is not only produced by middle-class women but also by the working class women as well. However, the notions of care work, love labor and good mother are all constructed upon the middle-class family ideals. Although working class women are performing the same type of labor, they are considered away from the ideal practices which belong to the middle class habitus.

Therefore, one of the most important illusions to diminish is the difference of the middle-class and working class women in performing these reproductive activities. The women of these two classes are giving their best effort and performing their best within the limits of their own social, cultural and economic capitals.

Is a Feminist Parental Participation for Democratic Schools Possible?

In this sub-heading, the outputs of the research will be discussed in order to shed light to the characteristics of any alternative and feminist parental participation for the purpose of a democratic school vision. For this purpose the propositions of the critical and feminist pedagogy will be used to highlight the possibilities reconstructing the existing school as a space for resisting hegemony and domination

in various levels, and thus the possibilities of transforming the notion of motherhood into a democratic position itself.

As Lave & Wenger (1996) indicate, learning is not only specific educational activities, it is rather a social phenomenon that involves the whole person with all of her relations in the society and community. Therefore it is possible to see CMs and all other mothers' presence and activities within the school environment as a sort of adult learning in a critical sense. In this sense learning means being involved in new activities and performing new tasks and functions and then gaining new understandings, which also involves a construction of identities due to being in interaction with the social others.

Regarding this fact, a specific form of motherhood identity which is embodied in the function of CMs is constructed within the school environment within all these interactions. In this sense the social practice should be seen as a learning practice and similarly the learning practice as a participation practice; and thus school stands for a space not only for the learning of students, but also a learning space for mothers. Moreover, with the notion of CM the school becomes a space for enacting power socially and culturally. Once mothers are turned into CMs and penetrated into schools, they started to share the power of the teachers and the administrators and there started a power conflict which was not the intention in the implementation of neoliberal educational policies.

For Apple (1990), schools act as agents of cultural and ideological hegemony (p. 6). School system saturates, and assimilates everyone who enters into it whether they are students, teachers, parents or administrators. In this sense, when classroom mothers do not position themselves critically in the school system, they take over all the hegemonic codes and apply them in their practices. These women

learn how to gain power and apply it in a hegemonic sense. Therefore, school is not only a place where children learn but it is also a place where everyone, including mothers and teachers, learn. By taking over the hegemonic traditions and the mode of practices mothers penetrate into the school mechanism. In this process they gain power, however when this power is not collective and critical it would be more appropriate to call it 'hegemony' rather than 'empowerment'. When women 'learn' in the school to apply power to each other rather than to learn solidarity, it is difficult to call it 'women's empowerment'.

The Current Power Situation in the School

In the current neoliberal system in the school the educational public funding are withdrawn from the school system and the schools are left with their own assets to 'run' as cooperative business entities. To provide the relevant political consent over the parents, there are certain ideological discourses such as 'human capital development', 'good mother', 'governance' and 'one should not wait everything from the government' are implemented in the public mind.

To be able to implement the neoliberal policies in a vision of 'decentralization' and governance, there had to be some structural transformations. The structures ought to be 'politically correct', 'participatory' and ethically acceptable. In this sense, the 'Parent Teacher Associations' presented a useful starting point. In the ideological discourse of the PTA, there are several connotations:

- 1- The phrase 'parent teacher association' connotes that parents are included in the 'governance' and they have voice

- 2- It also connotes that parents are ‘partners’ with teachers, which looks highly democratic
- 3- Moreover the phrase includes the word ‘association’ which connotes that PTAs are NGOs (non-governmental organization), which veils the fact that PTAs function as business enterprises.
- 4- And lastly, the word ‘association’ connotes that it is an NGO; therefore, it opens the doors for the allocation of unpaid voluntary work into the system.

In the current system, the schools are run by parental cooperative businesses called the PTAs. The Classroom Mothers (CMs) represent the unpaid labor force for the system to operate as an NGO. They collect money, make the accounting job and do or arrange many other things including care work and legwork. Whether or not all the mothers feel themselves close the PTA, they all serve for the same end. They keep the school running as a business. On the other end, these mothers do it with a sense of love labor as they think that they do it all for their children.

Besides presenting an unpaid labor in the school system, these mothers (CMs) also gain an important amount of power within the school system as well as in the public. They are middle-class mothers in general as they have a relative economic, cultural and social capital to occupy this power space. Moreover, as soon as they access this power space they start to transfer their economic and cultural capital into social capital which is the main power needed to gain more power once having entered the power space. We can define this power space as becoming CM and actively working in the PTA.

However, the power elicited and accumulated is circulated in a small closed circuit within the PTA and the CM community, which results in a practice of domination over the other actors in the school system. The implementation of the neoliberal policies transferred the power from the school administrations to the Parent associations or the participating parents in general. This creates tensions between the ones whose power is transferred from and the ones who are transferred with the power. Thus, most of the administrative work is transferred to the PTAs, and much of the educational work to the CMs. It is very compatible with the neoliberal transformation since the word “administration” represented a public entity and school administrations have the duties of administering people. However, the neoliberal school needed ‘management’ rather than administration, since the schools were being run as business in a form of cooperatives. The management center for this type of a business is the PTA. In the Beehive Primary School the school administration is abandoned with its authorities for the financial issues and the sole authority to sign the contracts was given to the PTA president.

Below is the chart that demonstrates how this power is transferred in the school in the neoliberal era:

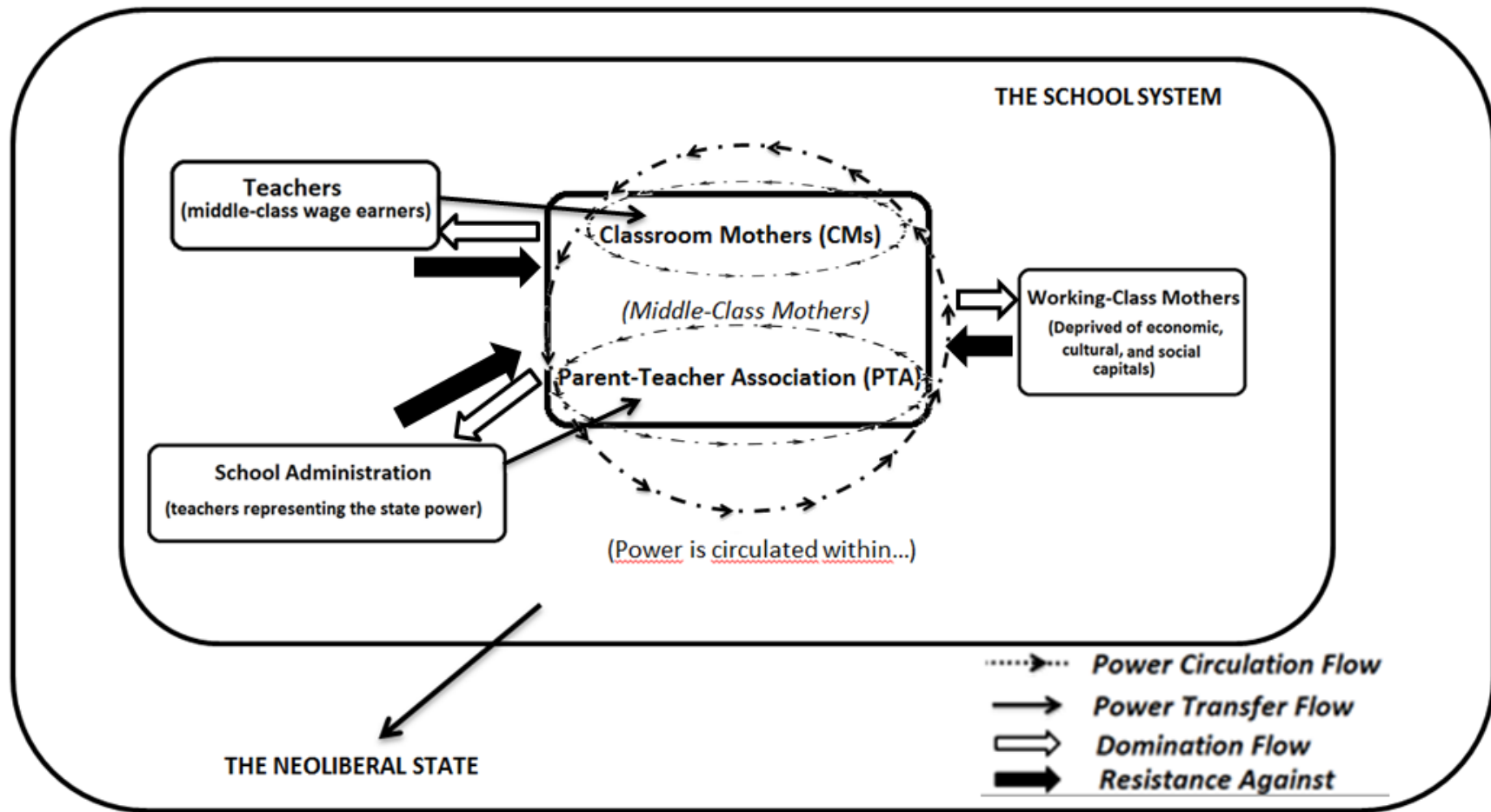


Figure 8. The Circulation of Power Elicited by Middle-class Mothers in the School

According to the figure above, the power flows from the school administration to the PTA and from the teachers to the CMs. This power transfer generates tensions on part of the teachers, the administrators and the working class mothers. On the part of the teachers, the CMs are more into the education in the school and in the classroom not only physically but also in terms of initiative. They can direct and sometimes manipulate them according to their own 'rights and wrongs'. On the part of the school administration, the authorization of signature is transferred to the PTA and the role of the school administration is reduced to the outside relations with the District Directorate of National Education. This also indicated that the main role of the school administration is to perform the mediating role for the state to function as "the regulator". In addition, on the part of the working class mothers, they realize that there is a power transfer to the parents and they are the ones who can make the least of it. This creates a tension between the middle-class and 'ruling' mothers and the rest of the mothers who have less of economic, cultural and financial capital.

Therefore, the power gained by the middle class mothers is circulated in a close circuit among themselves and this is the pattern that causes 'power-gaining' rather than 'empowerment' for the women in general in the school.

What is to Eliminate: 'Breastocracy'

One of the main factors to cause the above mentioned pattern and turn mothers into a means to reproduce inequalities is the patriarchal understanding of maternal power or female power in general, which I call 'breastocracy'. By 'breastocracy', I refer to a masculinistic or patriarchal use of feminine power. It is the patriarchal hegemony through the 'mother power'. The term refers to Melanie Klein describing breast as a

correspondent to phallus in explaining the power. It refers to using the breast like a phallus for gaining power in order to apply domination and hegemony in a given social space. It is applying power gained by the emotional labor, which is usually manifested in the unpaid care labor of mothers. Therefore, breastocracy is practiced by using unpaid care labor and symbolic nurturing as a means of power. To have a breast means to use the power gained by emotional labor and unpaid care labor in order to give no other way but be dependent to the decisions of the mother or the 'mother-like' social entity. The breastocrat would not let to have anything other than she gives, learn anything other than she teaches and decide anything on one's self other than she approves. The breastocrat herself is also the sufferer of the non-dying out of the symbolic naval cord as she continuously revives it socially.

In this research the middle-class women act as metaphorically breastfeeding their own children in the school and at the same time they are pretending as if they were symbolically breastfeeding the children of the others. However this is not an unconditional motherly giving act; they make the school system pay for it in turn by applying hegemony and symbolic power over the other actors in the school system. This is an action compatible with breastocracy. The working class mothers also give their breast to their own children metaphorically, but this is not a breastocratic practice as they are not applying power over the others by means of it, because they do not have enough economic, cultural and social capital to turn their breast (unpaid labor) into a means of power in this social environment. On the other hand the upper-class women do not symbolically breastfeed anyway; they rather symbolically 'bottle-feed' as they 'buy' the care labor of others to bring up her child. Moreover, she does not need to struggle to guarantee the future of her child by overlaboring on the child about his/her education. Therefore 'breastocracy' is rather a class-based

definition for the middle-class women implying their power-gaining and power-applying processes in the neoliberal economic transition in education for this specific research. However, ‘breastocracy is not a concept uniquely defined for the neoliberal policies; it has been used and applied ever since the notion of patriarchy exists. In this research, I am trying to see it in a neoliberal context, this is the only tie it has with the neoliberalism; a contextual tie. Therefore I assert that the ‘breasts’ of the middle-class mothers in the neoliberalized school (the CMs in this research) are phallic; and this hegemonic power application is ‘breastocracy’.

On the other hand, although the neoliberal system privatizes every public entity, it ‘nationalizes’ the mothers’ breast metaphorically. By nationalizing the mothers’ breast, it forces people to become needy to it; the terminology ‘network blockage strategy’ refers to this situation in the Beehive Primary School practice; that is even if the people have the possibility of gaining social capital, CMs can block it and make the other mothers need her mediation. This refers to a politics of breast and therefore it is a hegemonic power position. All in all, breastocracy is a patriarchal practice and where ever it takes place, some women suppress the other women; which present an obstacle for the solidarity and empowerment of women.

What to Replace it with:

Critical Feminist Pedagogy as a Means of Democratic Participation of

Mothers in Schools

The current participation of mothers with their penetration into the school system through the neoliberal economic policies presents a form of hegemonic relationship in terms of the class differences of mothers. They use some strategies to elicit and

sustain the hegemonic power within the school system, which results in certain tensions with the other actors. Although tension is sometimes positive when it is between the suppressed and the dominant, it ought to be altered when the tension is among the suppressed groups themselves. In this sense, mothers in school representing a hegemonic position of the middle class mothers to the working class mothers might be transformed into solidarity and empowerment among women.

Critical feminist pedagogy presents a solid view for this purpose.

Feminist pedagogy is a participatory, democratic, non-hierarchical pedagogy which encourages creative thinking that breaks through embedded formats of learning. It valorizes local knowledge, working collectively towards producing knowledge, the principle of starting from where people are situated, and working to develop a broader understanding of structures and how these can be transformed. It strives to foster both personal and social empowerment... (Walters & Manicom, 1996, p. 7).

There are some characteristics of Feminist Pedagogy which would present clues for alternative practices of involving mothers in the school system. Crabtree, Sapp and Licona (2009) summarize them into some principles. First of all, this alternative should have some goals like consciousness-raising, social action, and social transformation. Personal experiences of mothers should be considered important and they have to have a voice and authority to act upon. Moreover the ethics of care should be one of the main principles of a feminist pedagogical environment; which means that the social environment should not be hierarchical in terms of the relations. In this sense, women question who they are in this specific context and how they act within this context. By this way it helps women develop in terms of personal growth and social responsibility (Crabtree, Sapp, & Licona, 2009). Moreover, with a feminist pedagogical view, women can acknowledge the school and the classroom as a site of inequalities and power clashes (Manicom, 1992).

Although feminist pedagogy has come out by criticizing the critical pedagogy because it ignored the notion of gender (Barr, 1999), under this sub-heading there will be an attempt to combine feminist pedagogy it with critical pedagogy. While the feminist pedagogues are critical of patriarchal society and phallogocentric knowledge, the critical pedagogues focus on the analyses of class-based societies. Both discourses posit schools as problematic but also as potentially transformative (Gore, 1998, p. 272). In this sense, the result of this research offers both feminist and critical suggestions regarding both the gender-based and the class-based inequalities of the women's unpaid labor allocation in the school system in the neoliberal transformation processes can be suggested.

Embodied Learning as a Means for Feminist Pedagogy

In this research there are three groups of women to be considered, two of which are elaborated throughout this research. The first is the middle class mothers who predominantly occupy the power positions of the CM and the PTA. The second category is the working-class women who are non-existent in these power positions. And the third category is the teachers. Although in the Beehive School the number of the male and female teachers presents equality, according to the national statistics of education in Turkey 52.89% of the teachers in the formal education are female; in the primary schools this percentage rises to 57.83% in terms of the female teachers (Official Statistics Programme, 2013, p. 50). Hence, when the teachers in the primary schools are concerned, female teachers overweigh the male teachers in number. Therefore when considering a critical feminist alternative for the existing system, the

teachers should be included in the target group in order to consider a genuine women's empowerment.

The idea of the 'embodied reflexivity' which refers to a cooperative learning suggests that there are not definite parties as learners and teachers and everyone learns together from each other's experiences as they co-construct the reality together. During this process people look inside and outside of themselves, they question their own assumptions, identify their own problems and they organize for the change together (Gustafson, 1999; Mayberry, 1998). Participants can explore the social organization of knowledge and how their identities are created by dominant discourse of power and knowledge while at the same time they can create themselves in opposition to that discourse (Ferguson, 1984).

School as a Space for Resisting Hegemony

...schools play a role both in ideological domination and as a site for complex and contradictory forms of resistance (Au & Apple, 2009, p. 87).

In essence mothers' penetration in the school system is not negative. On the contrary, this can lead to a better understanding and practice of a parental participation.

However, the characteristics of this maternal existence can turn this participation into a mechanism reproducing the inequalities, or it can be a means for a feminist and critical transformation of schools. The latter possibility is a view that considers education and the school as a space for resisting hegemony.

For a school to represent a space for resisting hegemony, there should be cooperation rather than competition (Beane & Apple, 2007). Moreover, as elicited from the filed data referring to the tensions among mothers, the competitive aura of

the school needs to be turned into a cooperative feature. As a matter of fact, in the Beehive Primary School, there have been instances of cooperation as well as competition. For instance, mothers get together to advise each other about education, courses, childcare, and many more. They sometimes take each other's children to school and bring them back just for solidarity. Similarly, when they deal with the children other than their own in the same school, they practice solidarity.

On the other hand, this solidarity emerges usually among the mothers with equivalent economic, cultural or social capital, indicating a class-based female solidarity. Even when they help the economically disadvantaged children or their families in the school, this practice is far from being an action of solidarity, it is rather a power application which suppresses the addressee with the hierarchical philanthropist-sufferer relation. When they help the teacher, the power-owner rooting from position and cultural capital, the flow of the action is upward and this defines the practice out of the solidarity as well; because an upward direction of help is either a tendency to share the power or a tendency to receive a payback in kind (extra grades... etc.). Therefore, the only authentic solidarity takes place practically when these mothers are equivalent in terms of cultural, or economic capital or both.

Hence a transformative and democratic solidarity culture can only be possible upon commonalities, rather than differences; and the genuine common feature of the mothers and the female teachers in the school is their gender. Therefore, it is only the gender-based consciousness raising and female solidarity in a context of democratic participation that can transform the patriarchal and class-oriented social relations and production.

Resisting hegemony can only be possible through a feminist technique of consciousness raising which deconstructs the given social self and the given social

context in relation and then gives an opportunity to reconstruct a more democratic self and the society.

Feminist Pedagogical Possibilities

Women are subject to power relations that keep them from naming the World from their own experiences and they need new pedagogical skills (Lewis, 1992). Women are in power relations as well as men, however these power relations are all marked by patriarchal signals. Thus, in any power relation that women are encountering each other, the party that gains power is always the patriarchy. Every 'public' and 'private' action and interaction that women are engaged is political in terms of producing their patriarchal identity which sustains the unequal social relations as it is.

Feminist pedagogy has the possibility to take place everywhere women exist socially, since every social action can constitute at least a tacit or incidental learning potential. Women performing particular roles and functions in the primary school environment in the role of mothers are in fact practicing a type of pedagogy. The characteristics of this pedagogy are due to the level of consciousness and politization of the actresses in the praxis. Therefore, women playing an active role in the school environment in the role of mothers need to develop a type of solidarity which would make an informal learning environment consciously. That is, they should turn the unconscious tacit/incidental learning to conscious informal learning.

The notion of Classroom Motherhood presents a useful opportunity for the mothers to get politicized in terms of their identity and by this way they may create an opportunity to question their practices, attitudes, roles and tensions they live in

their practice; this action of developing consciousness turns the practice into praxis and would lead to a genuine empowerment for women rather than reinforcing the internalization of the patriarchal power relations.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION AND FINAL REMARKS

This study aims to analyze the role of mothers in the school system in the context of the neoliberal transformation process with regard to the special characteristics of their unpaid gendered labor. The study examines the patriarchal motherhood role and the ways in which women utilize this role to penetrate in the power positions of the school system. In this sense this research scrutinizes the ways in which the mothers' practices and attitudes in the school environment reproduce the class and gender inequalities and discusses the alternative ways of maternal participation in the schools.

This qualitative study is conducted in a primary level school in İstanbul in the district of Şişli, which is one of the most central districts of İstanbul and is highly diverse in terms of the population. Şişli owes its diversity to the rural-urban migration of 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, attracting many immigrants to its periphery as it was one of the business centers and the accommodation region for the urban well-off.

The school that the fieldwork is conducted for this study is a popular school among the parents from the middle class who are very concerned about their children's education; thus the school elicits its popularity due to the success level in the high-stakes national exams in the city rankings. Fifty-two participants including classroom mothers, non-classroom mothers, classroom teachers and the school administrators were interviewed. In addition, the school was visited every day for observation purposes for one semester.

In the study the explanations for the following questions are aimed:

- 1- What is the role of mothers in the neoliberal transformation process in the school system?
 - a. What is the relation of the neoliberal transformation and the patriarchally ‘naturalized’ form of motherhood?
- 2- How do women use the patriarchally defined motherhood role to penetrate into the school system to gain power?
 - a. What are the characteristics of the power elicited by these mothers in the school system?
 - b. Does the positioning of mothers in the school system reproduce class and gender inequalities?

Neoliberal Transformation Process and the Mothers:

‘As Natural as the Patriarchy’

According to the field data elicited from the observations and the interviews, there are countless items of work (accounting, animation, cash-collecting, child-caring, cleaning, coordinating, counselling, health-caring, fundraising, doing laundry, lobbying, doing office work doing public relations, purchasing, repairing, doing secretarial work, coordinating sub-contractors, substituting teachers, helping teachers, training the students...etc.) that mothers perform every day with a ‘discipline’ imposed by the official school system. Therefore, mothers’ work is not only determined by the concurrent patriarchal rules but it is also disciplined by the capitalist life order which keeps people operating within certain time schedules. Considering this fact, it can be asserted that mothers are not ‘flexible’ workers of the

neoliberal capitalist system, they are rather strictly regulated by the production order and their time is tightly scheduled. This regulation seems to present a conflict or incompatibility with the idea of the 'flexible work' inherent to the neoliberal policies. As a matter of fact, 'flexi-time' work is a strategy of neoliberal economic policies which has an intention of decreasing the value of the labor and making the work precarious for the labor force without any social security or security of job. However, women are already unpaid workers and they are deprived of social security over their labor and their social security is defined with the husband's job security. As women are already unsecured and unpaid heavy workers of the capitalist system and this flexi-time working is not valid for unpaid women's labor; there is no need for reducing their wages as they are unwaged already. Therefore, neoliberal policies strictly plan, schedule and regulate women's labor force by means of the regulations and schedules of the social welfare work abandoned by the neoliberal state and transferred to the domestic realm on women's shoulders. These areas of work include education, health and all other care work for the elderly, the children or the disabled.

Therefore, when women are concerned the rules operate on the reverse side and exceptions start to emerge in the rule. As the neoliberal policies make the work life flexible for the market, it strictly regulates the 'daily lives' of women. In fact 'daily life' equals to 'work life' for women as they also lead the daily lives of the others at home. The daily-lives of the household are the work-life of women. This type of work-life turns each household into a station in a worldwide assembly line, the workers of which is always women.

Mothers are dragged in to the publically abandoned field of education easily with reference to their normalized unpaid care labor and the role of motherhood. They function in the school as volunteers as if the school was an NGO, which

reminds us of the public sector being shifted to the ‘third sector’ also named as the ‘social sector’, or ‘civic sector’. It is easier for mothers to be voluntarily engaged in the education work as the patriarchal motherhood identity already locates women in this sphere of economic and social life. Accordingly, the mother is the one who inhibits a specific labor force which is constituted of everything related to a child. Considering that ‘the child’ is defined as the one who cannot survive on her own, the definition of motherhood becomes something like ‘the doer of everything’ for the survival of a human being. The kind of substitute or the subsidizer that the neoliberal abandonment of the public school funding requires is exactly a mother; a doer of everything without any payment. This time the mother serves the survival of not only her child, but also of the neoliberal state in both direct and indirect ways.

The education system in the neoliberal era cannot give up the mother labor in the schools as the school system in its current form collapses otherwise without the state support. Therefore the state forces the school administrations to keep up with the presence of mothers in the schools, as they are substituting the lack of state funding.

Motherhood is not only an identity but also a full-time job for women especially when education is concerned. Thus, the education system employs the teachers, the administrators and the facilitators formally; however students’ mothers perform the duties as if they are informally employed. These mothers do ‘real’ work to keep the education system running. They do it every day and they seem to have internalized the duties deeply inside.

According to this research twenty-five different waged-professions emerged which have already been practiced in the labor market and being performed in the school system voluntarily and thus unpaid. Therefore, being a CM is being a mother

and the term ‘voluntary parent’ does not provide the relevant content of the work being done. The work is motherhood, which includes all the trivialities of daily routines as well as the emotional labor.

Without these reproductive activities the ‘production’ remains impossible. Therefore, reproduction is not a kind of side-production supporting the production; it is in the core of the production process and is a key part of the production itself.

The effects of the removal of women’s unpaid labor would be as strong as the removal of the capitalist market production. Although the idea of the labor-strike is a widespread one, the idea of care-labor-strike would prove even more efficient. However, this special type of labor has a disadvantage to be mobilized in terms of strike, due to the characteristics of the direct beneficiaries. Even though the unpaid care-labor has indirect but dramatic impacts on the capitalist production system, the direct beneficiaries of this type of labor is almost always the first degree relatives or the immediate family of the women. For this reason, a part of this labor is called ‘the love labor’. This is the critical part in the defect of the possibility of performing such a strike. This love labor notion is in the core of the ‘family ideology’. Therefore, family is the institution where this specific type of labor is institutionalized, ideologized and internalized.

The need for the systematization and the functionalization of mothers under the name of CM should be perceived as a result of the overall neoliberal policies all over the world and in Turkey as well. However, the neoliberal policies which also have a great impact on the changing role and status of teachers have direct and indirect effects on the presence and the functions of the mothers at school. Therefore, the neoliberal state not only puts the burden on the mothers, but also motherhood is

transformed into a more systematic role as Classroom Mothers with the mediating role of teachers to transfer this responsibility to mothers.

Neoliberal policies demand to exploit the mother-labor unconditionally. That is, they demand women to work for the education system without any payment but they do not want them to have a voice in the system. This is compatible with the 'regulation' function of the neoliberal state. This is the limit of the decentralization; one can give the labor but not have the control over what the labor is given on. As seen in the official papers in the discussion chapter, the state demands 'parent participation' but not classroom mothers as active political subjects, since CMs step in the 'regulating' or controlling force of the state by using certain strategies. The official bodies react against the power that the mothers started to acquire in the school system, not against the labor that they allocate.

Hence women as mothers penetrate in the school system by means of the needs of the neoliberal state; however, they 'disappoint' the system by not playing the victim's role, and by actively penetrating into the power positions. They not only penetrate into certain power positions, but they also create and construct them. However, the way in which they do this represents dominantly patriarchal, hegemonic and oppressive strategies and thus these strategies do not present any clues for women's empowerment and solidarity by any means.

For the sustainability of the lack of state funding a type of institutionalization was needed, and therefore the PTAs came to the forefront of the stage. However, it is not the institutions but the real individuals who perform the practical work. Therefore, this institution started to get organized over the mother-work and the two ends of the discourse 'parent participation' (represented by the PTAs) and 'good mother' (represented by the CMs) started get closer and integrated. This formed an

organization established, run, and activated by mothers and mother labor. However, although the organization was constituted of mothers, the form of the organization presented highly patriarchal, hierarchical and hegemonic features. Moreover, it represented social class domination as generally the middle class mothers who had relatively more economic, cultural and social capital have had access to it. This is remarkable since the institutionalization itself represented a power position not only within the school system, but also in a wider political sphere such as local municipalities.

Sub-contracting system is deep into the school system and the very basic needs like sanitary, hygiene and cleaning are burdened on the mothers' shoulders both to organize and to practically perform. The daily chores of the school became the mothers' genuine personal problem. As a matter of fact the schools started to be run by mothers as a kind of business. Speaking with 'the discourse', if they were 'good mothers' they would consider the ways in which the school could be run in an efficient way. The schools are run by the mothers as a kind of 'cooperative business association' – a type of business – , the members of which pay for their children's education and take part in the decision-making mechanism.

As the decentralization and school-based management was the main political act of the neoliberalism to cut off the funds from the schools, PTAs represent the tools for it. That is to say, Parent Teacher Associations are in fact small business structures that are established to run the schools. This business is in the form of a consumer cooperative, which is a type of business owned by its customers. Therefore, schools are turned into mother-run cooperative business associations in the neoliberal economy.

When the schools are transformed into small cooperative business associations, which are a type of business, there emerged a need for accountants, preferably an unpaid one. This is compatible with the economic structure of the schools as many of the CMs stated in the interviews that they were working like accountants.

It should also be noted that naming the business as 'Parent Teacher Association' is profoundly a masking discourse that prevents to perceive it as a business. Thus, this makes a smooth transition from the school as a public service in the welfare state, to the school as a business. In this sense, all the schools are businesses but some are run by private companies (private schools) and some are run by cooperative business associations called PTAs (public schools).

CMs in the public schools gain power over their position and this position presents hegemonic features, because their power comes not only from their unpaid labor but from their social and economic relations as well. On whom this hegemony is applied is another point as it is not the state or the official bodies that are dominated by these middle-class mothers. The state and the official bodies are affected from the situation but it is a restlessness coming from the tension of losing the 'regulating power' rather than being dominated, which is good in terms of the mothers and the 'others'. However, these CMs, the relatively middle-class mothers in this lower-middle-class primary school, are dominating the working class mothers and their children and acting hegemonically over them. They gain this power by means of their relatively larger economic, cultural and social capital.

The education system seeks mother labor increasingly with the withdrawal of the public funding from public education as it was observed in the field school as

well. The schools are becoming more and more dependent on ‘maternal involvement’ to meet the budget.

Transference of Motherhood Capital into Power:

Power-Gaining or Empowerment?

This research demonstrates that, one of the reasons why mothers want to become a CM is that they want to gain social capital and by means of their position to elicit some privileges for their children and for themselves socially.

The PTA is the main power position in the Beehive primary school. With the neoliberal educational policies decentralizing the schools in terms of the funding and monetary issues, the PTAs became the money-safe for the schools. As it has the financial power, PTAs have much more voice than the previous types of associations in the schools ever before. Therefore, the access to this position gains importance in terms of having power in the school, which can be observed from the election processes for the PTA in the Beehive Primary School.

Therefore some CMs take part in the PTA whereas some others don't. The CMs who are active in the PTA have privileges as they have a better chance to accumulate social capital by means of doing lobbying in the local municipality beside many other activities. Therefore, the PTA gains its power not only from the financial force but also from the political relations with the local municipality.

It is revealed that although teachers have the main influence on which of the candidates should become a CM, the PTA has an influence, as well. Therefore it can be claimed that rather than practicing democratic participation, these mothers have to have some social or cultural capital to be eligible CMs in the eyes of the teachers.

This capital may present the relations of some mothers with the PTA in the form of social capital, or it may be their capabilities and their education level in the form of cultural capital.

The 'social capital' represents a key factor in the transference of capital to reach the power positions in the case of this study. I name it as the '*catalyzing capital*'. To explain the term it can be stated that 'catalyzing capital' is the key factor in reaching the power positions in the lack of one or two other capitals. It may be one of the capitals of economic, cultural, symbolic or emotional capitals depending on the situation. The catalyzing capital refers to a stepping stone for transferring one capital to the other, in a position which transference from capital 'a' to capital 'b' is difficult. In this case the individual transfers her existing capital first to the catalyzing capital, the transfer from which is easier to the target capital (the key capital for the power position).

Upon the observations made in the field school, the mothers representing helicopter mothering practices are in fact the CMs who are doing the school work for themselves rather than the teacher or their kids. These are the mothers who are in the middle of the power struggle and who attach to the power position of the classroom motherhood religiously as well as the other CMs. Therefore, the motivation of these mothers wanting to become a classroom mother gains importance to understand their power-gaining practices in the school against the other actors.

As it can be seen from the interviews, the network blockage strategy is actively used by the CMs to de-power the other parents. The CMs gain certain access to the power positions with their economic, cultural or social capital. However, eliciting the CM position is a stepping stone, as they activate certain power-gaining strategies to penetrate the public space in a stronger manner, using the CM position.

Therefore, rather than seeing CMs as passive and exploited mothers in the school environment, it should be realized that they are actively taking part with the notion of CM as a means and they are trying to gain power and have a word in the school as an end. Therefore, they try to get back what they give.

In the school environment the position of CM presents a power position, and the rest of the mothers in the school are aware of the situation. CMs gain this power by means of a variety of capitals. For example they have the emotional capital which is a variation of social capital; briefly a gendered knowledge. Emotional capital they have involves contacts, relations and access to emotionally valued skills and assets as well as the knowledge (Nowotny, 1981). This is what makes them 'the mother'. By having this capital, they have a potential access to the position of classroom motherhood.

However, emotional capital is not enough for accessing the CM position, as every mother is supposed to have it, although it is mainly attributed to the middle-class mothers and working-class mothers are considered in a deprivation of such capital. Nevertheless, they need to have economic, cultural or social capital to accompany this emotional capital. In the research school, the mothers in the CM position seem to have accessed this position mainly by the economic capital accompanying the emotional capital.

The status is elicited by different capital gaining strategies by different mothers according to their social class. Hence, especially the mothers who own more economic capital relatively try to gain more of social capital

On the other hand, there seems to be different strategies for entering the power position for the CMs. For example most of the CMs seem to have both the economic and cultural capital together. They are the ones who have easier access to

the power position. However, there are also CMs who relatively lack the cultural capital but they have equivalent social capital as they have relations and acquaintances as well as kinships or neighborhood relations with the CMs who have both economic and cultural capital. I claim that it is the economic capital that makes them get in contact with each other and develop a certain form of social capital. That is, the mothers with less cultural capital but enough economic capital easily get in touch with the CMs on the upper right-hand side of the Figure 6, and they become friends, bring their children to the same paid extra-school activities and they transfer their economic capital to social capital. Or, in the example of the former CM Buse, a mother may have enough cultural capital but insufficient economic capital. In this case, she may transfer her cultural capital to social capital by activating her capabilities in the social environment and sharing the same space with the active PTA members and thus become friends. This is what happened in Buse's case. Then in her story, she transferred her cultural capital into social capital and she became a CM. And then she transferred her social capital into economic capital and she had a paid job in the school.

As it can be seen in terms of the transference of the capital, 'social capital' represents a key factor to access power positions especially in the lack of economic and cultural capital. In case of lack of economic capital, a CM uses her cultural capital to accumulate social capital first. Once the sufficient social capital is gained, then there is an easier access to the power position. It is the same when there is a lack of cultural capital. When there is sufficient economic capital but insufficient cultural capital, the mother gets access to the PTA setting relations with the members and accumulates relevant social capital. After the accumulation of social capital there emerges a possibility of gaining access to the CM position.

A mother who lacks both economic and cultural capital never becomes a CM. As a result, the mothers who own better economic capital, transfer it first into social capital and then they gain titles and transfer it into symbolic capital which eases the transference to the power position.

Regarding the privileges they gain by means of the CM position, most of these privileges are related to the mothers' own interests and relatively few are related with their children. As it can be understood, the CM position gives a woman many different capital transfer opportunities, which can empower them as well as make them gain power to apply on others.

CMs prefer male teachers as they think that they are easier to control, persuade or 'manipulate'. Women are used to handling the relations with men as they usually have to do it with their husbands. On the other hand, as female teachers are already aware of the patriarchal feminine tactics, CMs have difficulty in handling the relations with them in the same way as they do it with the male teachers. In this case, the CMs activate their economic capital to buy presents, to take the teachers on holidays and thus to become close friends. After eliciting the 'friendship' which is a social and symbolic position, it becomes a give-and-take issue, and they can handle the relationship with the female teachers this way.

Therefore, the social capital as a key factor is built by means of the cultural and/or economic capital. Especially when the women-to-women relations are concerned the most important strategy to gain power is the ability of transferring any asset into a social capital. Moreover, as the social capital accumulates, the possibility of sharing it reduces, and therefore it leads to a monopolization of social capital accumulation. This is the mechanism that sustains the inequality between the mothers from different social classes.

The sustainability of the inequality in the school depends on the inaccessibility to the ‘social capital transference mechanisms’. In order to access this mechanism, one has to have either economic or cultural capital, or preferably both. The only exception for this vicious circle would be ‘owning a level of social capital from the beginning of the game’, which may appear mostly in the forms of kinship or prior friendship relations.

‘Dispossession of Social Capital’ and ‘Network Blockage Strategy’

According to the analysis of the research data the ‘social capital’ seems to be a ‘catalyzing capital’ which enables different mothers with different backgrounds gain power and reach the necessary power positions. To be able to explain the power sustaining strategies of the CMs, I developed two concepts which I name ‘network blockage strategy’ and ‘dispossession of social capital’.

‘Network blockage strategy’ is a social capital acceleration strategy when there is a conflict or a struggle of gaining certain social capital among some groups or members of a group. For example CMs block all the other mothers’ networking possibility by not letting them talk to the teacher one-on-one. CMs urge them to call the CM and she would communicate with the teacher on their behalf. By this way while the CM is developing a deeper social network with the teacher, at the same time she prevents other mothers, especially the ones who have equivalent or more cultural or economic capital to develop a network with the teachers and thus she eliminates the possibilities of threat over her power position. Network blockage strategy may include a variety of techniques of building a dam in front of the possible or existing social capital flow between the other parents and the teacher in

this case. In this way the possible need of social interaction flow between the parent and the teacher is blocked by the CM and exploited on the CM's interest as it is the CM who uses this communication need to develop a deeper social tie with the teacher. That is to say, the CM uses someone else's need of social interaction to strengthen her own network ties. It is a kind of social exploitation and surplus gaining technique over the social relationships.

'Dispossession of social capital', on the other hand, is the result of the network blockage strategy when 'successfully' applied. It is a result of the power strategy that accumulates social capital by blocking other people's social interaction opportunities and using them for one's own interests. In this way, in a given social space a group of people control the social capital gaining channels and keep a majority of people in continuous deprivation, which helps sustain the power holders' position. In this position the power holder has a social capital by dispossession of the others' social capital, which means that although others might have had opportunities to build social networks, the power holders do not let it happen and keep the power coming from the accumulation and monopolization of the social capital in their hands. Therefore it is a dispossession of social capital which is defined vis-à-vis the group that the power is applied upon. The important thing is not to gain 'a certain amount of social capital', but rather keeping an amount of 'social capital in a higher level compared to the other group' to be able to sustain the power position.

Moreover, mothers' presence in the school environment represents a learning instance. In this sense, mothers practicing and experiencing an almost formal or semi-formal work environment and interacting with certain formal and informal bodies and subjects in the school environment are in a process of tacit/incidental learning. During their practice, not only they change but also the actors such as the

school administration, the teachers and even the students change as a result and by-product of their practices. Moreover, not only the individuals or the groups, but also the school practices (culture and climate) change by means of tacit learning experiences of the mothers practicing power in the school.

The important issue here is ‘what’ knowledge is learnt and ‘what’ knowledge is reinforced in this practice. As mentioned in the previous sub-headings, CMs together with all the other actors are practicing power-gaining strategies. It is important here to differentiate between empowerment and power-gaining.

Empowerment is a feminist methodology which refers to undoing the socially discriminated or disadvantaged groups being excluded from the decision making processes related to their own lives in the society. Therefore, if we think about empowerment for the mothers in the school, we should consider their being in the decision-making mechanism as a group but with a certain view of consciousness about the discrimination or suppression applied upon them. On the other hand, power-gaining is the act of obtaining ability to control the behavior of others in a social group. It has a negative connotation, because power is applied upon some others, whereas empowerment refers to the self in terms of development.

Linguistically speaking, power is a dative case as you apply power on someone, however; empowerment is a reflexive case in the conceptualization of practice.

Reproducing the Enemy: Gender and Class

Hence, the mothers that prefer becoming a CM are the ones who have economic capital predominantly. On the other hand the research shows that the economic

capital should be combined either with the social capital or cultural capital to be activated and transferred to a power position.

The parents actively working in the PTA are generally lower-middle income group; however, the PTA is established by a certain common taste, perception and power model. Therefore, the CMs and the PTA represents a 'relatively' upper-class within the school. What makes these women working in the PTA or as a CM is their collective action, which transforms them from being separate individuals to a class, as they not only act but identify themselves collectively. They tend to share similar tastes, lifestyles, outlooks, dispositions and a tacit sense of their place in the world or 'class unconsciousness'; that is, class habitus.

The financial focus of the PTA makes it accessible for the middle-class parents rather than the working class ones, as the working-class parents usually do not have enough economic and social capital to occupy such power positions. Therefore, while the middle-class women struggle for occupying the place in the PTA, the working-class mothers usually play the passive role of using their votes for the elections.

The CMs socialize either with the mothers who are CMs or with the mothers who have the same economic and cultural capital with the CMs. They cooperate, act with solidarity and socialize together. It is when they collect money or provide in kind help for the deprived parents and their children they talk about or talk to the 'other mothers'. They usually consider them as 'ignorant and insensitive' unless they are employed. Therefore the 'othering' process applies mainly upon the mothers who are housewives with low economic and cultural capital. The CMs or the PTA set the relationship with these deprived mothers in the form of philanthropic charity activities, which represents a hegemonic relationship.

On the other hand, even if the working-class mothers showed up in the schools, they are not preferred by the teachers as CMs because they do not own the adequate economic, cultural and social capital to substitute some of the duties of the teachers and the state. The schools which have no such human resource (relatively educated, economically well, socially rich middle class mothers) are left out with its own fate and they are now called “the rubbish schools” by the parents themselves.

However, emotional labor is not only produced by the middle-class women but also by the working class women as well. However, the notions of ‘care work’, ‘love labor’ and ‘good mother’ are all constructed upon the middle-class family ideals. Although the working class women are performing the same type of labor, they are considered away from the ideal practices, which belong to the middle class habitus. Hence, one of the most important illusions to diminish is the difference of the middle-class and working class women in performing these reproductive activities. The women of these two classes are giving their best effort and performing their best within the limits of their own social, cultural and economic capitals.

Therefore the mothers working in the school environment voluntarily are not only doing gender, but they are doing class as well. They are producing and reproducing class and gender inequalities.

The practices and motivations elicited in the Beehive Primary School elucidate that over-protective mothering practices represent a motivation to become a CM. They overemphasize a notion of control in the meaning of motherhood and in the practices of mothering. Moreover, the patriarchal definition of motherhood constructs the mothers as the ‘controlling’ entities in order to shape and sustain the society in the traditional way. Mothers usually practice this as a personal attitude rather than social; that is, it became their habitus. However, it has social

consequences and it serves the sustainability of the established patriarchal practices. Their desire of control indicates a level of mistrust in the school system, as well. This implies that these mothers have a presumption of the teachers not performing pedagogical work, the administration not performing justice and order, and students do performing social codes of acceptable behavior. These mothers want to be present in the school to protect their children from the deprivations of these practices in the school. By practicing an active presence in the school there emerges an assumption that the mothers do it by means of controlling and manipulating the activities of the others.

The practice of the CMs and mothers in general in the school system with the influence of the neoliberal policies present both power-gaining and empowerment practices. However, the general characteristics of their practice and their discourse indicate that there is mostly a lack of critical consciousness on their social positions as mothers or women. Therefore, even if they may practice empowering instances, in general they act and react within the given gender roles patriarchally. They are trying to turn the suppressed mother position into a hegemonic position within the school individually rather than gaining a social consciousness as a group and questioning their practices at the same time as women.

Therefore, within the CM position, mothers are not only reproducing gender and patriarchy, but also they are practicing self-suppressing actions as they apply them on their own gender-mates. The result is the 'breastocracy', a concept I offer for the masculinely empowered female. I call this result as breastocracy since they are turning the nurturing breast into a torturing phallus and applying patriarchal power upon their own identity in "the public" which is defined as the masculine realm. Yet, there is a possibility of producing a counter-practice in terms of

transforming masculine power practices into feminist solidarity practices, therefore producing gender empowerment rather than doing gender.

I call the practices of mothers in the school as ‘power-gaining’ rather than empowerment since they practice the performativities of ‘good-mothering’ to become powerful in the school, which is reproducing gender in essence. As Landeros (2011) states, in a competitive community, good-mothering is measured by child’s overt behavior and progress, therefore mothers put energy into the child’s schooling. This action is on mother’s behalf rather than the child. Thus, professional motherhood becomes result oriented, individualistic and status driven.

In this research the middle-class women act as metaphorically breastfeeding their own children in the school and at the same time they are pretending as if they were symbolically breastfeeding the children of the others. However this is not an unconditional motherly giving act; they make the school system pay for it in turn by applying hegemony and symbolic power over the other actors in the school system. This is an action compatible with breastocracy. The working class mothers also give their breast to their own children metaphorically, but this is not a breastocratic practice as they are not applying power over the others by means of it, because they do not have enough economic, cultural and social capital to turn their breast (unpaid labor) into a means of power. On the other hand the upper-class women (not the middle-class or the working class) do not even symbolically breastfeed anyway; they rather symbolically ‘bottle-feed’ as they ‘buy’ the care labor of others to bring up their children. Moreover, the upper-class mothers do not need to struggle to guarantee the future of their children by overlaboring on the child about his/her education. Therefore ‘breastocracy’ is rather a class-based definition for the middle-class women implying their power eliciting and applying processes in the neoliberal

economic transition in education for this specific research. Therefore I assert that the ‘breasts’ of the middle-class mothers in the neoliberalized school (the CMs in this research) are phallic; and this hegemonic power application is the ‘breastocracy’.

On the other hand, although the neoliberal system privatizes every public entity, it ‘nationalizes’ the mothers’ breast metaphorically. By nationalizing the mothers’ breast, it forces people to become needy to it; the terminology ‘network blockage strategy’ refers to this situation in the Beehive Primary School practice; that is, even if the people have the possibility of gaining social capital, CMs can block it and make the other mothers need the CMs’ mediation. This refers to a politics of breast and therefore it is a hegemonic power position. All in all, breastocracy is a patriarchal practice and where ever it takes place, some women suppress the other women; which present an obstacle for the solidarity and empowerment of women.

Clues for Alternatives: From Breastocracy to Democracy

Women are more relational and they apply the indirect strategies of solving problem and they personalize it. This is because of the socially inferior status of women who lack power and thus who always have to search indirect ways to solve problems; because confronting the problems related with people means confronting both the issue and the person. However, women and all the other powerless sections of the society have a tendency of perceiving things personally and solving problems indirectly.

Moreover as elicited from the field data referring to the tensions among mothers, the competitive aura of the school needs to be turned into a cooperative

feature. As a matter of fact, in the Beehive school, there have been instances of cooperation as well as competition. For instance, mothers get together to advise each other about education, courses, childcare, and many more. They sometimes take each other's children to school and bring them back just for solidarity. Similarly, when they deal with the children other than their own in the same school, they practice solidarity.

On the other hand, this solidarity emerges usually among the mothers with equivalent economic, cultural or social capital, indicating a class-based female solidarity. Even when they help the economically disadvantaged children or their families in the school, this practice is far from being an action of solidarity, it is rather a power application which suppresses the addressee with the hierarchical philanthropist-sufferer relation. When they help the teacher, the power-owner rooting from position and cultural capital, the flow of the action is upward and this defines the practice out of the solidarity as well; because an upward direction of help is either a tendency to share the power or a tendency to receive a payback in kind (extra grades... etc.). Therefore, the only authentic solidarity takes place when these mothers are equivalent in terms of cultural, or economic capital or both.

Moreover, when the teachers in the primary schools are concerned the female teachers overweigh the male teachers in number. Therefore when considering a critical feminist alternative for the existing system, the teachers should be included in the target group in order to consider a genuine women's empowerment.

A transformative and democratic solidarity culture can only be possible upon commonalities, rather than differences; and the genuine common feature of the mothers and the female teachers in the school is their gender. Therefore, it is only the gender-based consciousness raising and female solidarity in a context of democratic

participation can transform the patriarchal and class-oriented social relations and production.

Resisting hegemony can only be possible through a feminist technique of consciousness-raising which deconstructs the given social self and the given social context in relation and then gives an opportunity to reconstruct a more democratic self and the society. The middle class mothers may be a driving force for this, although they seem to be a suppressing group related with the lower classes in a competitive school. Nevertheless the reason why middle classes are needed is that because there is always a need for a certain amount of economic, cultural and social capital to be able to create mobility in the society. This what the middle classes own and that's why they have more potential to create social movements historically.

All in all, women are fragmented according to their social class although they are fused under the great umbrella of the gender inequity. Schools can represent an arena for democratization of the individuals, the community and the society by means of feminist adult education practices of consciousness rising and the 'raised-consciousness praxis'. This means getting organized to raise gender-consciousness first, and then, get organized to change the ideologically manipulated false-consciousness by means of women-solidarity practices. Schools are valuable sites for this 'self-education'; schools represent an arena to fight and win, as it is one of the spheres where the invisible domination of patriarchy and neoliberal capitalism shape in flesh and bones, which gives the opportunity to see whom we are fighting with.

An Overview of the Conceptual Contributions to the Field

In this study I came up with certain new conceptualizations while analyzing the data and examining the meanings in the field of research. The ongoing political processes, the international literature I have reviewed and the data from the field led me to generate new conceptualizations in order to situate the problem and the analysis in a systematical knowledge space. Among these concepts that are generated from my research I will try to define briefly the concepts of ‘Dispossession of social capital’, ‘Catalyzing capital’, ‘Network blockage strategy’, ‘Breastocracy’, and the dichotomy of ‘Power-gaining vs. Empowerment’.

Catalyzing Capital

‘Catalyzing capital’ is the key factor in reaching the power positions in the lack of one or two other capitals. It may be one of the capitals of economic, cultural, social, symbolic or emotional capitals depending on the situation. The catalyzing capital refers to a stepping stone for transferring one capital to the other, in a position which transference from capital ‘a’ to capital ‘b’ is difficult. In this case the individual transfers her existing capital first to the catalyzing capital, the transfer from which is easier to the target capital (the key capital for the power position). For this research, ‘social capital’ represents the catalyzing capital for the mothers to reach the power positions, since when one mother has economic capital but not cultural capital, she first turns her economic capital into social capital to reach the power position

(becoming CM or PTA member), thereafter, she can turn it into cultural capital if she still needs.

Network Blockage Strategy

‘Network blockage strategy’ is a social capital acceleration strategy when there is a conflict or a struggle of gaining certain social capital among some groups or members of a group. For example CMs block all the other mothers’ networking possibility by not letting them talk to the teacher one-on-one. CMs urge them to call the CM initially and tell them that she would communicate with the teacher on their behalf. By this way while the CM is developing a deeper social network with the teacher, at the same time she prevents other mothers, especially the ones who have equivalent or more cultural or economic capital to develop a network with the teachers and thus she eliminates the possibilities of ‘threat’ over her power position. Network blockage strategy may include a variety of techniques of building a dam in front of the possible or existing social capital flow between the other parents and the teacher for this specific case. In this way the possible need of social interaction flow between the parent and the teacher is blocked by the CM and exploited on the CM’s interest as it is the CM who uses this communication need to develop a deeper social tie with the teacher. That is to say, the CM uses someone else’s need of social interaction to strengthen her own network ties. It is a kind of social exploitation and surplus gaining technique over the social relationships.

Dispossession of Social Capital

Dispossession of social capital, is the result of the 'network blockage strategy' when 'successfully' applied. It is a result of the power strategy that accumulates social capital by blocking other people's social interaction opportunities and using them for one's own interests. In this way, in a given social space, a group of people control the social capital gaining channels and keep a majority of people in continuous deprivation, which helps sustain the power holders' position. In this position the power holder has a social capital by dispossession of the others' potential social capital, which means that although others might have had opportunities to build social networks, the power holders do not let it happen and keep the power coming from the accumulation and monopolization of the social capital in their hands. Therefore, it is a social capital accumulated by the dispossession of the potential social capital of the others which is defined vis-à-vis the group that the power is applied upon. The important thing is not to gain a 'certain amount of social capital', but rather keeping an amount of social capital in a higher level compared to the other group to be able to sustain the power position.

Breastocracy

By 'breastocracy, I refer to a masculinistic or patriarchal use of feminine power. It is the patriarchal hegemony through the 'mother power'. The term refers to Melanie Klein describing breast as a correspondent to phallus in explaining the power. I use it in order to refer to using the breast like a phallus for gaining power in order to apply domination and hegemony in a given social space. It is applying power gained by the

emotional labor, which is usually manifested in the unpaid care labor of mothers. Therefore, breastocracy is practiced by using unpaid care labor and symbolic nurturing as a means of power. To have a 'breast' means to use the power gained by emotional labor and unpaid care labor in order to give no other way but be dependent to the decisions of the mother or the 'mother-like' social entity. The breastocrat would not let to have anything other than she gives, learn anything other than she teaches and decide anything on one's self other than she approves. The breastocrat herself is also the sufferer of the non-dying out of the symbolic naval cord as she continuously revives it socially. All in all, breastocracy is a patriarchal practice and where ever it takes place, some women suppress the other women; which present an obstacle for the solidarity and empowerment of women.

Power-gaining vs. Empowerment

Empowerment is a feminist methodology which refers to undoing the socially discriminated or the disadvantaged groups being excluded from the decision making processes related to their own lives in the society. Therefore, if we think about empowerment for the mothers in the school, we should consider their being in the decision-making mechanism as a group but with a certain view of consciousness about the discrimination or suppression applied upon them because of their gender. On the other hand, power-gaining is the act of obtaining ability to control the behavior of others in a social group. It has a negative connotation, because power is applied upon some others, whereas empowerment refers to the self in terms of development. Linguistically speaking, power is a dative case as you apply power on

someone, however; empowerment is a reflexive case in the conceptualization of practice.

I hope these conceptualizations to be useful for further conceptualization in the fields of women studies, educational policy studies and social science in general.

Limitations and Suggestions for Further Studies

There have been some limitations considering the research, which can be specified as follows:

- 1- First of all, the research is conducted in only one school. Although a pilot study was conducted before, which provided an opportunity to compare different social contexts and to choose the most relevant school as a field, the research would produce more comparative data if it were conducted in many more schools representing different social and economic backgrounds
- 2- The second limitation is the lack of interviews with the pupils in the school. Their views and feeling are elicited and reflected by the data gathered from the parents and the teachers.
- 3- Third, to be able to elicit more data about the living standards of the mothers, home visits could have been conducted and the interviews with the husbands (fathers of the children) would shed light to the power relations reflected to the spouse relations.

Nevertheless, the limitations stated above also refer to some further studies to conduct by the social scientists who work in the field of education. Therefore, some of the suggestions for further studies can be listed as below:

- 1- A comprehensive qualitative research concerning the status of classroom motherhood and parental/mother participation would provide valuable data to explain the wider school environment and help generalize the situation according to the level of urbanization.
- 2- A qualitative research can be conducted to compare the maternal participation in different socio-economic classes in the urban area. For this purpose, more than one field schools can be chosen.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

BOĞAZIÇI UNIVERSITY HUMAN RESEARCH INSTITUTIONAL EVALUATION COMMITTEE APPROVAL

1

BOĞAZIÇI ÜNİVERSİTESİ
İnsan Araştırmaları Kurumsal Değerlendirme Kurulu Toplantı Tutanağı
2012/3

Toplantı Tarihi: 28.05.2012

Katılanlar:

Prof. Dr. Şemsa Özar, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi, Ekonomi Bölümü
Prof. Dr. Yekta Ülgen, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi., Biyomedikal Mühendisliği Enstitüsü Müdürü
Prof. Dr. Hande Çağlayan, B.Ü. Moleküler Biyoloji ve Genetik Bölümü
Prof. Dr. Betül Baykal, İstanbul Üniversitesi Tıp Fakültesi

Katılmayanlar:

Doç. Dr. Yeşim Atamer, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, Hukuk Fakültesi (Yurtdışında görevli)
Doç. Dr. Hale Bolak, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, Psikoloji Bölümü

Aşağıda listesi verilen projeler etik açısından değerlendirilmiş ve oy birliğiyle uygun görülmüştür.

İNAREK Kayıt No: 2012 /18

Projenin Adı : Kadın Öğretmenlerin Okuldaki ve Toplumdaki Kimliklerini Algılayış Biçimleri-
Vaka İncelemesi
Başvuruyu yapan Proje Yöneticisi/Araştırmacının adı ve kurumsal bilgileri:
Nurhan ERDOĞAN ŞAHİN
Proje Ekibi : TEZ DANIŞMANI- PROF.DR. FATMA GÖK
İletişim Bilgileri : Aydın Uçkan İlköğretim Okulu
Adres : Esentepe Mah. Sultangazi- İstanbul
Telefon : 0543-978-53-62
E-posta : nurhanerdoan@yahoo.com

İNAREK Kayıt No: 2012 /19

Projenin Adı : Müzik hafızasında sağ/sol hemisfer farkı
Başvuruyu yapan Proje Yöneticisi/Araştırmacının adı ve kurumsal bilgileri:
Serdar Metin, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Bilişsel Bilim Bölümü
Proje Ekibi : Tez Danışmanı: Yard. Doç. Dr. Esra Mungan
İletişim Bilgileri:
E-posta/Email : balikakli@gmail.com
Bölüm/Department: Bilişsel Bilim
E-posta/Email : mungan@boun.edu.tr
Dahili/Extension : 7052
Bölüm/Department: Psikoloji

İNAREK Kayıt No: 2012 /20

Projenin Adı: 2 yaş grubundaki çocuklarda yürütücü fonksiyonlar: Çalışan bellek, inhibe etme ve mizaç arasındaki ilişki
Başvuruyu yapan Proje Yöneticisi/Araştırmacının adı ve kurumsal bilgileri:
Prof. Dr. İ. Ercan Alp, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü

Proje Ekibi:

İ. Ercan Alp; Begüm Özdemir Demirci; Şule Selçuk; Ayşem Yorulmaz

İletişim Bilgileri:

Adres: Selimiye Mah. Şair Nesimi Sok. Devran Apt. No:24 D:5 Selimiye/Üsküdar

Telefon: (216) 391 55 40 - (530) 941 62 84

e-posta: ozdemirbegum@gmail.com

İNAREK Kayıt No: 2012 /21

Projenin Adı : Dil ve İletişim Farklı Bilişsel Sistemleri Kullanıyor

Başvuruyu yapan Proje Yöneticisi/Araştırmacının adı ve kurumsal bilgileri:

Prof. Marina Nespor, Doç. Dr. Aslı Göksel

Proje Ekibi : Alan Langus, Hanna Marno

İletişim Bilgileri :

Tel: 39-3484449747 Tel: 212 359 6822

marina.nespor@unimib.it

gokselas@boun.edu.tr

University of Milano-Bicocca

Boğaziçi Üniversitesi

Psychology Dept. .

Batı Dilleri ve

and

Edebiyatları Bölümü

SISSA, Trieste,

Cognitive Neuroscience

İNAREK Kayıt No: 2012 /22

Projenin Adı: Yüksek Öğretimde İnovasyon: Teknoparklar

Başvuruyu yapan Proje Yöneticisi/Araştırmacının adı ve kurumsal bilgileri:

Gamze Sart/ Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Eğitim Bilimleri Doktora Programı

Proje Ekibi : Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Dr. Fatma Gök

İletişim Bilgileri:

Adres : Büyük Bebek İnşirah Caddesi No 65 Bebek Beşiktaş İstanbul 34342

Telefon : 0532 296 8612

E-posta : gamze.sart@boun.edu.tr

İNAREK Kayıt No: 2012 /23

Projenin Adı: İnme sonrası hareketin geri kazanılması için taşınabilir optik beyin bilgisayar ara yüzü ve ortezi.

Başvuruyu yapan Proje Yöneticisi/Araştırmacının adı ve kurumsal bilgileri:

Ata Akın, Doç. Dr., Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Biyomedikal Mühendisliği Enstitüsü

Proje Ekibi :

Haluk Bingöl, Doç. Dr., Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Bilgisayar Mühendisliği, Yardımcı Araştırmacı

Burak Güçlü, Doç. Dr., Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Biyomedikal Mühendisliği Enstitüsü, Yardımcı Araştırmacı

Yasemin Keskin-Ergen, PhD., Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Biyomedikal Mühendisliği Enstitüsü

Yardımcı Araştırmacı

İletişim Bilgileri :

Ata Akın, Doç. Dr.

Adres : Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Biyomedikal Mühendisliği Enstitüsü

Telefon : (0216) 516 34 61

E-posta : ata.akin@boun.edu.tr

İNAREK Kayıt No: 2012 /24

Projenin Adı : Lazca'daki Tematik Ekler ve Eylem Sınıfları
Başvuruyu yapan Proje Yöneticisi/Araştırmacının adı ve kurumsal bilgileri:
 Yard. Doç. Dr. Balkız Öztürk
İletişim Bilgileri :
 Email : balkiz.ozturk@boun.edu.tr
 Adres : Boğaziçi Üniversitesi
 Batı Dilleri ve Edebiyatları Bölümü
 Telefon : 212 359 7535 (ofis); 212 359 6606 (sekreterlik); 536 3240543 (cep)

İNAREK Kayıt No: 2012 /25

Projenin Adı : Akıl Sağlığı Üzerine Söylemsel İzlekler
Başvuruyu yapan Proje Yöneticisi/Araştırmacının adı ve kurumsal bilgileri: Y. Doç. Dr. Didar Akar,
 Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Batı Dilleri ve Edebiyatları Bölümü
Proje Ekibi : Aysu Arıcan, Boğaziçi Üniv., Eleştiri ve Kültür Çalışmaları Yüksek Lisans Programı öğrencisi
İletişim Bilgileri : Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Batı Dilleri ve Edebiyatları Bölümü, 34342 Bebek /İST.
 Telefon : 212 359 5400 (ofis 4689)
 e-posta : akar@boun.edu.tr

İNAREK Kayıt No: 2012 /26

Projenin Adı : Türk İşaret Dilinde fiilde biçimbilimsel yapı
Başvuruyu yapan Proje Yöneticisi/Araştırmacının adı ve kurumsal bilgileri:
 Aslı Özbek, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi dilbilim yüksek lisans programı öğrencisi. Hiçbir yerden destek almıyorum.
Proje Ekibi : Tez danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Aslı Göksel
İletişim Bilgileri :
 Adres : Etiler Mah. Cengiz Topel Cad.
 No : 8/5 34337 Beşiktaş/İstanbul
 Telefon : 05057227862
 e-posta : ozbekasli@gmail.com

İNAREK Kayıt No: 2012 /27

Projenin Adı : Eğitim Piyasasını Emzirmek: Kadınların Ücretsiz Emeği ve Neoliberal Eğitim Politikaları Bağlamında Bir İlköğretim Okulunda "Sınıf Anneleri" Deneyimi
Başvuruyu yapan Proje Yöneticisi/Araştırmacının adı ve kurumsal bilgileri:
 Meral APAK KAYA / Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Eğitim Bilimleri Doktora Programı
Proje Ekibi : Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Dr. Fatma Gök
İletişim Bilgileri :
 Adres : Çırçır Mh. Fevzi Şeker Sok. Beka Blokları, Ümit Apt. Bo:8 B Giriş, Daire:7, 34070 Alibeyköy, Eyüp, İstanbul.
 Telefon : 0554 713 75 14
 e-posta : meral.apak@boun.edu.tr

İNAREK Kayıt No: 2012 /28

Projenin Adı: Doğurganlık sorunu yaşayan eşlerdeki baş etme becerileri ve algılanan yaşam kalitesinin karşılaştırılması

Başvuruyu yapan Proje Yöneticisi/Araştırmacının adı ve kurumsal bilgileri: Selin Belen, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü, Rehberlik ve Psikolojik Danışmanlık Anabilim dalı yüksek lisans
Proje Ekibi : Y. Doç. Dr. Zeynep Hande SART (tez danışmanı), Prof. Falih Köksal, Dr. Bengü BORKAN, Uzman klinik psikolog Işıl Ertüzün, Prof. Mustafa Bahçeci

İletişim Bilgileri:

Adres: Nispetiye cad. 5. sok. 17/9 Rumelihisarüstü, Sarıyer/İSTANBUL

Tel : 0 535 212 17 70

e-posta : selin.belen@boun.edu.tr

İNAREK Kayıt No: 2012 /29

Projenin Adı : İlçemin ve İstanbul Şehrinin Kültürel Mirasını Öğreniyorum ve Arkadaşlarımla Paylaşıyorum

Başvuruyu yapan Proje Yöneticisi/Araştırmacının adı ve kurumsal bilgileri:

Dr. Serkan Özel, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Eğitim Fakültesi, İlköğretim Bölümü.

Proje Ekibi:

Boğaziçi Üniversitesi'nde Görevli Yardımcı Araştırmacılar

Prof. Dr. Bengi Ertuna; Prof. Dr. Birgül Kutlu ; Prof.Dr. Arzu Öztürkmen; Öğr.Gör. Dr. Serkan Özel (Proje Yürütücüsü); Yrd.Doç.Dr. Mine Göl Güven; Zerrin Doğança, Araştırma Görevlisi; Gürsu Aşık, Araştırma Görevlisi

İletişim Bilgileri:

Adres : Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Eğitim Fakültesi, İlköğretim Bölümü, ETA-B 402

Telefon : 0 212 359 6592 – 0 530 543 3097

E-posta : ozels@boun.edu.tr

İNAREK Kayıt No: 2012 /30

Projenin Adı: “Kablosuz Sağlık İzleme Platformu (KSİP) Oluşturulması ve Ön Değerlendirme Çalışması Yapılması”

Başvuruyu yapan Proje Yöneticisi/Araştırmacının adı ve kurumsal bilgileri:

Prof. Dr. Birgül Kutlu Bayraktar, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Yönetim Bilişim Sistemleri Bölümü

Proje Ekibi:

Prof. Dr. Meltem Özturan, B.Ü. Yönetim Bilişim Sistemleri Bölümü; Prof. Dr. Alp Kut, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, Bilgisayar Mühendisliği Bölümü; Doç. Dr. Halil Özcan Gülçür, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Biyomedikal Mühendisliği Enstitüsü, Meltem Yıldırım (Araştırma Görevlisi), Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, Bilgisayar Mühendisliği Bölümü.

İletişim Bilgileri:

Adres: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Hisar Kampüsü, B214

Telefon: 0-212-359 45 06

E-posta: birgul.kutlu@boun.edu.tr

İNAREK Kayıt No: 2012 /31

Projenin Adı: Problemler internet kullanımı: Türkiye’de bir çalışma.

Başvuruyu yapan Proje Yöneticisi/Araştırmacının adı ve kurumsal bilgileri:

Proje Yöneticisi: Falih Köksal, Ph.D.

Proje Ekibi: Zeynep Tunalıoğlu, Boğaziçi Üniv., Psikoloji Bölümü, Bu araştırma yüksek lisans tez çalışmasının bir parçası olarak yapılacaktır.

İletişim Bilgileri:**Adres:** Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Psikoloji Bölümü, 34342 Bebek-İstanbul**Telefon:** 0536 248 43 43**e-posta:** zeyneptunalioglu@gmail.com**İNAREK Kayıt No: 2012 /32****Projenin Adı:** Benzer Nesnelerin Grup Olarak Temsili: Grup İstatistiklerinde Varyansın Etkisi**Başvuruyu yapan Proje Yöneticisi/Araştırmacının adı ve kurumsal bilgileri:**

Doç.Dr. Ayşecan Boduroğlu, Boğaziçi Üniv. Psikoloji Bölümü Öğretim Üyesi

Proje Ekibi:

Yelda Semizer, Boğaziçi Üniv. Bilişsel Psikoloji yüksek lisans öğrencisi

İletişim Bilgileri:**Adres:** Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Psikoloji Bölümü**Telefon:** (212) 359 71 31**e-posta:** aysecan.boduroglu@boun.edu.tr**İNAREK Kayıt No: 2012 /33****Projenin Adı:** Öz-Referanslama Etkisinin Üst-bilişsel Süreçler Üzerindeki Rolü**Başvuruyu yapan Proje Yöneticisi/Araştırmacının adı ve kurumsal bilgileri:**

Doç. Dr. Ayşecan Boduroğlu, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü

Proje Ekibi: Didem Pehlivanoglu, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Bilişsel Psikoloji yüksek lisans öğrencisi**İletişim Bilgileri:****Adres:** Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü Bebek, İstanbul**Telefon:** 0 212 359 71 31**e-posta:** aysecan.boduroglu@boun.edu.tr**İNAREK Kayıt No: 2012 /34****Projenin Adı:** Erken Çocukluk Döneminde Duyguların İfadesi**Başvuruyu yapan Proje Yöneticisi/Araştırmacının adı ve kurumsal bilgileri:**

Nuray Mustafaoglu, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü Yüksek Lisans Öğrencisi

Proje Ekibi:

Proje Danışmanı : Doç.Dr. Feyza Çorapçı, Boğaziçi Üniv. Psikoloji Bölümü

İletişim Bilgileri:**Adres:** Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Psikoloji Bölümü**Telefon:** (212) 2798603 – 0537 6194671**e-posta:** nuray.mustafaoglu@boun.edu.tr**İNAREK Kayıt No: 2012 /35****Projenin Adı:** Kültürel Benlik Kurgularını Kısa Süreliğine Erişilebilir Hale Getirmenin Olayları Parçalara Ayırma ve Olayları Hatırlama Üzerindeki Etkisi**Başvuruyu yapan Proje Yöneticisi/Araştırmacının adı ve kurumsal bilgileri:**

Dr. Ayşecan Boduroğlu, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Psikoloji Bölümü Öğretim Üyesi

Proje Ekibi:

Berna Arslan Uzundağ, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Bilişsel Bilim Yüksek Lisans Öğrencisi

İletişim Bilgileri:

Adres: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Psikoloji Bölümü
Telefon: (212) 359 71 31
e-posta: aysecan.boduroglu@boun.edu.tr

İNAREK Kayıt No: 2012 /36

Projenin Adı: Muhafazakarlığın Psikolojik Temelleri

Başvuruyu yapan Proje Yöneticisi/Araştırmacının adı ve kurumsal bilgileri:

Yard. Doç. Dr. S. Adil Sarıbay, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü Öğretim Üyesi

Proje Ekibi:

Irmak Olcaysoy, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü Yüksek Lisans Öğrencisi

İletişim Bilgileri:

Adres: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Psikoloji Bölümü

Telefon: 0212 359 65 84

e-posta: adil.saribay@boun.edu.tr

İNAREK Kayıt No: 2012 /37

Projenin Adı: Yönetici İşlevlerin Gelişiminin Wisconsin Kart Eşleme Testi ve Davranışsal Göstergeler Üzerinden Takibi

Başvuruyu yapan Proje Yöneticisi/Araştırmacının adı ve kurumsal bilgileri:

Dr. Nur Yeniçeri, Öğretim Görevlisi, Psikoloji Bölümü, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi

Proje Ekibi:

Nur Yeniçeri, Nilay Şentürk, Ayşe Altan-Atalay

İletişim Bilgileri:

Adres : Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Psikoloji Bölümü

Telefon : 359 7055

yenicern@boun.edu.tr

İNAREK Kayıt No: 2012 /38

Projenin Adı: İdeal duygulanım ve benlik çelişkisi (Ideal affect and self-discrepancy)

Başvuruyu yapan Proje Yöneticisi/Araştırmacının adı ve kurumsal bilgileri:

Yudit Namer – Boğaziçi Üniv. Psikoloji Bölümü, Klinik Psikoloji Doktora Öğrencisi

Proje Ekibi:

Prof. Dr. Falih Köksal (Tez danışmanı); Yudit Namer (Doktora öğrencisi)

İletişim Bilgileri:

Telefon : 0538 264 36 04

e-posta : yuditnamer@gmail.com

İNAREK Kayıt No: 2012 /39

Projenin Adı: İstenmeyen gebeliğin taşıdığı stigma: Empati ve sorumluluk atfı çerçevesinde sunulan seçenekler.

Başvuruyu yapan Proje Yöneticisi/Araştırmacının adı ve kurumsal bilgileri:

Yudit Namer – Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü, Klinik Psikoloji Doktora Öğrencisi; European Federation of Psychology Student Associations (EFPSA) Avrupa Yaz Okulu Süpervizörü

Proje Ekibi:

Yudit Namer (Proje yürütücüsü); Pawel Slecza (University of Warsaw, Yüksek Lisans öğrencisi); Miriam Thiel (University of Sussex, Yüksek Lisans öğrencisi); Nadia Sergiadou (Leiden University, Yüksek Lisans öğrencisi) Dimitris Parperis (Leiden University, Yüksek Lisans öğrencisi) Aleksandra Aleksandrowicz (University of Zurich, Lisans öğrencisi); Jennifer Teeney (Queen's University Belfast, Lisans öğrencisi)

İletişim Bilgileri:

Telefon : 0538 264 36 04

e-posta : yuditnamer@gmail.com

İNAREK Kayıt No: 2012 /40

Projenin Adı: İlköğretim İkinci Kademe Öğrencilerine Yönelik Sınav Kaygısıyla Başa Çıkma Programının Etkinliğinin Deneysel Değerlendirilmesi.

Başvuruyu yapan Proje Yöneticisi/Araştırmacının adı ve kurumsal bilgileri:

Doç. Dr. Feyza Çorapçı, Boğaziçi Üniv. Klinik Psikoloji Bölümü

Proje Ekibi: Özge Gündoğdu, Boğaziçi Üniv. Klinik Psikoloji Yüksek Lisans Programı

İletişim Bilgileri:

Adres: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Psikoloji Bölümü, 34342 Bebek-İstanbul

Telefon: 05056916517

E-posta: ozge.g@hotmail.com

İmzalar:

Prof. Dr. Hande Çağlayan

Prof. Dr. Şemsa Özar

Prof. Dr. Betül Baykal

Prof. Dr. Yekta Ülgen

APPENDIX B

BİLGİLENDİRİLMİŞ ONAM FORMU

Araştırmayı destekleyen kurum: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi

Araştırmanın adı: Eğitim Sistemini Emzirmek: Neoliberal Ekonomi Politikaları Bağlamında Kadınların Ücretsiz Emeği ve Okullarda Gönüllü Anne Katılımının Analizi

Araştırmacının adı: Meral APAK KAYA

Adresi: Çırçır Mh. Fevzi Şeker Sok. Beka Blokları, Ümit Apt. Bo:8 B Giriş, Daire:7, 34070 Alibeyköy, Eyüp, İstanbul

E-mail adresi: meral.apak@boun.edu.tr

Telefonu: 0554 713 75 14

Sayın Katılımcı,

Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Eğitim Bilimleri Doktora öğrencisi Meral APAK KAYA “Eğitim Sistemini Emzirmek: Neoliberal Ekonomi Politikaları Bağlamında Kadınların Ücretsiz Emeği ve Okullarda Gönüllü Anne Katılımının Analiz” adıyla bilimsel bir araştırma projesi yürütmektedir. Bu çalışmanın amacı Türkiye’de ilköğretim birinci kademedeki veliler olarak kadınların rollerini görmek ve özellikle de sınıf anneliği statüsü ile okulda var oluş biçimlerine neoliberal politikalar bağlamında kadınların ücretsiz emeği ve okuldaki güç ilişkileri açısından bakmaktır. Bu araştırmada bize yardımcı olmanız için sizi projemize davet ediyoruz. Kararınızdan önce araştırma hakkında sizi bilgilendirmek istiyoruz. Bu bilgileri

okuduktan sonra arařtırmaya katılmak isterseniz lütfen bu formu imzalayıp kapalı bir zarf içinde bize ulařtırınız.

Bu arařtırmaya katılmayı kabul ettiđiniz takdirde size açık uçlu sorulara cevap vermenizi rica edeceđiz. Bu arařtırma okul sistemi içerisinde annelerin rollerini daha iyi anlamamıza yardımcı olacaktır. Soruları cevaplamak en fazla 20 dakika ile 1 saat arasında bir süre alacaktır.

Bu arařtırma bilimsel bir amaçla yapılmaktadır ve katılımcı bilgilerinin gizliliđi esas tutulmaktadır. Ses kayıtlarında katılımcıların ismi yerine bir numara kullanılacaktır. Ses kasetleri arařtırma projemiz süresince kilitli bir dolapta muhafaza edilip arařtırma sona erdiđinde silineceklerdir.

Bu arařtırmaya katılmak tamamen isteđe bađlıdır. Katıldıđınız takdirde çalışmanın herhangi bir aşamasında herhangi bir sebep göstermeden onayınızı çekmek hakkına da sahiptir. Arařtırma projesi hakkında ek bilgi almak istediđiniz takdirde lütfen Bođaziçi Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü Doktora Öğrencisi Meral APAK KAYA veya Prof. Dr. Fatma Gök ile temasa geçiniz (Telefon: 0554 713 75 14, Adres: Bođaziçi Üniversitesi, Eğitim Bilimleri, 34342 Bebek, İstanbul).

Eđer bu arařtırma projesine katılmayı kabul ediyorsanız, lütfen bu formu imzalayıp kapalı bir zarf içerisinde bize geri yollayın.

Ben, (katılımcının adı), yukarıdaki metni okudum ve katılmam istenen çalışmanın kapsamını ve amacını, gönüllü olarak üzerime düşen sorumlulukları tamamen anladım. Çalışma hakkında soru sorma imkânı buldum. Bu çalışmayı istediğim zaman ve herhangi bir neden belirtmek zorunda kalmadan bırakabileceđimi ve bıraktığım takdirde herhangi bir olumsuzluk ile karşılaşmayacađımı anladım.

Bu kořullarda söz konusu arařtırmaya kendi isteęimle, hiębir baskı ve zorlama olmaksızın katılmayı kabul ediyorum.

Formun bir örneęini aldım / almak istemiyorum (bu durumda arařtırmacı bu kopyayı saklar).

Katılımcının Adı-

Soyadı:.....

İmzası:.....

Adresi (varsa Telefon No, Faks No):.....

.....

Tarih (gün/ay/yıl):...../...../.....

Arařtırmacının Adı-Soyadı: Meral APAK KAYA

İmzası:

Tarih (gün/ay/yıl):...../...../.....

APPENDIX C

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (English)

School Administrators

1. How long have you been in the administrative position in the school?
2. What is the role of the parents in this school system?
3. How long have there been Classroom Mothers in this school?
4. Could you make a definition of the Classroom Mother in this school?
5. Was there Classroom Motherhood before? What was the difference?
6. Does the term Classroom Mother appear in the school documents?
7. Have there been any instances when the Classroom Mothers are discussed in the official meetings of the Provincial Directorate of National Education?
8. Are there any meetings that the Classroom Mothers attend with their title?
9. Who chooses the Classroom Mothers? Do you have any influence as an administrator?
10. What types of mothers are chosen as Classroom Mothers?
11. What types of mothers are not eligible for becoming a Classroom Mother?
12. How many different types of Classroom Mothers have you observed?
13. Is there someone called Classroom Father?
14. How is the relationship between the Classroom mothers and other parents in the school?
15. Have there been any disputes between the Classroom Mothers and the Parent-teacher Association?

16. Have there been any disputes between the Classroom Mothers and the school administration?
17. Have there been any instances when the Classroom Mother acted unethically?
Is there a sanction?
18. Have there been any disputes among the Classroom Mothers?
19. Have there been any disputes between the Classroom Mothers and the teacher?
20. Is there a direct or indirect contribution that the Classroom Mothers make for the school budget?
21. Can you describe an ideal Classroom Mother?
22. Do the Classroom Mothers make regular meetings for coordination?
23. Why would a mother prefer to become a Classroom Mother?
24. What kind of a relationship is there between the Classroom Teachers and the Classroom Mothers? What do they do together?
25. What kind of a relationship is there between the other parents and the Classroom Mothers? What do they do together?
26. What kind of a relationship is there between the students and the Classroom Mothers? What do they do together?
27. If there wasn't anyone like a Classroom Mother, what kind of tasks would remain undone? Who would have to do it?
28. Do you think Classroom Motherhood is a natural extension of motherhood?
29. If ever the school would hire someone to do the entire task that the Classroom Mothers perform, do you think the Classroom Mothers would still volunteer?
30. Do the Classroom Mothers have a voice in the school? Do they have Power?

Classroom Mothers

- 1- Who is a Classroom Mother?
- 2- Were there Classroom Mothers when you were a student? If yes, what was different?
- 3- Do you conduct regular meetings as Classroom Mothers?
- 4- Who wanted you to become a Classroom Mother?
- 5- Have there been any people to support or impede you becoming a classroom mother?
- 6- How did your child react when you became the Classroom Mother?
- 7- How did your family react when you became the Classroom Mother?
- 8- What would be different if you were a normal mother rather than a Classroom Mother?
- 9- What kinds of assets would one need to have to become a classroom mother?
- 10- What types of work do you perform as a classroom mother? Can you please tell me about a day in your life?
- 11- What and How is the relationship between you and other parents in the school?
- 12- What and How is the relationship between you and the Parent – Teacher Association? Do you cooperate?
- 13- What and How is the relationship between you and the School Administration? Do you cooperate?
- 14- What and How is the relationship between you and the Classroom Teacher? Do you cooperate?
- 15- What and How is the relationship between you and students?

- 16- How many days a week do you come to school? How long do you stay?
- 17- Should there be no Classroom Mothers, what tasks would remain undone?
- 18- Have you ever thought that one has to be paid for all the work you have been doing for the school?
- 19- What changed in your life after becoming a Classroom Mother? What do you think and what did the others observe?
- 20- Is your Classroom Teacher male or female? If the teacher's sex were the opposite of what it is now, what would be different?
- 21- What are the tasks you like doing as a Classroom Mother?
- 22- What are the tasks you'd rather not do as a Classroom Mother?
- 23- How is your own relationship with the other Classroom Mothers?
- 24- Do you make any self-sacrifice to be able to work as a Classroom mother?
- 25- Suppose the school hired someone to do the tasks you have been doing in the school; would you still volunteer?
- 26- Do you feel that you have power in the school as a Classroom Mother?

Classroom Teachers

1. How long have you been a teacher?
2. What does the word 'parent' recall?
3. How often do you deal with the male parents?
4. Can you make a definition of the Classroom Mother?
5. Were there any Classroom Mothers before? What was the difference?
6. How long has there been Classroom Motherhood in this school?
7. When did you first see or hear about a person called Classroom Mother?

8. Are there any meetings that both you and the Classroom mothers attend?
9. Who chooses the Classroom Mothers? Do you have an influence?
10. What types of mothers are preferred as Classroom Mothers?
11. How is the relationship between the Classroom Mothers and the other mothers?
12. How many different types of classroom mothers have you observed so far?
13. What happens if a Classroom Mother does something unethical? Is there a sanction?
14. Have there been any disputes among the Classroom Mothers?
15. Do the Classroom Mothers have power and influence in the school? If yes, where does it come from?
16. Can you describe an ideal Classroom Mother?
17. Are mothers usually motivated to become a Classroom Mother?
18. Do the Classroom Mothers feel different from the other parents in some terms?
19. Do you have any observations about the children of the classroom mothers?
20. What is the relationship between the Classroom Mothers and the Parent-Teacher Association?
21. How is the relationship between the Classroom Mothers and the other parents?
22. How is the relationship between the Classroom Mothers and the students?
23. If there weren't any classroom mothers, what tasks would remain undone?
24. What are the issues that you live problems with the Classroom Mothers?
25. I prefer to have a Classroom Mother in my class, because.....
26. I would rather not have a Classroom Mother in my class, because....

Non-Classroom Mother Parents

1. Can you make a definition of the Classroom Motherhood in this school?
2. Were there any Classroom Mothers when you were a student? If yes, what is the difference?
3. How is the relationship between the Classroom Mothers and the Parent-Teacher-Association?
4. Who chooses the Classroom Mother? Do you contribute in the decision-making?
5. What types of mothers are preferred to become Classroom Mothers?
6. What happens if a Classroom Mother does something unethical? Is there a sanction?
7. Have there been any disputes between the Classroom Mothers and the teachers?
8. What contributions do the Classroom Mothers make in the school budget directly and indirectly?
9. Do the Classroom mothers have a power in the school? If yes, where does this power come from?
10. Can you describe an ideal classroom mother?
11. Do you think the Classroom Mothers feel themselves different from the rest of the parents?
12. What kind of influence and effect to the Classroom Mothers have on the students?

13. Does your child tell about the Classroom Mother when s/he comes home after the school?
14. How is your relationship with the Classroom Mother?
15. How is the relationship between the Classroom Mothers and other mothers in general?

Parent – School Association Management

1. What grade is your child in this school?
2. How long have you been doing this management job in the Parent Teacher Association?
3. What type of mothers take part in the management of the Parent-Teacher Association?
4. Why did you prefer to be active in the Parent-teacher association?
5. Can you make a description of the Classroom Motherhood in this School?
6. Were there classroom mothers when you were a student? If yes, what was different?
7. How is the relationship between the classroom mothers and the parent teacher association? How do they cooperate?
8. How long have there been classroom mothers in this school?
9. If there weren't any classroom mothers, what tasks would remain undone? Who would have to do them?
10. Are the Classroom Mothers mentioned in the documents of the school?
11. Are there PTA meetings that the CMs attend?
12. Who chooses the classroom mother? Does the PTA have an influence on it?

13. What types of mothers are preferred to become CMs?
14. How is the relationship between the CMs and the other parents?
15. How many different types of CMs have you observed so far?
16. Have there been any disputes among the CMs?
17. Have there been any disputes between the CMs and the PTA?
18. Have there been any disputes between the CMs and the teachers??
19. Do the CMs have direct and indirect contributions to the school budget?
How?
20. Do the CMs have a power in the school? Where does it come from?
21. What happens when a CM behaves unethically? Are there any sanctions?
22. Can you define an ideal CM?

APPENDIX D

BİREBİR DERİNLEMESİNE MÜLAKAT SORULARI

Okul Yöneticileri

1. Kaç yıldır yöneticilik yapıyorsunuz?
2. Bu okulda velilerin okul sistemi içindeki rolü nedir?
3. Bu okulda ne kadar zamandır Sınıf Anneliği var?
4. Bu okulda Sınıf Anneliğinin tanımını yapar mısınız?
5. Daha önceden de Sınıf Annesi diye bir şey var mıydı? Farkı neydi?
6. Okul dokümanlarında Sınıf Annelerinin adı geçiyor mu?
7. İl veya ilçe Milli Eğitimde Sınıf Annelerine ilişkin gündemler veya adlarının geçtiği konuşmalar oluyor mu?
8. Okulda Sınıf Annelerinin Sınıf Annesi sıfatıyla katıldığı toplantılar var mı?
9. Sınıf Annelerini kim seçer? Sizin bu sürece katkınız oluyor mu?
10. Ne tür anneler Sınıf Annesi olarak tercih edilir?
11. Kimler Sınıf Annesi olamaz?
12. Kaç değişik tipte Sınıf Annesi gözlemlediniz?
13. Sınıf Babası diye bir şey var mı?
14. Sınıf Annelerinin diğer velilerle ilişkisi nasıldır?
15. Okul Aile Birliği ile Sınıf Anneleri arasında anlaşmazlık noktaları olabiliyor mu?

16. Okul yönetimiyle Sınıf Anneleri arasında anlaşmazlık noktaları olabiliyor mu?
17. Bir Sınıf Annesi olmayan bir şey yaptığında bir yaptırım olur mu? Böyle bir örnek var mı?
18. Sınıf Annelerinin kendi aralarında anlaşmazlık konuları olabiliyor mu?
19. Sınıf Anneleri ile sınıf öğretmenleri arasında anlaşmazlıklar olabiliyor mu?
20. Sınıf Annelerinin okul bütçesine doğrudan veya dolaylı ne gibi katkıları olabiliyor?
21. Sizce ideal bir Sınıf Annesi nasıl olmalı?
22. Sınıf Anneleri düzenli olarak koordinasyon toplantısı yapıyorlar mı?
23. Bir veli neden Sınıf Annesi olmayı tercih eder?
24. Öğretmenlerle Sınıf Anneleri nasıl bir ilişki içindedir? Bir iş bölümleri var mı? Ne tür işleri olur onlarla?
25. Diğer velilerle Sınıf Anneleri ile nasıl bir ilişki içindedir? Ne tür işleri olur onlarla?
26. Çocuklarla Sınıf Anneleri nasıl bir ilişki içindedir? Ne tür işleri olur onlarla?
27. Eğer Sınıf Anneleri olmasaydı hangi işler ortada kalırdı? Bu işleri kimler yapmak zorunda kalırdı?
28. Sizce Sınıf Annesi olmak anneliğin doğal bir parçası mı?
29. Okul Sınıf Annesi olarak yapılan işleri ücretle yapacak birilerini bulsa ve bunun parasını da devlet ödese, Sınıf Anneleri sizce yine de gönüllü çalışmak ister mi?
30. Sınıf Anneleri okulun içinde söz sahibi mi? Bir güçleri var mı?

Sınıf Anneleri

- 1- Sınıf Annesi kimdir?
- 2- Siz öğrenciyken sınıf annesi var mıydı? Var idi ise bugünkünden farkı var mıydı?
- 3- Düzenli olarak koordinasyon toplantısı yapıyorlar mı?
- 4- Sizin sınıf annesi olmanızı kim istedi?
- 5- Teşvik eden veya engel olmak isteyen oldu mu?
- 6- Sizin Sınıf Annesi olmanıza çocuğunuzun tepkisi ne oldu?
- 7- Sınıf Annesi olmanıza eşinizin ve evdekilerin tepkisi ne oldu?
- 8- Sınıf Annesi değil de normal bir veli olsaydınız farkı ne olurdu?
- 9- Sizce Sınıf Annesi olmak için ne gibi özellikler gerekir?
- 10- Sınıf Annesi olarak ne gibi işler yapıyorsunuz? Bir gününüzü anlatın ayrıntılarıyla anlatın.
- 11- Diğer velilerle Sınıf Anneleri ile nasıl bir ilişki içindedir? Ne tür işleri olur onlarla?
- 12- Okul Aile Birliği ile Sınıf Anneleri nasıl bir ilişki içindedir? Birlikte ne yaparlar? Ne tür işleri olur onlarla?
- 13- Okul yönetimi ile Sınıf Anneleri nasıl bir ilişki içindedir? Birlikte ne yaparlar? Ne tür işleri olur onlarla?
- 14- Öğretmenlerle Sınıf Anneleri nasıl bir ilişki içindedir? Bir iş bölümleri var mı? Ne tür işleri olur onlarla?
- 15- Çocuklarla Sınıf Anneleri nasıl bir ilişki içindedir? Ne tür işleri olur onlarla?
- 16- Sınıf Annesi olarak haftada kaç gün okula geliyorsunuz?

- 17- Eđer Sınıf Anneleri olmasaydı hangi işler ortada kalırdı? Bu işleri kimler yapmak zorunda kalırdı?
- 18- Bu işler için birisine ücret ödenmesi gerektiğini hiç düşündünüz mü?
- 19- Sınıf Annesi olduktan sonra hayatınızda ne gibi deęişiklikler oldu? Siz ne düşünüyorsunuz? Çevreniz neler gözlemledi?
- 20- Sınıf öğretmeniniz kadın mı erkek mi? Eđer cinsiyeti deęişik olsaydı ne deęişirdi?
- 21- Sınıf Annesi olarak yapmaktan en çok tatmin olduğunuz işler neler?
- 22- Sınıf Annesi olarak yapmaktan en hoşlanmadığınız işler neler?
- 23- Diğer Sınıf Anneleri ile iletişiminiz nasıl?
- 24- Sınıf Annesi olarak çalışabilmek için bir şeylerden fedakârlık ediyor musunuz?
- 25- Okul Sınıf Annesi olarak yaptığınız işleri ücretle yapacak birilerini bulsa ve bunun parasını da devlet ödese, hala Sınıf Annesi olarak gönüllü çalışmak ister misiniz?
- 26- Sınıf Annesi olarak kendinizi okulun içinde söz sahibi hissediyor musunuz?

Sınıf Öğretmenleri

1. Kaç yıldır okul öğretmenlik yapıyorsunuz?
2. Veli deyince aklınıza ne geliyor?
3. Erkek velilerle ne sıklıkta muhatap oluyorsunuz?
4. Bu okulda Sınıf Anneliğinin tanımını yapar mısınız?
5. Sizin öğrenciliğinizde veya öğretmenliğinizin önceki dönemlerinde Sınıf Annesi var mıydı? Farkı neydi?

6. Bu okulda ne kadar zamandır Sınıf Anneliđi var?
7. Sınıf Annesi diye bir Őeyle ilk kez nerede ve ne zaman karŐılaŐtınız?
8. Sınıf Anneleri ve sizin ortak katıldıđınız toplantılar oluyor mu?
9. Sınıf Annelerini kimler seđer? Sizin bu sũrece katkınız oluyor mu?
10. Ne tũr anneler Sınıf Annesi olarak tercih edilir?
11. Sınıf Annelerinin A'ların diđer velilerle iliŐkisi nasıldır?
12. Kaç deđiŐik tipte Sınıf Annesi gŕzlemlediniz?
13. Bir Sınıf Annesi etik olmayan bir Őey yaptıda bir yaptırım olur mu? Bŕyle bir ŕrnek var mı?
14. Sınıf Annelerinin kendi aralarında anlaŐmazlık konuları olabiliyor mu?
15. Sınıf Annelerinin okul iđerinde bir ađırlıđı ve gũcũ var mı? Varsa bunu nasıl sađlıyorlar?
16. Sizce ideal bir Sınıf Annesi nasıl olmalı?
17. Anneler genellikle Sınıf Annesi olmaya istekli mi?
18. Sınıf Anneleri kendilerini diđer velilerden farklı hissediyorlar mı?
19. Velisi Sınıf Annesi olan ocuklar hakkında bir izleniminiz, gŕzleminiz, dũŐũnceniz var mı?
20. Okul Aile Birliđi ile Sınıf Anneleri nasıl bir iliŐki iđerindedir? Birlikte ne yaparlar? Ne tũr iŐleri olur onlarla?
21. Diđer velilerle Sınıf Anneleri nasıl bir iliŐki iđerindedir? Ne tũr iŐleri olur onlarla?
22. ocuklarla Sınıf Anneleri nasıl bir iliŐki iđerindedir? Ne tũr iŐleri olur onlarla?
23. Eđer Sınıf Anneleri olmasaydı hangi iŐler ortada kalırdı? Bu iŐleri kimler yapmak zorunda kalırdı?

24. Sınıf Anneleri ile ilgili en çok sıkıntı yaşandığını düşündüğünüz konular nelerdir?
25. Sınıfımda bir Sınıf Annesi olmasını istiyorum çünkü....
26. Sınıfımda bir Sınıf Annesi olmasını istemem, çünkü...

Sınıf Annesi Olmayan Anneler

1. Bu okulda Sınıf Anneliğinin tanımını yapar mısınız?
2. Sizin öğrenciliğinizde Sınıf Annesi var mıydı? Farkı neydi?
3. Okul Aile Birliği ile Sınıf Annelerinin ilişkisi nasıldır? Ne tür işler yaparlar birlikte?
4. Sınıf Annelerini kimler seçer? Sizin bu sürece katkınız oluyor mu?
5. Ne tür anneler Sınıf Annesi olarak tercih edilir?
6. Sınıf Annelerinin diğer velilerle yani sizlerle ilişkisi nasıldır?
7. Bir Sınıf Annesi etik olmayan bir şey yaptığında bir yaptırım olur mu? Böyle bir örnek var mı?
8. Sınıf Anneleriyle sınıf öğretmenleri arasında anlaşmazlıklar olabiliyor mu?
9. Sınıf Annelerinin okul bütçesine doğrudan veya dolaylı ne gibi katkıları olabiliyor?
10. Sınıf Annelerinin okul içinde bir ağırlığı ve gücü var mı? Varsa bunu nasıl sağlıyorlar?
11. Sizce ideal bir Sınıf Annesi nasıl olmalı?
12. Sınıf Anneleri kendilerini diğer velilerden farklı hissediyorlar mı sizce?
13. Sınıf Annelerinin çocuklar üzerinde nasıl bir etkisi var sizce?

14. Çocuđunuz eve geldiđinde size hi Sınıf Annesi ile ilgili bir Őeyler anlatıyor mu?
15. Okul Aile Birliđi ile Sınıf Anneleri nasıl bir iliŐki iindedir? Birlikte ne yaparlar? Ne tr iŐleri olur onlarla?

Okul Aile Birliđi Yneticileri

1. Çocuđunuz kaa gidiyor?
2. Ka yıldır okul Aile Birliđinde grev yapıyorsunuz?
3. Genelde ne tr veliler okul aile birliđine girer?
4. Neden Okul Aile Birliđine girdiniz?
5. Bu okulda Sınıf Anneliđinin tanımını yapar mısınız?
6. Sizin đrenciliđinizde Sınıf Annesi var mıydı? Farkı neydi?
7. Okula Aile Birliđi ile Sınıf Annelerinin iliŐkisi nasıldır? Ne tr iŐler yaparlar birlikte?
8. Bu okulda ne kadar zamandır Sınıf Anneliđi var?
9. Sınıf Anneleri olmasaydı ne tr iŐler aıkta kalırdı? Bu iŐleri kim yapmak durumunda kalırdı?
10. Okul Aile Birliđi dokmanlarında Sınıf Annelerinin adı geiyor mu?
11. Sınıf Annelerinin katıldıđı OAB toplantıları var mı?
12. Sınıf Annelerini kimler seer? Sizin bu srece katkınız oluyor mu?
13. Ne tr anneler Sınıf Annesi olarak tercih edilir?
14. Sınıf Annelerinin diđer velilerle iliŐkisi nasıldır?
15. Ka deđiŐik tipte Sınıf Annesi gzlemlediniz?

16. Okul Aile Birliđi ile Sınıf Anneleri arasında anlaşmazlık noktaları olabiliyor mu?
17. Bir Sınıf Annesi etik olmayan bir Őey yaptığında bir yaptırım olur mu? Byle bir rnek var mı?
18. Sınıf Annelerinin kendi aralarında anlaşmazlık konuları olabiliyor mu?
19. Sınıf Anneleri ile sınıf đretmenleri arasında anlaşmazlıklar olabiliyor mu?
20. Sınıf Annelerinin okul btesine dođrudan veya dolaylı ne gibi katkıları olabiliyor?
21. Sınıf Annelerinin okul iinde bir ađırlıđı ve gc var mı? Varsa bunu nasıl sađlıyorlar?
22. Sizce ideal bir Sınıf Annesi nasıl olmalı?

APPENDIX E

EXTRA INFORMATION ON THE VOLUNTEER MOTHERS

What does a CM do? A job description from Turkey and USA

There are several outside-the-field-school data which show that the notion CM is an informally established system. There has been much news on the internet about the school activities, which indicate that the notion of CM is a well-known and an accepted phenomena. The news retrieved from the internet gives an idea.

“Model Classroom, Model Parents!

Parent-teacher collaboration conduces to good practices in the Kazım Karabekir Paşa Primary school. With the leadership of classroom teacher Behram Ceran, the parents and the classroom mothers of 2-B, Özlem and Dilek Kuru refurbished the whole classroom from tip to toe...Beginning from the curtains, the writing board, paintings, and all the other equipment in the classroom is renewed and the classroom gained a very modern look....The teacher stated that it is a quality raising factor to have a clean and hygienic classroom to teach... The 30-year experienced teacher stated that they work in harmony with the classroom mothers... The classroom mother states that they work in coordination with the parents ... “our classroom is equivalent to the classrooms of the private schools in terms of cleanness...”. The classroom mother states that mothers will clean the classrooms properly every month and do whatever they can to provide a clean learning environment for their children...” (www.sivasinsesi.com, 2009).

As indicated in the script, mothers are filling in the service space where the state abandoned and they clean the classrooms on monthly basis as well as buying the equipment for education. The space that the state abandons is a women’s labor area and the ideological discourses that make mothers fill in this area willingly are ‘good mother’, and ‘parental participation’.

Another web excerpt also shows that the practices observed in the Beehive Primary School are not exceptions.

“Technological Support from the Classroom Mothers to the Students
Classroom teacher Kadir Acar provided the classroom with 1 projector, 1 projector curtain, 5+1 sound system and window curtains thanks to the implementation of Classroom Motherhood....The classroom mother Özlem Küçükballı stated that the implementation has been started by the voluntary mothers and they aim to do the best for the children. Another classroom mother Ayşe Görmez states ‘our duty as parents is not only providing facilities for our own children but we also have to provide facilities for all the children in the school’....” (ww.ajansbir.com, 2006).

The CM practices are practically implemented in the USA. In her web blog Weaver (2013) indicates that ‘room moms’ or PTA members or just voluntary mothers provide a vital role in ensuring the school year goes smoothly by helping with everything from field trips to fundraising, party planning to problem solving, or from aiding with special projects, or overseeing events to generally providing extra sets of hands and eyes any time they're needed (p. 1).

Mackie's duties included helping to coordinate classroom parties and serving as a liaison between PTA members, school officials and parents. She was in the classroom once or twice a month, helping with writing, spelling and math lessons, in addition to helping students shop a class store where they ‘spend’ tickets they earn for good behavior (Weaver, 2013, p. 1).

Moreover, the duties that are performed by the voluntary mothers and the PTA in the school include providing things that are not in the school budget, such as paying for and setting up all field trips, providing teachers with classroom funds, planning parties, purchasing many technology items such as iPads and smart boards, as well as helping out as necessary in or out of the classrooms (Weaver, 2013, p. 2). The ‘voluntary actions stated above used to be performed by the welfare state previously.

The practices of voluntary mothering in different parts of the world are labeled differently, such as ‘room mom’, ‘classroom mom’, ‘classroom mother’, ‘voluntary mother’, ‘PTA member’, ‘room-parent’, ‘class-parent’, and so on. However, the practices they perform are almost the same, as they generally take over the prior responsibilities of the state which are given up with the implementation of the neoliberal policies in education. Below are some practices of these voluntary mothers in the USA, which would give an idea of the job description of CMs in a country other than Turkey. Followed by the list of CM duties in the USA, a list of CM duties defined in Turkey can be compared. The script below giving advice on the duties of a room mom is retrieved from a ‘Room Mom’s blog on the internet.

- Meet with the teacher to discuss the role he or she would like the room parent to play.
- Send home a letter with children in order to collect the names and phone numbers of all the parents in the class. Some schools may provide this information.
- Attend and/or organize activities for ‘Back-to-School Night.’
- Post events to a classroom blog or website.
- Recruit other parents to help in the duty of room parents, i.e., start a telephone chain or maintain an email database. (Finding a co-room parent can make the job a lot easier!)
- Meet with other room parents and/or the school’s room parent organizer on a regular or occasional basis.
- Attend all or most of the meetings of the school’s Parent Teacher Association (PTA) or similar organization.
- Organize class parties and enrichment opportunities. This may include planning, shopping for and hosting the event.
- Call or email parents to obtain donations of supplies for the classroom and/or events (i.e., boxes of tissues the classroom or cupcakes for class parties).
- Collect donations for and purchase gifts for the teacher for special occasions. These might include holidays (Christmas, Valentine’s Day, and/or Teacher Appreciation Day), his or her birthday, the end of the school year and other special events such as a baby or wedding shower, get well, etc.
- Call or email parents to line up chaperones for field trips.
- Find volunteers to help in the classroom, if needed.

- Send out reminders—via email, phone or notes that go home with the kids—about upcoming events, meetings, field trips and needs for donations or volunteers.
- Act as a resource by answering questions for parents new to the school or class.
- Solicit donations for the school or class from local businesses or other people beside the parents of kids in the class (Brunelli, 2012b).

The ex-room-mom Brunelli states on her web blog that some schools may have a written job description for room parents but this job description can vary from school to school (Brunelli, 2012a).

Another US room mom states that the basic responsibility of a room mom is to come in and assist the child's teacher during class parties and that what exactly is expected of the room mom depends on what the teacher wants (Morvay, 2009). Therefore, both in the US and in Turkey it is the classroom teachers who activate and functionalize the room-moms in practice. Nevertheless, the teacher should be conceived as the mediator of these practices and the main drive behind the similar implementations in the world is the world economic system. Therefore, the traditional role of a mother is performed in a school setting and given the name 'classroom mother' or 'room mom' which connotes the discourse of motherhood makes it a performative discourse. Thus, the phrases such as 'classroom mother' including mothering implication are performative as Butler (1993) and Youdel (2010) indicate.

There have been attempts to describe the role and the responsibilities of the mothers in the school under the name of 'voluntary parent'. The description of the 'voluntary parent' in the Turkish Ministry of Education document is translated below:

What Kinds of Work Can Voluntary Parents Perform

Voluntary parents fill in the Voluntary Parent Application Form at the start of the school year and hand in to the Social Activities Committee. They may perform the following activities when approved.

1. Reading short stories in the nursery classes in the defined hours. [assistant *teacher* – *my note*]
2. Staying in the library, Science and Technology labs and computer labs to keep them open and to guide the children. . [school *librarian* – *my note*]
3. Giving computer, marbling art, and painting, ceramic and similar courses in the given time. . [substitute *teacher* – *my note*]
4. Arranging appointments with the social service institutions and NGOs for the students when needed. . [social *services officer*– *my note*]
5. Taking children from a location to another location by using an appropriate vehicle. [school *bus driver* – *my note*]
6. Posting the letters and brochures. [office *girl* – *my note*]
7. Mending and repairing the school equipment. [repairman – *my note*]
8. Fixing the broken school windows. [repairman – *my note*]
9. Planting trees in the school garden. [gardener – *my note*]
10. Doing garden care for certain parts of the school garden. [gardener – *my note*]
11. To accompany the school trips. [teacher *assistant* – *my note*]
12. To organize school trips [teacher *assistant* – *my note*] (Turkish Ministry of Education, 2005).

The classification of the types of work required from the mothers is cited in the Turkish Ministry of Education document implies some vocational attributions to mothers some of which are listed below:

- assistant teacher
- school librarian
- substitute teacher
- social services officer
- school bus driver
- office girl
- repairman
- gardener

Moreover, the Voluntary Parent Application Form printed in the same official document reminds of a job application form, which implies that parents (mothers) will be employed in the school but they will not be paid since it is a voluntary work. Below are the original and the translated versions of the Voluntary Parent Application Form.

GÖNÜLLÜ VELİ BAŞVURU FORMU EK-10	VOLUNTEER PARENT APPLICATION FORM APPENDIX-10
<p>Adı Soyadı</p> <p>Mesleği</p> <p>Emekli ise emekli olduğu kurum</p> <p>Yaşı</p> <p>Sabit Telefonu</p> <p>Çap Telefonu</p> <p>Adresi</p> <p>Hangi işi yapabileceği</p> <p>1)</p> <p>2)</p> <p>3)</p> <p>Yapacağı işin kesin tarihi ve saat</p> <p>Yapacağı işle ilişkin belge ve sertifikası</p> <p>Yapacağı işin için gerekli araç gereçler</p> <p>Okulun koordinasyonuna ihtiyacı duyulan kurum ve kuruluşlar</p> <p>Kendisinin koordinasyon sağlayacağı kurum ve kuruluşlar</p> <p>Gönüllü Veli Adı Soyadı İmzası</p> <p>Sosyal Etkinlikler Kurulu Başkanı Adı Soyadı İmzası</p>	<p>Name Surname</p> <p>Profession</p> <p>If retired, the institution:</p> <p>Age</p> <p>Land Phone</p> <p>Mobile Phone</p> <p>Address</p> <p>Types of work s/he can do:</p> <p>1)</p> <p>2)</p> <p>3)</p> <p>The exact date and hour of the work to be done</p> <p>If applicable, the documents and the certificates on the work to be done</p> <p>If there applicable, the tools required to perform the task</p> <p>The institutions that the school needs to coordinate</p> <p>The institutions that s/he can coordinate</p> <p>Volunteer Parent Name, Surname Signature</p> <p>Head of the Social Activities Committee Name, Surname Signature</p>

(Turkish Ministry of Education, 2005)

The last part of the form ‘The institutions that s/he can coordinate’ (Kendisinin koordinasyon sağlayacağı kurum ve kuruluşlar) insinuates that the Ministry of Education not only seeks the labor but also the social capital of the parents; the parents are asked to allocate their social relations as a means to obtain advantage in acquiring the necessities of the school.

Besides, Kırşehir Provincial Directorate of National Education defines the duties and responsibilities of voluntary parents on its website as follows:

What is a Voluntary Parent?

Voluntary parent is the person who helps the classroom teachers or the counselor teachers in preparing and implementing the projects and contributes to the application of the activities in groups or by individuals, and helps the students in the out-of-school activities and who provides financial support when necessary.

How is the Voluntary Parent Elected?

An election is conducted in the PTA meeting after an explanation of the duties and responsibilities of voluntary parents in the beginning of the school year. In the same meeting the Voluntary Parent Application Forms are distributed and filled in and then candidates are asked to hand them in the Social Activities Committee which will be established later (Kırşehir İl Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü ARGE Birimi, 2012, p. 58).

Therefore, the implementation of voluntary parents/mothers is officially accepted and moreover defined. Defining the job items to be done indicates that these items of work need to be done in the schools; however there is no allocation of a workforce for these items work parallel to the budget cuts in the neoliberal educational policies. Therefore, the mothers' insider position is reinforced because of the unpaid labor they offer for the system.

Formal Support and the Informal Institutionalization of CM

The terminology of CM is not used by the officials or the school administration; rather they prefer using the phrase 'parent representative' as a reflection of the neoliberal understanding of parents to be customers, which connotes the term 'customer representative'.

On the other hand, until 2010 the term CM is widely used and they considered the implementation of mother-labor in the schools as ‘projects’. The news script from a local newspaper in Yozgat, a smaller city in the Central Anatolian region shows the support of the local government administration.

Yozgat Provincial Director of National Education Kaya: ‘Classroom Mother Contributes to Education’

Wednesday, October 03, 2007

YOZGAT – Yozgat Provincial Director of National Education İlimdar Kaya indicated that they attach importance to the ‘Classroom Motherhood’ project and added ‘the triangle of school, student and parent has to be developed in a healthy way. We experienced practically that classroom mothers contribute to education by means of the project that we implemented’... Kaya indicated that for this purpose they attribute importance on the classroom motherhood project and the implementation would be popularized and extended (www.sorgunpostasi.com, 2007).

Besides, there have been many meeting minutes of primary level schools on the internet that regard the CMs as a formal part of the school system. One of these meeting minutes of a public primary school published on the web includes the election of the CMs in its meeting agenda (www.yazilisorulari.org, 2008). In the same minutes of the meeting the statement below indicates that the implementation of classroom motherhood is institutionalized in an informal way:

Parent meeting started at 15:30 on 17.10.2007...Osman Onur Genç said ‘We know the importance of classroom mothers in the frame of cooperation with parents, we have to elect classroom mother’. Mehmet Kılınc said ‘classroom mother should be a parent who can come to school every day’. Ömer Aydın Alp added ‘besides coming to school every day she must be educated and could be able to understand us’. As a decision a sensitive mother who is able to come to school every day will be elected. This election will be done in an election which all the other parents will attend... (www.yazilisorulari.org, 2008).

In addition the definition of ‘voluntary parent’ declared by the Kırşehir Provincial Directorate of National Education (Kırşehir İl Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü ARGE Birimi, 2012, p. 58) officially indicates that such implementations are legitimized by practices and declarations.

Above mentioned formal decisions and similar others are based on the regulation of the Turkish Ministry of education in 2005 (Turkish Ministry of Education, 2005), which describes the job descriptions of volunteer parents in the school. The important point to discuss is why this participatory model turns ‘naturally’ into a ‘classroom motherhood’ model.

The informal institutionalization of the CMs can also be seen in the practices of the Beehive Primary School of this research:

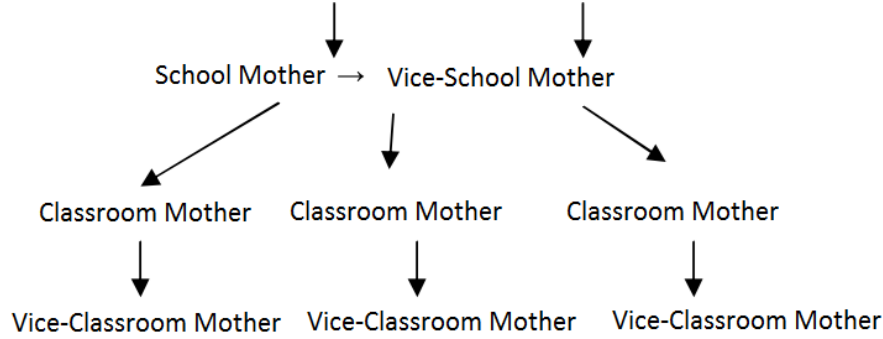
“I would rather have the CM position to be defined officially. In the beginning we had to enter the school and the classes since we were the CMs, but it was difficult. Then the vice-principal made official name badges for us and we could easily access the school by wearing those CM badges”
(*Feza (40) – High school graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 1 kid in this school – Housewife – Teacher: Cafer*). – APPENDIX E.29 –

Academics Offering Classroom Motherhood as a System

There is very limited literature in Turkey about the classroom motherhood issue. The only academic article on the issue offers a very hegemonic, hierarchical and thus a patriarchal model for allocating mothers in the school system. According to this model there is a hierarchy of the school motherhood committee under which is located the ‘school mother’ under which is located the classroom mothers under which is located the vice classroom mothers. The figure they generated is shown below:

School Mothers Committee

(Consisting of the Coordinator Teacher, The School vice-Principle, the Counselor Teacher)



(Töremen, Çankaya, & Avanoğlu, 2008, p. 64).

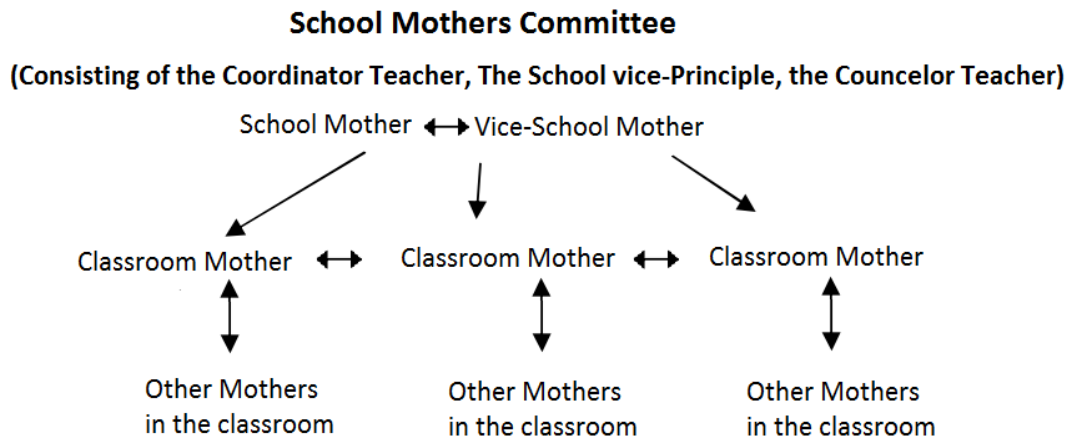
According to their suggestion, the School Mother is elected among the Classroom Mothers, which represent the number of the classes in the school, at the first meeting of the school year. The term of office of the School Mother is one year. Should it is approved in the School Mothers Committee this duration may be extended for one more year. School Mother has responsibilities such as helping the Classroom Mothers and coordinating their work, and leading the School Mothers Committee. School Mother informs the school administration and the counselling service about the decision made in the School Mothers Committee. This committee works in cooperation with the school administration (Töremen et al., 2008, p. 64).

This project is extended in the level of the classroom mothers as below:

Classroom Mother is elected among the representative number of mothers of students in each class in the first meeting at the start of the school year. A vice-Classroom Mother who will work under the Classroom Mother is also elected. The Term of service of the Classroom Mother is one year. The term of service can be extended due to the demand of the parents in the classroom for utmost one more additional year. The classroom mother deals closely with the problems of the students in the classroom she represents. She determines the activities to be done in the class together with the other mothers before the

monthly School Mothers Committee meeting. Classroom Mother works in coordination with the other mothers in the class, the school administration and the other classroom mothers. When the classroom mother has difficulty in solving some problems, she takes it to the School Mothers Committee (Töremen et al., 2008, p. 65).

Moreover, Töremen et al. suggest an Organizational Communication Diagram as below:



(Töremen et al., 2008, p. 65)

As it can be seen above, the communication chart indicates a very limited and a hierarchical soldier-like pattern. According to this format the other parents in the classroom can only get in contact with the classroom mothers and they can neither communicate with the school mother nor the other parts of the committee. This situation is trying to be set up by some CMs in the Beehive school too, as a way of accumulating all the power in one hand and thus being able to apply power and exercise domination on the others. Therefore, the model above is not only inefficient in empowering women but it also reinforces a dominating practice over the mothers in the school system.

Moreover, according to the chart above, there is only a one-way communication among the school mother and the classroom mothers, which means that the CMs can communicate among themselves but they have no authority to decide to talk to the school mother. Only the school mother can communicate with the CMs if she prefers, which indicates that this communication is a dominating and hierarchical command chain.

APPENDIX F

THE INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTIONS

E.1

“Ordu Ünye 18 yıl, sonra İstanbul. İlk geldiğinde Sultançiftliği, Küçükköy, Nişantaşı ve burası... Sınıf anneliği Anadolu’da pek olmadı. Toplum biraz daha muhafazakâr orada... Anneler gelmez toplantıya, erkekler müsaade etmez, erkekler de veli olarak okula gelmezdi, biz velilerle mahalle kahvesinde görüşürdük. Ama burada anneleri her an okulun heryerinde görebilirsiniz...” (*Fahri – Male Grade-1 Teacher with 40 years of school experience (CMs of his classroom are Berna & Jale).*)

E.2

“... Ama İstanbul’a geldikten sonra veli toplantıları daha ciddi olmaya başladı. Ama İstanbul’da da her yerde aynı şekilde olmazdı. Mesela Sultançiftliği’nde veli toplantısı yapsak velilerin %10’u bile gelmezdi. Okulun yolunu bile bilmezlerdi. Çağırsak bile gelmezlerdi. Ama veliler genelde kadındı. Erkekler çalıştığı için anneler gelirdi. Sonra tekstil sektörü başlayınca kadınlar da çalışmaya başladı. Ama gene de gelen velilerin büyük çoğunluğu belki de 40 veliden 35’i kadındı. Nişantaşı’nda görev yaptığımda velilerin tamamına yakını toplantıya katılmışlardır. Veliler çocuklarının eğitimine çok fazla önem veriyorlar, çocuklarla ilgili ayrıntıları bizimle paylaşır, onların eğitiminde özellikle dikkat edilmesi gereken noktalar

konusunda bizi bilgilendirirlerdi. Evde karşılaştığı, sınıfta karşılaştığı sorunlarla ilgili... Oradaki velilerin hem eğitim hem gelir düzeyleri daha iyi olduğu için orada hayat çok farklıydı. Sonra bu okula geldik. Burada da çok güzel... Bu sene 5. veli toplantımı yarın yapacağım. Velilerin %99'u katılıyor. Katılmayan da gelir bir özür diler, izin alamadığını söyler, notları alır, telefonla arar, bilgi alır. Burada da velilerin katılımı çok güzel..." (Fahri – Male Grade-1 Teacher with 40 years of school experience – CMs of his classroom are Berna & Jale).

E.3

"... Veliler de velinimet olduğu için onlar da fazla kırılmak istenmiyor. Biraz müşteriye döndüler yani. Çünkü şu bir gerçek, okulun tüm ihtiyacını veliler karşılıyor. Benim burada gördüğüm 2 hizmetlinin haricindekileri veliler karşılıyorlar. Kaloriferi de veliler ödüyor, milli eğitimin hiçbir katkısı yok. Buraya kayıt olurken de bazı meblağlar ödendiği için veli kendinde büyük bir güç buluyor. Ben bunu Alibeyköy'de hiç görmedim. Orada da durumu çok iyi olanlar da vardı ama belli bir saygı vardı. Burada o yok. Burada gelmiş veli arkamdan şışt, pişt diye sesleniyor. Omuzuma dokunuyor. Azıcık merhaba desen oradan alıp yürüyor. Ben buranın veli potansiyelini hiç sevmiyorum. Üç kuruş görmüşler, tek nedeni o. Buralar ıssız gecekonduların yeriyken buralara büyük hastaneler tesisler yapıldı. Buraya ilgi fazlaştı. Gecekondularında aç susuz otururken 4-5 daire aldılar. Bayağı bir kira getiriyor. 2-3 dairesi olsa iyi kira alıyor, lüks bir evde oturuyor, ben ne oldum. Ben diyorum ne köylü olabilmişsiniz, ne şehirli olabilmişsiniz. Arada bir yerlerde bocalıyorsunuz..." (Hilal – Female Grade-4 Teacher with 37 years of school experience – CM of her classroom is Kiraz)

E.4

“... 1982’den beri veli ile ilgili çok farklılık var. Ben ilk geldiğimde burada... Paşa mahallesi olarak daha önce... paşa ilköğretim okulu olsun... ilçesi... (belediye başkanı) yaptırdığından dolayı adı işimdi... İlköğretim okulu. Ben bu okula gelmeden bir yıl önce o okul tamirat onarım veya yeniden yapılma amacıyla okulun öğrencileri buraya gelmiş. Ben bu okula geldiğimde herkes o okulun öğrencilerinden idare olarak, öğrenciler olarak müthiş şekilde şikâyetçi olduklarını, Sebep, işte vuruyorlar, kırıyorlar, kavgacılar, etrafı kirletiyorlar, halbuse ki ben orada 6 yıl çalıştım. Gerek veli açısından, gerekse öğrenci açısından çok daha rahat ettiğimi düşünüyorum. Yani işte diyelim ki 1982-88 arasında 6 yıl orada çalıştım. 2004’te buraya geldim. Bu arada geçen 15 yıl var. Gittiğim okul Nişantaşı’nda... İÖO orada da 17 yıl çalıştım. Sonradan buraya geldim. Fakat her geçen gün profilin değiştiğini görüyorum. İstanbul için. Geldiğimde. ... İlçesinde çalışıyorum. İzzet Paşa Mahallesi kenar mahalle, kültür seviyeleri birbirine yakın olan insanlar. Fakat işin daha kozmopolitleştiğini görüyorum. Burada öğrenciler arasındaki ilişkilerden tutun, önceki kenar mahalle okulunda daha bir birlik beraberlik, daha saygı sevgi, veliler arasında da aynı değerler söz konusuydu... Özellikle benim gözlemlediğim tabiri caizse İstanbul’da sosyete mi diyelim, kültür seviyesi yüksek mi diyeyim, inşalar, fakat oradaki bir veli kültürüne baktığımdaki onlarda eğitim açısından dışarıdaki mahallerde görebildiğim özünde de eğitim kalitesi daha yüksek, sebebine gelince, öğretmen çalışmak zorunda, özel ders vermek durumu var, başarılı göstermek durumu var. Okullar da başarısını yükseltmek amacıyla öğretmeni zorluyor. Böyle

olunca ister istemez öğretmen çalışmak zorunda kalıyor...” (*Galip – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 37 years of school experience (CM of his classroom is Güliz).*)

E.5

“...Bu okulun çocukları genellikle vergi dairesinde çalışan veya hastanede çalışan velilerin çocuklarıdır. Çok zor durumda olan velilerimiz de var, kendini zorlayarak da olsa 20 lira 30 lira vermek için elinden geleni yapıyorlar, ama adamın marketi var, 3-4 tane apartmanı var...” (*Aylin (49) – Highschool graduate – PTA president – has 1 child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Former CM).*)

E.6

“... Bu okul benim 2. okulum... Ben Şair Nedim’den geldim. Sınava sokmuştum, orayı kazandı. Ama öğretmen sorunu yaşadık. Bayağı oğlumun psikolojik sorunları filan oldu yani. Kötü bir öğretmen deneyimimiz oldu. Okul öğretmeni değiştirmeyince biz de okulu bırakmak zorunda kaldık. Orası standartları daha yüksek bir okuldu ama bir ... Bey gibi bir öğretmen bulmam mümkün değildi. Oradaki okulun velileriyle buradaki okulun velileri çok farklıydı. Orada çok girişken, çok sorumlu, kendini bilen anneler var orada. Standart da çok yüksek... Bankacı, mühendis, mimar çocukları var orada. Etütlü okul olduğu için devlet kura ile alıyor. Burada öyle bir şey yok. Buraya geliyorum, kapıya bakıyorum, pijama ile gördüğüm insanlar oldu burada. İstiklal marşında azarladığım veliler oldu. Eğitim seviyesi düştükçe çocuklarımıza da yansıyor. Çocuğumun birlikte olduğu insanlar beni ilgilendiriyor. Oraya sık sık gitme gibi bir durumum yok çünkü bir mesafe var. Ama

çocuğum sorunlar yaşıyordu gidiyordum. ... Bey bana geçen seneden beri çok ısrar etti SA ol diye ama ben insanlarla uğraşmak istemedim. Çok şey yapabilirim ama çocuğuma kaynak kitap alırken, çok pahalı diyen veliyle ben çalışmam. Ya da sınıf pis, leş gibi hafta sonu çocuğunun çantasına bile bakmayan bir aileyle, kitap parasını aylarca ödemeyen bir aileyle çalışmam. Bunların peşine de koşmam. İnsanlardan bir destek göreceğimi bilsem uğraşırdım, uğraşsam da bir şey olmaz bunlardan.... Kimler SA olmaya heves ediyor? Aslında çocuğuna faydalı olmak isteyen veliler ister. Çocuğun da hoşuna gider. Çok fazla yapan insana da rastlamıyorum çünkü SA benim için başka bir şey...” (*Rana – Highschool graduate – Quit work for childcare – Her child attends grade 3 – Has 1 child in this school – Teacher: Burhan, CM: Lale*).

E.7

“... Ama burada veli profili her şeyiyle üst seviyede diyebilirim. Duyarlı, ilgili, katılımcı, yani öğretmenin yükünü hafifleten bir pozisyoncular. Sınıfın sorunlarının giderilmesi, okulun sorunlarının giderilmesi, okula yapılabilecek katkılar, ekonomik, kültürel anlamda katkılar. Burada sınıflarımızı gezmişsinizdir zaten, her şeyiyle donanımlı, velilerimizi de görmüşsünüzdür koridorlarda, bilgili, istekli, arzulu...” (*Emir – Male Grade-2 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Aynur*).

E.8

“... Okulda bazı veliler hiç uğramaz. Bazıları da okuldan hiç çıkmaz. Mesela ev hanımıdır. Evde işi yoktur. Çocuğunu gelir burada güvenli bir yere teslim eder sonra evde gider işine... Belli bir saatte de gelir onu alır evine götürür. Bakın çocuğu burada evinden getiriyor ailesi, annesi burada yemek yediriyor. Bu da bir kültür... Yemekhanenin yanındaki salonu açtık çocukları yedirsinler diye. Ama kirlilikten biz içeri giremedik. Velilerin şehirde yaşama kültürü yok. Köylerindeki gibi burada da yaşamaya çalışıyorlar... Bu okulun sosyoekonomik düzeyi iyi gibi görünüyor ama çok iyileri de var, çok zayıfları da var. İkisi ortak bu okulda... Ortası yok bu okulun. Sosyo-ekonomik düzey uçlarda bu okulda. Bizim okul çok farklı... Okulda kültürel bakımdan da çok zengin... Ülkenin her yerinden insanlar var. Doğu Anadolu’dan da var, Karadeniz’den de var. Her yerden veli var. Sosyal yaşamları farklı farklı... Veliler arasında bu farklılıklardan dolayı gruplaşma olmasa da farklılıklar oluyor...”

...” (*Murat – Male School Vice Principle with 33 years of school experience*).

E.9

“... Gerçekten sadece çocuğu için burada olan veliler var. Bir de kendisini bir şekilde evden dışarı atmak isteyen veliler var. Sadece idare ile öğretmenlerle ilişkim iyi olsun diye sürekli okulda var. Bir de hiç ortalıkta görünmeyen veliler var...” (*Zeynep – University graduate – Teacher at the same school – Her child attends grade 1 – Has 1 child in this school – (Teacher: Fahri, CM: Berna & Jale)*).

E.10

“... Eğitimde babalar yok. Devamlı ilgilenen anneler. Doğalı da o. Eskiden köylerde veli deyince babalar gelirdi. Çünkü hanımını çıkarmaz dışarı. Anadolu’da kadın hep 3. plandadır. Veli olarak asla anneleri görmedik. Kentte veli olarak anne ön planda... Burada da veli anne... Doğal olanı da budur. İlk öğretmen ve gerçek öğretmen annedir. Doğru karşılıyorum annelerin veli olmasını...” (*Ali – Male Grade-4 Teacher with 31 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Hayal*).

E.11

“... Küçük kızım birinci sınıfa başladı, bir gün yardım istedim eşimden. Okula hiç gitmediği için çocuk eğitimde baba faktörünü hiç bilmiyor tabii. Küçük kızım babasının derslerine yardım etmesi fikrine tepki gösterdi. “hayır” dedi, “babam benim çalıştıramaz, babam okuma yazma bilmiyor ki” dedi. Baba okuma yazma bilmiyor ona göre, çünkü baba sadece televizyon seyrediyor evde. Anne eğitim veriyor, kitap okuması gerektiği saatte de çocuklarla üçümüz bir araya gelip kitap okuyoruz biz. Baba bunu da yapmıyor. Baba sadece TV seyredip yemek yiyip, arada bir şekerleme yapan bir adam. Çocuklara göre babanın eğitimle hiçbir ilişkisi yok...” (*Emine (46) – Hightschool graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Cafer*).

E.12

“... Babalar akşam geliyorlar. Oooh, çok yorgunum deyip geçiyor TV karşısına. Sabah da kalkıp işe gidiyor ama benim mesaim hiç bitmiyor. Nerede olsa ezilen kadınlar ve hükmedenler erkekler...” (*Tülin – Primary school graduate – Housewife – Her child attends grade 5 – Has 1 child in this school – Teacher: Cafer, CM: Feza & Emine*).

E.13

“... Bu kadınların kimliği annelik... Yaptıkları işi iyi yaptıklarını göstermek istiyorlar. Ben ne kadar iyi anneyim’i burada gösteriyorlar. Tanımlar farklı. Okulda ne kadar uzun süre kalırsan o kadar iyi anne olursun diye algılıyorlar. Diğer bir kriter de çocuklarının her istediğini yapmaları. Bir başka annelik gösterisi, çocuk hasta oluyor, öğlene kadar doktorda oluyorlar, sonra o hasta çocuğu süründürerek getiriyor okula, ballandıra ballandıra hastanede ne kadar kuyruk bekleyip ne çileler çekip onu doktora gösterdiğini öğretmene anlatıyor. Bu arada çocuğun ayakta duracak hali yok. Sonra da diyor ki yine de dersten geri kalmasın diye okula getirdim. Niye getiriyorsun, götür eve yatsın dinlensin çocuk. Ama ne kadar fedakâr ve düşünceli bir anne olduğunun propagandasını bize yapması lazım... Çocuk için ne kadar çile çektiklerini gösterirlerse o kadar iyi anne olduklarını göstermiş oluyorlar. Ya da kurslara götürme. Şikâyet ediyormuş formatında çocuğunu ne kurslara götürdüklerini anlatırlar, işte “haftada 5 gün okuldayız ama bir de hafta sonu kursa götürdüm, şimdi de yüzmeye götüreceğim” filan gibi... Orada isteği anlatmak ve göstermek...” (*Olca – Female Councillor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*).

E.14

“... Ben yani sanki çocuklarım için dünyaya gelmişim. Kendi çocuklarım da o sınıfta olduğu için hiçbir şey bana zor gelmiyor...” (*Oya (35) – Primary school graduate – CM of Grade 4 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Meltem*).

E.15

“... Biz her gün okuldayız. Ben hemşireyim oğlumun okuluyla ilgilenebilmek için gece nöbetinde çalışıyorum. Gündüz sürekli okuldayım. Şimdi oğlumu yemeğe götüreceğim. 3. sınıf oğlum. Tek çocuk zaten, onun için her şeyi yapıyorum. Beni her dakika okulda bulabilirsiniz...” (*Nevin (33) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – has 1 child in this school – Medical nurse – Teacher: Necmi*).

E.16

“... Sabah kalkıp çocuğu uyandırmadan kahvaltayı hazırlıyorum. Kızımı gidip güzellikle öperek filan kaldırıyorum. O kalkarken yardım ediyorum elini yüzünü yıkarken. Çoraplarını filan giydiriyorum. Saçını tarıyorum. Kahvaltısını ettiriyorum. Yanına atıştırmalık bir şeyler hazırlıyorum. Hazırladıktan sonra okula getiriyorum. O anda öğretmen yoksa öğretmenin sınıfa gelmesini bekliyorum. Bir isteği var mı diye soruyoruz öğretmene yardımcı olabileceğimiz. Bir ihtiyacı varsa o konuda ona yardımcı oluyoruz. Yoksa iyi dersler deyip bırakıyorum. Koşarak eve gidiyorum.

Evdeki işlerimi yapıyorum. Öğle yemeğini çocuğun öğle paydosuna hazır etmem lazım. Vakit çabuk ilerlediği için hemen öğle oluyor zaten. Okula tekrar geliyorum, çocuğu alıyorum, öğle yemeğini yediriyorum. Sonra geri getiriyorum okula. Akşam çıkış vaktinde tekrar gelip çocuğu okuldan alıyorum. Akşam eve gelince kızım elini yüzünü yıkar. Yemeğini yediririm. Sonra onu rahatlatırım. Oynar filan. Çok da vakit kalmıyor yani. Akşam 8.30 gibi yatma saatini ayarlamışım. Biraz ders çalıştırıyorum ama çok fazla sıklıyorum. Testleri filan var, onları çözmeye yardım ediyorum. Yatmadan önce mutlaka dişlerini fırçalamasını sağlıyorum. Masal okuyorum. Masalı okurken yorgunluktan benim uykum geliyor. O yatana kadar koşturmaca devam ediyorum. O uyuduktan sonra da biraz televizyona bakıyorum ama bütün programların başını kaçırmış oluyorum çocukla uğraşmaktan. Ertesi günkü temiz yedek okul kıyafetlerini hazırlarım. Bütün bunları kendi başıma yapıyorum. Hiç kimse yardım etmiyor...” (*Jale (40) – Primary School Graduate – CM of Grade 1 – has 2 children in this school – Housewife – Teacher: Fahri*).

E.17

“... Yemeğimizi yiyoruz sonra herkes derse. Televizyonları kapatıyoruz. Onlara ders çalıştırıyoruz. Çocukların başucuna kitaplar almışım, onları okutuyorum. Sonra yatırıp uyutuyorum. Çocuklar uyuduktan sonra resim dersleri var. Resim çantalarını kontrol ediyorum eksikleri var mı diye. Eğer öğretmenleri bir liste vermişse sabah ben de çıkıyorum onlarla beraber. Eksiklerini tamamlıyorum. Çantalarını kontrol ediyorum. Çantalarında ne var, kesici alet filan bir şeyler var mı diye... Defterlerinin içine bakarım öğretmen bir not yazmış mı diye... Sonra evi toplayıp yatarım. Her

gün aynı şekilde...” (Oya (35) – Primary school graduate – CM of Grade 4 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Meltem).

E.18

“... Sabah 5’te kalkarım, 6.30’da kahvaltıyı hazırlamaya başlarım. Çayımı demlerim, meyve sularını sıkarım. Kahvaltılarını hazırlarım. 7’de çocuklar kalkar. Üstlerini giyme, elini yüzünü yıkarlar. Kahvaltılarını mutlaka yediririm. Çantalarını tek tek kontrol ederim. Ders çalışma programları ikisinin de odasında asılıdır. Bugün Çarşamba mı? Çarşamba günleri hangi dersler var? Kızımın çantasına tek tek bakarım. Öğretmen defterin kitabın nerede dediğinde evde unuttum deyip arkadaşlarının içinde eziklik ve utanç yaşamamasın diye ben mutlaka çantalarında eksik var mı diye kontrol ederim. Ben ona destek oluyorum. Ben okuyorum. O kontrol ediyor veya ben bizzat kontrol ederim. Hangi ödevler vardı yapılmış mı diye ben kontrol ederken o saçlarını tarar. O arada oğlumun çantasına dönerim aynı şeyi onun için de yaparım. Okula gelince masasını silerim. Öğrencilerin hepsine günaydın derim. Sonra çocuğumu derse hazırlarım, bekler. Sonra kızımın sınıfına çıkarım. Masasını sildirir bana. Sonra arkadaşlarına sorar dersleri yapmışlar mı diye konuşurlar. Karşıdan şöyle bir dinlerim, kontrol ederim konuşmalarını davranışlarını... Koridorda bile uzaktan takip ederim bir yanlış davranışı var mı arkadaşlarına, öğretmenlerine diye... Ama çok şükür şimdiye kadar hepsinden olumlu tepkiler aldım. Özellikle kızımdan çok çok memnunlar. Oğlum biraz duygusaldır. Öğretmeni bir şey söylediğinde beni sevmiyor mu der. Biraz nazlıdır...” (Ceyhan (37) – Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 2 – has 2 children in this school

– *Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Especially escaped from participating in the research).*

E.19

“... Sonra onlar derse girer, ben okula giderim evi toplarım, çocukların yemeklerini yaparım, öğle yemeklerini hazırlar okula getiririm. Yemeği getirdiğim zaman okulun dışındaki velilerle sohbet ederim. Öğretmenle sıkıntıları var mı onları öğrenmeye çalışırım, kendi maddi manevi, ailevi sıkıntıları var mı onu öğrenmeye çalışırım. Öğrencilerin okuldaki sıkıntıları var mı diye öğrenirim. OAB’de bunlara yardımcı olmaya çalışırız. Öğlen çocuklarını yemek yedirmeye gireriz. Çocukların başında dururum. Hepsi yemeklerini bitirdikleri zaman bana gösterirler biz yemeğimizi bitirdik, elimizi yıkadık diye... Onlar muhakkak ellerini yıkar getirir bana koklatırlar. Ben inanmıyorum çünkü ellerini yıkadıklarına, suyun altına tutup getiriyorlar bazen. Tek tek bahçeye gönderirim. Sınıfın görevlileri sınıfı düzenlerler. Zil çaldığı zaman da öğretmen gelene kadar onlar sınıfta çiçek olup yani, kollarını bağlayıp hiçbir şey yapmadan oturarak beklerler. Ben de öğretmene sınıfı teslim eder çıkarım. Önce OAB’ne bir uğrarım. Yapılması gereken bir işimiz var mı diye. Bir programımız varsa onları sorarım. Okulda tiyatrolarımız oluyor, biletleri satarız, para hesaplarını yaparız. Aidatlarımız oluyor. Okulda durumu iyi olmayan öğrencilerin tespitini yaparız. Yardımlarımızı yaparız. Evime giderim. Akşam iki kap yemek atayım da kolaylık olsun diye. Onları yaparım. Akşam 16.30’da okula geri dönerim. Aynı tempoyla arkadaşlara sorarım, ne yaptınız bayanlar... Yemek hazır mı? Akşama hazır mıyız? Gülmeye başlarlar. Çünkü bizim bir mesaimiz daha başlar. Eşlerimiz var... Okula geldik diye eşlerimizi ihmal edecek halimiz yok. Eşlerimize

de gereken özeni gösteririm. Akşam çocuklarımı alırım, okulun kapısında sorarım akşam alınacak bir eksiğiniz var mı kırtasiye malzemesi filan... Malzemelerimizi alırız, ihtiyaçlarımızı alırız, alışverişimizi yaparız eve giderken. Okulda kızım bir gün akşama kadar ne yapmış? Ne sıkıntısı var? Hangi arkadaşıyla, hangi derste hangi ödevi yapmış. Önce onu öğrenirim...” (Ceyhan (37) – Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 2 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Especially escaped from participating in the research).

E.20

“... Dinlerim muhakkak. Sonra oğluma sorarım. Oğlumda biraz hareketlilik var hafif. O konuşurken hoşuma gider, onu konuşturmayı severim. Eve gittiğimde ikisi aynı sıkıntıları anlatmaya başlarlar. Sonra babası gelince babasına anlatırlar. Babası zavallı akşama kadar çalışıyor tabii, sıraya koyarız. Önce kızım sen anlat, sonra oğlum sen anlat. Sırayla anlatıyorlar. Bizim evde televizyon fazla açılmaz. Kapalı tutarız belli bir saate kadar. Dersler yapılır, sonra televizyon açılır. Dersleri ilkokul üçüncü sınıfa kadar kızım ile birebir yaptık. Şu anda ortaokul oldu. Bilmesem de o dersi okur anlıyormuş gibi yaparım. Ki çocuğun özgüveni gelişsin, annem anlamıyormuş demesin. Performans ve proje ödevlerine fikir veririm. Benimle ve babasıyla mutlaka düşüncelerini paylaşır. Ben bir yön çizerim ona. Akşam ödevine hep beraber karar verdik, ödevini hazırladı. Oğlum için de aynı şeyleri yaparım. Ona gösteriyorum. Yapıyor, onu hep takip ederim. Hikâyeyi okuturum, anlamış mı anlamamış mı diye kontrol ederim. Ödevlerini yapar bitiririz. Sonra ödevler benden sonra babanın kontrolünden geçer. Her gün iki test çözer, iki yaprak. Baba ile çözüyorlar testlerini. Ödevleri benle yapar, testleri babasıyla çözer...” (Ceyhan (37))

– *Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 2 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Especially escaped from participating in the research).*

E.21

“... Ha bir de hafta sonumuz var. Hafta sonu 7.30’da kalkıyorum, 8.30’da yüzmedeyiz. Bir de yolda kahvaltı yapıyorlar o kadar vakit kalmıyor. 10.30’da yüzmeden çıkıyoruz. 11.00’de eve geliyorum, kızımın dersane kitaplarını hazırlıyorum. 11’de dershaneye götürüyorum onu. Eve geliyorum, evde oğluma kahvaltı ettirip YTÜ’de onu İngilizce kursuna götürüyorum. 1.30’da o derse giriyor, 2.30’da kızımı dershaneden alıyoruz. Geliyorum, 2 saat sonra oğlanı dershaneden almaya gidiyorum. Geliyoruz, akşam yemek hazırlamaya başlıyorum. Hafta sonu böyle geçiyor. Akşam da bir film izlemek istiyorlar veya monopoly oynamak istiyorlar. 20 yaşından beri hayat böyle geçiyor. Ama çok mutluyum...” (*Hayal (34) – College graduate – CM of Grade 4 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Ali).*

E.22

“... Eğitimi tek ders olarak anlamıyorum. Hafta içi okulda koşturuyorum. Hafta sonu sabah 8’de kalkıp yüzmeye götürüyorum çocuklarımı, yüzmeden çıkarıyorum, İngilizce kursuna götürüyorum. Yaz oldu, herkes evinde dinlenir. Bu sene buradan kalkıp Kadıköy’e Burhan Felek’e voleybola götüreceğim büyük kızı, onun biraz ilerisinde de Jimnastik kulübü var, küçük kızı da oraya götüreceğim. Evde oturmak yok bana göre... Eğitim sosyal anlamda her şeyi bilmesi demek. Eğitim demek

imtihan demek, SBS demek, çocukları iyi okullara yerleştirmek demek. Ama bunu yaparken sosyal anlamda da yetiştirmek, girdiği toplumda sesi çıksın. Tenise götüreceğim mesela, teniste üç tane vuruşun ismini bilse, girdiği toplumda bunu bilmesi bile bana yeter ya... Gitar öğrenmesi için para kalmadı, evde tek kişi çalışıyor. İnternette nota vuruşlarını öğrenmeye çalışıyorum. Neredeyse bu yaştan sonra gitar öğrenmeye başlayacağım çocuklarım yüzünden...” (Emine (46) – *Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Cafer*).

E.23

“... Mesela sınıfta olamadığım zamanlar olabiliyor, bazen bankaya gitmem gerekebiliyor. İşlerimiz olduğu zamanlar oluyor, bazen sağlık ocağına gitmem gerekiyor, beklemem gerekiyor, o sağ olsun, geliyor, derse giriyor, çocuklara göz kulak oluyor. İyi ki de onlar var. Onlar olmasa bizim işimiz zor. Hiçbir işimizi yapamayız. Öğretmenlerin işini kolaylaştırıyor. Öğretmenlerin işi eskiye göre zorlaştı, çok fazla meşgul eden olaylar var. Mesela ara karneler filan gibi bir sürü angarya işler var. Sınıf annelerine kırsal kesim dışında her zaman ihtiyaç vardır. Kasabalarda, şehir merkezlerinde görev yapan öğretmenlerin hep yardımcıları var...” (Fahri – *Male Grade-1 Teacher with 40 years of school experience – CMs of his classroom are Berna & Jale*).

“... Kendi sınıfımdan örnek vereyim, benim sınıfımda sınıf annesi yoktur. Biz komisyon oluştururuz. Dört kişiden oluşur. Kentte böyle bir ihtiyaç olur. Kaynak kitaplara ihtiyaç var. Kaynakları getirt, parasını topla, dağıt. Bu angarya... Biz ne yapıyoruz, veli toplantısında karar alıyoruz. Veliler bunu alacak, veliler dağıtacak, veliler parayı toplayacak. Kaynak kitaplar veya okuma kitapları konusunda veliye seçenekler sunuyoruz, onlar kendi tercih ettikleri kitaba karar veriyorlar. Şimdiki velilerin tek tek gelip yapamayacağı bir iş... Dolayısıyla ne yapıyorsun, ya sınıf annesi diyorsun, ya komisyon diyorsun. Bende 4 tane anneden oluşan bir komisyon var. Hiçbir zaman tek kişi yapmıyorum. Onlar birbirlerini de denetliyorlar. Biri olmadığı zaman diğeri devreye giriyor. Bir de bakıyorsun hakikatten böyle bir ihtiyaç doğmuş mesela yakın tarihte bir yazıcının toneri bitti. Birini aradım, babası rahatsızmış Sivas’a gitmiş, diğeri aradım, çözmeye çalışıyorlar. Yani böyle... Bir de şey, büyük kentte yaşayınca bu gerçekten ihtiyaç oluyor. Tukaka deyip bir kenara atalım ama öyle değil. İhtiyaç oluyor, nedir, sınıfa ait bir şey alınacak. Ben bütün gün zaten okuldayım. Onu gidip de Cağaloğlu’ndan alamam. Veliler devreye giriyor, gidip alıp geliyorlar... Okulun veya sınıfın ihtiyaçları için bütün koşturmaca ve ayrıntı işler ortada kalırdı SA’leri olmasa. Bir dolap yaptıracağız sınıfa diyelim ki, marangoza gidiliyor, ölçü aldırılıyor, kontrol ediliyor, yerleştiriliyor... Bunları kim yapacak? Bunlar bütün günü alıyor. Bilgisayarımız bozuluyor. Kim yapacak? SA’ların çok faydaları oluyor. Ama dediğim gibi eğer sınıf bize bütün ihtiyaçları karşılanmış olarak hazır verilse böyle bir şeye ihtiyaç duyulmayacak. Bunları karşılayacak bir ekonomik destek ve insan kaynağı desteği olmadığı için SA’lara ihtiyacımız var. Köyde olsa gerek yok ama büyük şehirde mecbursun onlara...

İstanbul gibi bir şehirde yaşıyorsan ve sana bomboş bir sınıf veriliyorsa bunu yapmak zorundasın. Diyelim A sınıfı kendi perdesini dolabını yaptırmıştır, bir sonraki sene onu alır diğer sınıfına taşır, sana bıraktıkları sınıfı sen donatmak zorundasın. Ama sınıflarda standart dolaplar, eşyalar, teçhizatlar olsa böyle bir şeye ihtiyacımız olmazdı... Bir yandan da İstanbul gibi bir yerde iyi ki sınıf anneleri var derim, çünkü başka türlü yetişemem...” (*Fatma – Female Grade-1 Teacher with 34 years of school experience – CM of her classroom is Mine*).

E.25

“... Resmi değil ama bu bir kolaylık oluyor. Şöyle, hem öğretmen, hem çocuklar hem de veliler açısından kolaylık oluyor. Mesela gezi düzenlenecek, araştırıyoruz, giriş çıkış kaç lira, 5 lira, biz bunu toplayamıyoruz çünkü yasaya göre suç o durumda ne yapıyoruz, veliler kendi arasında hallediyorlar. SA gelir, onu organize eder, servisini tutar, yardımcı olmak için birkaç veli de refakat ediyor. Mesela Sultanahmet’e gittik, oralar çok kalabalık, korkunç bir trafik var. Turistleri görünce peşlerine takılıyorlar. Veliler her zaman iyi oluyor, 10 kişi senin, 10 kişi senin diye pay ediyoruz mesela. Genelde toplantı yaparken zaman olarak bir iki velimiz sınıf annesi olsun deriz. Bir organizasyon yapılacak, protokolden başka birisi geldiği zaman pasta börek yapılacaksa velileri birilerinin organize edilmesi gerekiyor... SA’lar olmasa sınıfın ihtiyaçlarını tek başıma karşılamakta zorlanırdım. Özellikle organizasyon ve para toplama ve temizlik gibi... Okul yılı bitince sınıfın kendine ait malzemeleri diyelim ki bir bilgisayar, perde, projeksiyon makinesi, onları kendi aralarında paylaşıp evlerine götürür saklarlar, okul açılınca tekrar geri getirirler...”

(Cafer – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of his classroom are Feza & Emine).

E.26

“... Çünkü o benim görev alanımın biraz dışındaki görevler, yani çocuk su içecek mi, içmeyecek mi? O ihtiyacını nasıl karşılayacak, bunlar benim asıl görevlerim değil diye düşünüyorum. Sınıfta kitapları parasız dağıtma nasıl sistemde bir değişiklikse parasız ve zorunludur cümlesinden yola çıkarak 10 saat sınıfta tuttuğumuz çocuğun su ihtiyacını karşılasa devlet, bütün ihtiyaçları karşılasa hiç bunlara gerek kalmaz...”

(Demir – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 36 years of school experience – Has no classroom mother).

E.27

“... Bu kurslar mesela çok ciddi bir olay. Kursa gelen öğrenci ile gelmeyen arasında ayrımcılık yapılıyor. Kursa gelmeyen öğrenciyi zorluyor öğretmen. Kursa gelmeyen öğrenci sınavdan kaç almışsa o. Derste çocuklar parmak kaldırıyor, öğretmen kursa gelenlere söz veriyor. Diğerlerine veriyor. SA'nın çocuğu mutlaka kursa geliyordur. Şu da var, öğretmenler çocukların kursa gelmesi için diğer velileri ikna etmesi için SA'yı yönlendiriyor olabilir. Bana gelen velilerden duyduğum kadarıyla böyle... Sınıf annesi veliye gidiyor senin çocuğun dersleri zayıflamış, kursa göndersen iyi olur diyor. Öğretmenler bazen SA'lara pis işlerini yaptırabiliyorlar. Bunun karşılığını da alır SA, çocuğu istediği yere oturur, notlarını hep yüksek alır. Bir geziye sınırlı sayıda öğrenci gidecekse mutlaka onun çocuğu gider. 23 Nisan'da şiir okunacaksa

onun çocuđu okur. Sınıfta öğretmen ders anlatırken ona söz verir, onu över. SA'ların istediđi ve aldığı da bu... Bütün velilerin telefon numaraları var SA'da. Hatta veliler gelip bana diyorlar ki, bir sorun olduğunda SA'ya söylüyoruz, o öğretmenle konuşuyor. Böyle bir hiyerarşi oluşturmuşlar. Bu kuralı koyan öğretmen... Çünkü bu öğretmenin velilere tahammülü yok. Velilerle çok görüşmeyen bir öğretmen... Öğretmenler hep hoşlanmadıkları işleri SA'ya devrediyorlar. Duvarlara asılacak panoları ve köşeleri de SA'lara hazırlatanlar var. Sınıfın temizliğini perdelerini onlar yapar..." (Olçay – Female Councillor Teacher with 2 years of school experience).

E.28

"... Bugün bizim okulun durumu; devletin burada öğretmenler dışında okula verdiği hiçbir şey yok. Öğretmenleri göndermiş, okulu yapmış ama diğer bütün donanımı işte belediyeden, velilerimizin katkıları ile... Mesela sınıfa klima istediđi zaman klimayı alıyor veli... Ne yapıyor? Onlar için kolay. Herkes 5'er lira 10'ar lira... Mesela okulumuzda bizim 17 tane kamera var. Bunları hep velilerimiz yaptı. Yani kimin, OAB'nin velilerle olan iletişimiyle... İsterlerse evden de izleyebiliyorlar veliler. Eskiden hırsızlık olurdu... Kamera sistemi kurduktan sonra bunlar bitti..." (Murat – Male School Vice Principle with 33 years of school experience).

E.29

"... Mesela çocuk altına kaçırıyor. Şimdi sınıf annesinin olduğu sınıflarda bu iş çok çabuk çözülüyor. Hemen sınıftan dışarı çıkarılıyor çocuk, tuvalete götürülüyor. Sınıf annesi varsa elinde malzemesi ki genelde ellerinde yedek tutarlar. Her çocuğın

bedenine uyacak cinsten bir takım, iki takım yedek tutarlar. Veya bizim kayıp eşya dolabı vardır, malzemeler. Onlardan kullanılmayanları bu veliler yıkar temizler okulda hazır bulundurur. Gerektiğinde kullanır. Eğer kendisi bu işe girmek istemiyorsa hemen anneye ulaşır dışarıda. Anne gelir, anneye birlikte bu işi yaparlar. Yani öğretmenin eğitim saati kesintiye uğramamış olur. Veya öğretmen böylesine hoş olmayan bir durumla yüzleşmek zorunda kalmaz. Bu hizmeti, pis işi kendisi yapmış olur. Adı üzerinde zaten sınıf annesi, bütün sınıfa annelik yapacak. Bu ve buna benzer işleri ona havale ediyor öğretmen. Onun yapmasına müsaade ediyor...”
(Levent – Male School Vice Principle with 21 years of school experience).

E.30

“... Okula dışarıdan yapılan işler, dergi satın alımları, temizlik malzemesi alımları, tahta yaptırmak, dolap yaptırmak... Öğretmenin buna vakti olmaz. SA olmasaydı öğretmenler dersle uğraşmayı bırakıp bu ihtiyaçların peşinde koşarlardı ...” (Mine (36) – Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 1 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Fatma).

E.31

“... Öğretmenle veli arasında bir köprü... Eğitim açısından bir sorun olmazdı, öğretmenin tek başına yapamayacağı işlere destek oluyoruz. Sınıf içi organizasyonlarda destek oluyoruz...” (Kiraz (35) – Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 4 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Hilal).

E.32

“... SA öğretmenin sağ koludur. Bazı öğretmenler SA istemez ama biz onların işlerini çok kolaylaştırıyoruz. SA olmasaydı bir şey aksamazdı, öğretmenler kendiişlerini kendileri görürlerdi. Daha fazla yorulurlardı ama biz yaptığımız için öğretmen okul için daha az zaman harcıyor...” (*Feza (40) – Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 1 child in this school – Housewife – Teacher: Cafer*).

E.33

“... Bezen kendimi bir öğretmen gibi bile hissedebiliyorum. Bazen öğretmenimiz gidiyor sınıftan bir acil işi oldu mu, o gün beni çağırıyor. Çocuklar bana o günlerde öğretmenim dediklerinde çok hoşuma gidiyor. Öğretmenim diyorlar bana arada, çünkü öğretmenimizin yaptığı şekilde oyalamaya çalışıyorum...” (*Dila (35) – Highschool graduate – CM of Nursery class – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Did not prefer to participate in the research*).

E.34

“... Öğretmen 50 öğrenciyi bırakıp fotokopi çekmek istemiyor, SA’ya söylüyor, derse de devam etmiş oluyor. Kırtasiyeden bir şeyler almak gerekiyor. Bunu yapıyorsunuz. Bir geziye gidilecekse SA’ya sen de gel, ben tek başıma ilgilenemem diyor. SA’lar bu işleri yapıyor. Çocukların doğum günlerini organize etmek gerekiyor. Öğretmen de zaten kişinin donanımına göre seçiyor. Öğretmen gönüllülerden seçebiliyor. Öğretmen velileri bir süre tanıdıktan sonra kendisi seçiyor.

Ama gene de birkaç gönüllü oluyor. Yeni yıl kutlamaları oluyor. Yılsonu kutlamaları oluyor, bunlarda SA'lar görevlendiriliyor. Onlar da bunun üstesinden gelmeye çalışıyorlar. Masaların üstünü siler temizler..." (Buse (43) – Vocational highschool graduate – Tea-lady in the same school – Has 2 children in this school – Former CM).

E.35

"... SA'yı öğretmen istiyor. Okul yönetiminin çok mutlu olduğunu sanmıyorum. (Şeyda – Highschool graduate – Office clerk – Her child attends grade 2 – Has 1 child in this school – The teacher especially escaped from participating in the research, CM: Ceyhan).

E.36

"... Birazcık öğretmenin her şeye yetişememesi ile alakalı. Nasıl şirketlerde müdürün bir asistanı olur, öğretmenin de aradığı böyle bir şeydi, öyle ortaya çıktı diye düşünüyorum..." (Rana – Highschool graduate – Quit work for childcare – Her child attends grade 3 – Has 1 child in this school – Teacher: Burhan, CM: Lale).

E.37

"... SA'ları şu okuldan içeri sokmamaları lazım. Öğretmenler kendi işlerini kendileri yapsınlar..." (Ümran – University graduate – Public Officer in a government office – Her child attends grade 4 – Has 1 child in this school – Teacher: Meltem, CM: Oya).

“... Sınıf annesi haftanın belli günlerinde geliyor, sınıfla ve çocuklarla ilgili sorunları zaman zaman velilere haber veriyor. O şöyle bir şey örgütlemiş, sınıfın hijyeni temizliği iyi yapılmıyor, biz belirli günlerde sınıfı arınık edelim. Yani masaları silerler, camları silerler, onlar örgütlenmişler kendi aralarında. Masaları ıslak bezlerle temizlerler. Örgütlenmişler kendi aralarında 15 günde bir çocuklara moral olsun diye pasta kek kurabiye bilmem ne hazırlarlar. Biz onlara öyle bir gün belirledik. O gün gelir anneler çabucak çocukların içeceklerini dağıtırlar. Güzel bir program yaparlar. Tabii hep sınıf annesi örgütlüyor. Bugün sıra sizde filanca hanım, şunu şunu yapabilir misiniz diyor. Mesela sınıf gezileri yaptığımız zaman sınıflar kalabalık. Gerçekten birkaç tane yardımcıya ihtiyacımız var bizim. Yani kalabalık geldiği zaman da olmuyor veliler. Gelip sadece kendi çocuğuyla ilgilenen velileri istemiyoruz. Bazen okullarda salgın hastalıklar olur. 10-15 öğrencinin gelemediği zamanlar olur. O zamanlar SA devreye giriyor, sınıfı dezenfekte ediyorlar. Yani, onun dışında ilaç yardımı. Bizim ecza dolabımızda her türlü ilacımız vardır ama bizim doktor velimiz, var, ona soruyoruz, hangi ilaçların malzemelerin olması gerekiyorsa onun yönlendirmesi doğrultusunda ecza dolabımızı donatıyoruz... SA hemşire anne varsa ondan sargı bezi ve ilkyardım malzemelerini hastaneden getirmesini istiyor mesela...”(Fahri – Male Grade-1 Teacher with 40 years of school experience – CMs of his classroom are Berna & Jale).

E.39

“... Sınıf için gerekli olan bütün donanımları kendi aralarında karşılıyorlar. Yazıcı lazımdır, perde lazımdır, hallederler. Bu ihtiyaçları karşılama konusunda yardımcı olamayacak veliler de var, onlardan hiçbir şekilde para istemiyoruz. Velilerimiz camları silerler, masaları silerler. Hiç sorun olmaz. Hepsi anneler. Babalar yok. Malzeme tedariki, tamiri, etkinliklere katılım sağlanması... Öğretmen biraz daha geri planda, yönlendirici durumda... SA olmasa bu işler öğretmenin üzerine kalır. Ama bunu velilere paylaşıyorsunuz...” (*Emir – Male Grade-2 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Aynur*).

E.40

“... Sadece bazı duyuruları yapmak için kullanıyorum... Sadece öğretmenlere yardımcı değil, okul da çevre ile iletişim kuracağı zaman yine sınıf annelerini topluyorlar. Mesela okula birisi geleceği zaman kalabalık olsun diye onlardan toplama yapıyorlar. Genellikle bizim bölgemizde şişlide Sarıgül okulları sık sık ziyaret eder. Sabahları kahvaltı filan yapmaya çalışır. Genelde bir şey yapacağı zaman genelde sınıf annelerini kullanır... SA bizde genelinde bazı ek kaynaklar filan alıyorlar, mesela sınıflarımızda su sebilleri filan vardır. Tuvalet kâğıdı, küp şeker, sıvı sabun, bu tür ihtiyaçlarımızı karşılamak için alırlar, faturalarını bize getirirler... Mesela o domuz gripi döneminde 7-8 tane veli her sabah kapının kollarını ve masaları sildiler, dezenfekte ettiler...” (*Necmi – Male Grade-3 Teacher with 35 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Nevin*).

E.41

“... Öğle arasında sıraları düzenlerler, temizlerler. Sınıfı düzenler... Perdeleri, masa örtülerini alır yıkarlar. Ütülerler, gelir takarlar... Sınıfa su alınacaksa parayı toplarlar. Kaynak kitap parası toplar. Parayı toplar bana verir. Ödemeyi ben yaparım... Sınıf anneleri diğer velilerle çocuklarıyla ilgili konuşur. Gün yapanlar var. Altın günü yapıp beni de aralarına alıyorlar...” (*Meltem – Female Grade-4 Teacher with 35 years of school experience – CM of his classroom are Berna & Jale*).

E.42

“... Gelir dolap düzeltir. Bütün sınıfın her işini yapar. Perde asılacak mesela perdeyi asar. Mesela dolabımızı düzenler. Çocuklar mesela küçücükler, altına kaçırır da oluyordu. Yarım gün çalışmaya alışkın olduğum için tam güne pek şey yapamadım. Öğretmenim dedi, böyle yapsak hani, evde giymedikleri eşofmanlarını alsak, gerektiğinde değiştirsek. Neyse söyledik velilere, getirdiler. Dilek onları değiştirir ben hiç bilmeden. Ecza dolabımız var, bütün ilaçları vardır. Çocukların sağlığı ile ilgili. Gerçi bana sormadan içirmez. Telefon açar. İşte İlayda'nın ateşi var. Calpol içirebilir miyim? Veya içirdim haberin olsun gibi... Çocukların her türlü şeyiyle ilgilenir... Sınıf anneleri ne yaparlar. Paraları topluyor, ihtiyaçların ne olduğunu belirler alır. Sınıfı temizler, düzeltir. Ben de çok titiz olduğum için o da titiz olduğu için şimdi çocuklar sınıfa süpürge almışlar. Onlar da artık sınıfı temiz tutmayı, dolabı düzeltmeyi öğrendiler. Onlara bir şeyler verdik, o düzene temizliğe alıştılar, sessizliğe sakinliğe alıştılar. Dediğim gibi hep benimle öğrencilerimin arasında köprü oldu. Çocuklar aşk meşk çıkma işlerini bana pek fazla anlatamıyorlar ama ona daha

rahat anlatıyorlar. ... Kiraz ne sorunları olduğunu öğreniyor, ona göre ben rehberlik dersinde o konuyu işliyorum. Gezilere gittiğimizde hep yanımda... Onun çocukları sevmesi çok önemli. Bir de dediğim gibi hiçbir zaman benim önüme geçmedi...”
(*Hilal – Female Grade-4 Teacher with 37 years of school experience – CM of her classroom is Kiraz*).

E.43

“... Anasınıfında SA daha farklı. İlkokulda tören yapılacak, parti verilecek, onları desteklemek, temizliği sağlamak, kuralları uygulamak açısından öğretmene destek olmak. Bir gezide yanlarında bulunmak, çocukların güvenliğini almak... Diyelim ki o gün yorucu bir dersleri var. O gün öğretmenimiz çağırır, ben de yardımcı olurum, dosyalama konusunda, belgeler konusunda... Çocuklarımızın yaptıkları dersleri ayırıp onları dosyalarına kaldırma, onlara yardımcı olurum. Yani düştüklerinde kaldırım. Doğum günleri oluyor, tabaklarını önlerine koyuyorum... SA öğretmen ihtiyaç duyduğunda ne istiyorsa onu yapıyorum. İsterse bütün gün onunla birlikte sınıfta kalabiliyorum... Sınıfa giriyorum. Paltomuzu asıyoruz, galoşları giriyoruz. Öğretmen bana o günkü yapılacak faaliyetlerle ilgili görevler veriyor... SA'nın okulda rolü sosyal etkinliklerde daha fazla oluyor...” (*Dila (35) – Highschool graduate – CM of Nursery class – Has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Did not prefer to participate in the research*).

E.44

“... Her öĖretmende farklıdır. Bunun bir yönetmeliđi yok. Standart bir Őey olmadığı için ne yapılacağı öĖretmenle SA arasında kalıyor. Benim için velilerin onaylamıŐ olduđu, kiŐi de gönüllüye kim olduđu önemli deđil. Benim bir velimdir, gönüllüdür, veliler tarafından onaylanmıŐtır. Bu öĖretmen veli iliŐkisidir. Aslında iliŐkinin ve görevlerin sınırlarını çizip ve belirleyen öĖretmendir...” (*Demir – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 36 years of school experience – Has no classroom mother*).

E.45

“... Sınıf anneleri okulda kalırlar, öĖretmene yardımcı olurlar. ÖĖretmene fotokopi çekerler ya da iŐte sınıfın perdesi alınacaksa, masaları alınacaksa ya da sınıfa bir dolap alınacaksa ya da öĖrencilerin eđitimi için televizyon, bilgisayar ve benzeri ihtiyaçlar olursa onları karŐılamak için çalıŐırlar. Bir bakıma öĖretmenin güvencesidir sınıf annesi. Ben bir öĖretmen olarak bu ileri tek baŐıma yürütürsem yarın öbür gün derler ki bir çıkarı mı var. Bunun olmaması için öĖretmen velilerden böyle bir yardım alır...” (*Ahmet – Male School Principle with 41 years of school experience*).

E.46

“... Veliler istekli geldikleri zaman okula da faydası oluyor. Okula velinin nasıl faydası olur? Gelip de sınıfı veya öĖretmeni yönetecek hali yok. Okulun dıŐ iŐleri, okulun ihtiyaçlarını kaynaklarını, Belediye’ye gitmeler, geziye gideceksek servis

otobüsleri veya minibüslerinden yararlanmak üzere Belediye ile iletişiminden dolayı oradan otobüs almaları, oradan insanları getirmeleri, okulun eksiklerini göstermeleri. Tabii ki biz de onlarla beraber. Yani bu tür şeylere...” (*Murat – Male School Vice Principle with 33 years of school experience*).

E.47

“... Sınıfa girdiğimizde çocukları hizaya sokarız, sıkışık bir durum varsa sıraları düzeltiriz. Öğretmenin masasını düzeltiriz. Örtüleri yerdeyse düzeltiriz. Öğretmenin gelmesini beklerim. Öğretmenin bir işi olduğunda dışarı çıktığında ben bir yarım ders bir ders biraz durur musunuz sınıfta der. Dururum. O arada resim yaptırabiliriz ya da hikâye filan okurum... Para toplama ve ihtiyaçlar için, kaydeder teslim ederiz. Bu bile önemli bir sorumluluk. Kitaplar alıyoruz derse yardımcı kitaplar. Onların paralarını topluyoruz. Müsamereleri oluyor, onları çalıştırıyoruz. Son 3 hafta filan öğretmenimiz profesyonel bir yardım alacak galiba...” (*Jale (40) – Primary School Graduate – CM of Grade 1 – Has 2 children in this school – Housewife – Teacher: Fahri*).

E.48

“... Her gün okula geliyorum. Sabah ve çıkışta olmak üzere gelirim. İkinci dönem her Cuma mutlaka hep buradayım. Çünkü çocukların dans gösterileri etkinlik hazırlıkları var. Onları çalıştırıyoruz. Bu ara ikinci dönem hep ront çalıştırıyoruz. Ne lazımsa o piyesle ilgili, çanta, hediye paketi ve oyuncakları temin ederiz. Çocukları getirir, ezberlerini yaptırırız. Dans

gösterisi oldu. Biz 23 Nisana çıkmayacaktık çünkü çocuklar hazırlanamamıştı. Biz dans eden çocuklarımızı sıkı bir çalışmayla 23 Nisana hazırladık. Terziye gittik onlara kostümler diktirdik. Biz olmasak bu gösteri olmazdı. Veli ilgilenmese olmazdı...” (Berna (38) – Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 1 – Has one child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Fahri)

E.49

“... Her gün geliyorum. Sabah 9'da, öğlen ve akşam çıkışta... Öğretmenlerini beklemelerini söylerim. Öğretmenin gelmesini bekleriz. Çocukları susturmaya çalışırım. Ama dinlemezler... Sınıf annesi olarak sınıfın ihtiyaçlarını karşılarız. Mesela para topladık maddi durumu olmayan bir veliye camları temizlettik ...” (Pinar (40) – Primary school graduate – CM of Grade 1 – Has 2 children in this school – Housewife – Teacher: Did not prefer to participate in the research).

E.50

“... SA bir annedir. Okuldaki görevi, kendi çocuğuna nasıl yakın davranıyorsa sınıftaki öğrencilere de o kadar yakın davranarak sınıfta onlara yardımcı olmak, öğretmene okuldaki etkinliklerinde yardım etmek. Sınıftaki öğrencilerin belli sıkıntıları varsa, anne-çocuk, anne-öğretmen ya da SA-çocuk, SA-veli, onları çözüme ulaştırmak... Sabahları geliyorum. Hemen çocuklarla birlikte sınıfa bir bakıyoruz, sıralarda eğiklik varsa birlikte düzeltiyoruz. Sonra çocuklara diyorum montlar böyle, malzemeler şöyle koyulacak. Çünkü uyarılmaları gerekiyor, bunlar ufak. Bazen eşyalarını unutanlar oluyor, yemeklerini düşürenler oluyor. Bence SA gelmeli.

Çünkü SA demek öğretmenin sağ kolu demektir. Sınıf 40 kişi, öğretmen yetişmeye çalışıyor, ama öğretmen ve veli beni seçmişse ben onu vazife olarak görüyorum. Sonra evime dönüyorum. Çocuklarımın yemeklerini hazırlayıp öğlen tekrar dönüyorum. Muhakkak SA'lar öğle yemeğinde sınıfta olmalı. Çünkü çocuklar oyuna dalıp yemek yemeyi unutabiliyor. Ben sınıfa gelip herkese afiyet olsun diyorum. Çocuklar a yemek mi yiyeceğiz diyorlar. Yemek yememek için yalan söyleyen, bahane uyduran öğrenciler var. Anneler beni uyarıyorlar telefonda göz kulak olmam için. Yemeğini yemeyene bir bakış atıyorum. Ya da motive etmek için eğer yemeğinizi yerseniz öğretmen sizi bilgisayar dersine götürecektir diyorum. Ödül koyuyoruz, ama çocuklarla bir piknik havası oluşturuyoruz. Benim sınıfımda yemek işini ben böyle organize ediyorum. Öğrencilerim de bu durumdan çok memnun. Hangi öğrenci neyi sever neyi sevmez, neyi yemez çok iyi biliyorum. Annelerden daha iyi tanırım çocuklarını..." (Ceyhan (37) – Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 2 – Has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Especially escaped from participating in the research).

E.51

"... Öğlenleri filan geliyoruz zil çalana kadar buradayız. Yemeğini yemeyenleri uyarıyoruz, sen yemeğini ye filan diye. Git ellerini yıka. Kendi çocuğumuz gibi hepsiyle ilgileniyoruz. Ücret toplanıyor geziler filan oluyor. Sınıf paraları toplanıyor harcamalar için. Sınıf parasından ihtiyaçları alıyoruz. Bize ne yapmamız gerektiğini özel olarak söyleyen yok. Okula geliyoruz. Hocamızın engelli oğlu var, hoca erken çıkmak zorunda kalıyor bazen, öğretmenin yerine sınıfı idare ediyoruz. Zil çalmadan 10 dakika önce gelip çocuklara göz kulak oluyoruz..."

SA olarak her gün geliyorum. Zaten çocuğun yemeğini yediriyorum, o arada sınıfa ve çocuklara göz kulak oluyoruz. Sıraları temizliyoruz, tahtayı temizliyoruz. Öğlen gelince çocuklara bakıp uyarıyoruz. Çocuklardan bazıları dondurma yerken diğerleri bakıyor. Onlara cebimizden para veriyoruz gözü kalmasın diye...” (Aynur (26) – *Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 2 – Has 1 child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Emir*).

E.52

“... Ben okula geldiğim zaman çocuklar koşarak bana sarılırlar. Öğretmenin işi olduğunda, başlarında dururum, matematik, Türkçe dersleri öğretirim, hikâye okurdum onlara. Öğretmen varken de hikâye okuduğum zamanlar oldu. Keşke okuyup öğretmenlik yapsaymışım diye pişman oldum. Bazen velilerle tartışırız ama onların çocuklarının her ihtiyacını karşılarım. Birkaç veli bana söylemişti, ben çocuğa para vermiyorum kaybeder diye sen al biz sana veririz demişlerdi ama ben onlara istediklerini alıp paraları sonradan annelerinden almadım...” (İrem (33) – *University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – Has 1 child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: İlke*).

E.53

“... Toplu olarak yapılan şeyleri organize ediyoruz. Paralarını topluyoruz filan... SA’lar daha çok muhasebe ve sekreterlik işleri yapıyorlar... Mesela toner bitiyor, Mediciyeköy’e gidip doldurup getiriyorum. Sınıflar kopuk. Ben diğer SA’ları tanımıyorum. Diğer sınıflar ne yapıyorlar bir haberim yok... Temizlikle ilgili daha

çok bir şeyler yaptık. 3 kişi çamaşır suyuyla haftada bir kere siliyorduk sıraları. Perdeleri yıkayıp ütüleyip getiriyorum. Koordine etmiyorum, direkt ben yapıyorum. Kimse yüklenmek istemiyor. Belki söylesem yaparlar ama gerek yok. Benim söylememi bekliyorsa ben kendim yaparım diye düşünüyorum...” (Nevin (33) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – Has 1 child in this school – Medical nurse – Teacher: Necmi).

E.54

“... Öğretmenin olmadığı yerde öğretmen olmak, annenin olmadığı yerde anne olmak... İlkokul birdeyken her gün buradaydım. Öğretmenle birlikte giriyordum. Teneffüslerde buradaydım, derste eve gidiyordum. Evim de yakın zaten. Sınıfın bir eksiği olursa onu alıyorum. Çocuklar okula uyumda sıkıntı çekerse yardımcı oluyorum. Yapamadıkları kişisel temizliklerine yardımcı oluyorum. Yemek yemelerine yardımcı oluyorum. Anneleri gelmeyenlerin annesi oluyorum. Yemek yemiyorlar, altlarına kaçırıyorlar oldu ilk yıllarında. Çok ağlayanlar oldu, oyunlara katılmak istemeyenler oldu, derse girmek istemeyenler oldu. Öğretmenin geç kaldığı durumlar oldu... Öğretmenimiz Burhan Bey... Çok idealisttir. Her şey 4-4lük olsun istedi, kaliteli olsun istedi, ucuz malzeme istemedi. Ben de öyleyimdir. Çocuklarımıza iyi şeyler kullanırmak istedim. Mesela tozsuz tebeşir aldım. Yazıcı, hoparlör sistemi aldık, gittim hepsini araştırdım en kalitesini en ucuza aldım. Çocuklar ağladıkları zaman dışarı çıkardım gezdirdim. Veya motive etmek için ufak tefek şeyler aldım. Motive olsunlar diye küçük oyunlar oynattım sınıfta. Annesi geç kalanlar olduğunda onları bekledim...” (Lale (43) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – has 1 child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Burhan).

E.55

“... Hiçbir tanımını yok ama çocukların masalarını silmekten para toplamaya kadar bir sürü işi yarattılar. Sınıf anneleri kendileri görev addediyorlar. Okuldaki her iş kaleminden kendilerine bir vazife çıkarıyorlar. Mesela sabahleyin okula geliyor çocuklar, öğretmen bir şey demiyor, SA’leri hemen çocukları asker gibi sıraya sokmaya çalışıyor; “üçlü sıra olun evladım”. Çocukları sıraya sokuyor, içtima veriyor, düzen halinde gitmelerini sağlıyor. Kimin nerede oturacağına karar veriyor. Hangi tül perde takılacak, sınıfa TV mi alınacak, DVD mi alınacak? ...” (*Ümran – University graduate – Public Officer in a government office – Her child attends grade 4 – Has 1 child in this school – Teacher: Meltem, CM: Oya*).

E.56

“... Sadece sınıf anneleri değil, OAB’ne seçilen velilerin tamamının özünde pozisyonlarını kendi çıkarları için kullanma var. Nedir, işte okula daha rahat girip çıkayım. Biz mesela bazen yasaklıyoruz okula girmeleri. Her gün her gün öyle rahatsız olan öğretmenler var. Bazen de biz artık bıkıyoruz. Gerçekten bıkıyoruz. O tür işler de var. Öğretmenin kişiliği ile de doğru orantılı. Kimi sınıf annesi, ihtiyacı olan öğrenciler için elinden geleni yapmak için çaba harcar. Kimi sınıf annesi var, kendisini öğretmenin yetkileri ile yetkilendiriyor. Başka okullarda çok büyük gerilimler yaşandığını duyuyoruz öğretmenlerle sınıf anneleri arasında. Bizim okulda yok...” (*Murat – Male School Vice Principle with 33 years of school experience*).

E.57

“... Yardımcı arkadaşımınla birlikte çocuklara okuma yaptırıyoruz. Sınıfta öğretmen varken. Öğretmen de rica ediyor. Çünkü sınıfta 48 öğrenci var, öğretmen hepsine yetişemiyor, bir kısmını biz çalıştırıyoruz. Öğretmen genellikle okumayı beceremeyenlerle ilgileniyor, bize okuyabilenleri paslıyor ki okuyamayanlara vakit ayırabilsin. Yoksa okuyabilenler de öğretmeni rahat bırakmıyorlar...” (Berna (38) – *Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 1 – Has one child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Fahri*).

E.58

“... Sınıfta ben de otorite olabiliyorum sınıfta. Öğretmenin işi oluyor mesela birinci derse gelemiyor, ben onları oturtup sessiz hale getiriyorum. Çok güldüm mü tepeme çıkıyorlar, biraz sert davranmam gerekiyor. Kitap okuyoruz, öğretmen ne ders yaparsa ona uygun şeyler yaptırmaya çalışıyorum ...”
(Mine (36) – *Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 1 – Has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Fatma*).

E.59

“... Veliler öncelikle öğretmeni değil, beni ararlar. Benim akşam 6dan 11 e kadar cep telefonum da ev telefonum da sürekli çalışır. Kimi ödevini unuttur, kimi çantasını unuttur, ben bilirim diye beni ararlar. Direkt öğretmeni arattırmıyorum. Önce beni ararlar, ben öğretmenle görüşür onlara haber veririm. Ben kendimi böyle

görevlendirdim. İkinci öğretmen gibiyim. Ben bu okulun en eski velisiyim. Okulun duvarları örülürken buradaydım. Benim burada ilk mezunum kız kardeşimdir. İlk 8 yılı kız kardeşimle, ikinci 8 yılı kızımınla, üçüncü 8 yılı da oğlumla başladım...Girdim. Oğlum diyor ki neden SA oldun, neden herkes seni seviyor diye şikâyet ediyor. Benim bir yardımcım daha var, doğum yaptı fazla gelemiyor... Çocuklar beni nesrin teyze diye çağırırlar. 23 Nisan'da sınıfı süsledik. Hocam, ben öğrencilerimle birlikte süslemek istiyorum, hepsine ayrı ayrı görev vereceğim dedim. Bu bayram çocuk bayramı... Hep beraber yaptık. Annelerin de hoşlarına gitti. Anne diyen öğretmenim diyen oluyor. Hocamızın toplantısı olduğunda derse girip ben işliyorum. Aynı dersi sınıfta öğretmen varmış gibi yapıyorum. Arada nöbetçi öğretmenler bakıp şaşırıyorlar sınıf ne kadar sessiz diye... Kendimi öğretmen gibi görüyorum açıkçası... Onlara birer birer görevlerini de veriyorum... Sınıfta 2 kişi her gün nöbetçi olur. Ben onlara görevler veririm, biri kalemleri toplar, biri çöpleri atar. Kuralları ben koyuyorum. Diğer teneffüs montları asıyoruz. Saat 2'de meyve saatimiz vardır, çizgi film veya belgesel izleme saatidir. Ben dedim ki çocuklar belgesel izlerken meyvelerini yesinler. Hepsi o saatte çantalarını açmış meyvelerini çıkarmıştır, bir yandan izler bir yandan yerler. Meyvesi olmayanlar birbirlerine ikram ederler... Okulumuzda kermes olacak diyorum. O güne kadar hepiniz kumbaranıza para atıyorsunuz, kermes günü gelip annelerine anneler günü için kermesten hediye alacaklar. (sürekli emir veriyor etrafına) ...” (Ceyhan (37) – *Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 2 – Has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Especially escaped from participating in the research*).

E.60

“... Burada kendimi işe yarar hissettim. Ben okumayı çok severim. Kızımı da öyle yetiştirmeye çalıştım. Çocuk okula başladı, ben arayış içine girmeye başladım, hangi kursa hangi etkinliğe göndersem diye. Ama bunu bütün çocuklar için yaptım. Bir sınav mı var, bütün velileri aradım, bu sınava sokalım dedim. Sadece kendi çocuğum için yapmadım. Bu sınava sokmak için formlar alıp okula dağıtıyorum, bu sınava sokalım çocukları, kendi sınıfımı sokuyorum. Aktivitelere sokuyorum çocukları. Çok hoşuma gidiyor, çünkü diğer çocuklar da yararlanıyorlar. Diğer velilerin tepkisi de iyi. Mesela, okulda verilen İngilizce yetersiz. İngilizce kursuna yazdıracığım çocuğumu, a diyorum durun, diğer velilerim de var, onlara da haber vereyim. Onları tek tek arıyorum, bilgi veriyorum. Yeri gelirse onları konuşturuyorum. Şimdi 15 çocuğu İngilizce kursuna yazdırmışım...” (*Feza (40) – Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 5 – Has 1 child in this school – Housewife – Teacher: Cafer*).

E.61

“... Çocuklar öğretmenim diye konuşuyorlar onlarla, o çok dikkatimi çekiyor, düzeltme gereği hissetmiyorlar mesela, ben öğretmen değilim demiyorlar. Hoşlarına gidiyor. Ama çocukların üzerinde öğretmen kadar etkililer. Sabah girdiğimde sınıfta oluyor ve öğretmen gibi düzen sağlamaya çalışıyorlar...” (*Yeliz – University graduate – Teacher at the same school – Her child attends grade 2 – Has 2 children in this school – The teacher and the CM did not prefer to participate in the research*).

E.62

— Sınıfta öğretmen toplantıya gittiğinde SA derse girip ders öğretiyor. Belki test filan dağıtıyordur. Ama ben birebir şahit oldum, kadın kalktı tahtada çocuklara tahtada matematik öğretmeye çalıştı. Sınıfta faaliyet yapılırken yardımcı oluyor el işlerinde. Bir keresinde ben de kaldım. Gördüm ki ona çocuklar öğretmenim diyorlar. Onun da hoşuna gidiyor, ben sizin sınıf annenizim demiyor, öğretmenmiş gibi davranıyor...” (*Şeyda – Highschool graduate – Office clerk – Her child attends grade 2 – Has 1 child in this school – The teacher especially escaped from participating in the research, CM: Ceyhan*).

E.63

“... olayı abarttıklarını düşünüyorum. Bazı velilerimden ve öğretmen arkadaşarımdan görüyorum. Öğretmenlerin önüne geçmeye çalışanlar olabiliyor. Yani öğretmene yardımcı olayım derken sorumluluk duygusu fazla geliştiği için herhalde iyi niyetli olarak da, hiç art niyetli olduklarını düşünmüyorum bilakis takdir de ediyorum, uzun süre burada bizim kadar zaman ayırıyorlar, ama bazen burada samimiyetten sınırlar karışabiliyor. Öğretmen açısından çok hoş bir durum değil. O duruma düşmek istemem açıkçası. Ama ilgili bir anne olmayı isterdim öğretmen olmasaydım... Öğretmenler odasında anlatılır ama bizim gözlemlediğimiz iki SA var. Artık neredeyse öğretmenin dersini yapacak. Giriyor, derse diyor ki “öğretmenim bu sabah beden dersi mi yapsak?” diyor. Öğretmeni erkekti ve çok beyefendiydi ama biraz roller karışmış gibiydi. Bir velimiz daha var. O artık öğretmeni bıktırıyor; “öğretmenim şöyle yapsak, böyle yapsak, hani öğretmen bunu

çok yansıtmıyor ama geliş gidişleri insanı rahatsız ediyor. Sabahtan akşama kadar okulda... Çok ayrıntıya giriyor. Oysa velilerin bu kadar ayrıntıya girmesini ben onaylamıyorum açıkçası...”(*Verda – University graduate – Teacher at the same school – Her child attends grade 3 – Has 2 children in this school – Teacher: İlke, CM: İrem*).

E.64

“... Sınıf annesini velilerimiz seçiyor. Gönüllülerimiz çıkıyor içinden. Kendi aralarında anlaşıyorlar, gönüllüler kendi aralarında bir temsilci seçip kendileri de ona yardımcı oluyor...” (*Fahri – Male Grade-1 Teacher with 40 years of school experience – CMs of his classroom are Berna & Jale*).

E.65

“... Sene başında ilk toplantıyı yaptığımızda sınıf annesi ihtiyacımız var diyorsunuz, gönüllü olmak isteyen var mı? Bir kişi veya iki kişi kaldırıyor parmağını. Siz hangisini istersiniz diyorsunuz. Ona göre seçiliyorlar. Yani, hiç şimdiye kadar bir sorun olmadı. Ben de alıyorum telefon numarasını yazıyorum, seçilmiştir diye yazıyorum yani...” (*İlke – Female Grade-3 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of her classroom is İrem*).

E.66

“... Velilerle sorunlar bazen bu sınıf anneliği üzerinden de çıkıyor. Örneğin diyelim ki işte, 3 tane anne var, diyor ki işte, ben sınıf anneliği yaparım. E sen de bakıyorsun öğretmen olarak. Mümkün olduğu kadar ben Ayşe Fatma sen sınıf annesi ol demiyorum. Diyorum ki içinizden zamanı olan, sınıfımıza yardımcı olacak ve çocuklar arasında sorun yaratamayacak veliler arasında sorun yaratmayacak inşalardan bir kişi veya belki bir tanede yardımcı seçelim; sınıfımızın eğitim öğretim dışındaki diğer sosyal etkinliklerinde bize yardımcı olmak amacıyla... Ayşe çıkıyor, Fatma çıkıyor...” (*Galip – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 37 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Güliz*).

E.67

“... Bizim SA ilk toplantıda oy birliği ile seçildi. SA istiyorum dedi, öğretmenimiz, gönüllü olan var mı diye sordu. Birkaç kişi gönüllü oldu. Onlar oldu...” (*Zeynep – University graduate – Teacher at the same school – Her child attends grade 1 – Has 1 child in this school – Teacher: Fahri, CM: Berna & Jale*).

E.68

“... Komisyonu veli toplantısında gönüllülerin arasından ben seçiyorum. Sonra soruyorum kabul ediyor musunuz diye. Komisyonda şey oluşturduk mesela, bizim telefon zincirimiz var. Herkesi her konuda bu şekilde haberdar ediyorlar.

(Fatma – Female Grade-1 Teacher with 34 years of school experience – CM of her classroom is Mine).

E.69

“... Sınıf annesi tümüyle öğretmenin kontrolünde seçilir. Öğretmen seçer. Öğretmenin denetiminde ve yetkisindedir. Öğretmen kendisine en fazla kim yardımcı olabilecekse, bu konuşmadan görüşmeden belli olur bir süre sonra, onu kendisine temsilci olarak seçiyor ama bu seçim bazen değişik şekillerde olabiliyor. Bazen bizzat öğretmen tarafından atamakla da olabiliyor. Sınıf içinde veli toplantısı yapılırken ihtiyaçlar için kimi seçelim dendiğinde velilerin tercihleri doğrultusunda da olabiliyor. Gönüllü olarak ben bu işe talibim deyip ortaya çıkan da olabiliyor. Ama genel ağırlık olarak öğretmenin tercih ettiği ve ikinci olarak veli görüşü sınıf annesini belirler. Yönetim olarak bu sürece hiçbir dahlimiz yok...” *(Levent – Male School Vice Principle with 21 years of school experience).*

E.70

“... SA olmayı ben tercih ettim. Arkadaşlar istediler. Öğretmen isteyenler arasında baktı beni seçti. Ben sizinle çalışmak istiyorum dedi...” *(Mine (36) – Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 1 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Fatma).*

E.71

“... Geçen yıl başka bir arkadaşına yardım etmişim. Öğretmenlerin de hoşuna gitmiş. Kitap alırken, temizlik malzemesi alırken onların faturalarını öğretmene teslim ediyorum ben yılsonunda... Düzenli olması hoşuna gitmiş öğretmenin, bu sene de rica etti. Normalde yapmak istemiyorum. Zaten benim yeterince dolu bir hayatım var. Kırmak istemedim öğretmeni, biraz zorunlu oldu...” (Nevin (33) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – Has 1 child in this school – Medical nurse – Teacher: Necmi).

E.72

“... Genelde öğretmenlerin tercihi... Seçimle değil. Ben bir talepte bulunmuyorum ama öğretmenler seçiyor. Sonra veliler de memnun kalınca hep devam ettim... Beni SA olarak öğretmenler seçti hep. İlgili olduğum için seçti...” (Hayal (34) – College graduate – CM of Grade 4 – Has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Ali).

E.73

“... Ben olmadım öğretmen seçti. Önceki SA’lar doğum yapınca ve diğeri de işe girince benim üzerime kaldı...” (Aylin (49) – Highschool graduate – PTA president – Has 1 child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Former CM).

E.74

“... Bazı öğretmenler para toplamak istemediği için para işlerini yaptırmak için SA yapıyorlar. Öğretmen seçiyor. Öğretmenin tercihidir SA diye bir şey. Biz oylama bile yapmıyoruz. Öğretmen kendisi seçer... Benim SA olmamı istedi öğretmen ama benim evimin oğlum eve gelene kadar tertemiz olması lazım, yemeğimin de pişmesi lazım. O vakti okuldaki diğer çocuklara ayıramam. Eve girdiği zaman ben her şeyi bırakıp oğlumla ilgilenirim...” (*Uğur – College graduate – Former primary school teacher – Her child attends grade 2 – Has 1 child in this school – The teacher and the CM did not prefer to participate in the research*).

E.75

“... Nasıl çocukları sınıf başkanı olmak istiyorlarsa, o anneler de hevesle beni de görün beni de görün diye SA olmaya çabalyorlar. Kendilerini değerli hissetmeye ihtiyaçları var. Siz SA’ların veliler tarafından seçildiğini sanıyorsunuz ama seçici kurul gibi bir şey var arkalarında onların, o toplantıda kimin önerileceği belli, gelen veliler de önerilene oy veriyorlar. Çete gibiler...” (*Ümran – University graduate – Public Officer in a government office – Her child attends grade 4 – Has 1 child in this school – Teacher: Meltem, CM: Oya*).

E.76

“... Oğlum için işimi bıraktım, alerjisi vardı. Kızımda çalıştım. Kızım hatta bana dedi ki beni hep kreşlere verdin, neden benim için işini bırakmadın da kardeşim için

bıraktın dedi. Oğlumun alerjisi vardı, doktor dedi ki ya iş ya annelik dedi. Ben de işimi bıraktım. İş her zaman olur, parayı da zaten bir şekilde kazanırsın birikim yaparsın. Ama çocuğumun sağlığı geri gelmez dedim. Her şey çocuğum için...”

(Ceyhan (37) – Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 2 – Has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Especially escaped from participating in the research).

E.77

“... Her gün okula geliyorum. Çocuk memnun, kendini benim yanımda rahat hissediyor. Şefkat arıyor. Geliyor bana, gelmediğim zaman daha üzgün oluyor. Sen gelemeyince bana şunu yaptılar diyor. Arkadaşlarım diyor, onun annesi geliyor ona sataşma diyorlar. Şey yapıyorlar diyor mesela. Sen gel de benim yanımda ol, o zaman bana bir şey yapamıyorlar. Annesi görür, öğretmene söyler diye bir şey yapmıyorlar çocuğumu. Çocuğum içine kapanık ve sessiz bir çocuk. Zaten çocuklar sınıfta çok hırçın. Sataşıyorlar bizim çocuklara mesela, dişini kırdı, bir sürü şey yaptılar. Genelde okula gelmediğim günlerde bunu yapıyorlar çocuklara. O gün gelseydin okula bunu yapmazlardı diyor mesela. Sağlam dişi kırıldı çocuğun. O yüzden, ne yapalım dedim, bir sene daha dayanırım çocuğum için. Ortaokulda artık kendini toparlar. Evin de küçüğü olduğu için hep nazlı. Büyük çocuğum daha sorumsuz. Bu çocuğum her şeyini kendi hazırlar akşamdan. Büyük çocuğumun kalem kutusunu hala çantasına akşam ben koyarım. Büyüğü 8e gidiyor hala ben itekliyorum. Onun da başında durmak zorundayım. Onu da bıraksam hiç ona verdiğimin karşılığını alamıyorum. Dersle alakası yok...” *(Oya (35) – Primary*

school graduate – CM of Grade 4 – Has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Meltem).

E.78

“... Sürekli elimiz çocuklarımızın üzerindedir. Sadece ilkokulda değil, ben üniversitede de böyle bir anne olmalıyım...” (*Kiraz (35) – Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 4 – Has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Hilal).*

E.79

“... Çocuğum doğduktan sonra hep onun peşinde oldum. Benim bakmam gerekiyordu. Dışarıdan da isteğe bağlı olarak emeklilik ödemelerimi yaptım. Kariyerime çocuğum nedeniyle ara verdim. Oğlumun doğumuna kadar el sanatları çalışmalarım vardı, yurt dışına da gönderdim hatta. Ama oğlumun doğumundan sonra zaman ayıramadım... Sıradan bir anne olamadım, sıradan bir anne olsaydım çok yapmak istediğim şeyler vardı ama çocuğumla ilgilendim...” (*Aylin (49) – Highschool graduate – PTA president – Has 1 child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Former CM).*

E.80

“... Bazı veliler SA seçilmek için çok istekli oluyorlar. Bazen müthiş rekabet oluyor. Önceki yıllarda çekişmiş veliler varsa özellikle biri aday olunca öteki de olmak

istiyor. Ya da bir adayın olmasını istemiyor, itiraz edip başka birini öneriyor...”
(*Cafer – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of his classroom are Feza & Emine*).

E.81

“... Kadınların SA olmadaki motivasyonları, kimisi çocuğuna daha yakın olmak istiyor. Kimisi de belki sosyal ilişkilerini geliştirmek için...” (*Fatma – Female Grade-1 Teacher with 34 years of school experience – CM of her classroom is Mine*).

E.82

“... Bazı sınıf anneleri ev hayatından sıkılıyor ve çalışamayacağı için böyle bir görev almayı tercih ediyor...” (*Pınar (40) – Primary school graduate – CM of Grade 1 – Has 2 children in this school – Housewife – Teacher: Did not prefer to participate in the research*).

E.83

“... Biraz kimlik kazanmak da var. Söz sahibi olmak, kendini ifade etmek istiyor. Aile içerisinde huzursuz, kendi iç dünyasında huzursuz olup da okul ortamında kendini ispatlamaya çalışanlar var. Ev rolünden çıkıp buradaki role adapte olmak isteyenler de var. Dışarıda sosyalleşmek istiyor. Kısıtlı bir mekân içerisinde, o mekânı genişletmek istiyor. Bunlarda vakit çok... Evdeki rolünü dışarıda daha sözü

geçer bir hale getirmek istiyor. Öğretmenle ilişkilerde... Sınıf annesi deyince, herkes kendi evladı için geliyor. Sınıfa girince önce kendi evladına bir bakar..." (Aylin (49) – *Highschool graduate – PTA president – Has 1 child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Former CM*).

E.84

"... Biz de bir takım egolarımızı da tatmin ediyoruz. Bir boşluğu doldurmak gibi... Kendini biraz daha toplum içinde olayım, öğretmenle yakın olayım diye. Öğretmenle fikir alışverişi yapmak, öğretmenle her gün birlikte olmak tatmin edici bir şey... Kendini daha önemli hissediyorsun. Belki SA olursam öğretmen benim çocuğumla daha iyi ilgilenir diye de düşünüyor SA'lar... Ama sanırım anneler biraz da gezmek dolaşmak için çıkıyorlar evlerinden ve günde birkaç kere okula gelmeyi tercih ediyorlar. Evden bir an önce kendimi atayım diye bakıyorlar, evden kolay çıkamaz, okula yemek gerekçesiyle gelmek çok meşru..." (Buse (43) – *Vocational highschool graduate – Tea-lady in the same school – Has 2 children in this school – Former CM*).

E.85

"... Dertleri çocuklarının eğitim kurumuyla ilgili, çocuklarına daha yakın olma, öğretmene daha yakın olma, yönetime daha yakın olma anlayışını öne çıkaran velilerimiz de oluyor..." (Emir – *Male Grade-2 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Aynur*).

E.86

“... Bunlar bir işte çalışmayan, kendince bir şeyler yapmaya çalışan, kendisini göstermeye çalışan, ben de bir işe yarıyorum demek isteyen. Rekabet olursa oylama yapıyoruz... Bendeki sınıf annesinin çocuğu biraz problemlili bir çocuk... Çok yerinde duramayan bir çocuk... Tedavi görüyor. Sürekli sınıfta gezer dolaşır, arkadaşlarına karşı çok kötü davranışları var. Belki onu daha yakından görmek için sınıf annesi oldu annesi...” (*Burhan – Male Grade-3 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Lale*).

E.87

“... Bazıları bizim çizdiğimiz tabloyu kötüye kullanmak isteyenler de oluyor. Şöyle, yani okula giriş-çıkışta sanki vizesi sürekli verilmiş gibi... Ayrıcalık gibi hissedener de var. Tabii bunları eğitmek gerekiyor, konuşmak lazım... Bir de çocuğunu çok korumak isteyen, okula çok gelip gitmek isteyen bir de çok kardeşli veliler, okulda da birkaç öğrencisi var. Her iki çocuğunu da rahatça kontrol edebilmek ve her saniye okula girip çıkmak için tercih ediyorlar. Belki birinci sınıfın veli temsilcisi oldu ama 7. sınıftaki çocuğunu daha çok kontrol ediyor. İnsanlar daha çok kendileri istiyor bu tür insanlar. Ama bunların diğer veliler tarafından da onaylanması lazım. Benim seçimim değil...” (*Demir – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 36 years of school experience – Has no classroom mother*).

“... Çünkü ben kızımı bırakamadım. 35 yaşında anne oldum. Bazen diyorum ki geç kalmışım. Bazen diyorum ki iyi ki bu yaşta yapmışım. Ben kızımın hep göz göze diz dize büyüttüm. Çok erken konuşmayı öğrendi. Yazı yazmayı çok erken öğrendi. Çalışıyordum. Emekliliğimi yaştan dolayı bekliyorum. Üniversiteyi çalışırken okudum. İş hayatımı bitirmek istemedim ama eşim çalışmamı istemedi. Bütün zamanımı ilgimi çocuğuma verdim. Okula gelince de biraz yaramazdır. Birisi iter kakar, çeker, düşürür diye koruma içgüdüleriyle SA olmak istedim...” (*Lale (43) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – Has 1 child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Burhan*).

“... Çocuğumla daha yakın olmak birinci gerekçem. Ona herhangi bir şey olduğumda onun yanında olabilmek benim için çok önemli. Ama yine de belki de diğer çocuklara daha yakın davranıyorum... Burada mutlu oluyorum, çünkü bir işe yaradığımı düşünüyorum. Evde oturunca bir işe yaramıyorum. Temizlik yapıyorum, arkadaşlarımla vakit geçiriyorum ama bir işe yaramıyorum... SA değil de normal bir veli olsaydım içeri girmekte sorun yaşardım ama yine her gün gelecektim. Çünkü evim çok yakın. Birebir onları görmek, gözetlemek istiyorum. Zaten daha önce oğlumun başına da bir şey geldi. Arkadaşlarıyla kavga ettiler, karnına darbe aldı, apandisiti patladı ve bunu hastanede fark edemediler. 10 gün hastanede yattık, ateşini düşüremediler. O da beni belki de okula her gün gelmeye teşvik etti. Dişi kırıldı arkadaşlarıyla kavga edince. Kızım düştü bir keresinde sıranın demirine gözü geldi

doktor milyonda bir ihtimalle gözü kurtulmuş dedi. Bence böyle şeyler yaşadığım için yine de her gün okula gelecektim ben...” (*Hayal (34) – College graduate – CM of Grade 4 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Ali*).

E.90

“... Niye SA olmak ister? Çocuğuna mı güveni yok? Çevreye mi güveni yok? Sürekli çocuğun yanında mı olmak istiyor acaba? Öyle bir şey olabilir. Benim aklıma o geliyor açıkçası? Ya da başka yapacak bir işi yoktur, sıkılıyordur evde... Kendini bir şeylere vermek istiyordur, kendisi için sosyal bir aktivite olarak düşünüyordur. Ama bir yerden sonra keşke yapmasaydım demiş de olabilir. OAB’da olanlar genelde çocuğu yaramaz, başarısız ve çok ders çalışmayan çocuklar. Bu çocukların annelerinin hepsi OAB’de. Genel gözlemim o. Ya öğretmenlerle ilişkilerinde avantaj sağlayacaklarını düşünüyor olabilirler...” (*Zeynep – University graduate – Teacher at the same school – Her child attends grade 1 – Has 1 child in this school – (Teacher: Fahri, CM: Berna & Jale)*).

E.91

“... Mesela geçenlerde bir öğrencimizde problem vardı, öğretmen davranış notlarını 4 vermiş. Başarılı bir öğrenci ama sınıftaki arkadaşlarıyla gerçekten problemlili... Annesi geldi ortalığı birbirine kattı. Benim çocuğumun davranışına nasıl kötü not verirsiniz diye. Kendine yediremedi. Bu olay geçen yıl oldu. Bu sene baktık o çocuğun annesi hemen sınıf annesi olmuş... Hatta şöyle bir açıklama yaptı: baktım ki benim çocuğum yanlış anlaşılıyor, yanlış değerlendiriliyor, ben artık buradayım,

okuldayım. Şu anda kızının davranışlarını da öğretmen davranışlarını da kontrol ediyor, karneye bakacak yine...” (*Olçay – Female Councillor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*).

E.92

“... Genelde ön planda olmayı tercih eden ve bir şeyleri organize etmeyi düşünen kişiler SA olmayı tercih ediyor. Evi yakın olanlar, vakti olanlar... Bir de sınıfları kendi isteklerine göre yönlendirmek istiyorlar. Kararlar almak istiyorlar... SA olmak anneye kendisini öğretmen gibi hissettiriyor. Çocuklar öğretmenim diye konuşuyorlar onunla. Ev kadını oldukları için kendilerine bir statü kazandıklarını düşünüyorlar... Korumacılık gibi görünüyor ama aslında öyle değil, kendilerini hissettirmek istiyorlar okulda. Kendilerini çocukların karşısında öğretmen gibi hissediyorlar. Eve gittiklerinde eşlerine anlatacakları bir şeyleri oluyor...” (*Yeliz – University graduate – Teacher at the same school – Her child attends grade 2 – Has 2 children in this school – The teacher and the CM did not prefer to participate in the research*).

E.93

“... İki tür SA var. Birincisi çok işe karışanlar, onlar çok böyle ben bilirim, ben yaparım mantığıyla, liderlik vasfı yüksek galiba... İkincisi de sınırlarını bilen ve öğretmene gerçekten yardımcı olan ve çocuğuyla ilgilenen. Kendini ön plana koyan değil de öğretmene yardımcı olan SA'lar...” (*Verda – University graduate – Teacher*

at the same school – Her child attends grade 3 – Has 2 children in this school – Teacher: İlke, CM: İrem).

E.94

“... Sınıf annesi olmak için can atanlar aslında birbirlerine benzeyen karakterler. Otoriter figür. Çalışmıyor. Ama evde de son sözü onlar söylüyor. Evde de otoritesi olan kadınlar gelip sınıf annesi oluyorlar. Hepsinin içinde bir okumakla, yükselmekle, ilerlemekle ilgili bir ukdeleri var bence. Bunu genelleseyebilir miyim bilmiyorum ama belediyelerle de bağlantıları var. Bu kişilerin ailelerinde üniversite mezunları da olabiliyor kendileri üniversite mezunu olmasalar da... Ve onlardan sürekli örnek verirler. Benim şuyum şurada okudu, üniversite mezunu. Sanki onun tanıdığının üniversite mezunu olması kendisinin burada söz söylemesine etkisi olacaktı gibi... Belki de kendi ailelerindeki daha çok okumuş insanlarla yarışıyorlar. Rekabetçiler...” (*Olca – Female Councillor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*).

E.95

“... Bir anne her şeyden haberdar olabilmek için SA oluyor. Bence çocuğu ikinci planda... Okulda ne yapılıyor, çocuk bugün ne yapıyor, kendimi nasıl geliştirebilirim diye geliyorlar...” (*Çimen – Primary school graduate – Housewife – Her child attends grade 1 – Has 2 children in this school – Teacher: Fatma, CM: Mine*).

E.96

“... Maddi durumu kötü olmaması sınıf annesi seçilirken tercih sebebi olabiliyor çünkü bir telefon görüşmeleri yapacak, bazen sonradan geri almak kaydıyla da olsa cebinden katkılar yapacak, bunu rahat yapabilmesi gerekiyor. Çevresi geniş olacak, imkânları rahat olacak. Maddi imkânları ve boş zamanının olması gerekiyor...”

(Levent – Male School Vice Principle with 21 years of school experience).

E.97

“... Biraz da maddi durum önemli. Kendimden kütüphaneye kitaplar alıyorum. Durumunun iyi olması lazım... Para vermeyen veliler oluyor onların yerine de verdiğim oluyor...” *(Berna (38) – Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 1 – Has one child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Fahri)*

E.98

“... Bir de maddi açıdan rahat olması lazım. Ben mesela çocuğumun bir şeylere ihtiyacı olduğunda diğer çocuklara da aldım gözleri kalmasın diye. İki üç ayda bir çocuklara çikolata alırdığıdırım. Kalemleri kayboluyor kalem alırsınız. Mesela ihtiyacı olan çocuklar var, onların etkinlik paralarını veriyorum, okul kıyafetlerini alıyorum. Bunları çok yapıyorum. Çocuklar benim aldığımı bilmezler. Bir yerlerden gelmiş sanıyorlar. Benim çocuğum zaten bilmiyor...” *(Hayal (34) – College graduate – CM of Grade 4 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Ali).*

“... SA’lar eşlerinden özgür olabilmiş, ama onların parasıyla geçinen. Altlarında arabaları olan, alışveriş merkezlerine gidip limitsiz kredi kartlarını kullanabilecek, buradaki çocuklarına markalı mallar alabilecek kişiler. Gelir düzeyleri biraz daha yüksek ve maddi, manevi özgürlüğü eşlerinden alabilmiş kadınlar. Eşlerinin cüzdanını kullansalar da, onlardan izin alarak da iş yapsalar, bir şekilde istedikleri her şeyi yapabiliyorlar. Diğer kadınlar öyle değil, diğerleri iki adımlık yere giderken bile eşimden izin almak zorunda. Genelde çok çocukları var silik tiplerin. Gelir düzeyleri çok düşük, giyimleri kuşamları yerinde olmadığı için belki de o sahneye kendisini atamıyor. Çalışan annelerin de zaten vakti yok, olsa bile, bu kadınlarla vakit geçirmediikleri için onların sosyal ortamlarında değiller ve önerilmiyorlar. Zaten hiçbir SA kendi kendini önermez, hep onları birileri önerir. Benim bugüne kadar 4 seçimde gördüğüm hep birisi öneriyor. O da istemem yan cebime koy, yaparım bari napayım diyor. Ama birbirini tanıyan birkaç kişi arasında dönüyor. Bunlar bir sosyal gruplar, birbirlerini tanıyorlar, OAB’nin sosyal çevresiler. Gelir düzeyleri düşük değil, ama çok yüksek de değil, olsa kolejde okutulardı zaten çocuklarını...” (Ümran – University graduate – Public Officer in a government office – Her child attends grade 4 – Has 1 child in this school – Teacher: Meltem, CM: Oya).

E.100

“... Genelde OAB’ne durumu iyi olan, çok vakti olan, kendini öne çıkarmak isteyen, çevre edinmek isteyen, bakımlı, kadınlar. Çalışan bir kadın orada zaten yapamaz. Ama yapanlar hepsi birbirine benzer. Mutlaka bakımlılar, hiç makyajsız görmedim. Çok kendilerine güvenli ve havalı yürürler, salınarak yürürler, okulun müdürü sanırsın. Ben okul müdürünü o kadar havalı görmedim mesela. Ben yaparım, bene ederim havasında, arkada mekanizma nasıl işliyor onu hiç bilemiyorum...” (*Aslı – Vocational Highschool graduate – Office Manager – Former school parent – Has 1 child in this school – CM: was Aylin, now, the PTA president*).

E.101

“... İstanbul’da bu okuldan önce 2,5 yıl görev yaptığım diğer okul kenar mahalle okuluydu. Orada anneler bu kadar fazla gelmezlerdi. Hem eğitim düzeyi düşük olan hem ekonomik olarak fakir olan insanların yaşadığı bir semtti. Tabi durum çok daha değişikti. Velinin eğitimi çok iyi değilse, çocuğunun eğitimi ile de çok fazla yakından ilgilenmiyordu. Çok da okula gelip gitmiyordu. Romanların olduğu bir okuldu bu okul. O insanlar çok daha farklıydı. Toplantılara çok gelmezlerdi. Sürekli okula gidip gelen bir veli yoktu. Sınıf annesinin adı vardı ama hiçbir yaptığı şey yoktu. Sınıf annesi seçelim dedik, ama o da ötekiler gibi toplantı günü gelirdi sadece... Veliler taşrada da Roman mahallesinde de veliler hiç ekstra kaynaklar istemezlerdi. Burada hep ekstra kaynaklar filan istiyorlar. Satın almak için organizasyon yapıyorlar. Sürekli olarak en iyisini bulmaya çalışıyorlar çocukları için... Onun için hep para toplayıp hallediyorlar. Bizim öğretmen olarak müfredat

dışı kaynak aldırma hakkımız yok...” (*Burhan – Male Grade-3 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Lale*).

E.102

“... OAB ve SA’lar maddi olarak diğer velilere göre çok daha iyiler. Malları mülkleri var. Zaten bu kadar güven için ekonomik güven lazım...” (*Olca – Female Councillor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*).

E.103

“... Buradan önce Çağlayan’da çalıştım mesela bu okulla alakası yok. Çağlayan’daki okulda ben SA’ları tanımazdım. OAB’dekilerin yüzünü görmezdim. Öğretmenler odasına öyle zırt-vırt girmezlerdi. Burada veliler öğretmenlerle eşdeğer görüyorlar kendilerini. Buradaki veliler daha kültürlü, işleri var, maddi durumları çok daha iyi. Bir araya geliyorlar sürekli, kafelere gidiyorlar, OAB’de toplanıyorlar, sohbet ediyorlar. Öğretmenleri çok fazla eleştirebiliyorlar kendilerince. Burada öğretmenle tartışan çok veli görürsünüz. Çağlayan’da hiç böyle bir şey göremezdiniz. Hatay’da ise hiç-hiç yoktu. Eti senin kemiği benim derlerdi. Buradaki veliler çocuklarıyla ilgililer ama biraz da çocuklarına zarar veriyorlar. Kafede sigara içerken öğretmenleri ve velileri konuşuyorlar ve o sırada çocukları yanlarında. Bu çok yanlış... Eleştirilen öğretmen çocuğun gözünden düşüyor...” (*Yeliz – University graduate – Teacher at the same school – Her child attends grade 2 – Has 2 children in this school – The teacher and the CM did not prefer to participate in the research*).

“... Başka SA’lar hafta bir dışarıda kendi sınıflarını toplayan, birlikte kurslara götüren anneler var, geziler, konserler, bayağı etkinlikler filan yapıyorlar. Bunların başında SA’lar var ve diğer annelerle birlikte karar veriyorlar. İnternette blog oluşturuyorlar ve ödevleri projeleri, etkinlikleri filan paylaşıyorlar. Onlara çok özeniyorum. Google grupları var, ödevleri bile orada konuşuyorlar. Orada SA günlük rapor veriyor velilere. Okuldaki veliler her şeyden haberdar. Şair nedimde böyle... Bunu burada da yapmak istedik ama anne burada kendi telefonunu vermiyor. Eğitim düzeyiyle alakalı. Şair Nedimde çok farklı... Benim yeğenim karşıda iyi bir devlet okulunda okuyor. Orada veliler direkt müdürün karşısındalar. Müdürden hesap soruyorlar. Orada da SA’nın bir önemi yok. Orada daha pasif... Orada veli direkt müdürü karşısına alıyor. Herkes SA orada. Çünkü orada maddi standart çok yüksek... Orada 3 sınıftaki çocuğun cebinde iphone var, çocuk iphone kaybediyor, veli müdürden hesap soruyor mesela. Müdür ona hesap veriyor. Benim kız kardeşim orada öğretmenlik yaptı. SA filan tanımazlar veliler direkt müdüre gider. Orada da SA var ama işlevi farklı. Buradaki gibi değil. Buradakilerin eğitim düzeyi düşük...”

(Rana – Highschool graduate – Quit work for childcare – Her child attends grade 3 – Has 1 child in this school – Teacher: Burhan, CM: Lale).

“...Velilerden çok cahil insanlar var. Sinirli ve laf yetiştirmeye kalkan veliler var. Öğretmeni gelip bana şikâyet eden veliler var. Mutlaka bizim arkamızdan da konuşuluyordur. Bizim çocuklarımızın kayrıldığını düşünüyorlardır. Hâlbuki ben

öğretmene baştan söyledim eti senin kemiği benim diye... Her türlü veli var.

Lahmacun getirip sınıfı kokutanlar var. Yemek yedirip ortalığı pis bırakan veliler var. Sorumsuz veliler de var. İyi veliler var. Çalışan veliler ev kadını olan velilerden çok daha ilgililer. Ama ev kadınları daha çok görünüyorlar ama daha az katkıda bulunuyorlar sınıfın işlerine..." (Mine (36) – *Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 1 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Fatma*).

E.106

"...SA olarak yapmaktan en çok hoşlandığı iş: en zor kısmı kendini ifade edemeyen velilerle iletişim (alt sınıf, eğitimsiz). Veliler erkek olsaydı bu sorunları yaşamazdım çünkü erkekler daha doğrudan söylerler, kendi aralarında konuşmazlar, kendi kendilerine kuruyorlar. Bu kadınlara özgü bir durum... Ben işyerinde çalışırken de görüyordum. O veliler sindirilmiş. Eşleri babaları, abileri sindirmiş. Kendi gibi olan bir insanla dedikodu yapıyor, benim gibi insanlarla iletişim kurmuyor..." (Berna (38) – *Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 1 – Has one child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Fahri*)

E.107

"...Veliler okul sistemi içine girmesinler, o kadar değişik insanlar, o kadar değişik düzeyler var ki, veliler olmasın okulda. İçimizde ateistler de var, Kürtler de var... Kimisi öyle isteyecek, kimisi böyle isteyecek. Olmaz öyle şey... Topluma saygı okulda veriliyor, velilere bırakılsa olmaz. Öğretmenimiz çok hoşgörülü, ben yetersiz görüyorum. Öğretmen yumruğunu masaya vurabilmeli. Öğretmen kulak çekti diye

ortalığı ayağa kaldırıyorlar, abartmamak kaydıyla çekebilir...” (Lale (43) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – Has 1 child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Burhan).

E.108

“... SA görevini yapabilecek olanlar daha sosyal olanlar, iletişimi daha iyi olanlar. Benim gözlemlediğim, velilerin kendi aralarında ben bu işi yapabilirim, birlikte bir şeyler yapabiliriz diyebilenler, özgüveni olanlar, eğitimi biraz yüksek olanlar. Onlar ön planda. Büyük oranda buradakiler çalışmayanlar. Ama ekonomik durumu da nispeten daha iyi olanlar. Çalışan annelerin öyle bir zamanları yok...”

(Emir – Male Grade-2 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Aynur).

E.109

“... Geçenlerde bir okula toplantıya gittik müdür yardımcımızla. Ortada birileri dolanıyor. Hemen anladım OAB ve SA’lar. Yine bir başka toplantıya daha gittik, müdür ben okul meclisi başkanı ve OAB başkanları. İnanır mısınız, hepsinin saçları platin sarıydı. Bu bile bana tuhaf geldi. Nasıl hepsinin saç rengi bile aynı olabilir. Bir de çok bakımlılar...” (Olca – Female Councillor Teacher with 2 years of school experience).

E.110

“... Çok fakir durumda biriyse SA olamaz. Telefonunda kontör olması lazım en azından... Biraz rahat olması lazım...” (*Jale (40) – Primary School Graduate – CM of Grade 1 – has 2 children in this school – Housewife – Teacher: Fahri*).

E.111

“... Hamilelik esnasında bel fitiği rahatsızlığı geçirdim, çocuğumu evde yardımcımlarla büyüttüm. Evde hep bir yardımcıml oldu. Yatılı ya da yazın giden. Hayatımız böyle geçti. Nasıl geçtiğini de anlamıyorum. Bir de 4-4'lük bir anne olmak istiyorsanız zaman yetmiyor. Kendime zaman bulamıyorum ben...” (*Aylin (49) – Highschool graduate – PTA president – Has 1 child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Former CM*).

E.112

“... Maddi sıkıntı çeken bir anne SA olmak için aday olmuyor zaten. Bu vakti bir yerde para karşılığı çalışarak değerlendirmeyi tercih eder. Belli bir düzeni oturtmuş, yediği önünde yemediği arkasında, belli kaygıları olmayan, gideyim topluma karışayım diyen kişiler genelde gönüllü olarak SA olur...” (*Buse (43) – Vocational highschool graduate – Tea-lady in the same school – Has 2 children in this school – Former CM*).

E.113

“... SA’lar eşlerinden özgür olabilmiş, ama onların parasıyla geçinen. Altlarında arabaları olan, alışveriş merkezlerine gidip limitsiz kredi kartlarını kullanabilecek, buradaki çocuklarına markalı mallar alabilecek kişiler. Gelir düzeyleri biraz daha yüksek ve maddi, manevi özgürlüğü eşlerinden alabilmiş kadınlar. Eşlerinin cüzdanını kullansalar da, onlardan izin alarak da iş yapsalar, bir şekilde istedikleri her şeyi yapabiliyorlar. Diğer kadınlar öyle değil, diğerleri iki adımlık yere giderken bile eşimden izin almak zorunda...” (Ümran – University graduate – Public Officer in a government office – Her child attends grade 4 – Has 1 child in this school – Teacher: Meltem, CM: Oya).

E.114

“... SA’yı biz seçtik, iki kişiydi, olmak istediler biz de seçtik. Ama SA onun yanında seçtiğimiz ikinci SA’yı diskalifiye edip kendi yakın arkadaşını SA yaptı. Sesimizi çıkarmadık. Çok politikacı davrandılar, herkesle arkadaş oldular. Telefonlaşmalar filan... Ne tür anneler SA olarak tercih edilir? Biz SA seçtiğimizde kimseyi tanımıyorduk. Seçtiğimizin birinin maddi durumu hiç iyi değildi, diğeri daha modern giyiniyordu ve maddi durumu iyi görünüyordu. Ama dediğim gibi modern giyinenler maddi durumu iyi olmayan SA’yı diskalifiye edip kontrolü ele aldılar. Kendi kendilerine, o da zaten onlarla savaş içine girmeyi göze alamadı, kabullendi. Görüntü olarak da bu önemli bence, giyim kuşamla da SA olduğunu göstermen lazım. Giyimin her şeye etkisi var...” (Tülin – Primary school graduate – Housewife

– Her child attends grade 5 – Has 1 child in this school – Teacher: Cafer, CM: Feza & Emine).

E.115

“... Veliler öncelikle öğretmeni değil, beni ararlar. Benim akşam 6dan 11e kadar cep telefonum da ev telefonum da sürekli çalışır. Kimi ödevini unuttur, kimi çantasını unuttur, ben bilirim diye beni ararlar. Direkt öğretmeni arattırmıyorum. Önce beni ararlar, ben öğretmenle görüşür onlara haber veririm. Ben kendimi böyle görevlendirdim. İkinci öğretmen gibiyim...” (Ceyhan (37) – Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 2 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Especially escaped from participating in the research).

E.116

“... Kendilerini ayrıcalıklı görüyorlar çünkü öğretmene çok yakın görüyorlar hatta diğer velilere bu konuda vaatlerde bulunabiliyorlar “ben konuşurum, senin işini hallederim” gibi... Oysaki veli ertesi gün gelebilir ve bize iletir. Bu ilişkiyi iktidar için kullanıyor. Bazen böyle diğer velilerin öğretmenle diyaloguna engel de olabiliyorlar...” (Verda – University graduate – Teacher at the same school – Her child attends grade 3 – Has 2 children in this school – Teacher: İlke, CM: İrem).

E.117

“... Bazı sınıf anneleri kendilerini ayrıcalıklı hissedip bunu öğretmenlere karşı kullanıyorlar. Kendilerini okulda çok güçlü zannedebiliyorlar... Örneğin OAB başkanı eski bir veli ve SA ve bize hükmetmeye çalıştı. Ben de tavır koydum. Ağladı, müdüre çıktı. Ben de müdüre hakkımı savundum...” (*Meltem – Female Grade-4 Teacher with 35 years of school experience – CM of his classroom are Berna & Jale*).

E.118

“... Çocuğumun boş vakitlerini nasıl geçireceğine ben karar verebiliyorum. Diğer anneler çocukların dersleri boş mu geçti, der mi yaptılar, karar veremiyorlar. Öğretmenle birlikte karar veriyoruz neler yapılacağına bazen. Mesela benim çocuğum çok fazla resim sevmez. Ben de boş vakitlerde öğretmenin resim yaptırmasına engel olur, başka şeylere yönlendiririm. Önceki öğretmenimiz çok sık toplantılara katılıyordu, dersler bana kalıyordu, o zamanlar ben çoğunlukla resim yerine müzikle çocukları eğlendiriyordum...” (*Lale (43) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – Has 1 child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Burhan*).

E.119

“...Bir SA istediği her şeyi okul içinde daha rahat yaptırır. Herkesi tanıdığı için herkesle ilişki kurması çok kolaydır...” (*Zeynep – University graduate – Teacher at*

the same school – Her child attends grade 1 – Has 1 child in this school – (Teacher: Fahri, CM: Berna & Jale).

E.120

“... Onlar daha çok ilgili oluyorlar her şeyle. Yaptıkları işlerle bizi eziyorlar. Her etkinlikte onun lafı geçiyor. Bir gün çocuğum bana geldi, anne benim saçımın 23 Nisan’da düz olması gerekiyormuş dedi. Hâlbuki kızımın saçı kıvrırcık... Ona bile SA karar veriyor. Hem de ailelere sorma gereği bile duymuyorlar... Mesela ben o gün SA ile bir tartışma yaşamışsam hıncını sınıfta benim çocuğumdan çıkarmaya çalışıyor... Öğretmenler de bazen istemiyorlar SA. Ben kendim hallederim zaten bir su parası toplayacağım ne olacak dedi... Vazgeçti SA’dan. Duran koca... Mesela SA çocuklara dışarıdan İngilizce kursu aldırırım diyor. Biz sınıfta oyluyoruz. 37 kişiden sadece 10 kişi kabul ediyor. Ama SA yine de bizim kararımızı dikkate almıyor, tamam şu kadar çocuğunkini de ben karşılarım diyor, artık nasıl karşılıyorsa, sonra yine onun dediği oluyor... 5-6 tane veli SA olarak sanki işleri güçleri yok, burada okulu organize etmeye çalışıyorlar, bunu öğretmen söylüyor. Hâlbuki onların öyle bir yetkileri yok. OAB zaten var. Bunlar ne diye ortalıklarda geziyorlar anlamıyorum... SA’lar ortalığı karıştırıyorlar. Dışarıda bahçede çocukların kendi aralarında yaşadıkları bir olayı gelip hemen öğretmene kendi kafalarına göre yetiştiriyorlar. SA rehber öğretmenin işini de yapmaya çalışıyorlar... Öğretmene diğer velileri şikâyet edip öğretmenin gözüne girmeye çalışıyor SA. Öğretmeni kendi fikri ile dolduruyor gaza getiriyor, kendi fikrini öğretmene söyletiyor, sonra itiraz edemiyoruz...” (Çimen – Primary school graduate – Housewife – Her child attends grade 1 – Has 2 children in this school – Teacher: Fatma, CM: Mine).

E.121

“... Özgürlüklerini ilerletmek, toplum içinde bir yere gelmek için SA olmak onlar için bir basamak. Bizim toplumunuzda bu kartlar ve etiketler çok önemli...” (*Ümran – University graduate – Public Officer in a government office – Her child attends grade 4 – Has 1 child in this school – Teacher: Meltem, CM: Oya*).

E.122

“... Çocuğumun boş vakitlerini nasıl geçireceğine ben karar verebiliyorum. Diğer anneler çocukların dersleri boş mu geçti, der mi yaptılar, karar veremiyorlar. Öğretmenle birlikte karar veriyoruz neler yapılacağına bazen. Mesela benim çocuğum çok fazla resim sevmez. Ben de boş vakitlerde öğretmenin resim yaptırmasına engel olur, başka şeylere yönlendiririm. Önceki öğretmenimiz çok sık toplantılara katılıyordu, dersler bana kalıyordu, o zamanlar ben çoğunlukla resim yerine müzikle çocukları eğlendiriyordum...” (*Lale (43) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – Has 1 child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Burhan*).

E.123

“... Öğretmenlerle daha sıcak ilişkiler kuruyorlar. Kimileri bunu kullanıyor. Mesela not olarak kullanmak isteyenler oluyor. Not zamanı gözünüzün içine bakanlar oluyor. Tabi bu öğretmenin profesyonelliğine bağlı... Kendilerini ayrıcalıklı

görüyorlar çünkü öğretmene çok yakın görüyorlar hatta diğer velilere bu konuda vaatlerde bulunabiliyorlar “ben konuşurum, senin işini hallederim” gibi... Oysaki veli ertesi gün gelebilir ve bize iletebilir. Bu ilişkiyi iktidar için kullanıyor. Bazen böyle diğer velilerin öğretmenle diyaloguna engel de olabiliyorlar...” (*Verda – University graduate – Teacher at the same school – Her child attends grade 3 – Has 2 children in this school – Teacher: İlke, CM: İrem*).

E.124

“... Sınıf anneleri burada ticaret de yapıyorlar açıkçası. AVON satmak ya da mesela bir tanesi Koton’un ihraç fazlası ürünlerini burada öğretmenlere satıyordu. Geçen işte Biber kafede toplandılar, gecelik filan gelmiş, onları satmışlar. Okulla ilişkilerini iyi tuttıkları sürece öğretmenler alıyorlar yani. Bir kapı yani OAB veya SA olmak. Okula gelmek için diğer öğretmenleri tanımak için, diğer velileri tanımak için. Çünkü sınıf annelerinde diğer velilerin isimleri ve telefonları oluyor. Arayıp ben AVON satıyorum almak ister misiniz diyebiliyor...” (*Olca – Female Councillor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*).

E.125

“... Bizim okulda OAB seçimleri çok çekişmeli geçiyor. Gruplar birbirlerini eleştiriyorlar aynı siyasi partiler gibi... Bir önceki dönemin icraatlarını eleştiriyorlar. Kendilerini tanıtıyorlar işte şu başkan ya da yönetimde, biz geldiğimiz zaman şunları yapcaz. Bunları vadediyoruz. Kendi programları 2 yıllık 3 yıllık işte neyse onları anlatırlar, propaganda yaparlar. Kart ve broşür basarlar, bir iki ay o seçim tantanası

sürer. Kadınlar OAB'e aday olduklarında seçim günü o annelerin kocaları da gelir, herkese propaganda yaparlar. Bazen bizim öğretmen olduğumuzu bilmeyip bize de oy kullanmamız için propaganda yaparlar... (he laughs) ben çok hoşlanıyorum... Seçime katılan grupların temelinde bir siyasi eğilim vardır. Ama daha çok okulun icraatları, yapılan ve yapılmayan şeyler, onlar üzerinde daha çok duruyorlar. Ama temel şeylerinde bir siyasi şey kesinlikle var. Muhtarlık seçimi gibi bir kalabalık oluyor burada... Acayip bir ortam... İcraatları ön plana çıkarıyorlar, genellikle okul yönetimi eleştiriyorlar. Ya da okul yönetimi ile birlikte şunları yaptık, bunları yaptık onu anlatıyorlar. Hatta ben kimi yerlerde okul müdürlerinin savunma yaptığını bile gördüm. Ve her gelen yönetim okula bir katkıda bulunmaya çalışıyor. Bizde OAB iki dönemdir. Tekrar seçilebilmek için iyi şeyler yapmaları lazım. OAB'nin ciddi gücü var bu okulda. Mesela okulun üst katına müthiş bir spor salonu yaptırıyorlar şimdi..." (Cafer – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of his classroom are Feza & Emine).

E.126

"... Burada parasal işlere OAB bakıyor. O da bence onlara bir güç sağlıyor. Bizim müdürden de kaynaklanıyor olabilir. Yumuşak başlı ve her şeye tamam diyen birisi... Bir şey yapılacaksa OAB başkanının daha çok sözü geçiyormuş gibi geliyor. Mesela üst katlarda inşaat varken orası açık ve soğuktan içerisi. Dediler ki sınıflara UFO alınsın. Müdür buna taraftar olmadı okulun parası yok diye ama OAB başkanı alacağız dedi yani... Soğuk. Ve gitti aldı geldi. Bence velileri örgütledi. Üst katlardaki veliler zaten şikâyetçiydi. OAB başkanının velilere ulaşması müdürün ulaşmasından daha kolay. Birkaç tane veliyle birlikte gidince müdürün üstünde baskı

oluştı, o da gitti aldı zaten. İkna kabiliyetleri çok yüksek gerçekten, böyle özellikleri de var. Müdür hayır dediğinde gidip bunu velilere anlatacak. UFO almaya çalıştım ama müdür bey izin vermedi... Paralar da çocukların ailesinden gelen para ve kantinden gelen para... Bunlar OAB’de toplanıyor. OAB hesabı var, oraya yatıyor para. Yani müdür de durumun farkında, UFO aldırmasa müdürü konuşacaklar...”
(*Olcay – Female Councillor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*).

E.127

“... OAB ile ilişkilerim güzel. 2 yıldır başkanlığa adaydım ben, 2 yıldır seçimlere giriyorum. Ama olmadı, daha doğrusu şundan dolayı olmadı; son bir hafta kala karar verdim. Çalışma yapamadım. Son dakikada karar vermeme rağmen 50 oy almıştım. Geçen sene girdiğimde 100 oy aldım. Onlar da 180 civarı bir oy aldılar. Ama 7-8 yıldır OAB’deler onlar. Başka şeyler de girdi işin içine... OAB onlar içeride oldukları için müdürle de daha birebir irtibatlılar, belediyelerle herkesle irtibatları var. Okul zamanında velilere telefon açıyorlar, gelin bizim için oy kullanın. Bayağı bir çevreleri var ve herkesle irtibat halindedir. Ama benim öyle bir olanağım yok. Ben ancak kendi sınıfımın velilerinin telefonlarına sahibim, onlarda herkesinki var. Onlar bir adım önde başlıyorlar. Şöyle bir şey oldu, bin kere pişmanım seçime girdiğime. İlk sene seçime girdiğim zaman, bana da bir söz hakkı verilsin, ben de neden OAB başkanı olmak istiyorum onu anlatmak istedim. Bir ekip kurdum kendime ama onlar çalışıyorlardı, küçük çocukları vardı, çalışamadılar, tek başıma çalıştım. Seçimde bile 2-3 kişi vardı yanımda. Kendimi tanıttım, ben buyum, şu nedenle buraya gelmek istiyorum dedim. Ama şöyle bir oyun yaptılar. Açık oy sistemi olsun dediler, asla kabul etmiyorum dedim. Birinci sene çok fazla bir sorun

yaşanmadı. Ama ikincide 100 oya çıktık, ama bize söz hakkı verilmedi. Zaten şakşakçılarını önlere oturtmuşlar, bir yıl boyunca neler yaptıklarını anlatıp alkışlattılar. Söz hakkı bitti, buydun sandıklara dediler, ben çıktım neden ben kendimi ifade edemeyecek miyim dedim. Pardon dedi ama insanlar çıkmaya başladılar. Konuşma yapamadık. Sonra çok pişman oldum, hiç seçime girmeyecektik, siz seçiminizi yapmışsınız diyecektik. Bizi duyan a yeni grup siz misiniz, ben şunlardan şikâyetçiyim diyenler oldu...” (*İrem (33) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – Has 1 child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: İlke*).

E.128

“... OAB ile bir ilişkim yok, sadece para yatırmaya giderim. Oy ver diye kâğıt dağıtırlar. Ben oy vermeye de gitmiyorum. Üç kuruş fazla vereni istediği sınıfa verdiler. Bana zorluk çıkardılar. Başka mahallede oturanlar daha fazla para veriyor diye daha iyi öğretmene verildiler. Ben sırf çocuğumun okulu için buraya taşındım, ama yardımcı olmadılar. Ben pek güvenmiyorum OAB’ne de idareye de. Nefret ediyorum hepsinden. Bir tek öğretmenimiz Hüsnü Bey’i seviyorum. Onun hatırı için SA oldum zaten...” (*Nevin (33) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – has 1 child in this school – Medical nurse – Teacher: Necmi*).

E.129

“... Bilinçli derken, burada bulunma amacımız, görevlerimiz ki bu sene tek imza yetkisi yemekhane anlaşması, servis anlaşması konularında bize verildi. Müdür beyi

de devreden çıkardı ilçe milli eğitim. Sadece OAB başkanı. Bu da beni rahatsız ediyor aslında. Bizim burada bulunma amacımız belli. Bazı okullarda bu odalar farklı anlamlarda kullanılıyor. Gelir kapısı olarak görülüyor veliler açısından. Biz bunun örneklerini gördük zaten. Biz bunu kaldırdık. Bizim bir banka hesabımız var. Geldiğimden beri en yüksek para benim zamanımda oldu bankada. Aşağıya da astım, her şey makbuz karşılığındadır. Dosyalarımız hesaplarımız her şey açık. İsteyen inceleme yaptırabilir. Bizim okulda müdür ve müdür yardımcımızla hiçbir sorunumuz yok. Çünkü bu konuda mutabıkız. Her şeyimiz açık, ortada, alınanlar, verilenler her şey belli. Bunun bilincinde olacak insanlar OAB'de. Ailemden hastalık olduğu zaman bile inanın burayı düşünüyorum. Bu sorumluluğu aldım ve bu sorumluluğu üstlenecek arkadaşlarımı yetiştirmek istiyorum. Ben buradan gidebileceğim zaman okulu taşıyabilecek bir ekip işidir. Kimdir, OAB, müdür, müdür yardımcıları ve öğretmenler. Bugün bölgenin pilot okuluysak, bölgenin sevilen bir okuluysak bunlar hep bizim çalışmalarımızdan kaynaklı. Ama ekibim içinde inisiyatif olan biziz. Yine de bana geldikleri zaman ben o inisiyatifi kullanmıyorum önce bir müdüre müdür yardımcılara gönderiyorum. Onları atlamıyorum. Mütevazı olmaya çalışırım. Orada yine yetkimi kullanmamaya çalışırım. Ön plana çıkmamayı severim. İşte bu bilinci taşımak lazım... Şimdi ekibimdeki arkadaşlara nasıl davranmak gerekir, ne yapmak nasıl yapmak, nasıl yapmamak gerekir, işi öğretmeye çalışıyoruz. Aramızdaki insanlar bilinçli ve burada olması gereken insanlar. Burası keyfe keder bir yer değil, seçilmiş ve imza yetkisi olan insanlarız. Mesela okul müdürünün tek imza yetkisi var, benim iki imza etkim var... Okulda bütün sorunlar bizim odaya gelir..." (Aylin (49) – *Highschool graduate – PTA president – Has 1 child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Former CM*).

“... Bir gezide benim gibi dışlanmış anne grubundan bir anne kadınların şikâyeti de şu, hep aynı kesimler bir arada sosyalleşiyor. Çocukları da öyle, bizim çocuklarımız da o grupların içine giremiyor ve dışlanıyor, biz de veliler olarak dışlanıyoruz.

SA’lığı burada o kadınlara bir tanınma hakkı, gruba kabul edilme hakkı veriyor. Bu bir klan, kesinlikle bir kast sistemi... Eğer yönetme egosu yüksekse OAB’ne girer, belediye ile yakın temas halindedir. Kadın kollarında filan da aktifler, siyasi kimlik de ediniyorlar. Onların bütün amacı çalışan kadın olmadık, ev kadını profilinden kurtulalım, aktif kadın, konuşan kadın, siyasi kimliği olan kadın olalım. İyi bir şey, kötü bir şey değil ama bunu çocukları kullanarak yapmaları kötü. Çünkü çocuklarına yansıtıyorlar. Bilinçleri oturmadığı için. Mesela şimdiki OAB başkanı bir SA idi, OAB başkanının yardımcısının ıdısının bıdısının bıdısıydı. Sonra OAB başkanı oldu, çünkü başkanın çocuğu mezun oldu, meydan ona açıldı. Popülaritesini, edindiği çevreyi kullanarak şak diye oraya geldi. Şimdi çocuklarımızı geziye götürüyor, diyor ki “ilk yaptıkları hatada arabaya geri bindirip geri göndermesini bilirim”.

Öğretmenlerden de çıt çıkmıyor. Bu bir veli, benim çocuğumun üstünde hiçbir hakkı yok. Öğretmene o hakkı vermedim ki ben o veliye hiç vermem. Benim çocuğumu belediyenin lütfettiği bir geziye götüreceğim, tamamen kendi isteği, ben götür demedim...” (*Ümran – University graduate – Public Officer in a government office – Her child attends grade 4 – Has 1 child in this school – Teacher: Meltem, CM: Oya*).

E.131

“... Başka belediyelerde de okul yapmasalar bile okula çeşitli yardımlar yapıyor. Ben mesela başka bir ilçede oturuyorum, zaman zaman belediyelerin afişlerini görüyorum şu şu okullara kırtasiye yardımları yaptık diye... Reklamlarını görüyorum. OAB ile belediyeler genellikle işbirliği içinde. OAB de diğer velilere sınıf anneleri vasıtasıyla ulaşıyor. Bir başka şey, belediyeler kendi anlaşmaları doğrultusunda da şeyleri yönlendiriyorlar, velileri yönlendiriyorlar. Ne bileyim işte onları toplantılarına götürüyorlar. Çok siyasete girmek istemiyorum ama örneğin seçim zamanında OAB’ler veya onlara yakın olan kişileri çeşitli toplantılara, şunlara bunlara kendi etkinliklerine katmaya, onlardan faydalanmaya çalışıyorlar. ... bir durum meydana geldi ki öğretmen de olayın içerisine katılarak şikâyet konusu olmaya kadar gitti bu... Kadınlar sınıf annesi olmak istiyorlar çünkü öğretmene yakın olması... Bir başka şe, ben filan sınıfın annesiyim. İsim şey yapmak. OAB’ne girmenin de bir adımı... Diyelim ki burada gösteriyorsun kendini... Hatta benim o dediğim, birlikte çalıştığımız o veli, bir müddet sonra orada OAB başkanı oldu. Yani sınıf anneliği OAB’nin bir adımıdır. Bir tür siyasi mücadele...” (*Galip – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 37 years of school experience (CM of his classroom is Güliz).*)

E.132

“... Bir tane veli biliyorum mesela SA, OAB’den, şimdi Belediyeye yakın. Oraya projeler filan sunuyor ve çalışıyor. Bu arada OAB’dekiler belediyenin kadın kollarına da girdiler. Başka belediyeden kadınlar geldiler bir toplantı vardı. Belediye başkanı ilçe örgütlenmesi ile ilgili çok iyi çalışıyor ve okullarla da çok bağlantılı. 23

Nisanda bütün okulları gezdi. Sürekli okul ziyaretleri yapar. Okullarda da en yakın olduğu yer OAB. Oradan yürüyor. Mesela ben okulu geziye götüreceğim belediyeden servis ayarlamak için aradım, günlerce ulaşamadım OAB'ne söyledim hemen ayarladılar. Belediye ile ilişkilerini de okuldaki pozisyonları sayesinde kuruyorlar. Yani okuldaki pozisyonları onlara farklı kapıları açıyor. Burada biriktirdikleri sermaye ile gidiyorlar belediyeye. Yoksa onlara bu kadar kapılar açılmaz. Belediye başkanı okula geleceği gün OAB okulda bir şaşa yaratıyor. Belediye başkanının istediği etki de bu. Bu etkiyi de OAB sayesinde yapabiliyor. OAB da bunun karşılığını alıyor. OAB'e de SA'lıktan geçiyorlar. Okullara yaptırdığı salonlar ve tesislerde Atatürk'ün sözünün yanında belediye başkanının sözü de yazar. Okullara yapılan politik yatırım... Bu da OAB üzerinden yani velilerden geçer...”

(Olca – Female Councillor Teacher with 2 years of school experience).

E.133

“... Mesela ben okulu geziye götüreceğim belediyeden servis ayarlamak için aradım, günlerce ulaşamadım OAB'ne söyledim hemen ayarladılar...” *(Olca – Female Councillor Teacher with 2 years of school experience).*

E.134

“... Belediye ile ilişkilerini de okuldaki pozisyonları sayesinde kuruyorlar. Yani okuldaki pozisyonları onlara farklı kapıları açıyor. Burada biriktirdikleri sermaye ile gidiyorlar belediyeye. Yoksa onlara bu kadar kapılar açılmaz. Belediye başkanı okula geleceği gün OAB okulda bir şaşa yaratıyor. Belediye başkanının istediği etki

de bu. Bu etkiyi de OAB sayesinde yapabiliyor. OAB da bunun karşılığını alıyor. OAB'e de SA'lıktan geçiyorlar. Okullara yaptırdığı salonlar ve tesislerde Atatürk'ün sözünün yanında belediye başkanının sözü de yazar. Okullara yapılan politik yatırım... Bu da OAB üzerinden yani velilerden geçer..." (Olçay – Female Councillor Teacher with 2 years of school experience).

E.135

"... OAB, SA işbirliği, mesela başkanımız Sarıgül'ümüz gelecek, 100 kişi SA'lardan uygun gördüğünüz velilerinizden yiyecek, bir aktivite, uygun gördüğünüz velilerinizi çağırın diye SA'lardan destek istiyoruz..." (Feza (40) – Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 1 child in this school – Housewife – Teacher: Cafer).

E.136

"... Bizim geçen sene okulumuzda her ay neredeyse ilçe milli eğitim müdürümüz Yunus bey, kaymakam beyimiz, başkanımız, her 15 günde bir veya ayda bir buradaydı. Sürekli faaliyetler yapmamız, bölgeden tiyatrolarda birincilikler kazanmış olmamız, halk oyunlarında keza öyle... Evvelki seneye kadar şişli bölgesinde bizim okulumuz Maçka İlköğretim ile aynı puandaydılar. Başarılıydılar. Düşünün ki Maçka İlköğretimde 30 kişilik sınıflarda ve bizim okulda sınıflarda 55 kişi ve aynı puan. Belediye başkanımız geçen gelişinde bizim okulumuzu pilot bölge seçeceğini söyledi. Özellikle bizim ekibin görevde kalmasını çok istiyor. Biz de elimizden

geleni yapmaya çalışıyoruz...” (Aylin (49) – Highschool graduate – PTA president – Has 1 child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Former CM).

E.137

“... OAB çok eksik... SA’larla haftalık, aylık toplantılar yapmalı. Bakıyorum, sanki Mustafa Sarıgül’e çalışıyorlar. Bu OAB seçim bürosu gibi çalışıyor. Bir seçim deposu olmamalı veliler. Benim OAB şişli belediyesine değil, çocuğuma çalışmalı. Şu okulun bir bahçe düzeni yok. Bir güvenlik kamerası yok. Çiçeklendirme, bank filan yapılsın. SA’lerin eksikleri var. Ama haftada bir ne yapabiliriz toplantısı olsa çok daha farklı bir şey yapılabilir... OAB haftanın 3 günü belediyeye gidiyor. Niye? Sarıgül’e plaket vereceğiz... Belediye diyor ki kadınları gönderin resim çekilecek... Ben okulların siyasete bulaştırılmasına çok karşıyım. Benim oğlum 6 yaşındayken Mustafa Sarıgül’e marş söylüyordu. Ben çocuğumun Atatürk’ü öğrenmesini istiyorum. Bayrağını sevsin, devletini sevsin. Benim oyumu kime verdiğim ayrı bir şey. Velilerin de buna alet olmasına karşıyım. Çünkü okulun birçok işini belediye yapıyor...” (Rana – Highschool graduate – Quit work for childcare – Her child attends grade 3 – Has 1 child in this school – Teacher: Burhan, CM: Lale).

E.138

“... Belediye ile çok iç içeler. Her gittiğimde merhaba derim. Belediye der ki size göz doktoru, kadın hastalıkları doktoru filan vereceğiz, gelin belediyede ücretsiz check-up olun diyor. Bunlar bu fırsatı sadece kendilerine yakın olan veliler için kullanırlar. Belediye bunlara sağlık hizmetleri veriyor, kahvaltıya götürüyor,

yemekler düzenliyor, otobüs tutuluyor, konserlere gidiliyor, belediye ile iç içeler, Mustafa Sarıgül'ün sürekli yanındalar. Böylece M. Sarıgül'ün de bir kitlesi oluyor okulda. Sürekli resimlerini görüyoruz Sarıgül'ün. Çocuklarımızla Sarıgül'ün fotoğrafları çekilir her eve gönderilir büyük boy, duvara asılsın diye. Sarıgül'ün dışarıda bir konuşması olacaksa okuldan veliler sırf onu alkışlamak için oraya götürülür. Okul için faydası olur diyorlar, veliler de gidiyor...” (Ümran – University graduate – Public Officer in a government office – Her child attends grade 4 – Has 1 child in this school – Teacher: Meltem, CM: Oya).

E.139

“... SA'ları bir tek okul yönetimi istemez, onlar OAB da istemezler, okulu kendileri yönetmek isterler. Yakında MEB'de yapılan bir toplantıda okul idarecilerine MEB müdürü “veli her şeyimizdir, veliye hiçbir şey söylemeyeceksiniz” diye talimatı var. O yüzden pek seslerini çıkaramıyorlar. Yeni bir telefon hattı kuruldu ALO 147 MEB Şikâyet Hattı. Her an telefon açıp okul idaresini ve öğretmeni şikâyet edebiliyor veliler MEB'e. Bir ihbar hattı var. İdarenin veliye yaklaşımı nazik olmak zorunda... Öğretmenler de velileri SA olarak yanlarına aldıklarında ister istemez idarenin öğretmenle arasında sorun olduğunda öğretmen güçlü oluyor...” (Olçay – Female Councillor Teacher with 2 years of school experience).

E.140

“... Sınıf annelerinin yönetimle işleri şöyle olur. Sınıfın bir ihtiyacı varsa öğretmen gelmez o gelir bize söyler. Ama ben rahatsız oluyorum. Tamam, o bizim velimiz

olabilir... Ama öğretmenimle aramda bir başka tampon görünce ben rahatsız oluyorum ne yalan söyleyeyim. Öğretmen gönderiyor aslında... Biraz ayak işlerini yaptırıyor. Biraz ayak işlerinde kullanıyor öğretmenler, öyle görünüyor...” (*Murat – Male School Vice Principle with 33 years of school experience*).

E.141

“... İdareciler genellikle okul dışında herhangi bir kişinin olmasını ve müdahalesini kendi alanlarına saldırı olarak görürler. Özellikle belli bir yaşın üzerindeki okula hiç kimsenin kendileri dışında müdahale etmemesini istiyorlar...” (*Levent – Male School Vice Principle with 21 years of school experience*).

E.142

“... Okul yönetimi de SA’ları tanır, çünkü öğretmen izinli olduğunda sınıfta duracak birileri gerektiğinde bizimle irtibata geçerler...” (*Kiraz (35) – Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 4 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Hilal*).

E.143

“... Müdürün karşısına çıktık. Müdür dedi ki, “bütün sorunlarını anlıyorum, sorunları kimin yarattığını da biliyorum, tamamen o öğretmenden kaynaklı... SA’ları mümkünse şu okulun kapısından içeri sokmayacağım ama üzerimde acayip bir baskı var, mecburum sokmaya...” (*Ümran – University graduate – Public Officer in a*

government office – Her child attends grade 4 – Has 1 child in this school –

Teacher: Meltem, CM: Oya).

E.144

“... İl veya ilçe milli eğitim müdürlüklerinde toplantılarda sınıf annelerine sıcak bakılmıyor. Bizim idarecilerin tarzı, “müdür siz misiniz onlar mı?” şeklinde... Okulun içerisinde, sınıfın içerisinde bir başkasının sözünün geçmemesi üzerine kurulu cümleler. Yani idareciler nasıl bakıyorsa veliye, işimize karışmasınlar, kendi işlerini yapsınlar, onlar da aynı şeyi söylüyorlar ilçe milli eğitim müdürlüğünde... İl veya ilçe milli eğitimde toplantılarda lafı geçmez. Böyle bir konu açılırsa üst yöneticiler “sınıf annesi nedir? OAB var, ihtiyaçları onlar karşılar. Sınıf annesi nereden çıktı?” diye kızarlar. Kabul etmezler...” (*Levent – Male School Vice Principle with 21 years of school experience*).

E.145

“... Kimisi çokbilmiştir... Ben öğretmenden daha iyi bilirim havasındadır. Benim param var, ben öğretmeni ezerim havasındadır. Ben çocuğumu kursa gönderiyorum, öğretmen en iyi notu vermek zorundadır. Yani buradaki veli profili, benim gözlemlediğim o şekildedir de, yine ben dediğim gibi, velilerime kursu zorunlu tutmam, isteyen gelir. Onun için de bana karşı herhangi bir şey yapma lüksleri yoktur. Mecbur tutarsanız o zaman veli de sizden bir şeyler isteyecektir. Ama kurs mecburi değil, isteyen göndersin dediğin zaman sorunların büyük bir kısmı çözülüyor zaten. Yani, mecbur göndersen, gerçi para ödemeyen illa ki çıkıyor da o

zaman mecbur tuttunuz gönderiyorum, ödeyemiyorum deme şansı var. Ama şu anda gönüllü geliyor, kendi isteği ile gönderiyor, mecbur ödemek zorunda... Yani o açıdan veli, benim velilerim arkamdan tabii ki konuşabilirler. Ben herkesin arkasından konuştuklarını düşünüyorum. Onu ders etmiyorum ama görevimi yaptığımı düşünüyorum...” (*İlke – Female Grade-3 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of her classroom is İrem*).

E.146

“... Pişmiş aşı su katılırsa o yemeğin lezzeti olmaz. Bugünkü eğitimin içine para girince de eğitimin tadı bozulur. Bugünkü durum budur. O zaman ortaya ne çıkıyor? Öğretmen devletten karşılığını bulamayınca, en basitinden 3000 TL sendika fakirlik sınırını. O halde benim maaşım yoksulluk sınırında. Yoksulluk sınırında olunca para ne kadar dik durursan dur seni eğmeye bükmeye çalışır. Veliler de o iradeyi kullanarak normal olması gerekenin dışına çıkıp, parasını özne olarak kullandığı için burada böyle görüyorum. Veliler parayı ellerinde tuttıkları için her şeye karışabiliyorlar. Ne olarak karıştırmamaya çalışıyoruz ama o da bizim öğretmenlik hâkimiyetimiz, tecrübemizle alakalı. Ama eğer fırsatını bulsa, o su hikâyesinden dolayı tadını kaçırırlar. Bugünkü sistemin 3 sacayağı nedir? Veli, okul öğretmen... Veli de bir ayağı şu anki sistemde... Ama bu ayak hep yazıda sözde geçiyor. Pratikte uygulamada çok zor... Bu da onun gibi...” (*Ali – Male Grade-4 Teacher with 31 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Hayal*).

E.147

“... Okulda açılan kurslarda velinin müşteri tavrını daha net görebiliyoruz. Aynı öğretmenin verdiği kurslar bunlar ve veli bunun için para veriyor. Aslında çocuğunun derslerine faydası olacağını düşündüğünden değil, öğretmenle ilişki kurmak için yapıyor bunu. Sonra ben para veriyorum, çocuğumu kursa bırakıyorum, o zaman bu çocuğun notu yüksek olacak diye bekliyor. O çocuk kursa gittiğinde çocuğun dersleri iyileşsin ya da iyileşmesin o çocuğun notlarında bir şekilde düzelmeye oluyor. Her öğretmen için söylemiyorum tabii. Yani bu para ilişkisi sadece velinin tutumunu değil, öğretmenin tutumunu da etkiliyor...” (*Olca – Female Councillor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*).

E.148

“... Size başka bir örnek vereyim. Bu yıl bizim sınıfımızın hepsi kursa kalıyor. Biz etütte sene başında öğretmen topladı bütün velileri. Ben dedi etüt yapacağım, 4’e kadar hepiniz kalıyorsunuz dedi. Üçüncü sınıfa kadar hem eve ödev veren, hem de kursta değişik konular işleyen bir öğretmendi. Velilerin çoğunluğu çalışan oldukları için dediler ki biz evde ödev istemiyoruz. Öğretmen ısrar etti, çocuklar evde de derslere baksınlar diye. Öğretmen ne kadar da söylediye ödev verilmeli diye, veliler kabul etmedi ve şimdi eve ödev verilmiyor...” (*Lale (43) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – Has 1 child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Burhan*).

E.149

“... Velinin dersime karşısına hiç tahammül gösteremem, böyle bir şeyi kabul edemem. Zaman zaman böyle hissettiğim oldu. Eğer bir veli benim çocuğum önde otursun diyorsa öğretmenin işine karışıyor demektir. Benim çocuğuma biraz daha fazla ilgilen diyorsa... Sene sonu etkinlikleri konusunda SA’ların önerileri oldu, onların önerileri doğrultusunda düzenledik ama bu onların bize baskı yaptığı anlamına gelmiyor. Makul bir şeyse kabul edip izin veriyoruz...” (*Fahri – Male Grade-1 Teacher with 40 years of school experience (CMs of his classroom are Berna & Jale).*)

E.150

“... Ama illa benim dediğim oluyor. Yani, benden habersiz de bir şey yapılmaz, yapılamaz...” (*Fatma – Female Grade-1 Teacher with 34 years of school experience – CM of her classroom is Mine).*)

E.151

“... SA alan velilerimiz sınıfta öğretmenle birlikte bir yardımlaşma, dayanışma içerisinde olması gerekir. Ama bunu çok ön plana çıkaran öğretmenin belki de otoritesinin de azalmasına da neden olabiliyor. Onları çok ön plana çıkarmadan ama bu görevleri de öğretmenle paylaşımlarını sağlayarak, ama benim sınıfımda ben SA’ya ve velilere teslim olan bir öğretmen değilim...” (*Emir – Male Grade-2 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Aynur).*)

“... Çünkü öyle bazen duruma geliyorsunuz ki sınıf annesi öğretmenin üstüne çıkmaya çalışıyor. Yani veliler de var. Ben şunu yapalım dedim yapıldı gibi havalara girilebiliyor. Ama asıl doğru olan ne ise onun yapılmasıdır. Çünkü herkesin bir fikri vardır. Karşıdaki fikri de beğenebilirsin, kendi fikrinde de ısrar edebilirsin. Ama eğer karşıdaki insanın fikri bana daha güzel gelmişse onu da kabul edebilirim. Benim için bir sorun yok yani. Ben sınıf annesini kendi işime fazla karıştırmak istemiyorum... Onu bir araç olarak gören, amacının ötesine geçen durumda olanlar da var. Benim hoşlanmadığım bir şeyden karşıki sınıf öğretmeni hoşlanmayabilir. Ben çok işime karışılmasından hoşlanmam... Yani, dediğim gibi ben çok sınıf annesine bağımlı kalmak istemiyorum. Kendi işimi kendim yapmayı daha çok seviyorum... Sınıf annesi öğretmenin pozisyonuna hatta onun üstüne geçmek istiyor. Eğer öğretmen buna müsaade ederse böyle durumlar olabiliyor. Öğretmenin işine gelirse yani... Ama benim işime de gelmiyor öyle bir şey istemiyorum. Ama öyle bir olanak görürlerse oooo tabii ki... Kişilik özellikleri galiba... Kendilerini gösterme çabaları var diye düşünüyorum. Ben bunu yaptım, ben bunu yaparım. Ben her şeyde başarılıyım. Ama aslında hiçbir şeyde başarılı olamıyorlar. Kendi egosunu tatmin etme duygusu da var bazı sınıf annelerinin. Okul bunun için bir yer oluyor...” (*İlke – Female Grade-3 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of her classroom is İrem*).

E.153

“... Başka eğitimle ilgili bazı arkadaşlara fazla karışabiliyorlar. Bazen karışmak istiyorlar. Ben onlarla çok sıkı ilişki kurmuyorum yoksa diğer çocukların yanında kendi çocuklarını kayırabiliyorlar çok sıkı ilişki kurarsak. Onu engellemeye çalışıyorum... Birçok şeyin planlamasına, okulun yapılacak birçok şeyine katılmak isteyenler var. Öğretmen eğer biraz bu çevreye yeni geldiyse, onu kullanmak isteyen SA’lar çıkabiliyor. Geziye gitmeden önce şuraya gidelim, sanki sınıfın idaresi ondaymış gibi... Şunu alalım diyebiliyorlar... Genelde bazen sınıfları da yarıştırmaya kalkarlar onlar. Falanca sınıfın işte televizyonu var, bilgisayarı var, şusu var busu var, biz de alalım. Bizim okulda öğretmenler çok deneyimli oldukları için bizdekiler o kadar karışamazlar, öğretmenler belli bir mesafe koyarlar...” (*Necmi – Male Grade-3 Teacher with 35 years of school experience –CM of his classroom is Nevin*).

E.154

“... Veliye bıraksan bütün sınıfı yönetmek ister zaten. Ama biz SA’lara bu konuda müsaade etmeyiz. Hatta bazen bize gelip ne söylememiz gerektiğini, hatta ne emretmemiz gerektiğini söylüyorlar, biz de gülüyoruz. Bıraksak bizi de yönetmeye kalkarlar kesinlikle. Mesela geliyor bana diyor ki, şu sınıfın öğretmeni şunları şunları öğretmiş, siz de öğretin diyor. Önce çarpmayı mı toplamayı mı öğreteceğime o karar vermek istiyor. Ben de ona dedim ki “ben öğretmenlik okulu mezunuyum, eğer bu konuda yazılmış bir eseriniz varsa söyleyin ondan da faydalanayım.” ... Eğer öğretmen arkadaş kendi görevinin ya da rolünün bir bölümünü onlara verirse o

zaman SA'lar rayından çıkar. Ben köyde çalışırken bile veli ile arama hep bir resmiyet sokardım. Benimle yemeğe şuraya buraya veya tatile gidiyorsa ve faturayı ödüyorsa, o faturanın karşılığını ister. SA'larla çok samimi olanlar sonradan problem yaşamıştır onlarla..." (Cafer – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of his classroom are Feza & Emine).

E.155

"... Sınıf annelerinin öğretmenle kurduğu ilişkide problem... Sınıf annesi bazen öğretmenin iyi niyetini suiistimal edebiliyor. Mesela öğretmen sınıf annesini "sen şunu da yaparsın, bunu yaparsın" diye pohpohlayarak iş yaptırmaya kalkınca sınıf annesi öyle bir yüz buluyor ki, sınıftaki öğrencilere hakaret bile etme hakkını görebiliyor kendinde. Öğretmenin yetki alanına dalıyor tabii. O zaman da öğretmenle sınıf annesinin ilişkileri bozulabiliyor. Zaten öğretmen arkadaşlarımız da göze batmayacak şekilde sırayla yaptırırlar velilere sınıf anneliğini. Çok az sınıflarda bakarsın her yıl aynı insan sınıf annesi olur. Ya veliler demiştir işte sen bu işi iyi yürütüyorsun sen devam et. Ya öğretmen demiştir sen bana çok iyi yardım ediyorsun diye..." (Murat – Male School Vice Principle with 33 years of school experience).

E.156

"... Bir sorun olduğunda veliler öğretmenden önce bana gelirler. Bir yandan tedirgin oluyorum acaba öğretmenimiz yanlış anlayabilir mi? Mesela öğretmen sınıftayken çocuğun biri arkadaşı kendisine vurdu diye bana geldi, öğretmen bozuldu tabii. Hocam dedim, kusura bakmayın dedim. Bak benden önce sana geldiler dedi.

Çocuklarla ilişkilerim çok iyi. Bana öğretmenim diyen de var, Kadriye Teyze diyen de var, Kadriye Anne diyen de var. Teneffüslerde gidiyorum, onlarla konuşuyoruz, sohbet ediyoruz bazen. OAB odasına gelip oturur ayaklarını sallayarak bizi izlerler. Çok rahatlar. Bazen çocuklar beni o kadar seviyorlar ki öğretmen yanlış anlayacak diye korkuyorum. Bazen laf sokuyor bana, bu konuda, sonra da şaka yaptım diyor ama aslında şaka değil...” (Mine (36) – Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 1 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Fatma).

E.157

“... Bazen öğretmenin karar vermesi gereken bir yerde benim karar verdiğim oldu. Kitaplığın nasıl bir şey olacağı konusunda ben böyle olacak dedim kestirip attım. Kitap alımı yapacağız. Ben biraz dini bakımdan meraklı ve ilgili bir anneyim. Çocuğum mesela Kur’an eğitimini aldı 5 yaşında. Ben dedim ki şey olsun, öz Türklerin kitapları olsun. Mevlana’dan. Dede Korkut’tan. Bizim kendi öz hikâyelerimiz olsun dedim. Böyle 1 liraya satılan kitaplar var mesela “balkız ile aykızın hikâyesi”... Ben bunlara para vermem, ben istemiyorum dedim. Öğretmen dedi ki bunları alalım, çocuklar ne kadar çok okursa o kadar iyi. Hocam dedim, bunların hepsi aynı... Ben bunları almıyorum o kadar dedim. Gittim Çağaloğlu’nda özellikle Zambak yayınevinden, Gonca yayınevinden, biraz daha dini içerikli ama daha değişik konular, daha gerçekçi, hayatın içinden konular kısa kısa başlıklarla... O arada bazı veliler bu dini eser diye istememişler. Ben böyle istiyorum dedim. Öğretmen de ben böyle istemiyorum dedi. Ben çoktan aldım bile, tartışmaya gerek yok dedim. Bir arkadaş da Gülten Dayıoğlu’nun eserlerini alalım dedi. Öğretmeni biz ikimiz ekarte ettik. Hiç sormadık bile. Siz çocuklar çok okusun diyorsunuz ama hep

aynı hikaye, hep aynı hikaye... O yüzden biz daha değişik yelpazelerden, daha gerçekçi, çocukların hayal gücünü güçlendirecek şeyler alalım dedik. Vallahi, doğru yaptığımı hissediyorum. Öğretmenimiz idealist ama az parayla çok şey okusunlar istiyor. Biz dedik ki az parayla çok şey okuyacaklarına kaliteli şeyler okusun dedik. Öğretmenimiz de bize hoşgörüyü yaklaştı. Zaten 2-3 veli ısrar ettiği zaman siz bilirsiniz diyen bir tip...” (Lale (43) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – Has 1 child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Burhan).

E.158

“... Veliler kadın ve hep kadın öğretmenleri şikâyet ediyorlar. Erkek veliler genelde okula gelmiyorlar ve geldiklerinde zaten daha ılımlılar. Kadın veliler ise her şeyi bildiklerini, bu konuda otorite olduklarını düşünüyorlar. Hatta ilk çocuğu üst sınıflarda olup ikinci çocuğu bu işe başlayanlar var. Onlar iyice okulda kendilerini tecrübeli veli olarak görüp bana işimi öğretiyorlar. Biz kaç senedir bu okuldayız, neler olup bitiyor çok iyi biliriz. Diyorlar. Erkek öğretmenlerin sınıf anneleri daha uzak... Onlar her şeye bu kadar karışmıyor. Kadın öğretmenlerle sınıf anneleri arkadaş gibi... Bir süre sonra oluyor. Mesafe kalkınca da sınıfta bazı yetkileri kendinde görmeye başlıyor...” (Olca – Female Councillor Teacher with 2 years of school experience).

E.159

“... Mesela öğretmenin bir çocuğun velisiyle sorunu var. Çocukla ilgili bir konu olduğunda kendisi konuşmak yerine sınıf annesine yolluyor. SA çocuğa tatlı tatlı

yaklaşıyor öğle arasında, eline bir çikolata veriyor. O sırada çok güzel punduna getirip konuşturuyor. Aldığı bilgileri de öğretmene götürüyor. Aldığı bilgiler aile içinde olan şeyler. Mesela çocuğun yüzünde bir iz görüyor, şüpheleniyor ailenin çocuğu dövdüğünden ama gidip kendisi sormuyor çocuğa. Ama her çocuğa böyle dikkat etmiyorlar. Velinin öğretmenle sorunu varsa öğretmeni bir şeylerle suçlamışsa. Öğretmen özellikle dikkat ediyor. Acaba evde dövdü mü? Çünkü burada öğretmenlerin vurması ya da çok yüksek sesle bağırması veliler tarafından çok büyük tepkiyle karşılanır. Zaten öyle olmalı. Ama öğretmen acaba evde veli de vuruyor mu diye merak ediyor. Bu durumla bir erkek öğretmen karşılaştığında bana geliyor. Çünkü rehber öğretmen benim. Ama kadın öğretmen böyle yapmıyor, kendi ajanını kullanıyor. Sonra aile içinde bir sorun olduğunu öğrendiğinde de bu öğretmen bana gelmedi. Daha sonra başka bir olay oldu. Veli geldi öğretmeni bana şikâyet etti çocuğuma dayak attı diye. Ben öğretmene gittiğimde öğretmen bunu bana kendisi anlattı ve dedi ki, bana diyor ama kendisi dövüyor. Gittim ben çocukla konuştum, çocuk da bana dedi ki “sınıf annesine bir daha hiçbir şey söylemeyeceğim, o bana sır dedi. Ben de ona güvendim, o da gitti öğretmenimize söyledi.” Ve çocuk ikinci sınıfta... Sonra çocuk büyüklere güvenmemeye başlıyor. Ben onu burada konuşturana kadar neler çektim. Sen de mi öğretmenime söyleyeceksin diye bana anlatmak istemedi. Ona göre büyükler koalisyon halinde onun arkasından iş çeviriyorlar. Hatta SA'ya anlattıklarını SA'nın öğretmene çarpıtarak anlattığını da söyledi. Şimdi çocuğa mı güveneyim sınıf annesine mi? SA öğretmene yaranmak için onun duymak isteyeceği şeyleri söylemiş olabilir. Bilemem ki...” (Olçay – Female Councillor Teacher with 2 years of school experience).

E.160

“... Çünkü erkek öğretmenler sürecin daha dışındaymış gibi geliyor. Yani onlara göre sınıf anneleri evin kadını gibi... İşlerine geliyor, hanımlarının yaptığı işleri burada sınıf anneleri yapıyor. Bu daha ziyade kadın öğretmenlerle aralarında olan bir şey... Erkek öğretmenlere istediklerini yaptırabiliyorlar, onlar bunların entrikalarından hiçbir şey anlamıyorlar. Ama bunu kadınlara yapamıyorlar, çünkü kadın öğretmen yemiyor bunu. Onlarla arkadaş olmayı taktiksel olarak daha uygun buluyorlar. O yüzden sınıf anneleri onlarla çatışmak yerine arkadaşlığı tercih ediyorlar. Böylece rica edebiliyorlar. Ben senin bu dediğini yaptım, hadi sen de benim bu dediğimi yap gibi...” (*Olca – Female Councillor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*).

E.161

“... Ben öğretmenin erkek olmasını tercih ettim. Çünkü bayanların kaprisi çekilmez, yüzünün asıklığı çekilmez. Birini sever, ötekini sevmez, SA’ya torpil yapayım der. Bayan öğretmen kadınsal duygusunu, annelik duygusunu ondan sonra öne çıkarır. Ben her zaman erkek öğretmeni tercih ederim. Erkek öğretmen herkese eşit davranır. Seni seviyor da beni sevmiyor diyemiyoruz. Herkese eşit davranıyor. Bayanların bazı durumlarda sinirli olabilir. Farklı bir cins olunca benim yapacağım işlerle onun yapacağı işler farklı oluyor. Ben erkek öğretmeni tercih ederim. İş hayatında da öyleydim, kadın müdür de istemezdim zaten. Ama kızımın sınıf öğretmeni bayan ve çok sempatik ama bunu yapabilene helal olsun...” (*Ceyhan (37) – Highschool*

graduate – CM of Grade 2 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Especially escaped from participating in the research).

E.162

“... Öğretmenin kadın olmasını istemezdim. Kadınlar kompleksli olur. Bir bayan özel günlerinde sinirli olabilir. Ya da aile yapımızdan dolayı kocasıyla sorun yaşayabilir ama bunu aksettirir. Çocuğumu kadın öğretmene vermem. Kadınlar evini işine getiriyor ama erkekler bu konuda biraz daha rahatlar. Ben 5 erkeğin bir kızımı. Bir kadın olarak bir kadın öğretmen istemezdim...” *(Lale (43) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – Has 1 child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Burhan).*

E.163

“... Erkek öğretmen daha iyi... Kadınların istekleri da çok oluyor. Sıralar düzgün duracak derdi, her sabah gelir o sıraları santim santim düzenlerdik. Ama erkek öğretmen o kadar takmaz. Kadınların kadınlara karşı egoları daha çok...” *(Feza (40) – Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 1 child in this school – Housewife – Teacher: Cafer).*

E.164

“... Öğretmen kadınsa SA sınırı aştığında biraz tepki koyabiliyorlar. Ama erkekler bu konuda biraz daha rahat, onu işine karışmış olarak görmüyor. Aman olsun, bir şey

olmaz diyor, onu bir anne olarak görüyor, onların sınırları daha geniş. Kadınlar sınırları aştıklarını daha kolay fark ediyorlar. Erkek öğretmenler hanımlarından alışkinlar bir kadının organize etmesine, toplamasına, getirmesine, kendi işlerini kolaylaştırmasına...” (Verda – University graduate – Teacher at the same school – Her child attends grade 3 – Has 2 children in this school – Teacher: İlke, CM: İrem).

E.165

“... Veliler beni çok basit bilgiler almak için ararlar, ödev teslim tarihlerini öğrenmek için ararlar. Ben arar sohbet ederim velilerle. Benim çocuğumun sınıfında çok özel arkadaşlarım oldu. Birbirimizin her şeyini biliyoruz. Aynı kurslara götürüyoruz. Ben İngilizce kursuna yazdırdım, annelere tavsiye ediyorum, birlikte yapıyoruz... Velilerle evlerde buluşmayı sevmiyoruz, kafelerde buluşuyoruz veya adalara filan gidiyoruz. Sinemaya gidiyoruz... SA'lar bir araya geliyoruz. Okulda sınıf içindeki fakir aileleri belirleyip yardım toplayabiliyoruz. OAB de bizimle çalışmalar yaparız...” (Kiraz (35) – Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 4 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Hilal).

E.166

“... Diğer annelerle kafelerde evlerde görüşüyoruz. Bazen günler yapıyoruz. 14-15 kişiyle çok samimiyiz. Bir ekip gibi çalışıyoruz. Bebeği olan velilerin çocuklarını okula getirip götürebiliyorum...” (Hayal (34) – College graduate – CM of Grade 4 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Ali).

E.167

“... Diđer sınıf annelerini de tanırım. Çok samimi olduđum veliler var SA’lardan. Onlarla da konuşur eder bilgi paylaşıyoruz. Çok toplandıđımız olmuyor. Çok samimi olduklarımızla hep birlikteyiz. Ama özellikle SA’lar olarak düzenli toplanmıyoruz. Mesela kermesimiz var, OAB olarak bütün SA’ları topluyoruz, velilerden yardım alabilmek için. Onlar da bunun için çalışıyorlar...” (*Feza (40) – Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 1 child in this school – Housewife – Teacher: Cafer*).

E.168

“... O kafede 6-7 senedir otururken çok güzel bir dostluk kurduk. Oradaki 10 kişi birbirlerinin bütün dertlerini biliyor artık. Hem bizim hem çocuklarımızın arkadaş çevresi genişliyor. SA deđiller, anneler... Benim 5 sınıfta çocuđum var, çocuđu 4 sınıfta olan annenin sorduklarını rahatlıkla cevaplayıp yardımcı olabiliyorum. Onlar da her gün geliyorlar. Hatta gelmeyecekleri zaman telefon açıp ben bugün okula gelemiyorum beni merak etmeyin diyorlar. Bu grupta hep beraber çocuklarımızı yüzmeye verdik. Geçen yaz hep beraber İngilizce kursuna verdik mesela. Çocuklar eğitimlerini alırken anneler dışarıda sohbet muhabbet. Çocuđuma ders çalıştırabilmek için İngilizce öğrenmeye başladım. Aramızda bir tane çalışan anne var o da vardiya usulü çalıştığı için bir gün çalışıyor bir gün çalışmıyor, o yüzden bize ayak uydurabiliyor...” (*Emine (46) – Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Cafer*).

E.169

“... Birinci sınıfta sorun yaşamıştım velilerle. Mesela bir aşı yapılacaktı okulda. Bu dönemde form veriyorlar, bir veli istemiyorum demiş, imza atmış. Ama çocuk küçük olduğu için bu formu öğretmene vermeyi unutmuş. Ben de aşı zamanı yardım için geliyorum. Saati belli değildi, ben 11-12 gibi geldim. Bizim sınıfın aşıları bitmiş. Bu sefer tam sınıfa girdim. Veli bir hışımla girdi içeriye, sen ne biçim SA’sın, sen işini yapmıyorsan bırak filan diye bir sürü saydırdı bana. Benim olaydan bile haberim yok. Veli bana bağıyor sen sabahtan buraya gelip çocukların başında durmak zorundasın diye. Sanki maaşlı çalışıyorum. Ben de dedim ki terbiyesizlik yapıyorsun, ben buraya gönüllü gelip senin çocuğunun neleriyle ilgileniyorum biliyor musun? Üstünü başını toplarım, ayakkabısını giydiririm, saçını düzeltirim, bir şey olur beni ararsın, çocuk ne durumda diye, ben sana bilgi veririm, senin göremediğin gözün kulağınım. Kavga ederler ayırırım, birbirlerine zarar vermelerini önlerim, sen gelip bunlar için bana teşekkür ettin mi? Etmedin. Ben böyle söyleyince sustu. Sen SA’nın ne demek olduğunu öğren dedim, SA demek senin çocuğunun özel dadısı demek değil. Elimden geldiğince çocuklarla ilgileniyorum ama formu vermiş, vermemiş nereden bileyim. Orada değildim ki... Çok üzuldüm ağladım...” (İrem (33) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – Has 1 child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: İlke).

E.170

“... O tür velilerimiz bazen bizi üzüyorlar yani, neden yönetimde olmadıklarını, neden seçilemediklerini OAB veya SA olarak sorun ediyorlar. Çok istekliler ve

rekabet var. Hem OAB yönetimine girmek hem SA olmak için... SA seçilen veli açısından bir ayrımcılığın, kollamacılığın olmadığını diğer bütün velilere hissettirmeye çalışırım. Aslında diğer veliler öyle anlıyorlar. Aslında bir herkesle aynıyız, herkesle eşitiz. Yani burada bize son derece yardımcıları. Diğer veliler SA'nın öğretmene ve okul yönetimine daha yakın olduğunu düşünüyorlar, belki de ben böyle algılıyorum. Hoşnutsuzluklarından, küçük de olsa birbirinin kurdu gibi de diyebilirim..." (*Emir – Male Grade-2 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Aynur*).

E.171

"... Velilerin çoğu birbirini çekemiyor zaten. Özellikle kendi çocuklarını başkalarının çocuklarıyla kıyaslıyorlar ki bu çok yanlış. Çocuğu ancak kendisi ile kıyaslayabilirsiniz. Yani bir çocuk Tanrı vergisi bir zekâyaya sahip... Senin ağzından çıktıysa, yapılacak yolu da biliyor, çözümü de yapıyor. Üç dakika sonra bakmışsın problem çözülmüş. İyi, kendisine güvenmediğinden midir? Yapamayacağı korkusundan mıdır?... Ya da kimisi bütünüün ödevi kendisi yapıp çok düzenli bir şekilde gönderebiliyor. Çünkü komşunun çocuğu 100 alırsa, kendi çocuğu 70 alırsa olmaz... Onun için kendisi yapıyor, çok güzel olmak zorunda... Yani veli çok güzel yapmışsa 100 veriyorum ama çok kötü yapmışsa ama çocuk kendisi yapmışsa ona da 100 veriyorum..." (*İlke – Female Grade-3 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of her classroom is İrem*).

E.172

“... Sınıf anneleri ve eski sınıf anneleri veya onların yakın arkadaşı olan anneler Biber Kafe’de diğer öğretmenlerle sosyalleşiyorlar. Notların teslim edileceği dönem yaklaştığında bu anneler arkadaş oldukları öğretmenden rica edip başka bir öğretmenle konuşup kendi çocuklarının notlarını takdir almaları için değiştirmelerini istetebiliyorlar. Dolaylı olarak o ilişkileri etkileyerek o takdir belgesini çocuğuna aldirmaya çalışıyor. Kendilerini harika anneler olarak görüyorlar, çocuklarına o takdiri ne yapıp edip aldırıyorlar. Aslında çocuğunu her şeyin üstünde tuttuğunu, her şeyi çocuk için yaptığını düşünüyorlar ve bundan da büyük bir haz duyuyorlar. Ama şeyin farkında değiller aslında, bunları çocuk için değil, kendileri için yapıyorlar. Çünkü veliler arasında çok konuşuluyor, senin çocuğun takdir aldı, benim çocuğum kaç aldı... Ya da eve gittiklerinde sürekli okula gidiyorum... Çocuklarına da söylüyorlar bu arada: sen benim sayemde takdir aldın...” (*Olca – Female Councillor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*).

E.173

“... SA öğretmeni etkileyebilir. Geziler olunca SA’lar bedava gidiyor. Bazı anneler buna itiraz etti. SA olmayan arkadaşları da bedava gelebiliyor. Biz de yardım edelim o zaman dedik, ama öğretmenin etrafındaki çemberde olanlar kendi aralarına almıyorlar bizi. Başka bir anne de var, o da o çevreye ve öğretmene yakın, o da faydalıyor olanaklardan...” (*Uğur – College graduate – Former primary school teacher – Her child attends grade 2 – Has 1 child in this school – The teacher and the CM did not prefer to participate in the research*).

E.174

“... Bunların sosyal olarak bir birikimleri yok, sizin gibi Boğaziçi üniversitesinde okumamışlar, bir yerlere gelebilmek için bir çarkın içine girmek ve ona benzemek ve bu birikimi yapmak zorundalar. Bu çarkın dışlisi olmayı becerenler SA oldu, OAB kadrosunda. OAB'nin çocuklara faydası nedir? Ben bir faydasını bilmiyorum. Çocuklar için değilse kimin için? SA'lığı çocuklara okulda artı olarak ne katar? Bu çocuklar özürlü değil ki, okuma öğretiyorlar. Mesela bu okulda özürlü çocukların gittiği alt sınıf dedikleri bir sınıf var. Çok gönüllülük ise o çocuklara yardım etsinler o zaman... Tam tersine onları dışlıyorlar. Okulun bir köşesine atmışlar...” (Ümran – *University graduate – Public Officer in a government office – Her child attends grade 4 – Has 1 child in this school – Teacher: Meltem, CM: Oya*).

E.175

“... SA'nın çocukları daha rahatlar. Annem öğretmene daha yakın, ben istediğimi yapabilirim. Zaten sistem buna dayalı, SA'nın ve onun yamaklarının çocukları öğretmen tarafından korunuyor... Annelerin sosyal gruplaşmalarını çocukların gruplaşmalarında aynen yansıma olarak görüyorsun. O annelerin çocukları daha popülerler ve kendi aralarında arkadaşlar ve diğer çocuklar onların arasına kabul edilmiyor. Bir çember var, öğretmenin etrafındaki 5-6 kişi. SA ve saz arkadaşları. Ondan sonra bir halka daha var. Onlar da bu ilk halkanın biraz kabul ettikleri yeşil ışık yaktıkları. Bir de en dış çember var, biz, en istenmeyenler. Sınıfsal sistemin okul içindeki yansımaları işte... Sınıfta da biz bunu yaşıyoruz...” (Ümran – *University*

graduate – Public Officer in a government office – Her child attends grade 4 – Has 1 child in this school – Teacher: Meltem, CM: Oya).

E.176

“... Benim komisyonumdaki 4 kişi iki iki gruplaşmışlar... İki kişi karşı listede aday olmuştu. Bu ikililerin araları kötü de değildir ama merhaba merhaba derler o kadar. Komisyondaki iki arkadaş aynı zamanda okul aile birliğinde de görevli...” (*Fatma – Female Grade-1 Teacher with 34 years of school experience – CM of her classroom is Mine).*

E.177

“... Sınıf anneleri arasında rekabet olabilir. Özellikle veliler takip ederler, biz test verirdik birinci sınıfta, veliler onu takip eder, öteki sınıfta iki harf fazla verilmiş diye. Ya da diğer sınıf bir etkinlik hazırlıyorsa öteki sınıfın annesi de geri kalmamak için hemen bir şeyler yapar...” (*Cafer – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of his classroom are Feza & Emine).*

E.178

“... Mesela ikinci sınıfların sınıf anneleri birlikte hareket etmiyor, tam tersine rekabet ediyorlar. Öğretmenler arasında da bu rekabet var. SA’lar başka seviyedeki sınıfların SA’larıyla daha iyi ilişki içerisindedir. Sınıf anneleri arkadaşsa onların çocukları da sınıf içerisinde arkadaşlar ve ayrıcalıklılar. SA ile kavgalı olan velilerin

çocukları da itiliyor...” (*Olçay – Female Councillor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*).

E.179

“... Biz daha bir faaliz, 15 günde bir çocuklara yemek filan hazırlıyoruz. Ama diğer sınıfta yok çünkü öğretmen kesinlikle istemiyor öyle şeyler. Öğretmenler gününde diğer sınıf para toplayıp hediye almış öğretmene, öğretmen kızmış, ne gerek var böyle şeylere istemiyorum demiş. SA da çok üzölmüş. Biz daha bir aktif görünüyoruz o sınıfın yanında...” (*Berna (38) – Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 1 – Has one child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Fahri*)

E.180

Ben kendime bir görev bilmişim SA’lığı... Ben zannetmiyorum ki diğer sınıf anneleri gelip benim kadar görev aşığı olsunlar. Kimse benim kadar olaya konsantre olmamıştır... OAB ile de bazı SA’lar senede bir kez gelir, bazıları benim gibi her gün gelir, bazıları da OAB’nin kapısını bile bilmezler. OAB öğretmenler odasına girer, öğretmenlerden bütün SA’ların adını telefon numarasını öğrenir. Ayrı ayrı telefon açar, şu gün şu saatte OAB toplantısı var der. Ama bu 20 kişiden 5-6 kişi gelir, artık hangisi gelirse. Gelenler de bellidir. Okulla iç içe olanlar gelir. Onlar benim gözümde kaçmaz...” (*Ceyhan (37) – Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 2 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Especially escaped from participating in the research*).

E.181

“... SA’lar arasında rekabet olabiliyor. Sınıfta bir şey yapıyoruz, diğer sınıfın annesi de hemen yapabiliyor... İlk sene kızlar kot etek ve beyaz tişört giysin, erkekler de kot pantolon ve beyaz tişört giysin diye kafede konuştuk. Sonra başka bir sınıfın annesi bunu kendi fikri gibi kendi öğretmenine söylemiş, o öğretmen onu biz yapacağız dedi, biz başka bir şey yapmak zorunda kaldık. Fikirler çalınabiliyor. Biz de şimdi gizli tutmaya çalışıyoruz. Son dakikaya kadar fikirlerimizi paylaşmıyoruz...” (*Hayal (34) – College graduate – CM of Grade 4 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Ali*).

E.182

“... İkinci sınıftaydık, biz 2 B isek diğer veli 2 C idi. O da sınıf annesi, bir rekabet işine giriyorlar. Bir gün geliyor ay bizim öğretmen böyle yapıyor, bizim öğretmen bu konuda. SA ben olduğum için... Ben sınıfıma şunu yaptım, ben sınıfın perdelerini değiştirdim tekrar, eski perdeleri beğenmedik. Gibi bir tür rekabete girmeye çalışıyordu bizimle. Siz kaç para topluyorsunuz diyor, bize yetmiyor, biz daha fazla topluyoruz diyerek kıyaslama yapıyor. Rekabet olacaksa bilgi ile olsun. Bizim dolap güzel, bizim dolap daha büyük, sizin sınıfınız kirli gibi şeylere takardı. Mesela, biz her sene birinci dönem de ikinci dönem de karneye yakın ümit hanımla birlikte çikolata veya şeker alırız. Böyle bir âdetimiz vardı. Küçük bir hediye olsun diye. Bunu verirken bile aa siz bunu mu yaptınız, biz öğretmenimize yarım altın aldık derdi. Biz çocukları sevindiriyoruz, o öğretmene yarım altın aldım diyor...” (*Feza*

(40) – *Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 1 child in this school – Housewife – Teacher: Cafer).*

E.183

“... Birbirleriyle çok samimi olan kadınlar özellikle birbiriyle haset ilişkisi içindeler...” (Ümran – *University graduate – Public Officer in a government office – Her child attends grade 4 – Has 1 child in this school – Teacher: Meltem, CM: Oya).*

E.184

“... İlk sen biz Fezayla 2 sınıf annesi olarak başladığımızda bazı veliler aramızda olmayan lafları getirip götürdüler. Benim tek SA olmamı telkin ettiler, sonra gidip Feza’ya benim tek başıma SA olmak istediğimi söylediler. Hâlbuki ortada öyle bir şey yok. Aramızı bozdular. Sonra oturup konuştuk öyle bir laf olmadığını anladık, o velilerle irtibatı kestik. İletmem gereken bilgileri iletiyorum. O kadar...” (Emine (46) – *Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Cafer).*

E.185

“... Devletin eğitimdeki tebeşirinden başla katkısı yok. Fiziki hiçbir ortama devletin katkısı olmadığı için bir cam kirlendiğinde çocuğa sildiremezsin. Veliler biz silelim diyorlar ama o da sakıncalı, okulda bir arkadaş silmeye kalktı, belli bir ücretle bir veliye. O da oradan düşmüş olsa sorun olur. Silen kişi veli... Silip aidattan

düşecekler. Durumu olmayan veliye camı sildiriyorlar. Kadrolu ve ya taşeron hizmetlilerimiz var. Ama onlar da temizlikten bunu anlamıyor. Camlar öyle kalıyor. Belki artı bir para verilmesi lazım... Eğitime katkı payı, 1992’de başladı. Gönüllülük esasıyla toplanmaya çalışılıyor. Birinci sınıfta mecburi kayıt paraları toplanıyor. O kayıt paralarından 3-5 ay götürülüyor temizlikçilere ödenen aylıklar. Değilse tam olarak okulun yıllık aidatları gönüllülük esasına uygun olduğu için kimse bir şey diyemiyor. Veli kendini zorunlu hissederse verir...” (*Ali – Male Grade-4 Teacher with 31 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Hayal*).

E.186

“... Temizliği taşeron şirketler yapıyor. OAB veriyor parasını, onu da velilerden topluyor tabi... Ben temizliği de velilerin yapmasına karşıyım. Daha ne kadar yüklenebiliriz onlara. O kadarına da sokmuyorum velileri. Bekliyorum ki taşeron firmanın elemanları temizlesin. Ama camlarım uzun süredir rezil vaziyette. Bakalım ne olacak? ... Keşke her şey hazır olsaydı sınıflarda, öğretmen ile veli arasında para olayı olmasaydı, sınıf annelerine de gerek olmasaydı...” (*Fatma – Female Grade-1 Teacher with 34 years of school experience – CM of her classroom is Mine*).

E.187

“... Zaten velilerle bir toplantı yapılıyor, kitapların ne kadar tutacağı velilerle önceden konuşuluyor. Veliler bunu kabul ediyor veya etmiyor. O 3 ay içinde paraları topluyoruz velilerden. Devlet bütçe vermiyor. Yasalara göre hiçbir şeye para vermemesi gerekiyor velilerin ama ilgisi yok. Koca okulda sadece 2 tane kadrolu

temizlikçi var. Diğer hizmetlilerin paralarını kayıt paraları ve 70 lira yıllık toplanıyor. Ondan ödeniyor. Yıllık sınav yapıyor bazı yayınlar, onların paralarını topluyoruz. Aslında benim için muhasebecilik gibi bir şey SA. Sınıflar birer müstakil işletme haline gelince bir muhasebeci de gerekiyor...” (Nevin (33) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – has 1 child in this school – Medical nurse – Teacher: Necmi).

E.188

“... Türkiye'nin her bölgesinde çalıştım. Veli profili vatandaşın sosyal ve kültürel şartlarına göre çok değişiyor. Kırsalda veli özellikle okula çok fazla uğramaz. Biz çağırdığımız zaman da derlerdi yine para mı isteyeceksiniz. Kaçarlardı. İstanbul'da veli profili çok farklı. Ben ilk kez İstanbul'a geldiğimde 1995'te bir şok yaşadım velinin durumuyla. Anadolu'da öğretmene eti senin kemiği benim derler...” (Cafer – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 33 years of school experience – CM of his classroom are Feza & Emine).

E.189

“... Bu 1997 yılından sonra 8 yıllık eğitime geçildikten sonra bu daha belirgin hale geldi. Disiplin kurulu kaldırıldı, sınıfta kalma kaldırıldı. İlkokul ortaokul birleştirildikten sonra veliler küçük çocuklarını korumak için okula daha fazla gelmeye başladılar. Büyük çocuklarla küçük çocukların bir arada olması güvenli değil. Bunların ayrılması lazım... Hem eğitim daha iyi olur. Hem küçük çocuklar

güvende olur...” (*Ahmet – Male School Principle with 41 years of school experience*).

E.190

“... Şimdi annelik çok değişti. Bizim zamanımızda çocuk yemeğini yer, dışarıda oynar büyürdü. Şimdi beslenmesinin dengeli olması için çaba gösteriyorsun. Fiziksel ve zihinsel sağlığı için... Psikolojik olarak sağlığı yerinde olsun. İstanbul gibi bir yerde çocuk yetiştiriyorsun. İstanbul’da alternatif çok... İstanbul bitecek gibi bir yer değil, çocuğu seçenekler doğrultusunda doğru yönlendirmek lazım. Doğru arkadaşı seçmesi için dikkatli olması lazım. Bunu da evde doğru şeylerle yetiştirmekle alakası var. Benim annemin bizi büyütürken böyle şeyler düşündüğünü sanmıyorum...”

(*Nevin (33) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – has 1 child in this school – Medical nurse – Teacher: Necmi*).

E.191

“... O kadar kötü düz liseler kaldı ki geriye, çocuğum kötü bir liseye gidip kötü bir arkadaş grubu edinmesin diye uğraşıyorum. Evimin altında düz lise var, nasıl tipler geliyor bir görseniz. Seçilmiş, seçilmiş, seçilmiş, kalanlar oraya gelmiş. Çöp okullar... Oraya nasıl göndereyim çocuğumu. Mecburen yüklüyorum çocuğa ha bire. Şimdi hangi dersane hem ucuzdur hem iyidir, onu araştırıyorum mesela. Annelik görevini sanki eğitimle tamamlıyoruz biz. Bir annenin emzirmesi görevse okulla ilgilenmesi de bir görev artık. Eskiden yoktu böyle bir görev çünkü eğitim sistemi farklıydı. Şimdi eğitim sisteminde artık annenin görevi. Çünkü okullarda gerekli

eđitim verilmiyor artık. Kitaplar artık hiçbir Őey anlatmıyor ocuklara. Eđitim vermeyen kitaplar ve đretmenler yznden de eđitim biraz annenin grevi oldu artık. Őu anki eđitim sistemi annenin grevleri arasına eđitimi soktu...” (Emine (46) – *Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Cafer*).

E.192

“... Veli ile okul arasında genelde bir ekiŐme var. Beni tarafsız grdkleri iin veliler okul idaresi ve đretmenleri bana Őikyet ederler. đretmenlerin yanına gittiđimde de onlar velileri Őikyet ederler. Hi kimse birbirini beđenmez. đretmenler velilerin kendilerini anlamadığından ve kendi ocuklarına ynelik zel ilgi istediklerinden Őikyeti olurlar. đretmenlere gre bu veliler evde ocukla ilgilenmiyorlar, buraya bırakıyorlar, gvenli bir yer, ondan sonra ocuk niye ders alıŐmıyor, niye dŐk aldı diye gelip hesabı bize soruyorlar derler. đretmenler Őikayetten bıkmıŐlar. Őyle syleyeyim, 98 alınca benim ocuđuma neden 100 vermediniz diyen veliler var. đretmenlerin zellikle iŐlerine karıŐılmasına ve eleŐtiriye hiçbir tahammlleri yok. Veli geldiđinde direkt đretmen savunmada baŐlıyor. Biraz da haklılar, hiçbir veli gelip đretmene teŐekkr etmiyor. Sadece sorun olduđunda nk veli okula geliyor...” (Olca – *Female Councillor Teacher with 2 years of school experience*).

E.193

“... SA ben İstanbul’a geledi 15 yıl oldu. Burada grdm. Anadolu’da da yoktu.

15 yıldır var. Öteki okulda da vardı...” (*Necmi – Male Grade-3 Teacher with 35 years of school experience –CM of his classroom is Nevin*).

E.194

“... 27 yıl İstanbul’da çalıştım. Benim anladığım kadarıyla sınıf annesi meselesi 1993-93’te yavaş yavaş başladı, tam olarak 1996’da başladı...” (*Murat – Male School Vice Principle with 33 years of school experience*).

E.195

“... 1993 yılında burada ilköğretim okulunda başladığımdan itibaren sınıf annesi vardı. 44 yıllık öğretmenim, daha öncesinde yoktu. Taşrada da yoktu. 1993’te İstanbul’da görmeye başladım. Birinci sınıftan beşinci sınıfa kadar vardı...” (*Ahmet – Male School Principle with 41 years of school experience*).

E.196

“... OAB olduktan sonra zaten bu SAleri biraz daha resmileşti. Sınıf anneliği değil de sınıf temsilciliğine dönüştü. Ama daha önce böyle bir resmiliği de yoktu... Veliler ortak kararlar alırlarsa o zaman bize bir temsilci lazım. O zaman bunu organize edecek, bilgileri paylaşacak kişi lazım. Oradan ihtiyaç çıktığı zaman sınıf temsilcisi çıktı karşıma. Görevinin de zaten bu ihtiyaçlarla örtüşmesi lazım...” (*Demir – Male Grade-5 Teacher with 36 years of school experience – Has no classroom mother*).

E.197

“... Daha önce o kadar sınıf annesi gibi şeyler yoktu. Okul aile birlikleri vardı. Koruma dernekleri vardı, pardon... Sonradan OAB’ne döndü. Onlar da arada bir gelirlerdi okula. Hani böyle bunlar gibi odası olsun, burada olsun... Ben ilk defa bunları burada gördüm...” (*Hilal – Female Grade-4 Teacher with 37 years of school experience – CM of her classroom is Kiraz*)

E.198

“... Taşrada aileler sınıf annelerine ihtiyaç duymuyor, neden? Bildiğim kadarıyla çocuklar okul bir toplantıda anlatılıyor. Çevrede çocuklara zarar verebilecek bir şey yok. Güvenlik açısından güvensiz bir ortam yok. Burada güvensiz bir ortam var şehirde. Sürekli anneleri elinden tutup okula getiriyor. Şimdi kazalar, trafik, annesi yanında olmak zorunda. Köyde çocuk evinden çıktığı gibi okul evinin yanındadır. Gelir. Okul idaresi babaları okula toplar, kışlık yakacaktır şu gider bu gider muhtarla birlikte toplanır. Bir de OAB vardır 3 kişi erkek. Bütün ihtiyaçlar halledilir. Geleneksel olarak bu... Burada anne şehirde elinden tutuyor, okulun bahçesine getiriyor, daha da inanamıyor onun sınıfına giriyor. Sınıf annesi oluyor...” (*Ali – Male Grade-4 Teacher with 31 years of school experience – CM of his classroom is Hayal*).

E.199

“... Benim işim de çok zor. Nöbet tutuyorum, uykusuzluk çekiyorum. Belki insanlar değişti. Artık kimseye güvenemiyorsun, çocuğu ortalıkta bırakamazsın, her şeyiyle ilgilenmek zorundasın. Malatya’da insanlar daha çok birbirine güveniyordu. İstanbul’da insanlar birbirine güvenmeye korkuyor...” (*Nevin (33) – University graduate – CM of Grade 3 – has 1 child in this school – Medical nurse – Teacher: Necmi*).

E.200

“... 8 yıldır bu okuldayım ve geldiğimden beri sınıf annesi var... Önceden bir alt semtteki daha fakir okuldaydım. Böyle bir sınıf annesi olayı yoktu. Orada sınıfın ihtiyaçlarını öğrencilerle ben hallediyordum... Sınıf annesi diye bir şeyi İstanbul'da gördüm. Veliler yalnız, boş, iş olanağı da yok kadınlara...” (*Meltem – Female Grade-4 Teacher with 35 years of school experience – CM of his classroom are Berna & Jale*).

E.201

“... Okuldan okula da değişebiliyor. Ben bundan önce Kâğıthane’de bir okulda öğretmenlik yaptım. Orada SA diye bir şey yoktu. Buraya gelince gördüm. Üç yıl önce yoktu. Batmanda il görevimi yaptım. Orada zaten yoktu. Adana’da şimdi SA var, yengen SA mesela. Büyük şehirde merkezde... Kâğıthane’de gelir düzeyi çok düşüktü ve SA yoktu. Oradaki veliler biraz daha ilgisizler, çocukların eğitimiyle

ilgilenmiyorlar, çocukların eğitimiyle de ilgilenmiyorlar, maddi durumları da daha kötü. Zaten oradaki öğretmenler velilerin karışmasını istemiyorlar çünkü velilerin eğitim düzeyi çok düşük, onların kendilerinin eğitime ihtiyaçları var zaten. Önce veliyi eğitmek gerekiyor çocuğu eğitmek için. Çocuğa istediğinizi verin mesela evde hiçbir şey almıyor. Çünkü annenin seviyesi düşük... Böyle annelerin SA olmasını istemiyor. Çünkü bakış açıları çok dar. Hiç dışarı çıkmamış veliler. Kâğıthane dışında hiçbir yer görmemişti çocuklar orada. Gelir düzeyi düşük okullar çok farklılar...” (Zeynep – University graduate – Teacher at the same school – Her child attends grade 1 – Has 1 child in this school – (Teacher: Fahri, CM: Berna & Jale).

E.202

“... İlk görev yaptığım yerde (Sultanbeyli) sınıf annesi iyi eğitilmiş birisiydi. Çok böyle dışlanmış çocuklar da vardı, mesela ailesinin durumundan dolayı, pasif, içine kapanık, arkadaş ilişkileri iyi olmayan çocuklar da vardı, çocukların pek çok ihtiyaçları vardı, giysi ihtiyaçları, kırtasiye ihtiyaçları, onları örgütliyordu. Mesela biz kaynak kitaplar aldığımız zaman o velileri biliyor, belli öğrencilerin velilerinin veremeyeceğini bildiğinde hiç fark ettirmeden o çocuklar için de alırlardı. Onlar kendi aralarında örgütlenmişler zaten. Mesela giysi yardımı yaptıkları oluyor, kardeş okul kampanyaları vardı. Sınıfta onlar birbiri ile iyi ağ kurmuşlar. Kimi veli esnaf zaten belli işleri yapıyor. Onlara onlar haber verip, konuşup, gerekli yardımları da yapmalarını sağlıyorlar. Yani onları bizim bilmemiz mümkün değil. Gerçi biz bir veli tanıma formu veriyoruz ama veli esnafım demiş oraya, esnafın ne olduğu belli değil. Ama SA’lar biliyor. Mesela bizim sınıfta 5-6 tane çocuğun ailesine hiç masraf yaptırılmaz, onların bütün giderleri diğer veliler tarafından karşılanır. Mesela çocuğu

yemekhanede yemek yer, dayanışma ile ödenir, üstlenmişler...” (*Fahri – Male Grade-1 Teacher with 40 years of school experience (CMs of his classroom are Berna & Jale).*)

E.203

“... Annelik emeği olmasa dersler sıfır olurdu. Ben olmasam oğlum okula bir kere geç gelir, kitapları eksik gelir, kirli gelir. Okulda bir sürü sağlık sorunları çıkar, ileride psikolojik sorunları çıkar. Anne olmasa çocuklar eğitim göremezler okulda. Ama bunu kimse görmüyor. Anneler bir ay grev yapsa okul sistemi altüst olur...” (*Tülin – Primary school graduate – Housewife – Her child attends grade 5 – Has 1 child in this school – Teacher: Cafer, CM: Feza & Emine).*)

E.204

“... Annelik emeği çıksa her şey öğretmenin sırtına biner ve o da yetemez. Annelik olmasa eğitim kurumları olmaz...” (*Berna (38) – Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 1 – Has one child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Fahri)*

E.205

“... Anneler Grev yapsa: Trajedi olur, yemek yok diye evde isyan çıkar. Evin dağınıklığına kirli olmasına isyan ederler...” (*Jale (40) – Primary School Graduate – CM of Grade 1 – has 2 children in this school – Housewife – Teacher: Fahri).*)

E.206

“... Çoğu çocuk okula gelmez, okulla işi olmaz, sabah kalkacak filan, hayatta yapamazlar. Belki okul diye bir şey olmazdı...” (Aynur (26) – *Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 2 – Has 1 child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Emir*).

E.207

“... Annelik emeğini çıkarsak okul harap olur. Öğretmen annelik mi yapsın, babalık mı yapsın, öğretmenlik yapsın? Eğitim diye bir şey kalmaz ki... O zaman bakıcılık yapacak bir öğretmen lazım. Eğitim diye bir şey kalmaz. Biz hem bakıcılık yapıyoruz anne olarak hem de eğitimine destek oluyoruz. Öğretmenler kafayı yer, akıl hastanesine gider...” (Ceyhan (37) – *Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 2 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Especially escaped from participating in the research*).

E.208

“... Anneler bütün bunları yapmasalar hiç hayal bile edemiyorum. Her şey eksik kalır, saatinde ders başlamaz...” (Oya (35) – *Primary school graduate – CM of Grade 4 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Meltem*).

E.209

“... Anne emeđi ıkısa, başarısız, sađlıksız đrenciler, ocuklar okula ancak 10 buukta bařlar. đretmenler ıldırır. Eđitim sistemi veya okul öker...” (*Hayal (34) – College graduate – CM of Grade 4 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Ali*).

E.210

“... Anne emeđi olmasa ocuklar periřan olur. Okul periřan olur. Bir dzen olmaz. ocuk a gelir, vaktinde ders bařlamaz. Bir velimiz vardı. ocuđuyla ilgilenmeyi bıraktı, ocuk per-periřan geliyor, st-bař berbat, a, sınıfta uyuyor, arkadařlarıyla kavga iinde. Sonra đrendim ki anne depresyona girmiř, ocuk başarısız, periřan. Anne emeđi ıkınca ocuk bitiyor. ocuk zayıfladı, dersleri kt, uyku yok, okula dzgn gelemiyor, bazen derse hi gelmiyor. Anne emeđi ıkarsa ortaya byle bir manzara ıkar...” (*Feza (40) – Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 1 child in this school – Housewife – Teacher: Cafer*).

E.211

“... Anne emeđi ıkında okul ne olur? ocuklar periřan olur. Zamanında gelemez, a gelir, korkun Őeyler olur. devler yapılmaz. Eve gidip ders alıřıp ocuđuma anlatıyorum. Eđitim mahvolurdu. Sınıflar ok kalabalık olduđu iin đretmenler yeteri kadar eđitim veremiyor. Bu eksięi eđitimi evde anne tamamlıyor. Bir kere đretmenler ok yorulur, okulun btn dzeni gider. Eđitimi eksik, pis, a, sevgisiz

öğrenci, felaket olur. Sevgi emeği de önemli. Anneleri çıkarırsan eğitim olmaz. Onu diyeyim...” (Emine (46) – Highschool graduate – CM of Grade 5 – has 2 children in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Cafer).

E.212

“... Annelik emeği olmasa çocuklar kendi kişiliklerini bulana kadar ortam feci olur diye düşünüyorum. Öğretmenin tahammül gücü ortadan kalkar. Eğitim sistemi çöker. Özellikle küçükleri düşündüğümde... Annesiz okul olmaz. Anne görünmez olarak hep okulda görev alıyor. Bizimki meslek olarak görülmediği için annelik emeği görünmez. Vazife gibi, meslek gibi değil. Hiçbir zaman takdir edilmiyor...” (Güliz (36) – College graduate – CM of Grade 5 – Has 1 child in this school – Quit work for childcare – Teacher: Galip).

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