REPRODUCTION STRATEGIES OF THE NEW MIDDLE CLASS PARENTS
IN THE FIELD OF TURKISH EDUCATION SYSTEM

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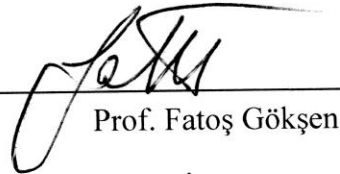Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities

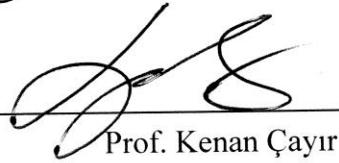This is to certify that I have examined this copy of a master's thesis by

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ABSTRACT

REPRODUCTION STRATEGIES OF THE NEW MIDDLE CLASS PARENTS
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This study aims to reveal the class strategies of the new middle class (NMC) parents in the field of Turkish education system in Istanbul. The NMC parents engage in schooling process to increase academic success, and social mobility chances of their children as education is a central sustaining mechanism of class reproduction from the perspectives of middle class families. Schooling is an overemphasized practice for parents in their struggle to protect class privilege in the broader social and economic context in which middle-class identities of families are continuously under threat. The lack of the sense of security, the tension of high cultural capital with the shaky ground of economic capital, appear as significant determinants of the relationship between NMC parents, children, and education. The rapid and immense privatization of education contributed to the sense of insecurity and worries of NMC parents for their children's social mobility. Against this background, this study focuses on the reproduction strategies of the NMC parents. Drawing on three years of in-depth interviews with the students and parents from a middle class background, it first shows that NMC parents strategically enroll their children in a public school in a gated community and transform the schools through their available resources rather than paying for private schools. In doing so, they create "private-school-like spaces" in public schools together with other NMC parents. In other words, by doing so, parents from similar socioeconomic background creates a more homogenous school environment where they can interfere and transform conditions and opportunities of the school by using their resources. The study also documents how NMC parents engage in their children's schooling and organize the childrearing process as a whole to empower mobility chances of their children. In exploring these issues, the study particularly reveals the strategic use of the intergenerational closure, relations among parents, lobbying activities by this group.

Key Words: class strategies, education, new middle class, privatization, school choice.

YENİ ORTA SINIF VELİLERİN TÜRK EĞİTİM SİSTEMİ ALANINDA SINIFSAL YENİDEN ÜRETİM STRATEJİLERİ

Bu çalışma yeni orta sınıf (YOS) ebeveynlerin Türk eğitim sistemi içerisinde geliştirdikleri sınıf stratejilerine odaklanmaktadır. YOS ebeveynler çocuklarının akademik başarılarını ve sosyal hareketlilik şanslarını artırmak adına çocuklarının eğitim süreciyle yakından ilgilenmektedir. Çünkü YOS için sınıfsal yeniden üretim mekanizmasını oluşturmaktadır. Orta sınıflılık kimliğinin sürekli olarak tehlike altında olduğu ekonomik ve sosyal bağlamda, aileler çocuklarının eğitim sürecine aşırı önem vermektedir. Yüksek kültürel sermayeye sahipken ekonomik sermayelerinin kaygan zeminde duruyor oluşu, sınıfsal pozisyonu korumaya dair yaşadıkları belirsizlik ve güvensizlikler, YOS ebeveynlerin ve çocukların eğitimle ilişkisinde belirleyici olmaktadır. Öte yandan eğitim alanında hızlı ve yoğun bir şekilde yaşanmakta olan özelleştirme süreci de YOS velilerin güvensizlik hissini ve endişelerini artırmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, bu araştırma YOS velilerin eğitimde sınıfsal yeniden üretim süreçlerine ve mekanizmalarına odaklanmaktadır. Orta sınıf geri planından genel veli ve öğrencilerle takip içerisinde üç yıl süren derinlemesine görüşmelere dayanarak, bu çalışma YOS velilerin özel okullara kayıt olup yüksek ücretler ödemek yerine, stratejik bir adım olarak site içerisindeki bir devlet okuluna kayıt olup bu okulu kendi kaynakları doğrultusunda dönüştürdüklerini ortaya koymaktadır. Böylece benzer sınıfsal geri plandan gelen velilerle bir devlet okulunda özel-okul-vâri, daha homojen ve izole bir alan yaratmaktadırlar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: eğitim, okul seçimi, özelleştirme, sınıf stratejileri, yeni orta sınıf.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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AKP: The Justice and Development Party

Dershane: Private teaching institution

Ilkokul: Primary school: The first 4 years of compulsory education in Turkey

Etut-beslenme: A special school type which used to accept the children of working parents

Imam hatip High Schools: Islamic divinity students high-school

LGS: High School Entrance Exam (the name of the high school entrance exam)

MEB: The Ministry of National Education

NMC: New middle class

Ortaokul: Middle school: The second 4 years compulsory education

Site: Gated Community

TEOG: Transition from Primary to Secondary Education (the name of the high school entrance exam)

YOK: The Council of Higher Education

INTRODUCTION

Social class has a huge impact on the educational process of students since social and cultural resources are converted into educational advantages (Lareau and Horvat, 1999). Socioeconomic background characteristics of parents such as level of education, occupational status, the language spoken at home have a strong link with students' success (R. Becker 2010; Rankin and Aytac 2006; Smits and Hosgor 2006; Stevens 2007). Therefore, class differences affect children's progress and academic achievement. In order to understand the linkage between social class and educational inequalities, the processes and the mechanisms through which the educational inequalities come out regarding social and cultural factors in addition to economic ones must be examined. Parents develop different strategies in the field of educationin order to enhance their children's life chances in social stratification. Especially the middle classes overemphasize schooling process in their struggle to protect their class privilege in the broader social and economic context in which middle-class identities of families are continuously under threat. The lack of the sense of security, the tension of high cultural capital with the shaky ground of economic capital, appear as significant determinants of the relationship between the new middle class (NMC) parents, children, and education. The rapid privatization of education contributed to the sense of insecurity and worries of parents for their children's social mobility in the meantime. In this thesis, I focus on the NMC parents' strategies in the field of education to protect and enhance the class position of their children in the Turkish education system.

The value of all forms of capital depends on the social settings (Lareau, 2001). In other words, social, economic and cultural resources,potential or real, exist only in relation to a

field where agents and their social positions are located and which encompasses the rules of the game at any moment (Lareau, 2001, p. 82; Lareau and Horvat, 1999, p.75). Therefore, the social settings are significant to comprehend the unequal resources that escalate educational inequalities. Lareau and Horvat (1999, p.82) state that: "The process of reproduction is not a continual, deterministic one. Rather, it is shaped moment by moment in particular social fields". Against this background, this study examines Turkish NMC strategies to enhance their children class position in the field of education, which has been profoundly transformed by the rapid neoliberalization process the country has undergone since the 1980s.

Since the 1980s, the sectoral structure of the Turkish economy, the occupational profiles, and the expectations from employees in the market have considerably altered in the process of neoliberal transformation. The service sector, mainly IT, banking, finance, media, advertising, public relations, and tourism gained importance against the agricultural and industrial sectors (Şimşek, 2005). The neoliberal transformation has affected the social class structure, causing the emergence of the NMC in Turkey. The rise in the service sector, integration to global market, rapid urbanization, the massive expansion of education and the need for increase in the educational qualifications, a new class of well educated, professional, multilingual, MBA-trained high qualified individuals aspiring to have successful careers and high salaries has emerged in the last decades (Şimşek 2005; Rutz and Balkan 2010; Öncü 1997, 2000; Keyder, 2005). The newly emerging service sector became a target for these new professionals according to the changing demands of the market. The common values and features of the NMC are underlined as entrepreneurship, success, competition, individualization (Kozanoğlu, 1993; Ahıska and Yenal, 2005), order, individual autonomy, secularity, predictability, open-mindedness, rationality, and environmental sensitivity (Ayata, 2003, p. 54).

The NMC has become a subject for academic studies especially after the 2000s in Turkey. Early studies tried to conceptualize the NMC and to identify its cultural practices, lifestyle and consumption habits. The famous book of Rıfat Bali, titled Tarz-ı Hayat'tan Life Style'a (2002) is one of the earliest studies that shed light on the cultural transformation confronted after the 1980s and demonstrates the changes in social identities, consumption habits, housing preferences historically. Ali Şimşek, in his book "the New Middle Class" (2005), examines the transformations of the cultural landscape in Turkey after the 1980s and defines the NMC as white collar workers who come from middle or lower middle-class background. He focuses on the cultural practices and the distinguishing features of the NMC, by highligtingthe importance of knowing foreign languages, being graduated from a well-known university, having concerns about the career. Can Kozanoğlu (1993) underlines the constant desire and need for "more" as a feature of the NMC. Additionally, the housing preferences of the NMC are studied (Bali, 2002; Şimşek, 2005; Bartu-Candan and Kolluoğlu, 2008). Sencer Ayata (2002) emphasized the cultural patterns of gated communities of the NMC in Ankara, and Öncü (1997, 200) focuses on "the myth of the ideal home" and the construction of the middle-class identity. However, it was not until Gezi Park resistance in 2013 that middle classes, and particularly the NMC has become rather a problematic or popular topic within both scientific and daily debates. Different interpretations of the class structure of the Gezi Park movement provoked the debate. Particularly, Çağlar Keyder's short article (2013) which identifies Gezi Park movement as a resistance of the NMC escalated the debate. Following that, the number of the articles about "the issue of middle classes" is increased and the middle-class issue has ranked high in the agenda as well as academic and popular science journals (for instance: Praksis, 2013, issue 32; Birikim, 2014, issue 306). According to Keyder (2013), the basic distinguishing characteristic of the NMC people is having jobs that require education, skills, and knowledge, and they oppose the existing system in which their demands are not satisfied.

Unsurprisingly, the arguments of Keyder and other scholars who use the term "the NMC" have been criticized uncompromisingly. Korkut Boratav and Ahmet Tonak, Marxist economy professors in Turkey, are some of the well-known figures who challenged with the claims on the middle class characteristic associated with Gezi Park. They underlinedthat the basic condition of being worker is selling the labor power to capitalist enterprise since they are not the owner of the means of production (Tonak, 2013). Boratav (2013) asserted that "middle class" must be perceived as a term, not even as a concept. All these discussions and the previous research which includes systematically collected empirical data examining the NMC are crucial for this study in order to conceptualize and contextualize by identifying some peculiarities of the Turkish case.

The education system was not an exception among fields affected by the process of neoliberal transformation as witnessed in Turkey, so, it has been fundamentally affected in this process. The impacts of policies based on privatization and conservatism in the field of education have become quite dramatic. Historically speaking, the implementation of privatization policy was the main topic of economic agenda during the 1980s. However, education has undergone the transformation mainly during the 1990s. This process has been increasingly rising today. In this process, on the one hand, the quality of public schools weakens due to several reasons including the low share of budget allocated for public education. On the other hand, the numbers of private education institutions, both private schools and private teaching institutions (dershane) are increasing in relation to the augmenting encouragements for private schooling (see Inal 2012, Özmen 2012, Özdemir 2012, Kurul 2012). Not only financial dimension is the major component of this transformation, but also the goal and the content of education are also changing collaterally with the requirements of the global market and the rising conservatism especially witnessed in the AKP era in Turkey (Ünder 2012, Özmen 2012).

Indeed, the theoretical base of the class analysis of this thesis does not depend on clear-cut class definitions. Neither the conventional theories that reduce the concept of class to the economic sphere nor the postmodern theories that declare the "death of class" are embraced. But relying on the concepts of Pierre Bourdieu, this study shares the arguments of the cultural class analysis which considers class as dynamic, productive, reactive, as a crucial mean of analysis to comprehend the forms of inequality (Reay, 2005, 2011; Savage, 2001, 2013; Bottero, 2004; Skeggs, 2004; Atkinson, 2009). The studies on social class have fallen from grace especially after the 1980s in relation to the political and economic conjuncture of the era. Many scholars labeled "class" as a meaningless and empty category in today's postmodern, post Fordists, post-capitalist, late modern, risk societies, and they denied significance of the social and economic hierarchies related to social class (see Bauman, 1982; Giddens, 1990; Beck, 1992; Crook et al., 1992; Pakulski and Waters, 1996; Lash and Urry, 1987, 1994). Rising individualism,weakening class consciousness and collective identity which arethe concepts identified with the social class are claimed as the signs of the death of class. For example, according to Beck (1986, 88), the contemporary society is unequal but classlessly individualized. However, particularly after the 1990s, arguments of the cultural class analysis which is mainly nourished by cultural analysis of Pierre Bourdieu has challenged with the traditional understanding of class and lead a shift in paradigm in this field (see Reay, Bottero, Savage, Lawler, Atkinson, Skeggs). The new scholarship defined class as "a complicated mixture of the material, the discursive, psychological predispositions and sociological dispositions" (Reay 1998: 259). Cultural and social differences gained currency in class analysis unlike the earlier debate on class issues which kept them in the background as a part of superstructure while locating the class. In contrast with the reductive interpretation of class that defines the source of inequality only through economic relations, the importance of the unequal distribution of cultural and social resources among social

groups is underlined. Considering that, the cultural taste, knowledge, social network distinct people in class hierarchies as well as income, occupation, and possessions (Lawler, 797), this thesis seeks analytical possibilities to reveal social class inequalities and reproduction and gathering with the display findings of the fieldwork conducted for this study. This thesis aims to avoid determination or stark oppression stories and simplifications by considering the complexities of cultural processes.

In this historical and theoretical framework, this thesis examines that the NMC families develop various strategies in order to protect and to enhance the privileges they have through education by using the theoretical framework of Pierre Bourdieu. One of the crucial components of the NMC is education. As privatization in education is relatively new in Turkey but rapid and immense; the reproduction strategies of the NMC families within the education system is worth examining. I assume that the transformation of the context required the emergence of new class strategies among NMC. Although the NMC has been discussed through some academic studies and popular science writings for a while, it remains to be highly understudied from this perspective in the academic literature. Empirical research conducted on the NMC in Turkey seems inadequate particularly in relation to the field of education in terms of reproduction strategies. One and only well-designed and leading empirical research on the relationship between the NMC and the reproduction strategies in education in Turkey belongs to Balkan and Rutz (2010). This research examines the role of the family as a basic institution of reproduction of the NMC, within the framework of the neoliberal state and market. They conducted the fieldwork for this research 30 years before this study and since then, a little empirical data has been produced in social sciences around these issues.

This study focused on the middle school (ortaokul) period which ends up with the high school entrance exam. The TEOG was the existing system when this research began in 2016 and replace with the LGS in 2017, in the last year of the research. Students do not have to take the exam according to the new system unlike TEOG, and only "qualified high schools", as named in the system, accept students through the exam (ERG Report, 2017). However, this change did not affect the parents and the students with the NMC background because they aim to enter the most successful high schools in Istanbul. The exam has become vital for the parents since the high school matters for the future mobility chances of their children. The increasing link between the type of the high school and the success of the university entrance exam is the main source of the anxiety of the parents in this process. In addition, the name and the quality of the high school are also seen as crucial for the acquisition and appropriation of cultural capital in educational settings. Therefore, the parents activate their resources to increase academic success starting from relatively earlier ages of children where they are not capable of converting resources from external resources then family. It means the connection between the school success of children and family resources is getting stronger.

In this thesis, I analyzed the data I collected for the TUBITAK project entitled "The Effects of Social Class on Academic Achievement: Family - School Relations". Considering the strong bond between socioeconomic background of parents and educational performance of children, this project investigates the effects of social class on parental network structure and how parents use their network for contributing to educational achievement of their children. For this project, three different middle schools, students of low, middle and upper social class backgrounds attend were selectedthroughthe purposive sampling technique. Students, parents and teachers from each school types were longitudinally in-depth interviewed at the end of each academic year for 3 years in 6th, 7th and 8th grades.In the scope of this broader project,I focus on the middle class practices in education. I conducted in-depth interviews with 13

parents and 10 students from the middle class background,and 5 teachers from the same school for 3 years of the longitudinal research. My analysis mainly based on the interviews with parents specifically since my focus is on parental practices, but the interviews with the students and the teachers were also contributory to see the general picture. The parents have been selected randomly from a specific school which is located on a site in one of the wealthy suburbs of Istanbul. This site was established as a cooperative by architectures from one of the well-known universities in Istanbul. Within this area, broad social opportunities are provided for dwellers who have above average income due to the high prices of houses to buy or to rent. The public middle school (ortaokul) school chosen for this study is built inside of this site in which the vast majority of students in this school stay. This school provides favorable opportunities compared to average public schools. Students are able to attend optional etudes after formal classes. These etudes are offered in many fields, including sports, art, and reinforcing classes for school subjects. Many school trips, cultural, artistic and sportive events are organized. In addition, infirmary, private cleaning personnel, private security guard, security cameras are provided in the school. Besides, classes consist of a fewer number of students compare to the other public schools, as it will be demonstrated with numbers in the following chapters.

This thesis aims to contribute to the literature from several points. Mainly, under the rapid transformation observed in the field of education, class structure, and urban structure, there are new dynamics, strategies, and mechanisms. Since capital only exists in relation to the field (Lareau, 2001, 82; Lareau and Horvat, 1999, p.75), so in the condition that the field is changing rapidly as well as the rules of the game, the social reproduction strategies of the parents from a new social class is worth to examine. In other words, these are the new strategies in a new context. More specifically, firstly, the NMC in the context of education is understudied in the literature. Secondly, the effect of neoliberalism in the field of education is

mostly focused on the level of higher education. Studies focused on primary and secondary education are required in this context. Thirdly, the data presented and analyzed in this thesis would provide a base of comparison for studies on the countries experienced similar neoliberal transformation process in the education system, urban, and so on. Therefore, I would like to present it as a sort of reference point to compare this study with others.

In the first chapter of the thesis, I explain the neoliberal transformation in Turkey to contextualize and historicize, first, the emergence of the NMC, second, the transformation in the field of education, and third, the transformation of the urban space and emergence of gated communities in Istanbul in this process. The neoliberal transformation has affected almost any field of life, but its' effect on the class structure, education and urban area particularly crucial to understand the NMC parents' strategies in education.

In the second chapter, I present the conceptual framework of the study. I first deal with the theoretical and conceptual debates on the question of locating the class. This part underlines the importance of examining class as historical formations instead of seeking an answer to the traditional question that "what class is". Additionally, I specifically explained the notion of social capital which will be one of the key concepts during analyzing the parents' involvement in schooling process since social network is significant to reach institutional resources regarding volume and quality of social capital. Lastly, I focus on the transformation of "parenting" and the middle classes' childrearing strategies.

Following the historical and theoretical explanations, I unpack empirical materials. Primarily, I introduce my fieldwork in detail by describing the school, the site (site) and parents' socioeconomic background. Then, I explain the NMC parental strategies in two chapters: first I document the link between school choice and social class for my respondents since the qualities of the school matters for children in many aspects including school success, social

environment, values and manners appropriated, and title. Then, I summarize the main strategies developed by the NMC parents within and out of the system. They choose to stay in Yeniköy (a pseudonym name for the school in question) by taking additional support for educational success such as private courses, or moving private schools directly, or more radically, moving out of the system by moving another country or choosing foreign-based schools.

In the last chapter, I examine the reproduction strategies of the NMC parents involving in the schooling process in general. I divide the involving process in schooling into three major points: strategies developed among parents, in interaction with the school and in their relations to their children. Firstly, I explain parents' relationships with each other in relation to the schooling of their children. I attempt to demonstrate the importance of "intergenerational closure" which is, whose parents know more of their children's friends' parents (Carbonaro, 1998, 295) and how parental networks enhance their power on the school and schooling process and how their decisions and childrearing approaches affect each other. For instance, parents label each other as "indifferent" or "attendant" according to their ways of parenting and ways of involving in schooling. They establish their own childrearing approach in comparison to the other parents. Secondly, I examined how parents engage in the school as an institution and how they transform the school in the direction they desire. These parents spend time, money and energy in order to improve the schools' conditions and success and so, to improve children's academic success and opportunities in the school, especially through the parent-teacher association (okul aile birliği). The parents consider involving in schooling as a necessity rather than a volunteering work. In addition, they develop strategic relations with the teachers and the managers working in the school. Lastly, I demonstrated that the reproduction strategies of parents are rooted in parents' childrearing approaches and practices. They aim to raise responsible, enterprising, sociable, self-confident,

self-conscious, rational, ambitious, competitive children whose life changes in business life will be higher. Their aim matches with the qualities of a neoliberal subject. In order to raise such a child, parents interact with their children and organize their daily life to achieve both appropriation of cultural capital and the success in the exam strategically. In the conclusion, I underlined that all these strategies of the parents are related to the socioeconomic background. The NMC parents experience the tension between having high cultural capital with relatively low or unsecure economic capital.

1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1.1. Neoliberal Transformation in Turkey

During the 1960s and the 1970s, import-substitution, industrialization, and protectionism were implemented as the economic strategy in Turkey (Boratav, 2003). By the end of the 1970s, the Turkish economy went into a deep economic depression. A new economic program was introduced to overcome this economic depression. This package of economic and social policies introduced on January 24, 1980, has paved the way for Turkey's integration into world markets and become the beginning of economic liberalization. The package, called 24 January Decisions, is considered as a historical moment of transition to a market-based economy. The market mechanism was liberalized and converged the national economy with global capitalism (Inal, 2012). This structural change was applied in two steps: firstly, with the January 24 Decisions, the new economic program was stabilized. But in the second step, the transition was guaranteed with a military coup on 12 September 1980 and with the program was implemented, as Keyder underlines (2004). He says that the military regime provided a suitable social and political environment to implement a radical restructuring of the economy with minimum resistance. Under the military rule, the main objective of the program has become the reduction in government involvement in the economy. The economic strategy has been restructured and become market-oriented and outward looking. The new economic program put devaluations, the removal of the price controls, and an increase in the prices for the goods and services produced by the State Economic Enterprises on the agenda (Boratav, 2003). Industry and services were gradually expanding accompanied with the expansion of subcontracting practice, privatization of state-

owned enterprises. The import-substituting industrialization was replaced with the export-oriented industrialization model (Zurcher, 1997; Keyder, 2004). Boratav defines the decade after 1980 as "the counter-attack of the capital."(2003, p. 98).

Özal government took the political power with the 1983 elections with the support of the IMF and the USA. Özal was a critical figure because he ensured a successful transition to the neoliberal economy (Öniş, 2004). He implemented Turkish Islamic synthesis doctrine during that era through activating the effect of religion on the society in order to weaken the leftist movement. The Welfare Party, known as pro-Islamic, anti-capitalistic and anti-socialist, came to power in 1991. The party also implemented neoliberal policies and reforms, such as the liberalization of commodity trade and flexibilization of its labor markets (Cizre and Yeldan, 2005, p.388). The capital account was deregulated in 1989. After the banishment of the Welfare Party due to violating the principle of secularism by the post-modern coup on 28 February 1997, the Party split into radical Islamists and Moderate Islamists. The Justice and Development Party (AKP) was established in 2001 and gained momentum by winning the power in 2002 general election and taking the two-thirds of parliamentary seats. Beyond doubt, this economic transformation penetrated into this period and accompanied by a social transformation in many fields.

1.2. The Emergence of the New Middle Class in Turkey

The change in the labor market structure is the most prominent factor behind the formation of the NMC. A decline in the rural labor force has been accompanied with an expansion in the tertiary sector in Turkey, especially starting from the 1980s. Cizre and Yeldan (2005, p. 338) divide the neoliberalization process in Turkey into two different phases: the first generation economic liberalization in the 1980s and the second-generation marketization reforms in the period after 2000. The second phase, according to their analysis, the economic strategy focus was on the transnational mobility of capital and global production networks. Both phases of

neoliberalism provided economic and social ground for the emergence of the NMC with alignments and polarization through the new structural adjustments such as state redistribution, financialization, and privatization (p. 339).

The *orta direk* (middle pillar) was the outstanding social group in the Ozal era, where the improvement in the social and economic condition of the middle class was in the political agenda, especially after the crises in 1979. During this era, the demand for educated white collar workers has risen in the market. According to Öncü (1997), the NMC has emerged as a result of the transformation of middle classes. The upper segment of the middle class was strengthened while the lower middle class experienced with the future of downward mobility with the expense of degrading conditions. The growing segment of urban, professional, highly educated global middle class has become the winners of neoliberalism and global capitalism. This small segment of the population benefited from incorporation into the world economy (Keyder, 1999). Besides, well-educated, young professionals headed for integration to the global economy which demands specific qualifications for occupations (Balkan and Rutz, 24).

Ahıska and Yenal (2005, p. 62) describe the NMC as a privileged group who generally works in multinational companies in the private sector and has relatively high wages as engineers, managers, economists, and salespersons. The NMC, who were employed in the globally integrated sectors like exports, financial services, banking, advertising, media, has emerged under these economic and social conditions with diverging from the core middle classes, who were generally employed in the public sector as civil servants in medium levels (Balkan and Rutz, 2009, p. 19). Ali Şimşek (2005) defines the NMC as white collar workers who have middle and lower middle-class family background. The main features of the NMC, also called "yuppies" (young urban professionals) (Ibid, p. 35), are receiving a qualified education,

having foreign language skills, focusing on developing careers and working in the service sector.

The NMC identity is constituted around "civilized manners, high levels of education, secular worldview, inclination towards consuming the Western high cultural elements" (Ayata and Ayata, 1996, p. 132). The main values and features of the NMC are entrepreneurship, success, competition, individualization which are also the rising trends in the atmosphere of the 1980s (Kozanoğlu, 1993; Ahıska and Yenal, 2005). Ayata underlines the importance of order, individual autonomy, secularity, predictability, open-mindedness, rationality (2003, p. 54), environmental sensitivity being able to control emotions, and knowing the ways of behaving in public (Ayata, 2002) for the NMC. Kozanoğlu (1993) also underlines their mentality of constantly desiring more as "*hep daha*". They develop a continuous desire to rise which means a continuous need for self-development because they never perceive their position and power enough. But on the other hand, their social and economic conditions do not let them settle and confine with their existing position due to the constant competitive working conditions. At this point, the certain fears and anxieties the NMC people have must be examined regarding their class position in order to understand their constant struggle. The NMC people need and depend on salaries unlike wealthy classes to make a living (Kozanoğlu, 1993, Şimşek, 2005). They have to be on the alert due to the uncertain ground they stand on, the lack of sense of security, the constant risk of downward mobility, richness in the cultural capital with the risky ground of economic capital. This ontological crisis of the NMC cause high level of anxiety and fear. They always keep their eyes on the lower classes and upper classes (Kozanoğlu, 2001, p. 58)

Although the NMC is relatively understudied group in Turkey, there is a rising interest about this growing segment of society, especially in the context of the formation of class through

lifestyles and consumption habits since this new group of young urban professionals has adopted global consumption habits and lifestyles (Keyder, 2005). For example, the housing preferences of the NMC are also studied in the context of lifestyle and class distinction practices. Istanbul, the financial and commercial center of Turkey, experienced major changes after the 1980s and re-positioned as a global city. The city has undergone a rapid integration into global markets during the 1980s with expansion in the service sector in marketing, accounting, management, banking and finance (Keyder, 2005). While the polarization and poverty have risen in the 1990s' Istanbul, privileged gated communities mainly located in the peripheral areas have been established in the city. Gated communities and residence towers draw attention as the outstanding housing preferences of the NMC (Bali, 2002; Şimşek, 2005; Bartu-Candan and Kolluoğlu, 2008). "*The myth of the ideal home*", as Öncü (1997) notes, is imagined as far from the city life, segregated, isolated and sterilized from the crowd, mess, dirtiness, dangers of the city life. In other words, the concept of "lifestyle" has become prominent in housing preferences. They desire to have a certain lifestyle in a site where they can raise their children in a safe environment, attend cultural and sportive activities, socialize with "people like them" who share certain lifestyle culturally and economically (p. 102). The inhabitants create and share the feeling of "us" while differing their living space from the other areas (Ayata and Ayata, 1996, p. 131). Bartu-Candan and Kolluoğlu (2008, p. 6) evaluate the rapid growth of gated residential compounds in Istanbul as enclosing new forms of wealth. Also, new forms of relations and non-relations are shaped in between the gates. Ayata (2002) also studies on suburban areas in Ankara and discusses that how the symbolic boundaries of the NMC are constructed through residential differentiation from other groups in the society. But in addition to the housing preferences, Şimşek (2005) and Öncü (2000) focus on another crucial point about the construction of the NMC identity through decoding the discourse of the different cartoon magazines: creating the image of "other" such as

"*maganda*", whose characteristics are being newly rich urban migrant, listening arabesque music, being potentially sexual abuser, having weak of cultural resources (Şimşek, 2005, p. 94), aesthetically defected, unenlightened, rude, vulgarian (Öncü, 2000, p. 136). In addition, Kozanoğlu (2001) touches upon the discourse on sexual equality and the equal share of household chores as important values of the secular NMC. The sexual equality is discursively substantial although the practices may differ. He argues that the division of labor in the NMC family differs from the traditional one. In the NMC families, fathers of this consistently demanding era are extremely fragile and mothers carry the responsibility of many decisions and having the role of the organizer in the family (p. 61).

1.3. Neoliberalism and Education

Education has undergone a rapid and immense neoliberal transformation process in Turkey since the 1980s. There is a strong link between the NMC parents' strategies and the transformation of the education since the parents act within the current system where the rules of the game are shaped. Therefore, in this part, I document the neoliberal transformation of the Turkish education system. Firstly, I briefly summarize the development of the Turkish education system starting in the early republican era. Later, I focus on the neoliberal transformation of education after the 1980s by dividing into two phases: starting from 1980 to 2001, and the AKP era.

1.3.1. A Short History of the Changing Education Policy in Turkey

The education was seen as a tool for a certain social transformationas a part of the nationalization and modernization project. Just days after the foundation of the Grand Turkish National Assembly on 23 April 1920, Ministry of National Education was founded at the same year on 2 May. The principles of the Republican People's Party in power shaped the educational policies under the mono-party regime. The secular modern educational system

was embraced by the founders of the Republic consistently with their ideological stance. The Law on Unification of Education in 1924 and the Law on the Adoption and Implementation of the Turkish Alphabet in 1928 passed on as significant reforms. The main changes in this period are the replacement of the Arabic alphabet to Latin, the introduction of coeducation system, the new curriculum including democratic and secular values, establishment of universities instead of madrasas. The era between 1923-1938 is defined as "nationalization period" which basically includes following principles in the educational program: the national character, the science and technology theme, the principle of unity, the principle of getting rid of illiteracy, etatisation motive, the economy motive, the principle of modernization, the motive of being scientific, the principle of secularization, the theme of mixed-sex education, and the principle of discipline (Güler, 2004, p. 78-115; cited from Hesapçıoğlu, 2009, p. 126). In addition, Ziya Gökalp, who is considered as the representer of the arguments of E. Durkheim in Turkey, has been the leading figure of the philosophy of the Turkish education system along the republican period. In the Ziya Gökalp's theory, the dualism between culture and civilization, the idea of nationalism, the notion of synthesis were dominant ideas and notions which constructed the main ideological framework in Turkish education system (ibid, p. 130). Besides, in the meantime, the rate of literacy was 11 percent in 1927, and it increased to 20.4 percent when we come to 1935 (Gök, 2004, p. 249).

In the 1950s, the two major developments had an impact on the educational policies: the substantial change in the political system, and the end of the World War II. First of all, the transition in the political system from the mono-party regime to the multi-party regime has influenced political structure deeply, as well as the education. Secondly, in spite of the fact that Turkey did not directly participate in the World War II, its effects have been experienced in many different ways. Also, the transition to the multi-party system might be regarded as one of the political effects of the WW II on Turkey. The center-right, conservative Democrat

Party was founded in 1946 and entered the parliament. When the Democrat Party was in the government between the years 1946-50 as the opposition party, the education was one of their concern of criticism. Then, they took the power in government from 1950 to 1960. During this uninterrupted power of the Democrat Party, the education policies have been changed. In their period, as a result of the monetary assistance from the United States, the state institutions including educational institutions rapidly extended (Karakok, 2011). Indeed, they tried to implement the American model into the education system. Village institutes were shut down, new universities were established during the era. The budget allocated for the National Education was 6-7 percent in 1940s and increased to 13 percent when we come to 1960 (Ibid, p. 97).

1.3.2. Neoliberal Transformation of Education in Turkey (1980 - 2001)

Kenan Evren, leader of the military coup in Turkey in 1980, said that: "Is it social justice if a man with twelve children can send all twelve of his children to the state schools for free?" (Cited from, Gok, 2004, p. 251). This quotation reflects the change in mentality and perception of education under the military rule following the 24 January Decisions. The reforms in education were on the agenda under the political and economic conditions of this era, especially with the demands of the IMF to reduce government spending and to encourage privatization in the post-1980s. First one of these reforms was changing the goal and content of education, the second one was restructuring financing education, and the third one was redefining the role of education in social mobility (Sayılan, 2006, p. 44). In detail, the first reforms in the era aimed to reregulation of the curriculum. Because they aimed to create a new curriculum based on the needs of the global market and to create human capital according to the demands of the market (Ibid). The second reform aimed to reduce the cost of education and the share of budget allocated for education in state expenditures, as a part of cutting public investment in general. So, deregulation, liberalization, and commercialization

were predicted in five educational fields: primary schools, secondary schools, higher education, adult education, and other educational services. This process was led by the World Trade Organization (WTO). The General Agreement on Trade in Services has also played a key role (Ibid).

As a part of structural adjustment and stability programs, these policies were implemented especially after the 1990s (Sayılan, 2006, p. 48). Turkey signed GATS in 1998, and by being a part of it, the conditions of privatization in education was officially declared. Additionally, the adjustment process to the European Union and implementations related to this process also consolidated the transformation. Because education policies of the EU are also in favor of the needs of the market: commercialization of public education, supportiveness for private entrepreneurship, adjusting the content of education into demands of the market, localization and flexibilization in the education system (ibid, p. 48).

Though the seventh five-year development plan, commercialization in high schools was projected and implemented in 1994. Collection of contribution margin was systemized in schools in this process. Even in public schools, school management has been able to collect money from students for 40 different items (Ibid). In addition to that, especially in higher education, universities began to collect a fee for education starting from 1992. Not only fee but also some services in public universities were also privatized, such as dining hall, canteen, cleaning, etc. In other words, the universities were not privatized directly, but the services provided within the universities were abandoned to the private sector.

When we come to the higher education, universities were founded as a part of public education in Turkey. In the 1960s, some higher educational institutions founded privately but they were banned by the Constitutional Court (Gok, p. 252). After 1980, private universities were allowed to be established in the name of "foundation universities" since the name of

"private" refers to profit-making Naming the new schools as "foundation universities" was a smoother, softer, and acceptable way of presenting the transformation discursively, because education used to be considered in the scope of the public services and in charge of the state. The first "foundation university", Bilkent, was established by Ihsan Dogramacı, who was the head of the Higher Educational Council (YOK). Establishment of the first foundation university by one of the key figures in education in the state institutions has a symbolical importance to understand the relationship between the transformation process and the state. Then, the number of these private universities increased in a relatively short period. The first one was founded in 1986, the figure increased to 3 in 1993, to 17 in 1997, to 23 in 2003, to 193 in 2015 (Gok, p. 253). Besides, as another indicator of commercialization in the educational area, the number of private schools, private teaching institutions, and universities has tremendously increased. These increasing numbers demonstrate that public education gives its place to private sector day by day (Yıldız, p. 24).

Not only in the higher education area, but also in primary and secondary schools, figures show the transformation. "While there were only 57 primary schools and 36 secondary schools in 1932, their number increased to 164 and 76 respectively in 1965 and jumped to 642 and 487 by 2001. In 2005 there were 728 private schools at the primary level and 650 private schools at the secondary level. In terms of the number of students, while there were 25,727 primary school students and 12,867 secondary school students in 1965, the numbers were 171,623 and 73,136 respectively by 2001. In 2005, there were 180,090 students in private primary schools and 76,670 in private secondary level schools (MEB 2006)" (Gok, 2004, p. 252).

In addition to schools, private teaching institutions (dersane) were established in that period and increased dramatically. The following table demonstrates the increase in the numbers of dershane from 1975-1976 to 2010-2011.

Years	The Number of Private Teaching Institutions (*dershane*)
1975-1976	157
1980-1981	174
1990-1991	762
1995-1996	1.292
2000-2001	1.864
2001-2002	2.002
2002-2003	2.122
2003-2004	2.568
2004-2005	2.984
2005-2006	3.570
2007-2008	4.031
2008-2009	4.262
2009-2010	4.193
2010-2011	4.099

Table 1: Number of private teaching institutions by years from 1975-76 to 2010-11

Source: Demirer, 2012, p. 173

Importance of private teaching institutions in educational success became more visible in time. They became almost indispensable to have high grades in the university entrance exam and to enter one of the well-known universities. In the following process, these institutions have become crucial for the preparation process for high school entrance exam as well as the universities. So, students began to register these institutions before high school to get high grades. This transformation has also ended up with an increase in the economic investment of

parents in education day by day starting from earlier ages of students. In other words, the importance of parental resources of students has become more visible and deepened.

The changes in the content and qualifications of the curriculum is another crucial point about the transformation of education in this era. The expected "outcome" of the Turkish education system was used to be defined as nationalist, conservative citizens (Sayılan, p. 49). However, the new curriculum was restructured according to the neoliberal understanding and needs of the market, and the value added to this list has become the "entrepreneurship" by focusing on leadership, conscious consumer, career planning.

1.3.3. Changes in Educational Policy in the AKP Period (2002- 2016)

From curricula to textbooks, philosophy of education to performance criteria, teacher-centered pedagogy to career systems, various changes have been introduced since 2002. Justice and Development Party (AKP), which was founded in 2001, is the party in power since the general elections in 2002. A fundamental shift, especially in the content of education, has been observed in the AKP period with the financial and intellectual support of the WB, the IMF and the EU at 2004 (Inal, 2012). The necessity of making a reform in the education system in order to gain a remarkable role in the global market is highlighted by the Turkish Industry and Business Association (TUSIAD), which publishes reports since 1990 on various fields including education. According to these reports, the education system should be reorganized according to the needs of the market economy, especially considering the labor force as market needs. In this direction, many changes have been applied to two main ideologies: conservative ideology has been integrated into the education system and neoliberal ideology has gained the control over education.

During the AKP period, minister of national education was changed seven times between 2001 and 2018. The ministers' educational policies varied from each other but in spite of the

differences, the educational policies of the AKP period outstand with two aspects: privatization in education and change in the content and philosophy of education.

To examine the privatization process in the era firstly, it has to be noted that privatization in education begins in the 1980s, not particularly in the AKP period, however, the AKP government took over, embraced, and implemented the privatization policies strongly. One dimension about this transformation is about the budget allocated for education in the AKP era. The increase in the budget of education is usually referred as a significant feature of this period, however, the most of the budget allocated for education has spent to promote and strengthen the private sector in education; not to enhance and to improve the quality and conditions of education in public schools (Yılmaz, 2016). For example, some of the private teaching institutions (dershane) were transformed into private schools in this period. For this transformation, the Ministry of National Education (MEB) spent a record budget, as stated in the MEB Strategic Plan, under the name of support for students who study in private schools. The budget allocated for the students in private schools is 1 billion 37 million TL, for 230 thousand students in 2016 (Yılmaz, 2016).

The issue was not only about the budget allocated for public schooling, but also the quality of public education has been affected by the different policy implementations of different ministers in education, moving into the 4+4+4 system in schools (as it will be explained in detail), and changes in the content of education. Under these circumstances, parents try to push their limits to send their children to private institutions. According to statistics, the number of the students who study in private schools has increased 15 percent after the implementation of the 4+4+4 system (Evrensel, 2013). As a result of that, the educational opportunities of different social classes with diverse resources have changed in favor of upper classes in relation to these changes.

The goal of the privatization policies was stated in the urgent action plan, written for the European Union in 2004 (Evrensel, 2013). According to the plan, the AKP government aims to increase the rate of private schools which was 2.5 percent in 2004 to 10 percent. In order to leave the education to the private sector in the long run, the state makes an investment to reinforce it. After a while, the state will not need to allocate a budget for education as used to do. According to the report published by Eğitim-Sen, the rate of private schools compared to public schools was 1 percent in 2002-2003, however, it is more than 5 percent today (Yılmaz, 2016). The promotion given to private schools for per student is between 2 thousand 500 and 3 thousand 500 TL, for private technical and industrial vocational high schools, it is between 4 thousand 500 and 5 thousand 500 TL. As a result of 4+4+4 system, the number of public elementary schools decreased from 44 thousand 260 to 42 thousand 196, from 2012-2013 to 2014-2015. Opposite this decrease was observed in private elementary schools and their number increased from 931 to 2 thousand 316, from 2011-2012 to 2014-2015 (ibid.). Accordingly, the number of students in public elementary schools decreased, and registrations to private elementary schools increased. When we look at the situation of private teaching institutions, the numbers of them increased from 2 thousand 122 to 3 thousand 858 in the same period. Relatedly, the number of students who registered to these institutions was 606 thousand 522 in 2002, but it increased to 1 million 280 thousand 297 (Gülcan, 2015). The number of teachers who are employed in these institutions increased from 19 thousand 881 to 51 thousand 522. Although the budget allocated for education is increased, as well as the amount of money that parent spent for their children. Between the years 2002-2003, parents were spending 720 TL for the education of their children, but this amount increased to 4 thousand TL by 6 times rise, in 2014-2015. (Ibid). On the other hand, in addition to private schools, other private institutions have profited from these policies. For instance, textbooks become free of charge in the AKP period. It is a part of the welfare state application, and it

was important when lower-class students are considered because there are many parents who cannot afford it. However, textbooks were not pressed within state institutions but pressed by private institutions. Figures and statistics clearly verify the arguments presented here.

Not only the share of the public schools in the total budget is the point of criticism, but also the total budget allocated for the MEB is the source of the question. Because the MEB and the government always boast of the increasing amount of budget allocated for education. Figures show that the budget allocated for MEB was increased in 2015 to 11 percent, compared to the previous year. In 2014, the share of Council of Higher Education (YOK) was about 72 billion, but it became about 80 billion with that increase. 11 percent increase in the budget is quite important. But, it should be indicated that %78 of MEB's budget is spent on personnel expenses and social insurance bounty. (Salman, 2014). And the total amount of contributions invested in MEB's budget is as following:
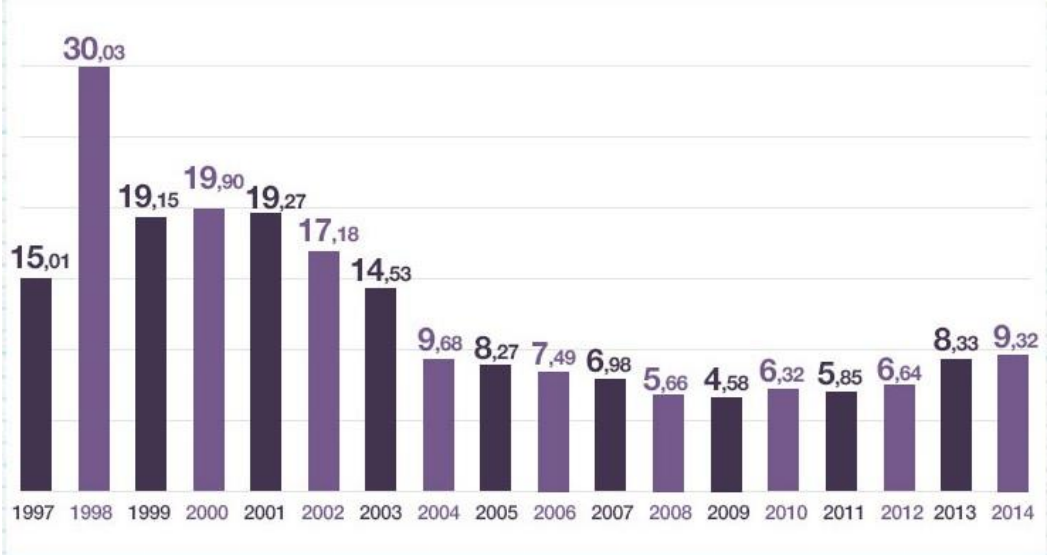
Figure 1: Total amount of contributions invested in MEB's budget

Source: Salman, 2014

Privatization process in the education sector is seen clearly when all these figures are examined. However, only putting an emphasis on the economic aspect of education policies in the AKP period is inadequate to comprehend the whole framework of their stance on education. So, other aspects also should be taken into consideration: The content of education. The aim of education is to raise students who have two specific qualities and characteristics in the AKP era: firstly, the enterprising people in relation to neoliberal transformation, and secondly, religious people in relation the conservative policies of the AKP in general. The first aim is to fulfill the needs of the private sector. Because they will be employees and they should be able to adopt the requirements of that system. So, providing employees who internalize, embrace, and get into the values of the capitalist market system has become one of the goals of education. In other words, the new values have interpenetrated to education system such as competitiveness, entrepreneurship, leadership, individualism, and so on (Sayılan, 2006).

The second aspect of transformation is about the philosophy and content of education in the AKP period. Firstly, the reform applied in 2004 replaced the nationalist and behaviorist educational model with the liberal and constructivist education model. Previously mentioned reports of TUSIAD have criticized the behaviorist and nationalist education model which the education system in Turkey based on, and claimed that the model should be replaced with liberal and constructivist education model by a structural reform. Because the behaviorist model has been seen as the reason behind the unskilled labor force and the low success of Turkish students in international exams (Ünder, 2012). So, the curriculum of primary education and secondary education has been rewritten based on the constructivist model. (Inal, 2012). Adopting to the global world and harmonizing the education system with the EU countries were declared as the reason for this shift in curriculum. To explain the difference between two models briefly, constructivism refers to a learning theory which leads learner "to

make sense of new experiences, either the learner's new experiences are assimilated into his/her present mental schemes or, if that is not possible, then the learner's present mental schemes change or generate new schemes and accommodate new experience" (Ünder, p. 34-35). Active participation of the learner becomes prominent in this model. Student-centered pedagogy minimizes the role of the teacher. The MEB criticized the behaviorist modal as "linear, monist, vulgar reductionist, and oriented toward rote learning oriented" (Inal, 23). However, Ünder explains the shift in the model of education by pedagogical and ideological reasons (Ünder, p. 37): the low success the Turkish students get in the international assessments is seen as the pedagogical motivation for this change. On the other hand, the epistemological constructivism was more attractive for the AKP government due to ideological reasons since the relationship between Islamists and positivism or scientism. Epistemological constructivism is suitable for aims of Islamists (Ibid, p. 39-43) because firstly, epistemological constructivism criticizes positivism that is the enemy of Islamists. Secondly, religion can find legitimate a place for itself within this approach due to the constructivism's criticism of the objective and scientific truth claims. Lastly, the postpositivist philosophy underlines that the science and technology are not interdependent from the culture in which they are developed. So, the dilemma that the Islamists face about the division assumed by Gökalp between culture and civilization can be rejected from this approach (Ibid.).

In addition, the discourse and practical implications of raising a religious generation draw attention related to conservative democrat policy implementations of the AKP. R. T. Erdogan explicitly said that "We want to raise a religious youth". Implementations of conservatism might be examined under three focal points: first, implemented changes about the Islamic divinity students high schools (imam hatip high schools), second, policy for shutting down private teaching institutions as a part of struggling with the "parallel state", and lastly,

interpenetration religious values and topics into the curriculum in general. Firstly, examining the changes about imam hatip high schools, one of the changed policies is the abolishment of the law that restricts admission of graduates of imam hatip high schools to universities. Also, the increasing number of imam hatip students in high schools. The age requirement to register to Koran courses was also abolished. On the one hand, getting into universities and high schools with headscarf has become free and prayer rooms are established in schools in the AKP period in the name of liberty, religious education which was made compulsory by 1982 constitution in public schools' curriculum has maintained despite the heavy criticism. In addition, courses such as "the Prophet Mohammad's life", "Koran education" have been offered in the list of elective courses. Also, it was not the AKP government which introduced the course education of religion and ethics in practice in Turkey for the first time, however, one of the three branches of teachers who were assigned mostly were the teachers of this course according to the figures published by the MEB in 2016.

Initially, a high amount of budget is allocated for imam hatip high schools. The number of imam hatip students' high schools was 450 in 2002, and the number of their students was about 71 thousand (Meriç, 2014). However, in 2014, the number of these high schools was 952, and their students were 689 thousand. Especially after the implementation of 4+4+4 system in 2012, the number of imam hatip high schools increased so dramatically, in two years, their high schools increased for 77 percent and the number of their students increased for 157 percent. As a result, the rate of students in these high schools became 10 percent among high school students. In addition, after the legal permission to establish imam hatip student secondary schools in 2012, 1099 of them are established, and just a year after this number increased to 1361. In the same years, the number of these secondary schools increased from 94 thousand to 140 thousand.

To sum up, education has undergone a rapid transformation under the neoliberal and conservative policies since the 1980s as summarized in this part. The private schools have become outstanding while the quality and opportunities of the public schools are weakening. The NMC parents also desire to register their children one of the well-qualified private schools but these schools offer education with high annual fees which push the limits of the sources of the NMC. The NMC parents develop new strategies according to their own economic, cultural and social resources under these circumstances.

1.3.4. Description of the Current Turkish Education System

In the previous part, I focused on the transformation of the Turkish education system starting from 1980 to until 2017. In this part, I detailly describe the formal structure of the education system which will be referred in the next chapters.

There are five levels in the education process: pre-primary education, primary education (ilkokul), middle school (ortaokul), secondary education, university education. The compulsory education in Turkey lasts 12 years (from primary school to the end of high school) since the change in 2012. Attending the pre-primary school is not mandatory. In primary and secondary school, children are enrolled according to the address-based registration system that assigns children to the primary school closest to their residential address. There is no examination or selection while passing from primary school to second level education. But, students had to take the high school entrance exam, called TEOG, between the years of 2014-2017. According to this system, students used to take exams included six courses: Turkish, math, sciences, Turkish revolution history, foreign language, and the culture of religion and knowledge of ethics, in the last year (8[th]grade) of the middle school (ortaokul). This exam was held as one of the main exams of the semester and includes the curriculum taught. The exam holds in two days and the questions are multiple-choices,

wrong answers do not change the number of correct ones. Students take TEOG in their own schools, however, their own teachers are not assigned as proctors. The final result for placement is calculated by including the TEOG result and end of the year mark average students get in school exams in 6th, 7th, and 8th classes, over 500 points. According to the result they have, students made a selection among high schools. The types of high schools that students may select are the general, vocational and technical education high schools, foreign language teaching high schools, Anatolian high schools, high schools of science, Anatolia teacher training high schools, and Anatolia fine arts high schools are included general secondary education.

TEOG was the existing selection system in transition to high schoolsat the beginning of this research began in 2016. However, the high school entrance system was changed in 2017 and a new system, LGS, has implemented. According to the new system, unlike TEOG, students do not have to take the exam (Aksoy and Arık, ERG Report, 2017). They will be placed according to the address based system in which several schools from different high school types (imam hatip, Anatolian, vocational, social sciences, science) will be offered to students to choose in each education districts. In case that the quota of a high school is full, students will be placed according to their grade point average. Entering to the exam is optional and about 10 percent of the total students will be replaced to the "qualified high schools" which accept students according to the exam results, as announced at the first step. However, 1.367 schools in the whole country are on the list of qualified high schools ultimately, it means, about 20 percent of the high schools are marked as "qualified". (Dinçer, 2018)

Holding central exam after middle schools (ortaokul) for placement to high schools is relatively new in Turkey (SETA raporları). Colleges taught in the foreign language since 1955, high schools of science since 1964, Anatolian religious vocational high schools since

1985, Anatolia teacher training high schools since 1990, are holding exam to select their students. Anatolian high schools were holding their exam after primary school. But after the implementation of 8 years continuous education, Anatolian high schools have also begun to accept students after middle schools. However, during these years, students were able to enroll in a general high school (düz lise) without an examination. Starting from the 2000s, central examinations were held after middle schools: between the years of 2000-2004, the name of the exam was LGS (liselere giriş sınavı, between 2004-2008 Ortaöğretim Kurumları Seçme ve Yerleştirme Sınavı (OKS), 2004-2008 Seviye Belirleme Sınavları, Seviye Belirleme Sınavı (SBS). There was only one exam at the end of the last year of middle school in LGS and OKS. But in the system of SBS, students were taking exams in their 6th, 7th and 8th classes, and the average of these results are calculated for the final result. After 2009, SBS was also held for once at the last year and applied for the last time at 2012-2013 school year. Since 2013-2014, the TEOG system is implemented as explained until 2017. This year, the system was changed again and the LGS has become the name of the new exam.

In this point, the changes implemented with the 4+4+4 system should be examined. With this system, the 8 years compulsory and continuous education is replaced with the 12 years of compulsory education with 3 levels: primary (ilkokul), middle school (ortaokul) and high school. Imam hatip middle schools are reopened, so after completing the 4 years primary school, students may register in imam hatip middle schools. Another change is decreasing the age of schooling, 60-month children were accepted to primary schools with 4+4+4, however, this change got reactions from parents and it has been changed. 66, 67, and 68-month children are expected to start to school, and it can delay for a year if demanded by parents. Besides, in all middle schools and high school, Quran and the life of Prophet Mohammed are offered as the elective courses.

The system of 4+4+4 is criticized due to several reasons, especially continuing to compulsory religious courses, reopening imam hatip secondary level schools and transformation of some general schools to imam hatips, decreasing schooling age in primary schools, and so on. In addition, according to the results of The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), Turkey is ranked 50th among 72 countries including 34 OECD countries. This assessment focuses on the performance of mathematics, science, and reading of 15 years old students. As the reasons for this failure, 4+4+4 system and TEOG are criticized in general. Because the students who participated in this assessment studied in this system for 2 years, and more students, also from more disadvantaged groups, are involved in education when high school education became compulsory. Also, the education provided in the middle schools in Turkey based on the criterion of TEOG, however, the abilities and skills that the TEOG and PISA measure are different (Öztürk, 2016)

Another important point about the situation of high schools is related to the change of the general high schools. It was possible to register in general high schools without taking the exam, however, all general high schools were transformed into different types of high schools. In the circumstances, entrance to all high schools requires having a score. Transformation of general schools was completed in 2013-2014. They were transformed to Anatolian high schools, vocational and technical education, and imam hatip high schools. At the end of this transformation, the number of imam hatip high schools increased 73 percent, the number of Anatolian high schools increased 57 percent, vocational and technical high schools increased 23 percent (ERG Report, 2013). Anatolian high schools select students with the higher score, so students who have lower score have to enter to vocational and technical high schools, to imam hatip high schools or to multi-program high schools. Students have to register one of these high schools because high school is also included in compulsory education. The system automatically assigns them to the schools which are closest to their

residence address, in the case of not being placed according to their own selection list. But these schools are also imam hatip, vocational and technical or multi-program high schools due to the higher score required for Anatolian high schools.

In this part, I explained the formal structure of the current Turkish education with a specific emphasis on the selection mechanism in transitioning to secondary education. The Figure 2, attached in the Appendix, demonstrates the system and transitions in a clear way. Since this research focuses on the practices of the parents whose children are going to take a high school entrance exam, the formal structure of education must be clarified to comprehend the system.

1.4. Neoliberal Urbanism: the Transformation of Istanbul

The world economy has undergone a structural transformation, money and capital transfer among countries has become more rapid, the interest of the global market has become prior compared to the national markets, the share of the service sector within the total structure of economy has increased dramatically, and accordingly, the numbers of the employees in the service sector has increased ad new consumption practices have been developed. (Featherstone and Lash, 1999; Castells 1991). This transformation has affected cities deeply, and they have become the new pupils of the economy since they have been the global centers for the flow of capital, information, and goods. While public funding has been used for attracting the enterprises (Harvey, 1989), the excessive accumulation of capital has been led to cities which of them have turned into "global" ones. The great profits have been made through the construction sector for which the high technology is used. While the finance and realty sectors have risenalong with the service sector. Therefore, excessive investments have been made to cities (Sassen, 1991). In this process, cities have been restructured in decades. Not only macroeconomic changes have caused the restructuring of the cities, but the new

social groups that emerged in relation to all these structural changes in the economy has also affected the cities since the new dwellers with new lifestyles have a different expectation from the city life. The NMC, as mentioned in detail, distinguish themselves from other social groups with their cultural, social and economic capital. The emergence of the NMC in relation to the neoliberal transformation on the one hand, and the new poverty, unemployment, migration emerged as a result of the same transformation, on the other. However, cities consist of the existence of different groups at the same time, but not always in the same place. Under this restructuring process, the lines between social groups in the cities have also been reshaped. Although all these can be mentioned as the effect of neoliberalism on the cities in general, it must always be kept in mind that all cities have their own specific dynamics and unique socio-historical background. Zeybek (2014) says that: "explaining the relationship in some other place only through the concepts has the risk of taking one as central and considering the others as secondary, and the suppression of the new and differential" (p. 280). So, each case is worth to examine how the city experienced the neoliberal transformation in its own context while the operation of the market has become the central within.

In the frame of the urban studies, Istanbul has been the topic for many research from integrated approaches that focus on the transformation observed especially in the last three decades: the structure of the city, the demography and the profile of the Istanbullu, the content of being Istanbullu, and the identities of the "others" of the city, lifestyles, consumption habits and places, and so on. From historical, economic, social, cultural, political perspectives, the relatively rapid transformation Istanbul has been exposed to must be examined. It would not be a hardy claim to assert that Istanbul is the city that has been the most affected by the neoliberal transformation as experienced in Turkey. Parallel to the change, gecekondulaşma, irregular urbanization, new forms of poverty, migration from country to Istanbul has attached an interest in urban studies. Especially after the 1990s, the topics focused have changed, gone

around with Istanbul has become under the influence of neoliberal transformation. In this direction, the urban dynamics of the new social movements, an understanding of municipality, consumption habits, gated communities, new identities developing in the Istanbul, the changing middle class and so on have come into the research agenda.

In this framework, this thesis must touch upon the studies on the neoliberal transformation experienced in Istanbul since, firstly, one of the distinctive features of the NMC, as stated before, is emerging in global cities engaged in global culture. Therefore, pointing out the position of Istanbul seems crucial to comprehend the emergence of the NMC within neoliberal economic, cultural and social structure in Istanbul. Kolluoğlu highlights the importance of evaluating the city and the urbanity by taking them to the center since urbanizing is a founding process and the city is a subject itself (2008, 25). Accordingly, understanding where and how they live is vital to get the dynamics of the class. The second and more specific point of the studies on new Istanbul and this thesis is about the rise of gated communities, as will be discussed in detail. The gated communities target the NMC in Istanbul and they have become the preference of them. The emphasis on the "lifestyle" of these constructions refers to some characteristics of the NMC. Considering that, the data for this thesis was collected from a school which is located within a site in a suburb of Istanbul.

So to call, "conservative democrat" attitude of the AKP since 2002 has played a role in the restructuring process of Istanbul. Kadir Toptaş, the metropolitan municipality mayor of Istanbul in 2004, founded Istanbul Metropolitan Planning and Urban Design Center (IMP) in the year he was elected as the mayor. An extensive structural transformation of the city was projected based on the planning authority granted by the laws of 1984 and 2004, related to the management of metropolitan municipalities. The ultimate aim was defined as creating a city which can compete on a global scale, and an information society with high living standards

(Aksoy, 2014, p. 31). The expected content of the structural transformation was making Istanbul appeal for entrepreneurs to make an investment. So, the profile of the Istanbul and Istanbulite was predicted, the infrastructure of the service sector was projected to slide informal sectors, mainly finance and information sectors were outstanding. Diminishing the rate of the manufacturing sector' employment rate to one of three was also on the agenda. Following this direction, the mega and small multitude of projects has been prepared and implemented. The roots of the urban transformation have been established in this period. The real estate development areas and master plans were developed. Public spaces were exposed to privatization in large scale and improvements. The lands owned by public institutions were launched to the market. Price of land increased dramatically, the Exchange value of land was in the foreground rather than its usage value while turning into a commodity (Ibid., p. 33). The real estate sector pursued a high rate of income; the legal changes that paved a way for that has been made. The public land was opened mega projects with TOKİ (housing development administration of Turkey). The government took actions to operate the real estate market in Istanbul by growing. The third bridge that connects the Asian and European sides of Istanbul, the Marmaray which comprises a rail tunnel under the Bosphorus, the construction of the third airport are just some of the mega projects in the city of Istanbul.

Istanbul plays a vital political, economic and social role in Turkey. It has been growing rapidly by taking the spaces surrounding it in, and intensity in the population in city centers has also increased. The city contains many complex social interaction and conflicts within its structure defined as cosmos. While İstanbul was aimed to turn into a "brand" as a city, while the face of the city has been changing rapidly; on the other hand, Istanbul has become more heterogenous, stratifies and fragmented; and isolated, socially homogenous neighborhoods (Ayata, 2002). The inequality ongoing in the city, the new forms of poverty, unemployment has been the other side of the coin. Especially after the earthquake of 1999, restructuring has

become more legitimate under the name of earthquake resistance and consolidation, mainly the "gecekondu" places called slum areas has undergone "rehabilitation" for cleaning. A process of gentrification has taken place in this point, especially the slum areas close to the city center has been "cleaned" from low-class people and opened for settlement of elite groups by changing not only the physical but also social and cultural structure of the area. The mechanisms that provide an opportunity to encounter different social groups have been weakened. The chance for any dialogue from different socio-economic class has been disappearing (Yazıcı, 2013). While the relatively new urban constructions such as skyscrapers, shopping moles, residents, plazas, luxury restaurants; and the new lifestyles have become inured (Özbay, Bartu-Candan, 20014, p. 13); another struggle is going on. Related to the conservative transformation the AKP projects in urban renewal particularly after 2011. Their insistence on building Topçu Kışlası (artillery barracks) exemplifies that symbolic struggle on the city. Claims on restoring the Ottoman architecture is on the agenda. The increasing number of the cami's in the AKP period, restoring the historical peninsula of Istanbul by this understanding.

Yalçıntan (et. al. 2004, p. 53) summarizes the transformation Istanbul has undergone under four forms: the first one is urban transformation and renewal projects. Slum areas (çöküntü bölgeleri) are transformed under the name of health and security. However, at the end of the day, people used to live there had to leave these areas after the implementation of projects and plans because the cost of living where there used to live goes beyond their economic conditions; although they might have the same amount of income. Besides, the places are designed towards the taste and lifestyle of the upper classes. Ultimately, old dwellers of these places move from their homes. Secondly, the transformation took place through public investments, such as mega transportation projects, the third airport project the third bridge, Marmaray, and so on. These kinds of projects also facilitate putting the other mega-

construction projects into practice by providing transportation. The mass housing projects as TOKİ is also evaluated within this category. The third form of urban transformation takes place through the big capital investments: skyscrapers, high-rise buildings holding companies, work centers, shopping malls, residences, and so on. Lastly, renewals through plans, especially in places in which high risk of an earthquake with the highlights on sustainability, livability, durability, healthiness, etc.

1.4.1. Gated Communities

Through the gentrification process, the upper-class people turn back to the city centers which were "cleaned" form the lower class residents and by making necessary housing and environmental arrangements. However, one another option has become outstanding especially the NMC: after the rapid growth of the city, increasing population, and no land left naked by constructions on all the spaces in the city center; new housing areas, called gated communities, are established usually far away from the city center by being zoned for construction. So, gated communities have been stood in Istanbul as one of the new structures of the city in addition to residents, mass housing places, working centers, skyscrapers. The number of the gated communities in 2014 in Istanbul was 2.290 (Ibid, p. 60) although the diversity among them must be taken into consideration. Because all of them do not directly target the NMC or upper middle classes. The gated communities are aggregated in around the Bosporous, Beylikdüzü-Esenyurt-Başakşehir, Maltepe-Tuzla, Ataşehir-Çekmeköy, Beykoz, and lastly, Sarıyer-Kilyos in which the site was chosen for this research is located. E5 highway and TEM transit highway play role in this aggregation, in relation to the route of the third bridge, these gated communities are reaching to through the black sea coast. These places are out of the city center, so although public transportation is provided up to a point, private transport is required mostly. In the beginning, gated communities were used to be established by transforming poor neighborhoods by obtaining permission from the town

municipalities before the 1980s. After the difficulties with permission since it has to be gotten from the metropolitan municipality and the district municipality; they turned towards forestland.

The distinctive features of gated communities are highlighted especially in the process of marketing the houses. The main theme of the advertisements introduces these housing places emphasis on the lifestyle. One of the recent examples of mentioned advertisements belongs to Ali Ağaoğlu, one of the famous businessman in the construction sector. In the ads, the brand introduces itself as "the architect of life." But the emphasis on the lifestyle was not a new phenomenon, but since the 1980s, from the rise of gated communities, the main focus was always on the lifestyle (Bali, 2002). The cultural capital of dwellers is always underlined to create a sense of "us". By doing this, people can feel that they share an environment with "people like us", which is crucial to understand the class relations; to see the encounters and breaks. According to Kaika (2004), some people and their way of living must be left behind in order to constitute a feeling of safety and acquaintance in modern and autonomous houses. Unsurprisingly, the lower socioeconomic groups originate the priory position among the groups left out. They become invisible in order to get rid of the risk of facing with them. Poverty, immigrants, dirt, elbowing crowds, traffic has been desired to be cleaned in this ideally became a homogeneous living place of the middle classes (Öncü, 1997, p. 61).

The other outstanding features of the gated communities are first, being in touch with nature (Bartu 2001, Geniş 2007, Rutz 2009, Öncü 1997). Again from the point of Maika (2004), the word for life in nature means that something is kept out and made invisible: they are pollution, dirtiness, garbage, sewage, etc. The damage to the nature caused while building these constructions is also another topic to be discussed, which is apparently never touched in the marketing process. In addition, the use of water and landscape design for aesthetics taste

is defined as the "commodification of the green aesthetics" (Akbulut, Bartu-Candan, 2014, p. 291). Besides, nature is usually identified as somewhere outside of the city. So, when being outside Istanbul is highlighted as a desirable quality, on the one hand, being very close by transportation to reach the city center is another underlined point about these places ironically, on the other hand.

The social facilities provided within these gated communities are also important (Rutz and Balkan, 2009, p. 33). They are adapted to the changing life habits of leisure and consumption of the NMC. Having opportunities such as sports facilities like tennis courts, playgrounds for children, swimming pools, gyms, and socializing opportunities like cafes, shopping malls, health clubs refers to two feature of this communities: firstly, dwellers are able to satisfy their needs in the time they have after work. So, they will not need to go out. Secondly, people from outside will not be able to come in to make use of these opportunities. Therefore, the aim of creating a more homogenous group is achieved through this way. Ayata points the emphasis on "civilization" among the residents as a sign of middle class as an element of cultural identification (2002). Mumford (1961) also underlines the exaggerated meaning attached to the difference between outside and inside of the site while escaping from the city life. The community emerged here to look for order and civilization by closing the doors and creating a homogenous and done class community.

The relation between the changing family structure in middle classes and lifestyle embedded n gated communities also draws attention. Because gated communities are places in which both house and family are in the center. The sharp distinction between home and work is reproduced and strengthened. Nuclear family and its privacy are emphasized, besides, individualism within the family is also strengthened in relation to private places allocated to each family member (Ayata, 2002). The increasing physical distance between the relatives

and friends effects relationships and empowers the autonomy of the family. Also, families within the site are more detached and close. Besides, organizing daily life is also changes according to the place of living. For instance, the people spend for themselves increase, organizing weekend might include activities they cannot involve in city life, such as cycling and taking care of a garden. The relationship between parent and children is also deeply affected by site life, as will be examined in this case in detail. The time parents spend with children, the content of the activities they involve in together, their care and watch over children, what they let their children do and what they prohibit change considerably.

To sum up, "the distribution of urban-environmental opportunities and cultures such as urban green field, water resources, pollution cannot be evaluated independently from power and justice notions since the city is spatialized and made as a socio-ecological process within the existing power relations and engaged with several inequalities. Groups with higher income have wider opportunities to invest in nature surrounds them (such as access to green field and water)" (Akbulut, Bartu-Candan, p. 290). So, accessing the opportunities of the city and nature depend on the class background of families. Disadvantaged groups' experiences of city differ from the upper classes. The social groups who benefitted from the neoliberal transformation through empowering their resources did not only increased their economic capital, but a new gap between different lifestyles is also created in this process. Being rich in the economic capital is not enough to enter into this gated communities since the manners and values which demonstrate the status such as the level of education, knowing foreign languages, having elegant and chic clothing style are crucial. Security, green friends, the social environment, privileges, social activities, transportation opportunities are underlined in these districts in oppose to the intense competition, social division and segmentation and cultural fragmentation in the city center. These gated communities enhanced in the 1990s are the extension of a specific culture, mentality, and habits. "The new middle class, noted for its

powerful desire for order and predictability, is also the major custodian of the values of rationality, individual autonomy, secularism, the rule of law, environmental concern and globalism" (Ayata, 2002, p. 40).

2. THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter aims to build the theoretical framework for this thesis. The concept of the NMC has been discussed in the literature, and many scholars perceived the NMC as a contradictory class position. In the previous chapter, I explained the historical conditions through which the NMC has emerged and characterized. As demonstrated and described, *a new social class* has come to the stage in Turkey. In this point, the theoretical basis of the term "class" must be clarified. Therefore, this chapter begins with a detailed review of the new class paradigm: the cultural class analysis, or the *cultural turn* (Devine and Savage, 2005), in other words. Since the new class analysis has mostly been inspired by the work of Pierre Bourdieu who became a hugely influential figure especially in the fields of sociology of class and stratification, culture, and education. Reay says: "cultural turn in the class analysis has been a Bourdieusian turn" (2011, p. 3). Therefore, the basic concepts of Bourdieu are reviewed in the scope of class analysis. However, the notion of social capital of Bourdieu has a specific importance for this thesis because this notion provides a very useful analytical tool to comprehend the NMC parents' involvement process in schooling. Thus, I summarized the discussions about social capital from the scholarly literature secondly. The last part of the theory chapter is dedicated to the changing childrearing approaches. The social class creates distinctive parenting styles and the cultural logic of childrearing between families coming from different social class background differs dramatically (Lareau, 2001). On the other hand, the parenting styles are also changing in relation to the rapid transformation of the field, which historically presented. The middle-class parenting has been transforming into being strategic, watchful, determined, anxious job (Gopnik, 2006). In this part, I specifically emphasized the childrearing approach of the middle class, Lareau (2001) conceptualizes as "concerted cultivation" which

consequently creates "emerging sense of entitlement" on the part of the child, in order to understand the development of the NMC parents' childrearing strategies.

2.1.Cultural Class Analysis - "People Like Us"

The theoretical foundations of class analysis have been restructured especially since 1980 and 1990s. A fundamental shift in the sociology of class occured: a new class paradigm, so-called "cultural class analysis", relying on the concepts of Pierre Bourdieu has been developed (Reay, 2005, 2011; Savage, 2001, 2013; Bottero, 2004; Skeggs, 2004; Atkinson, 2009). By criticizing both the conventional theories that reduce the concept of class to the economic sphere and the postmodern theories that declare the "death of class"; a group of writers re-conceptualized the understanding of class. The basic shared arguments of the new analysis are as follows: class continues to be a crucial means of analysis to comprehend the forms of inequality. However, inequality is not simply an economic issue, but it is also circulated through social, cultural and symbolic forms (Lawler, 2005). Besides, the class is re-made in macro and micro processes continuously: the search for new markets of global capital, on the one hand, symbols, representations, entitlement, emotional and affective dimensions on the other. Accordingly, the class is conceptualized as dynamic. On this basis, these studies emphasize on taste, lifestyle, culture by asking "how cultural processes are embedded within specific kinds of socio-economic practices" (Bottero, 2004), and they "addresses how in various setting of social life, processes of inequality are produced and reproduced routinely and how this involves both economic and cultural practices" (Devine and Savage, 2000, 193) Annette Kuhn (1995, p.) states that "Class is something beneath your clothes, under your skin, in your reflexes, in your psyche, at the very core of your being".

The social class position does not only depend on relations of production and property of means of production. Bourdieu puts a special interest in culture, especially how highbrow and

lowbrow cultures are acted upon each other (Bourdieu, 1989). He constitutes homogenous classes as much as possible, based on multiple indicators including occupation, education, and income. In this point, the classes Bourdieu examines are constructed as he underlines. He warns about the difference between the theoretical existence of class, class-on-paper in Bourdieu's words, and its perception as if it is real. The class can be theoretically identified by making an objective analysis. He analyzes relative positions and objective relations between these positions (Ibid, p. 6)

"constructed classes can be characterized in a certain way as sets of agents who, by virtue of the fact that they occupy similar positions in social space (that is, in the distribution of powers), are subject to similar conditions of existence and conditioning factors and, as a result, are endowed with similar dispositions which prompt them to develop similar practices"

Three basic classes are referred to in his analysis: working classes, middle classes, and bourgeois class, which have relatively homogeneous class cultures peculiar to their living conditions. However, class cultures are not equal to each other, some of them, the ones belongs to highbrow social groups are more valuable and legitimate. The social hierarchies and cultural hierarchies are engaged in each other. Positioning in the social hierarchy basically is related to the value that bourgeois class ascribes. Therefore, the value of cultural practices are not inherent to themselves but ascribed in social processes. People from different social origin engage in different and particular social and cultural practices. Taste creates a class distinction, each class makes an effort to imitate higher levels of the social hierarchy, and to distinguish themselves from lower classes through their cultural tastes. He examines various cultural displays, from which music genre individuals listen to what they eat. The main institutions that the legitimate and competence cultural taste is obtained are family and school.

The notion of social space plays a key role to comprehend Bourdieu's model of class and stratification. The class structure of societies are conceived as a multi-dimensional space in

which social differences and inequalities exist, and the system of relationship between different positions are objectified. In this social world which the structure of social space is constructed through, the forms of capital; economic, cultural and social, are distributed unequally among classes. Cultural tastes, outlooks, preferences, knowledge create distinction in social space continuously, and capital constitutes a social resource for social reproduction. Bourdieu argues three dimensions of social space, especially by focusing on the French society: the global volume of capital they possess, the composition of their capital, and as the last dimension: their trajectory in social space, according to the evolution in time of the volume and composition of their capital (1987, p. 4). Economic capital refers to all financial resources possesses; income, wealth, property, occupation. Cultural capital consists of knowledge, behaviors, skills individuals possess. Social capital is related to connections and groups memberships. Capitals as resources possess convertibility in social space. However, capital only exists and function within a field which is comprehensive in character. Individuals play their cards, but the rules of the game are surrounded by the field, and they might be changed in any time. "a field may be defined as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions" (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 97). The notion of field is highly related to the rules of the game. The game is a metaphor to define social practices within a field in which a competition among actors takes place in order to impose their own rules on a field. A dynamic vision of the reproduction of social inequalities is embraced related to the field.

In this highly differentiated social space, individuals bring the different set of dispositions, conceptualized as habitus. Habitus, a socialized subjectivity (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 126), is passed from family to a great extent. Dispositions tend to preserve themselves unless radical changes occur in socioeconomic conditions of agents. Habitus of individuals differs according to living conditions and social path followed in the socialization process. In

this way, individuals act as they are expected without a need for thinking about their action in a social context. This coherence becomes possible through internalizing the external and externalizing the internal, in a dialectic relation. Accordingly, similar lifestyles arise by adopting dispositions gained in family and school in another particular context such as business life or sports activities. But individuals turn into fish in the water when an encounter with another social world, and feel the weight of the world (1992, p. 127). From this sense, in order to reveal class habitus, tastes and practices must be analyzed since class inequalities are reproduced through hierarchically differentiated nature of tastes (1984, p. 243). "Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier," says Bourdieu.

To conclude with Bourdieu's own world about class:

"… a "class", be it social, sexual, ethnic, or otherwise, exists when there are agents capable of imposing themselves, as authorized to speak and to act officially in its place and in its name, upon those who, by regonizing themselves in these plenipotentiaries, by recognizing them as endowed with full power to speak and act in theirname, recognize themselves as members of the class, and in doing so, confer upon it the only form of existence a group can possess." (p. 15)

In this framework, it is worth emphasizing the theories developed by adopting the concepts of Bourdieu. To have a brief look at the historical basis of the rethinking of class and stratification, a considerable increase in studies on social class especially years in 1940-1970 attracts the attention. Theories on the so-called neo-Marxist and neo-Weberian basis, including Dahrendorf, E.O. Wright, Golthophore were immensely influential figures for their generation. The meaning of class, construction of class consciousness and class identity, processes and measurement of social mobility were the fundamental issues during that period.

With the "cultural turn" of the 1980s, while the social identities have considerably attracted interest, however, social class has been the "lost identity" among identity studies, the material and economic aspect of culture has been gone unnoticed (Reay, 2011, p. 1). Gender, race, ethnic, religious identities are attached importance to these theories, but they failed to notice

that class is embedded within all. In other words, the identities were studied as if they are classless, however, they were not looking for "classed identities" (Lawler, p. 799). The bond between class location and cultural identity seems disconnected (Bottero, 2004, p. 987).

Simultaneously, the traditional approaches in the class have been radically criticized related to the rising emphasis on identity studies. Analyses of class and identity have developed separately, "identity is seen as socially produced, and class is not a part of its production" (Lawler, p. 802). The widespread proclamation of the end of class argued that class is not an object of analysis in the contemporary societies anymore. Many scholars labeled "class" as a meaningless and empty category in today's postmodern, post Fordists, post-capitalist, late modern, risk societies, and they denied significance of the social and economic hierarchies related to social class (see Bauman, 1982; Giddens, 1990; Beck, 1992; Crook et al., 1992; Pakulski and Waters, 1996; Lash and Urry, 1987, 1994). Although the existence of social inequalities is usually recognized within this theories, they argue that inequality does not operate on the basis of class. The replacement of the importance of relations of production with the culture of consumption, the failure of class identity and class consciousness, the rising individualization are asserted as the reasons behind the end of class as an explanatory analysis for today's societies. (See Savage and Bagnal, 2001).

While the conventional class theories analyzed class underestimated social identity, postmodern theories tried to explain social identities by leaving the economic aspects (Bottero, 2004). But new accounts criticized both the widespread argument of the death of class and traditional class theories that reduce class to the economic sphere, to income, welfare or occupation. The distinctiveness of economic class and cultural formations is questioned. Against the traditional arguments, they assert that coming up with clear-cut class distinctions by investigation of economic indicators is not possible. Cultural, social and

symbolic aspects, their embeddedness into daily practices, such as emotional and affective dimensions should be concerned. Not only income, occupation, and possessions distinct and hierarchize people in class hierarchies, but also cultural taste, knowledge, social network, and so on. (Lawler, p. 797)

On the other hand, against to the argument of the death of class, it is argued that weakening of collective class identity and class consciousness as defined traditionally does not mean that class is disappeared or it does not matter in the contemporary world. But it means that the way how class operates changes. Class continues to be a fundamental category of analysis to comprehend social inequality.

The arguments of cultural class analysis on class identities and class consciousness are crucial to understanding the changing scope of the class theory. To begin with the issue of transforming class identities, Savage underlines that class identities are ambivalent and weak today, but simultaneously "they are also structured and coherent in their own terms." (Savage, Bagnall, 2001, p. 875). Weak class identities refer to a significant shift from collective class identities. That would be seen as an oxymoron from the perspective of the conventional understanding of class, however, Savage states:

"if we leave behind the romantic baggage which portrays class cultures as collective, then it becomes possible to talk about class cultures as forms of individualised awareness. Class does not determine identity, but it is not irrelevant either. It is a resourse, a device, with which to construct identity" (Savage, 888).

Therefore, class identities can be found in practices and accounts of practices which might be seen so small-scale and individual experiences. Bewaring or being demanding while talking to a doctor is a class experience. "Class processes have become more implicit and less visible, but effects of the class are not less pervasive in people's lives" says Bottero (2004, p. 991). So, according to Bottero, Class does not operate as collective, explicit, conflictual, and oppositional; but there is a shift to the new version of the class which is, rather, cultural,

implicit, individualized. Although clear-cut class identities cannot be drawn in today's societies, inequality continues to be persisting.

Against to the argument that class dis-identification refer to the collapse or failure of class, new paradigm claims that "class dis-identification is itself a class process" (Bottero, 2004, p. 990). Reay demonstrates that even though the direct reference to the class is disappeared from daily discourse, this absence is a sign of implicit ways in which class operates. Because the class is embedded within people's everyday life. For instance, people who do not identify themselves with a class or who do not mention about until they are asked, they differentiate themselves by making a comparison and in relation to others. They describe others as "people like us", and "people do not like us", which is a way of differentiating themselves in relation to others (Reay, 1998, p. 269). These implicit ways of describing class need to be revealed, because class dis-identification is related to the class processes, rather than undermining class theories.

Tracing the process of class dis-identification historically is also another significant point. Findings of Skeggs and Savage also support the arguments of dis-identification of class, but on the other hand, it is worth to question that why people do not face the class as it is taken in the traditional way. Savage claims that such confrontation threatens fragile self-respect and self-dignity of people (2001, p. 878). Skeggs also underlines the defensive turn while people talk about the class by supporting the Savage's findings. This attitude is related to the relationship between political institutions, macro-political processes and social class as it is established. So, people have a tendency to mention about politics while they are asked about class.

Avoiding to face with "class" has a connection with class inequalities, also the wider discourse about classless society or the announcement of the death of class is related to class

positions since it serves to the interest of particular social classes, as Reay claims. Therefore, this discourse must be analyzed as the claims of a class: who gains favor from the claim of the death of class. Because the perception of inequality is affected by the claim of classlessness (Lawyer, p. 798). Because, when the existence of classes are dismissed, and the social mechanisms of inequality are made invisible when discourse about the class is replaced with ascendant individualization; individuals are blamed rather than class barriers. Individuals become 'wrong' or 'right' or 'deficient' or 'acceptable' (p. 798) while the social dimension of class inequality is undermined. People's own lacks cause the failure in this social system, because if one makes an effort sufficiently, then she accomplishes eventually. Whereas the social class position of individuals hugely influence all these processes, but social mechanisms of inequality are made invisible and accordingly, inequality is legitimized through individuative discourse.

Class consciousness is another significant aspect of class debate since the weakening of collective class consciousness is argued as a sign of the collapse of class after the 1980s. However, this argument has been challenged by new class paradigm from two different perspectives. Firstly, Savage questions if class consciousness as defined in traditional theory has existed before the 1980s. This is a crucial question because the post-modern claims about the end of the class take the understanding of class consciousness as supposed traditionally for granted. So, arguing the weakening of consciousness includes the presumption that it was stronger, comparatively. However, it is worth to examine if the assumption that collective class consciousness was strong. Because the studies of historians about the collective past might refer to populist activities rather than class activities as Savage indicates. Therefore, the arguments about the existence of stronger class consciousness are open to question. In relation to that, it is argued that individualist or collective forms of class identities emerge in particular times and context. By depending on this argument, under which conditions different social

groups adopt explicit class discourse, this is the point to examine. Because some specific circumstances pave the way for talk through the class discourse explicitly, or constraints people's expression. The context underlying this mechanism is required to reveal comprehensively.

Not only the weakness or the strongness is the criticism towards old paradigms, but also the meaning of "consciousness" is re-evaluated and it is argued that there is not only one form of consciousness even class is the case. Reay argues that "feelings of inferiority and superiority, visceral aversions, defenses, recognition, and abjection constitute a new form of class consciousness and unconsciousness" (2011, p. 2). She also puts a particular emphasis on emotional and psychic responses to social class and argues that the emotional aspect of being classed should be addressed. She defines "*the psychic landscape of social class*" (2005) by referring to the importance of focusing on class thinking and feeling because emotional aspect of being classed address is failed to notice to a great extent. In relation to that, revealing the different kind of class consciousness which is unrecognized is worth to study since both inner worlds and outer practices are pervaded by that. That is to say, Reay challenges with firstly, taken for granted definition of class consciousness in traditional class theories, and secondly and accordingly, she challenges with the argument about the failure of class consciousness.

To conclude, social inequality is constructed historically and continually reproduced in cultural, social and economic fields under various mechanism in today's societies. The class is still one of our most powerful concepts to undermine the social mechanisms of inequality. In the period of increasing individualism, changing consciousness, weakening collective identities and explicit expressions of class; the point is not the disappearance or death of class, but all of these processes refer to the change in the way class operates. Today, how to study class is a relevant and significant question we must focus on. The class is not a category that

belongs to the economic sphere. But social and cultural practices are classed; how people experience class individually, what kind of implicit mechanisms go on, through which discourses inequality is legitimized are crucial to comprehending class.

2.2. The Notion of Social Capital

The the literature on the relationship between the social capital and educational development is growing in educational research due to the explanatory character of the notion of social capital in education and family studies. Educational achievement (grades, tests scores), educational attainment (college enrollment, graduation), educational development (motivation, engagement) are positively linked to social capital as Dika and Singh indicate (2002, p. 32). Although the roots of the term social capital are originated in the 1920s, it is commonly attributed to Pierre Bourdieu (1986) and James Coleman (1988), who examined this concept systematically for the first time. Debates on the concept goes on in the literature since the huge difference between the conceptualization of Bourdieu and Coleman although both put emphasis on the importance of social networks. Importance of social capital according to the literature, social capital is positively linked to educational achievement, attainment and education-related psychosocial factors (Dika, p. 41-42). However, Ball draws attention that how social capital as a concept carries the danger of being useless due to being over-used or misused (2003, p. 79). Therefore, the debate about the notion must be introduced at the beginning.

Bourdieu's conceptualization of social capital is highly linked with his other central concepts, namely habitus, field and cultural capital. Agents with different means and ends struggle within the social space which is characterized by "the rules of the game". The rules in the field are not codified and explicit since the dynamic character of the field such in the forms of

capital, particularly social and cultural. The rules of the game encompass the field at any moment. Agents bring the different set of dispositions into a field, conceptualized as habitus by Bourdieu. Habitus is about social training and it is defined as a socialized subjectivity. The forms of capital only exist in relation to a field (Lareau, 2001, p. 82; Lareau and Horvat, 1999, p.75). The cultural capital is also crucial to understand the conceptualization of social capital. Cultural capital exists in three states in Bourdieu's work as embodied, objectified and institutionalized. Cultural capital as embodied state refers to dispositions of mind and body, while objectified cultural capital indicates cultural goods. Educational qualifications, on the other hand, are related to the institutionalized state of cultural capital. Convertibility of the forms of capital is underlined in Bourdieu's theoretical framework. Under certain conditions, especially cultural and social capital might be converted into economic capital. Agents bring different and unique combinations of capitals into a field for the struggle. At this point, social capital is the aggregate of an actual and potential source that provides Access to institutional resources (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248-9). Bourdieu remarks the importance of the size and volume of social capital people possess. The volume of social capital based on the size of the network of connections (Dika, p. 33). Therefore, the two elements of social capital in Bourdieu's approach are salient. Firstly, agents claim resources that the collectivity possesses; and secondly, quantity and quality of the resources (Portes, 1998). Therefore, social capital is an investment made by the dominant class to maintain and reproduce the group's dominant position. Bourdieu explains "the transformation of social position into a social advantage, particularly by the use of network" (Lareau, p. 80). As Savage (2015, p. 131) indicates, Bourdieu "sees it as a means of allowing the privileged and powerful to use their connections to help each other and protect their interest- and thereby shut out those who lack such social capital".

While Bourdieu focuses on access to institutional resources and social reproduction; Coleman examines the social capital in terms of consisting of norms and social control. According to Coleman, social capital has three forms: the first one is the level of trust which refers to obligations and expectations, second is information channels and the last form is norms and sanctions. Coleman focuses on intergenerational closure which refers that parents know the parents of their children's friend (see Coleman and Hoffer 1987; Coleman, Hoffer, and Kilgore 1982; Hoffer, Greeley, and Coleman 1985). The role of parental involvement in the development of social capital is also the concern of Coleman.

While most of the studies focus on social capital only outside the family, one of the points that make Coleman's notion of social capital important is that he distinguishes the social capital outside the family and embodied in family relations: social capital inside the family. The physical presence of adults in the family and the attention given by the adults to the children consist of social capital within the family. Coleman nominates the lack of presence of adults as a *structural deficiency* in the family social capital, single parenthood is an example of that (Coleman and Hoffer, 1987). *Functional deficiency*, as Coleman defines, on the other hand, refers to the lack of strong relations between family and child. In other words, even human capital exists within among family members, the child does not have an access to that resource. Coleman examines the relationship between social capital and human capital in terms of the experiences of the child, and divided into four: in the first situation, adult members are educated and have resources. Besides, they have strong relations in the family. In the second case, parents are well educated and capable families but lack of interaction within the family as seen so prevalent in today's' modern families. Thirdly, there is a strong family but parents are uneducated such as seen in immigrant families from underdeveloped countries to developed countries. The last one is poor, uneducated, disorganized, structurally broken or weakened families.

The major differences between the conceptualization of social capital of Bourdieu and Coleman, as Portes (1998) indicates, are first, in Bourdieu, the resources and the ability to obtain them are distinct explicitly in social structure, but it is explained away in Coleman. And secondly, how they perceive and originate the concept radically differs from each other because Bourdieu highlights that how social capital is a part of social reproduction in social structure and it is used by the dominant class to reach their resources; while Coleman positively links social control and social capital by claiming that norms, trust, information channels are the characteristics of society. In order to advance life changes of children, for Coleman, families adopt certain societal norms, within the scope of their responsibility. But Bourdieu underlines the social constraints and unequal access to resources.

Coleman defines the function of social capital. Social relations constitute useful capital resources for individuals. In addition, he puts an emphasis on the value of social capital in the relation of human capital (1988, p. 102). As one of the forms of social capital, Coleman examines obligations, expectations, and trustworthiness of structures, this form depends on two elements: trustworthiness of the social environment that refers that obligations will be repaid; and the actual extent of obligations held. Information channels, as the second form, indicates the potential for information in social relations. Through social relations, one can get information which promotes and facilitate action required that information. So, thereby social capital provided a basis for action (p. 104). The last form of social capital in Coleman's work is norms and effective sanctions which is mainly subjected to critics directly because the most problematical point of his conceptualization comes out when the relationship between the "effective norms" and social capital is analyzed by Coleman. His engagement with structural functionalism and his attempt to transcribe the notion of "capital" by following the concept of "human capital", which is "created by changes in persons that bring about skills and capabilities that make them able to act in new ways" (p. 100) developed by Becker and

Schultz, explain the roots of his conceptualization based on tangibility, facilitating the productivity, trustworthiness, the cost of information, and so on. In relation to that, he attempts to extend the scope of the forms of capital from financial and human capitals to social capital; and focuses on the social capital in the creation of human capital. Here, financial capital is measured by income and wealth of family, human capital is by parent's education and social capital is about social networks. In his theoretical framework, existing unequal social structure and the role of social capital in maintaining the inequality are not the concerns. But still, his analysis is important since he underlines that family background cannot be considered as a single entity but it is separable into different components which are financial, human and social capital (p. 109).

Mark Granovetter is another significant thinker on the literature about social capital by his concept of the "strength of weak ties" in his research by referring that despite the general assumption that ones who are closest to us only or mostly affect our lives. But rather, "those whom we know in passing who are more likely to benefits to us" (Savage, 2015, p. 132). These weak ties not only have a crucial effect on choice and access but also provides significant advice and information about choice and careers (Ball, 2003, 85). About the importance of the information obtained through the social network, reaching "hot knowledge" directly and from first hand becomes possible. Thus, there is no need for secondary and generic resources for obtaining for students, in this case. It helps them to create their future plans more realistically. Weak ties also operate during making decisions to choose a school, courses, extra curriculum activities, and so on. "Social and cultural capital can also be accumulated in extra-curriculum activities of various kinds" (p. 87). Also, parents are usually aware of the power of school-gate networks. But also, extensive series of weak ties must be taken into account, Savage says "weak ties might be related to the existence of powerful establishment" (p. 133), because not only upper-class people know upper classes, they also

meet people from the different socioeconomic background. "What matters is not how many people from different occupations are known, in general terms, but rather patterning of who it is that you know" (p, 138). However, some social groups are more distinctive, for instance, while elite occupations are most exclusive among others, skilled occupational groups know people from other groups in a broader sense. "Wealthy people are considerably more likely to know several people in high-status occupations; they might be said to "have bridging social capital" to allow them a greater range of bridging contacts there." (p. 145). So, it increases their potential for sharing useful information. Due to the more social exclusiveness of high-status people with useful contacts, the advice they obtain will also be socially exclusive. Savage underlines that firstly, social networks are not exclusive and secondly, the ongoing power of a broad difference between the patterns of the middle and working classes which persists today. Because professional and managerial people know people from the similar background, and it is also same for manual and routine people. Thirdly, the extremes are distinctive. In contrast, people with no educational qualifications know very fewer people from other occupational groups. (p. 160-1)

One of the remarkable criticism to the existing social capital notion is about the difference between the possession and activation of capital or resources as Lareau indicates (Lareau and Horvat, 1999). People might have capital but they might not activate it due to several reasons. Particularly, in this case, the possession of social capital is not adequate in itself, the process of activation of social capital does not take place automatically. The mechanisms behind the activation process are crucial to recognize the social reproduction. Besides, the value of capital bases on the field, social settings. Therefore, the value of possessed social capital can be understood in relation to the fields, family, and education, specifically for this case. "The middle-class families, with their greater likelihood of adopting professionals' standards,

appear to have largely invisible benefits not available to working class and poor families"
(Lareau, p.)

2.3.Changing Childrearing Strategies and the New Middle Class

Parental practices, or "parenting" in the words of Gopnik (2006), has altered radically in many countries and in many social groups in societies. Regarding the rapid structural transformation in the economy and in the social stratification in Turkey, the traditional ways of parental practices have broken particularly in the practices of the members of the NMC. In this point, parental practices of the NMC alters, firstly, from traditional parenting historically, and secondly, distinguished from the other social classes' practices. Studies tracking the change in childrearing strategies by comparing different societies and social classes enable us to comprehend the marked diversity. Paula Fass, for instance, examines historical transformation in "childhood", from concern of survival of the child to the today's' childrearing strategies in America in the book "End of American Childhood" (2016) comparatively, and provides detailed information about the history of American childhood and parenting in comparison to the Europe. Fass's study demonstrated how parenting has been firmly linked to historical changes mainly by focusing on America but inspires to trace changes in the ways of parenting in historically in relation to social, economic and cultural transformations not only in America but in other cultural contexts. In another study, Gopnik (2006) examines the Western middle-class people way of child raising and she describes the parenting practices of the Western middle class as "over-parenting". According to her analysis, parenting experience a crisis in today's Western world where it has become a stressful, rational, fully regulated, anxious job.

Lareau (2002), on the other hand, focuses on the change in childrearing strategies in the context of social class by demonstrating the strong bond between the socio-economic

background of parents and parental practices, how diversity in social class positions of parents have an impact on childrearing strategies. Lareau underlines that "social class does indeed create distinctive parenting styles" (p. 748) and makes a distinction between working and middle-class parents' childrearing approaches. According to Lareau, the working class families are worried about providing love, food, and security to raise their children. Childrearing approach of parents has an impact on many aspects, including the organization of daily life, interventions in institutions, social connections, and language use, and so on. In other words, as long as they provide those for their children, children grow. Lareau defines this childrearing approach of the lower classes as the "accomplishment of natural growth" (p. 753). But on the other hand, the middle-class families raise their children in a different way. They have a tendency to foster and to encourage special skills and talents of their children. The childrearing approach of the middle class is called "concerted cultivation" by Lareau. She summarizes the childrearing approaches as in the following table:

Dimension Observed	Childrearing Approach	
	Concerted Cultivation	Accomplishment of Natural Growth
Key elements of each approach	Parent actively fosters and assesses child's talents, opinions, and skills	Parent cares for child and allows child to grow
Organization of daily life	Multiple child leisure activities are orchestrated by adults	Child "hangs out" particularly with kin
Language use	Reasoning/directives Child contestation of adult statements Extended negotiations between parents and child	Directives Rare for child to question or challenge adults General acceptance by child of directives
Social connections	Weak extended family ties Child often in homogenous age groupings	Strong extended family ties Child often in heterogeneous age groupings
Interventions in institutions	Criticisms and interventions on behalf of child Training of child to intervene on his or her own behalf	Dependence on institutions Sense of powerlessness and frustration Conflict between childrearing practices at home and at school
Consequences	Emerging sense of entitlement on the part of the child	Emerging sense of constraint on the part of the child

Table 2: Summary of Differences in Childrearing Approaches

By referring to the study of Bronfenbrenner (1996), Lareau (2001, p.86) states that:

"middle class parents are more abreast of changes in the childrearing method than less privilaged parents. This means that social groups' compliance with professional standards varies systematically rather than randomly."

Considering the importance of education for the NMC, families attach importance to their children's education and they do not hesitate to sacrifice to get them into well-known educational institutions since education is the key factor to protect and empower social class chances for their children. Kozanoğlu (1993) also underlines the importance of education for the NMC as a significant element and calls "education hysteria" to define the overemphasis and concern of these parents on education. The NMC developed cultural and educational capital to fulfill the demands of the market economy to be able to integrate. A successful education life opens the gates for business life where they expect to find prestigious jobs with high salaries for this group.

3. RESEARCH DESIGN

In this section, I first introduce the methodology including the case selection and sampling strategy, the descriptions of the interviews, the process of data collecting and analyzing. Secondly, I focus on the case selected for this research by describing the school, the site, and the profile of the parents in detail.

3.1. Methodology

Research design, case selection, and sampling strategy: The data analyzed for this thesis was collected in the scope of a broader TUBITAK project entitled "The Effects of Social Class on Academic Achievement: Family - School Relations". This project aims to demonstrate the strong bond between socio economic background of parents and educational performance by putting a specific emphasis onthe effects of social class on parental network structure and how parents use their network for contributing to educational achievement of their children,based on a *case study* which aims to investigate the class practices deeply. For this purpose,three different middle schools, students of low, middle and upper social class backgrounds attend were selectedthrought *the purposive sampling technique*(Patton, 2002), so, the schools and the interviewees are chosen around a specific problematic. Then 10-15 students attending 6th grade were randomly picked upfrom each school types, and these students, their parents and teachers were longitudinally in-depth interviewed at the end of each academic year for 3 years in 6th, 7th and 8th grade. The middle schools were selected to reach the interviewees to study this topic in because firstly, students in ortaokul are aged between 12-15 and they are more depended on their parents in many aspects compared to high school students who are more likely able to convert external resources. Secondly, the importance of entrance exam to high

schools has become more crucial for parents due to several reasons such as the strong link between the type of high schools and the success in university entrance exam, or to provide a suitable school environment to ensure appropriation of cultural capital.

In the scope of this broader project, this thesisaims to disclose the class strategies of the NMC parents in the field of education. I conducted in-depth interviews with parents, students, and teachers from choose a public school, Yeniköy Ortaokulu (the pseudonymname of the school), in a site where mostly the NMC parents are the dwellers and enroll their children to this school, considering the address based registration system. Conducting this research in Istanbul has the key importance especially for this part of the research since the city has undergone a rapid integration into global markets and hosted the emergence of the NMC (Keyder, 2005).

Data Collection: Two main ways of collecting data were adopted to this study: interview and survey. Firstly, I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with the same 13 parents, 10 students, longitudinally for three years between the years of 2016-2018. In the first year of the research, I also interviewed 5 teachers from the Yeniköy Ortaokulu and a manager from the Kentel Sitesi. Interviewees have been chosen randomly by casting lots among the list of sixth-grade students with the guidance of school counselor and school managers. The same students and the parents of them were tracked for three years. The interviews with parents composed the main base for this study (See Table 3 for the characteristics of the interviewees in detail).

In addition to in-depth interviews, I was able to do participatory observation during data collection within the school. I must underline that this was quite limited but I have attended the events organized within the school, such as the end-semester painting exhibition, the music recital, flag raising ceremonies, national holiday celebration, charity bazaars. I have also spent time in teachers' longue, secretary's room, parents-teachers' association's room

and within the school during students' break times. Thereby, I had an opportunity to observe the relationships during this time. Lastly, a survey was conducted with parents to gather information from them, firstly about indicators of class background including their educational attainment, annual earning of household, annual education expenditure for their children; and secondly the questions that measure social capital they possess are included in order to mapping social networks quantitatively in addition to qualitative data collected.

Description of the interviews: All of the interviews with students and teachers have been made inside of the schools. The interviews have taken place in the rooms provided by school managers, such as the library, teachers' longue, counselor's room, parents teachers association's room; all of the interviews were made one to one in a quiet area. Some of the interviews with parents have been made in the school, in the same way, however, some others were at their workplace or home according to parents' own preference. While interviews with parents and teachers lasted around one and a half hour, it took half an hour to one hour with students.

Data analysis: All interviews were recorded with the approval of interviewees. The records of the interviews were transcripted. While some parts of the data were analyzed manually, the Maxqda, a qualitative and mixed methods data analysis software, was used to analyze the other parts of the data collected. The Maxqda software provided easy-to-use analytical tools to organize and structure the transcriptions of the interviews. Additionally, all the names of the interviewees, as well as the name of the school and the site, are coded for confidentiality.

This study does not claim to be representative, it is rather an exploratory study that aims to comprehend the class strategies of the NMC parents, considering the complexity of the cultural practices. The other empirical studies in the literature are considered as informing and informative for the analysis of the collected data.

3.2. Description of the Case

3.2.1. Socioeconomic Background of the Parents

Most of the parents in Yeniköy are well-educated and middle income families. In their own evaluation, the parents state that the Yeniköy has a high-level parental profile, referring to the level of education or income. While defining the other parents, they usually value and highlight being graduated from a well-known university, having "at least" a university degree, having a prestige of jobs, knowing how to act in society, having experience in foreign countries, integrated into global culture and knowing about the global news, being civilized and responsible. One of the most important features of the parents is experiencing social mobility: they underline that they have achieved everything they have, culturally and economically. In other words, their resources are not converted directly from their families. For sure, their current position is connected with their family background and also with the economic and social transformations the country has undergone. However, they emphasize on their own effort through education and business life and it must be taken into consideration in order to comprehend the current anxieties about the future of their children and the importance they attach to education. In the following statement, Asu evaluates the factors that affect parents' perception about education. This statement is a typical example that demonstrates the profile of the parents, what their values are and how these values are related to education:

"Vision, experience and the world view. Being old does not always mean being experienced. Or being experienced does not mean to have a right perception of education. I and my husband, both of us were grown as hardworking children. We were responsible, and we graduated from schools with outstanding degrees. We were studying without the warning of anyone. Neither my mom nor my father told me to study. Now, we graduated. *We achieved everything we have thanks to our own effort by studying and working. Our mothers and fathers did not buy us neither a car nor a house. We did all ourselves.* Later, we experienced the business life. My husband was working for an American company and I was in a big multinational company. I have traveled a lot, I have visited more than thirty country. One learns a lot through traveling and seeing the places. I mean, the age, the

experience, and if you have a perception about education… In addition, we attended to the qualified schools, we graduated from METU. My husband studied at a Anatolian high school. So, if you have a good education, you know what is needed. If you know about the global world, and if you know how to be a civilized person and cultured person, you can make these comments. Otherwise, you may be 60 years old, it does not matter if you are unaware of the world. I mean, age and experience and required, but not enough."

The parents in Yeniköy have strong communication skills. They are able to express themselves clearly and confidently. In the interviews, they were willing to talk about the education system, the exam system, their children and their relationship with the school. Their answers were usually long and satisfying since they explain and reason any issue even without asking, which is a middle-class feature (Lareau, 2001). They have detailed information about the exam system, education system, and pedagogical approaches. The parents know their children, they constantly observe them. Accordingly, they are able to talk about their children's personality, academic success, social relations, strong and weak sides, and so on when their children are asked. Since they do not only observe their children but they also reason their own behavior that may affect their children, they explain their own childrearing approaches in detail. Education process of their children is the outstanding topic in the family agenda. Some of the mothers expressed that they quitted the job in order to take care of their children. However, it does not mean that parents totally organize their life depending on their children. Fathers and both working ant not-working mothers attend cultural and social activities regularly. Some of the parents, Merve, Filiz ve Asu, they all criticized and underestimated women who go to "kadın günü" (women day). In these days, women gather at home to pass the time of day and eat pie. They criticize those women because the concept of the day as an activity is seen as the unqualified and old-fashioned way of socializing, and so, the time spent at the day is considered as the waste of time. These women in our interviews establish their identity as opposed to those "other" women.

I summarized the educational and occupational backgrounds of the parents I interviewed in Table 3, attached to the end of the thesis. This information may be helpful to be able to check

to see the background of specific parents referred to within the text. All names of the interviewees are pseudonyms in the table as in the text.

3.2.2. Yeniköy Ortaokulu

Yeniköy Ortaokulu is located within the frontiers of the Kentel Sitesi, which is one of the gated communities in Sarıyer distinct of Istanbul. The school was established in 2004 in the site as a primary school (ilköğretim okulu), but after the change in the education system and the application of 4+4+4 system, the school continued education as both primary (ilkokul) and middle schools (ortaokul) within the same buildings. According to the information provided on the official website of the school, most of the students were transferred to Yeniköy primary school when it was first to open were coming from private schools. There were 18 classrooms and the number of students in total was 560. Today, 9 of 18 classrooms are allocated to ortaokul, 220 students are registered as ortaokul students. Besides, a school manager, an assistant manager, 16 teachers, 3 contractor officers, 3 security staff, 3 auxiliary staff, a nurse and a library staff are working in the school. In addition to the 9 classrooms in the body of the schools, 2 sciences labs, a mess hall, a music classroom, a sports hall, an infirmary, a conference hall, a painting studio, a job training studio, a library and a garden are provided in the school. According to the information in the school's website, the vision of the school is presented as "being one of the outstanding schools of Turkey by raising qualified students by providing qualified education opportunities, and make a name countrywide", and its mission is expressed as "raising our students as sharer, participative, questioner, self-confident young people by providing them information, skills, and values required in modern life, within an environment in which individual differences are attached importance".

Yeniköy was an etüt-beslenme school, which provides full-time schooling for latchkey children when first established. One of the most distinguishing features of etüt-beslenme schools was including a mess hall, compared to other schools. There was no canteen in etüt-

beslenme schools. In addition, students complete their whole studies within the school hours, so they do not need to do homework after school. However, all etüt-beslenme schools were canceled in 2012 by the justification of the necessity for "not constituting official schools with special budgets and special status" with the ministerial consent(law no: 9601, 19 June 2012). As a result of this decision, Yeniköy Ortaokulu also lost its etüt-beslenme status, however, lunch and mid-afternoon breakfast are still provided in the school by the demand of family-teacher association and covering expenses from contributions collected from parents. In addition, full-time schooling concept of etüt-beslenme schools is also continued in a different form: students are able to attend etüts provided after school. In that case, their departure from school strings out from 15.30 to 17.30. Thus, this extended school hours becomes preferable for working parents. The etüts offered after school varies from English course to karate, math to guitar.

In order to comprehend the educational and other opportunities provided in Yeniköy Ortaokulu, the importance of its location must be underlined since the Site the school built into play vital roles from several aspects, including family networks, family-school relations, daily lives of students, their socializing processes. I will be analyzing these effects in detail in chapter x, however, having descriptive and preliminary information about the Site from the beginning seems crucial.

3.2.3. Kentel Sitesi

KentelCooperative Housing Society was established in 1974, and they purchased land from General Directorate of Building Land Office for housing construction until 1989. According to the information the site managers provided, 900 dönüm (a land measure of about 920 square meters) of land were allocated to one of the well-known universities in Istanbul. On this land, a compound was planned to be established for the faculty members of the

university, at the beginning. However, until the handover of the cooperative in 1990, the plan of the construction had not carried into action. After the management change, 1070 housing constructions were completed and delivered to the owners by lot in the following five and half years of the beginning of construction in 1993 in Kentel Sitesi. Although most of the houses have passed into other hands in time, still many academics reside in this site, from the university and other universities.

Site management does not have a concrete statistics in their hands about the profile of the dwellers of the site, but they approximately say that 3000 to 4000 people dwell in the site which includes 1070 dwelling. Most of the residents are well-educated, at least graduated from university and have respectable jobs, according to the expressions of the site managers, such as architects, engineers, academics, and so on. 100 medical doctor, mostly professors, more than 400 faculty members from the university and some other universities. Financially, rents start from 2.500-3.500 TL as the price in 2017. 125 of the 1070 housing are using by tenants currently. The prices of houses start at 450-500 TL if they are poorly groomed, but the general prices are between 600-700 thousand TL. The amount of the monthly contribution collected from the dwellers is 350 TL, again in 2017.

Various social opportunities are available in Kentel Sitesi for its residents. Within the leisure facility in the Site, one indoor pool, one Turkish bath, sauna, steam bath, massage parlor, cinema, theater, seminar and conference hall, cafe, restaurant, boutique meeting halls, outdoors terrace, closed saloon, bar, 4 open tennis courts, basketball and football courts, and recreation areas for schools and institutions are provided. There are riding areas, play gardens, sports facilities, shopping center, indoor and outdoor swimming pools and biological treatment plant. According to the bulletins published in the webpage of the Site, they have plans for building a bowling hall under the shopping mall, organizing a small golf course,

constructing a kidsroom for children, building a mosque and building a high school in the future even these plans are not projected yet.

In addition, several activities take place in the Site, including focus group meetings, fitness, and pilates courses, DJ performances, live music organizations, dance courses, outdoor activities, wedding ceremonies, concerts, auditions. Residents of the Site participate in these social and cultural activities which are organized mostly by the Site management. Celebrating religious and national holidays are the examples of these organizations. They organize celebrations in holidays such as the feast following Ramadan, August 30 Victory Day, April 23 National Sovereignty and Children's Day. There is a reading group in which 20 to 30 women are involved in the Site. This group also organize different activities, for instance, they watch movies together and make an announcement for these activities to invite other residents. To exemplify, they watched the introductory film of the Turkish Women Colleger Association (Türk Üniversiteli Kadınlar Derneği). Not only the reading group, but there is also a music group, Turkish classical music training is provided. Additionally, some theater shows take place on the Site, and the announcement of these performances are made on the webpage of the Site. In addition to theater performances, a known theater player gives theater courses. The Public Education Center gives sewing and painting course after the demand of site managers. At the end of each course period, the outputs of the courses are shown in an exhibition within the site, for example, women organize a fashion show in which they wear the clothes they sewed in the scope of the course. People can also attend English language courses given also by the Public Education Center for free.

Security is highlighted as one of the most important advantages of living on the Site. To ensure the residents to feel safe in the Kentel, they take many security precautions, for example, guests are not allowed to enter the site without informing the residents they come to

visit, security cabins were renewed, forward-looking infra-red was placed, taking security precautions in the ways coming to the site are mentioned.

4. REPRODUCTION STRATEGIES OF THE NEW MIDDLE CLASS IN EDUCATION

4.1. SCHOOL CHOICE AS A CLASS STRATEGY

School choices are not individual dispositions, "but collectively held family educational histories" (Reay et al., 2011, p. 31). In other words, the social class background of families and school choice are strongly linked. School choice is an analytical tool for understanding middle-class identity formation in a global age in which social reproduction has become more risky and uncertain for the middle classes. Education is particularly important for the middle-classes since it is the central mechanism of reproduction. However, the shaky ground of economic capital escalates their struggle to hold on to the system through education and promotes the levels of competition. "As social reproduction becomes a more risky and uncertain process for the middle-classes, greater psychological, social and economic resources are invested in making the 'right' school choice (Ibid, p. 1). The lack of ontological security in uncertain economic conditions shapes the middle classes relations to their children's education. The wider social and economic context in which the middle-class identities of families are under treat continuously, parents overemphasize the schooling process in their struggle to protect their class privilege. In this context, the link between school choice and social class becomes more important because the qualities of school matters for children in many aspects including school success, social environment, values and manners appropriated, title, and so on.

In Turkey, students in primary school are supposed to enroll in the closest school to their home according to the address-based system. However, the school choice is a much more

complex process, especially for parents who have the opportunity to residential mobility or pay forthe school bus.

There are many factors behind school choice of parents. According to Ball's heuristic map of choice of school at Figure 3 (2003, 118), cost, policy, locality, risk, family and social network, characteristics of the child, parents' experiences of school are the elements that interplay to decision.
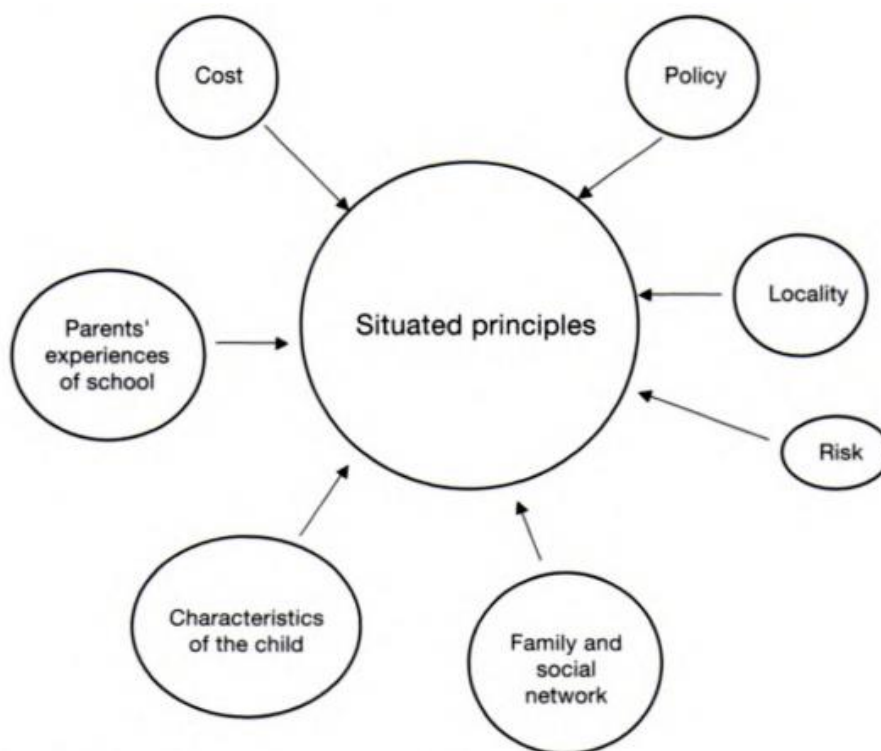
Figure 2: An heuristic map of school choice.

The effect of all the elements presented on the map in the school choice process is observed in the interviews in this research. Reay (et al., 2011, p.7) point out that the studying white middle-class families are interesting due to two principles:

"First, in sending their children to urban, socially diverse, state comprehensives, they are managing far higher levels of risk in relation to education than the majority of white middle-classes tolerate. Second, in doing so, they are active at boundaries of both class and ethnic difference at a time when class and ethnic segregation and polarization are growing(Webber and Butler 2007, Butler and Hamnett, 2010)"

Choosing a particular form of school, a socially exclusive suburb state school, was a rationalized and justified decision for the parents to strengthen the potential future social position of their children. From beginning, it must be underlined that the school choice is an essential topic in the agenda of the families I interviewed with. They make a deep research about the school before deciding to register through different channels, especially by using their social network. They talk to "parents like them", meaning coming from the same socioeconomic class background, and they ask for their opinions and experiences. The importance of intergenerational closure among parents draws attention to the decision process. They come up with reasons, rationalize, and justify their choice. Due to the address-based placement system, primary school students register a public school assigned to them according to the geographical location of their residence. However, as opposed to the expectation on paper, the reason for parents to live in where they live is mainly to be able to register their children at this particular school for many families. It demonstrates that school choice is a more complex process for parents than what the system offers. Reay (et al., 2011, p. 69) states that:

"The historically high correlation between social class and educational attainment will usually make these schools look 'good' in conventional terms. Where they do not, or where even 'better' schooling is desired, some parents will fight hard for places in specific, high-performing schools. This may involve buying a new house and moving, renting a new or an extra address, paying fees for private schools, renewing religious affiliations, or if all else fails, assembling a strong case in an appeaks process. Some parents are prepared to engage in fraudulent or deceptive practives, such as using false address so that they appear to live closer to a desired school (BBC 2008; Harvey 2008)"

In this chapter, I will first explain how and why the choice of Yeniköy Ortaokulu is a social class based strategic decision for the NMC parents. Since all the parents interviewed for this research are selected from the same school, Yeniköy was the common strategical decision for all the parents for the first year of the study. However, the strategies of the parents have differed at the second and the third year of the study (see the research design). While most of them acted 1) *in the system* by staying in Yeniköy with an external support for educational

success, or directly moving private schools, and a few of them were able to go 2) *out of the system* by moving another country or choosing foreign-based schools. Therefore, firstly, I will explain how and why the choice of Yeniköy Ortaokulu is a social class based strategic decision for the NMC parents, and secondly,I will demonstrate the strategies in the following years towards the forthcoming high school entrance exam.

4.1.1. The Basic Dynamics of the School Choice of Yeniköy:

Location, Parental Profile, and Characteristics of the School

This part asserts that the parents' choice of Yeniköy Ortaokulu is a *social class based strategic decision*. Choosing a school in a site like Kentel allows them to create a *private-school-like space* in which they can interfere and transform according to their own interests. They transform the school through their available resources with the parents from the similar socioeconomic background. Regarding that, the main motivation of the parents to move to the site is the existence of the school. In other words, a school-based address system is processing among these social class background, rather than the address-based system, contrary to the official expectations. Tomlinson (2005, cited from Reay et al., 2011, p. 65) explored the middle class strategies in the UK context, and says that:

"The middle classes who could not afford private escape have usually had their disposal strategies to avoid their children being educated with the poor, to ensure that their children attended well-resourced schools, and avoided stigmatized forms of education."

Now, I will demonstrate that the parents move to the site strategically by describing the advantages of the school thanks to the site. Secondly, I will explain the importance of parental background for the parents for their school choice in this case for their reasons. And lastly, I will focus on the other features and qualities of the school that affected parents' decision of Yeniköy Ortaokulu.

 a) *Moving to the Site: From Address-Based System to School-Based Address: "We are looking for a school and a house at the same time"*

The preference of parents to live in the site, Kentel, is usually a school choice strategy itself because many families express that they move here because of the existence of the school, and advantages of site life thanks to the physical and the social aspects of the area in the process of child-rearing in general. Many research demonstrated that urban middle-classes have a higher propensity to move out of the central city (Boterman, 2012). Especially after having children, families may consider residential mobility and relocation according to their resources. For the parents in this research, being close to the desired school is more determinant factor on location choice of housing. They research theschools around a geographical location in the city before deciding to move to the place. In other words, children are not registered to Yeniköy because they live in Kentel, but opposite, they live in Kentel because their parents want them to go to Yeniköy. Obviously, their diverse resources allow them to be able to mobilize and access to information related to schooling.

Parents highlight two but related main issues about moving to the site: the effects of site life on children's everyday lifestyle and personality, and wishing to enroll their children in the school in the site. The first one, site life is about socialization opportunities for their children, the freedom that they can enjoy within the site, being able to go out with their friends for swimming or biking, activities they can join in the site, and so on. Parents explain the importance of these opportunities in relation to their effects on children's personality, for instance, being more confident. To exemplify, Aslı, who moved to this site from the center of Şişli, states about the reasons for their residential mobility:

"We have searched about the school before deciding to move here. We searched about the environment. We made our decision considering our children. I was living in the center of Şişli. The children were not able to go out. If we want to do an activity such as going to a park or somewhere else, we had to go together. But now, they have self-confidence. I can send them to the market or they are able to ride a bike or to go for swimming with their friends. Since the borders are certain here, the feeling of trust is higher in here, compared to the other district I used to stay. I can let them to go out with inner peace. I was not able to let them, in Şişli. They were always inside the building. We had to go somewhere as the whole family at the weekends. From that sense, for sure, we decided to move here in consideration of the children."

Mevşah, another parent who moved to this site from Suadiye, says that she had never thought that she can leave behind the lifestyle of that district, however, raising a child in the city center is difficult. And she adds: "we moved here to provide more isolated and suitable environment for our children to let them live their childhood. We will be here, at least until they come to an age". From the same perspective, another parent Betül states that her neighbors are also the parents of her child's school friends because almost all the families in this site registered their children to Yeniköy:

"I mean, the reason that families live here is the school. It is a common motivation in Kentel. Many families move Kentel for the school."

To sum up, the school has an essential factor in the decision-making process for families about living on this site. Parents choose the school and residential address together. Undoubtedly, it is about the resources of parents. The address-based system is not binding for parents who have opportunities to move.

It is asserted that moving and living in the site is a class strategy related to school choice, but moreover, advantages of the site for schooling must be underlined. Now, I will point out the qualities which parents attribute to Yeniköy and have an influence on parents' decision are related to the location of the school. Asu summarizes the positive qualifications of Yeniköy as a parent:

"The positive sides of the school are, firstly, it is located in the best place in Istanbul. Why is it the best place? There is no hawker, not silly people, no traffic, nothing might be the source of danger. In addition, so, the physical conditions of here, the environment is vey safe here. Besides, this school was established by the site and donated to the MEB... Moreover, since it is etut-beslenme school, students do not need to consume fast food, there is no canteen... And we have really good teachers… The number of the students in the classroom are less compared to the other public schools as if a boutique school. In addition, it is clean and safe.There is no whim-wham things around the school. Since the school is so small, teachers, managers, everybody here know each other well and embrace. These are the good aspects of the school."

The main positive qualities that locating in the site provides to Anafatalar are stated as having safety, easy transportation, being in touch with nature, parental networks, being a boutique school.

Safety: Safety is an overemphasized phenomenon especially in Istanbul's urban setting. Parents in Yeniköy are also underlying the safety that Yeniköy's environment provides. Firstly, locating on the site is the main reason that Yeniköy is evaluated as a safe school. Secondly, a security staff is waiting in front of the entrance gate and she is recording all visitors in school. Visitors are allowed to go inside after leaving their ID card and taking a visitor card. So, this space is called secure. In addition, the school is seen as isolated from the danger that might come from the "outside world". There are no hawker or "rubbish people", who might harm their children or set a bad example around the school as parents call. As Asu says: "There is no hawker, not silly people, no traffic, nothing might be the source of danger."

Transportation: Easy transportation is also crucial and related to the location. In such a city as Istanbul, students spend hours on the traffic while going and returning from home to school as well as other dwellers of the city center. However, students at this site are walking to school on their own. Being able to walk to school is a serious saving from time, money and energy. Parents moved the site from city center put emphasis on this facility by comparing their past experiences during their life in the city center. Asu, for instance, says that:

"I know many parents who moved to this city just to register their children to this school. I am also one of them. I mean, I had a house in Gayrettepe. When my older child was in school age, we have moved. Because we have to pay too much money to a school in the city and the satisfaction… There are many friends of mine who are not satisfied from those schools. Rather, in here, my child is on my eye, school is in the close distance and she is able to walk, that is a luxury. The child is walking to the school without any fear or trouble. So, these are the significant qualities of the school."

Transportation is easy not only for students, but also the parents can reach the school easily. Since most of the parents are site dwellers, they can go to the school on a daily basis easily when it is needed. In other words, parents can put their hand on the school all the time. As it

will be explained in detail, leaving the job to take care of their children is a common phenomenon among women, so some of them are available and have an opportunity to come quickly even in the school hours.

Being in touch with nature: Istanbul is a city in which green areas are so limited especially in the city center. So, children are growing within the city isolated from green fields, parks, gardens. Rather, Kentel is located in the middle of a forest and so Yeniköy Ortaokulu. Children are living in private houses with garden and studying in a school in this environment with green. Boutique park and bird watch center in the site is also providing being in touch with nature. While most of the schools in the city are surrounded by buildings, roads, noises of traffic and people, Yeniköy takes advantages of this green environment with silence and fresh air.

Parental network: In many schools in primary school level, parents know each other but living on the same site connects them in a stronger way. Isolation the site provides, being close to school, relatively homogenous parental profile create a sense of community among parents. It facilitates schooling process in many aspects: especially increasing effect of parents on school and empowering transformative power of them. For sure, it has to be considered in relation to a specific parental background, as presented.

Boutique School: Parents, while asserting that Yeniköy is like a boutique school, mean that the number of students enrolled in this school is a few, so the number of students in a classroom consisting of fewer students compared to other public schools. On one hand, having fewer students is also related to the urban setting in which the school is located because there are just a few residential areas. Asu states that: "The population of our school is less compared to many other public schools, so it is like a boutique school."

In addition to the number of students, this school is considered as a boutique in terms of being satisfying and respondent to the needs and demands of parents. Because Yeniköy is a public school but it is a deviation from the standardized public school case. So, parents have extended opportunities to involve in schooling as if it is a boutique school.

b) The Importance of Parental Background: Whose children are studying there?

Parents in Yeniköy have the high level of awareness about the correlation between quality of a school and the general profile of parents who send their children to this school. This awareness is observed in their discourse in their evaluations in general and Yeniköy in particular. Parents choose a school in which the parental profile fits into their own background. From this perspective, reproduction of institutional culture through parental intervention seems obvious and legitimate among parents at this level. The knowledge of whose children are going to this school is a crucial referent point for parents because they know that parents transform a school and create opportunities. Further, Betül, who is a professor in a university, tells interesting dialogs between them and school managers while searching for the school:

"The school managers questioned that why we came, because children of the professors do not register in this school. For instance, the manager in Yeşilçam was so interesting. The school is close to Istinye Park. He said that 80 per cent of the students are coming by student service. He said, no student around that environment comes to this school, since the district is Etiler. Only the children of cleaners, and so on. It is so interesting, they are so surprised that we were there. They are not welcomed somehow. They are asking that *why you come here, people like you do not send their children to this school*. So interesting. They said *everyone goes to private schools*, they do not come here."

This example demonstrates that not only in Yeniköy but also in other schools, parents care about parents' profile in school choice. School managers are also aware of this fact. It is taken for granted, internalized and legitimate. Therefore, a school manager can dare to warn a parent whose socio-economic background does not fit to the general profile of a school in the manager's evaluation, they can express social class difference openly to parents maybe not in class terms but in indirect words. It is more likely to face such a phenomenon in urban areas

in which class transition, segregation between close districts is sharper. That is to say, in case that a public school opens its gates to both lower and upper classes at the same time due to the address-based system, upper-class parent moves away and creates an alternative to distinct their schooling process from lower classes. Changing their residential area is one face of the strategy, preferring private schools by taking school bus is another.

In Yeniköy, parents state the importance of general parents' profile. Mevşah, for example, while listing the positive qualities of the school, says location, security and parents' profile: "This school is on the site and close to my house. It is not in the middle of the city in terms of security. Also, I know the general profile of the parents. The school has so crucial positive sides." The expression of Betül summarizes the isolation the site creates, the sense of community consisted of "people like us", school and children related issues that have become the center of this community:

"There is something specific to here. I mean, *we built an interesting life for us in a bell glass*. Also, we are aware of that. We close neighbors and we trust each other so much. In fact, this neighborhood is thanks to the school somehow. For instance, the woman you just saw, I almost see her every day. Her child is in the same classroom with Serap. It affects our conversations and social life, absolutely. But *we are in an environment in which we trust each other. We are in a homogenous place*."

When parents mention about parents' profile, they refer to education level and cultural background. In other words, parents care about similarities not only in economic terms, but also in cultural terms, both in terms of receiving a certain level of education and sharing a common worldview. Rather than the economic resources, parents underline the importance of the education level of other parents. On the other hand, dwelling on this site demonstrates that these parents have a certain level of economic capital. So, the existence of economic resources is taken for granted. Focusing on education also related to the importance and value of converting of cultural capital into economic capital because none of the parents we interviewed have a high level of economic capital with poor cultural capital.

c) The Features and the Quality of the School

Untilthis point, I touched upon the features and characteristics of the school while explaining the importance of its location in the site and the parents' socioeconomic background. They are all interpenetrated into each othersince the quality and features of a school are related to its location and the parents. By taking that into consideration, I will document the other positive and negative features of the school as parents described. I begin with the positive attributions, and then, continue with the downsides of the school according to the parents' evaluations.

Physical Conditions: Before listing the certain physical conditions that parents notice, it must be highlighted that parents' profile affects the physical conditions of the school and also social and cultural opportunities provided in school. Betül clearly explains that the school has good conditions thanks to parents:

"Its physical conditions, locating in this site, these are the good qualities. As I said, there are many families who stay in Kentel for this school. And, most of them are well educated families. Families are well connected with the school. So, when there is a physical need in the school, they solve easily. Someone does it immediately. Or someone says that I can do it. Or, they decide to collect money. So, the physical conditions of the school are very well."

Physical conditions in school are tracked by parents and parent-teacher association interferes when there is a lack. Both parents' explanations and my observations during my time at the school showed the same. Restructuring, repairing are easy processes because the parent-teacher association does not have economic poorness and some parents always take responsibility for this kind of issues. Even at the beginning of an interview, one of the parents is talking to the other person working for the parent-teacher association:

"Parent: I am going to ask something, are those columns enduring? Are they waterproof?

Worker: Mr. Mustafa sent them to get repaired… They will do it.

Parent: They brought and did what? It was rainy just now, the joint point of one of the gutters at the edge of the roof was open. The whole rain water leaked on the column during the rain. I talked to Melis, too, the water was pouring on the column, and this side was open. Look, you will see if you look carefully, there is a gap there. Lo and behold! (turned back and began talking to the interviewer). We were like that in the parent-teacher association, we had our notebook and write down each detail as this tile was broken, that is like this… We repaired all of them one by one."

Cleaning: Parents tell in glowing terms about clean classrooms, toilettes, corridors in comparison to other public schools as one of the distinguishing quality of Yeniköy. Cleaning stuff is paid salary by parent-teacher association's budget. Hygiene is attached importance by parents.

Cafeteria: Existing of the cafeteria which offers healthy food for students rather than canteen that offers fast food is a very crucial quality of the school for parents who care about eating habits of their children. Although there is a cafeteria unlikely to many public schools because of being etut-beslenme school status in the past, the parents embrace the existing system and paid for sustain the cafeteria since the etut-beslenme status was demolished. An important share from the contribution they pay for the parent-teacher association is allocated for maintaining cafeteria. Parents are also pleased that there is no extra canteen where unhygienic and unhealthy food is sold.

Social and Cultural Activities: There are various activities offered for students in Yeniköy (as described in detail previously). As is the case with the physical conditions of the school, parents play an active role in organizing, sustaining, applying, and producing these activities. They are involved in the decision-making process actively by coming up with ideas, mobilizing their resources and activate their social networks to make these plans come true. For example, as cultural activities, authors of children books are invited or museum visits are organized. In terms of sport, they support children's attendance at tournaments and they pay for extra money for sports coaches for sports teams. For art, parents make effort to provide instruments for music courses and buy drawing materials which may be relatively expenses for lower class parents. Tours are also so common. During a semester, a lot of tours are organized within and out of the city. At the end of the semesters or in the summertime, they can also visit foreign countries. Not only these tours are financed by the parents, but also

parents take responsibilities in the organization process as well as during the tours. In summary, all these activities are a part of the institutional culture of the school which parents are aware of before choosing here, integrate and make time and money to sustain after registration.

Academic success of the school: Parents usually do not directly and firstly refer to the success of Yeniköy while describing the positive qualities of the school that attracted them to choose it, neither the school management nor the teachers. But, as far as observed, the school success is taken for granted by parents under all these conditions because the role of the parental profile on the students' success is accepted and internalized. So, success in such a school is seen as an expected result of all these factors.

The parents give detailed information and make comprehensive evaluationwhen they are asked about the teachers and the school management. It means that parents are integrated into the schooling process deeply so they are able to have that much information and opinion about them. But whilst describing the teachers and managers, they focus on the way of communication that they choose. Their treatment towards their children is seen as more crucial than the performance in his or her branch. For instance, being respectful and kind are important qualities in their evaluation for a teacher because they observe teachers in terms of middle-class values.

On the other hand, the school is not perceived very successful for all the parents, there are diverse opinions about the success as well as teachers and managers. But the important thing is, parents are criticizing people in person, school, and education system both in good and bad ways but in connection and in detail. Problems or exceptional achievements are explained as a result of macro issues or a specific person's failure or effort. While working-class parents are usually inclined to talk about "school" more generally, middle classes tend to refer person to

person, or relating the issues with the system(Lareau, 2001, 84). The explanations in our fieldwork demonstrate a similar tendency.

I indicated the positive attributions of the parents about the school. There are also downsides attributed to the school by the parents. But it must be highlighted that while the parents are asked about the positive qualities of Yeniköy, they usually explain easily with concrete examples and they refer to the specific characteristics of Yeniköy. However, when the negative qualities of the school are the topic, they change the topic into macro issues in the education system which undoubtedly affects Yeniköy. In other words, parents describe fewer things which are poor and specific to Yeniköy, but almost all positive sides are specific to Yeniköy which is called as an exceptional public school case by parents:

"Asu: In fact, there is nothing that I can describe as negative. But in general, the quality of education is falling down in our country, unfortunately. This decrease in quality affects the motivation of teachers and managers. There might be something in that sense, but intentionally, there is nothing done badly. If you evaluate our school compare to the other public schools, our school is very qualified by a long way from other public schools in Istanbul"

The main downsides told about Yeniköy are as following:

Foreign language education, English: Parents agree that the English education students receive in Yeniköy is not sufficient like any other public schools. Language skills are extremely crucial and vital fort he NMC parents because it opens the gates to enter into global culture. Therefore, English courses are considered a big failure. However, their expectation from English education offered in public schools is already low, so it was not surprising for them. Still, parents made effort to transform English in school in a better way by finding an Anglophone contracted teacher. But ultimately, they do not find it sufficient in any case, so children are taking private English courses or parents are studying with them on their own.

Teachers' circulation: Most of the teachers who are assigned to Yeniköy are asking to be appointed to another school than here in one or two years after coming. This tendency to

leave is about the location of the school and social class background of location. Firstly, Yeniköy is located far away from the city center, also there is almost no residential place in which a teacher can accommodate with a teacher's salary. If the teachers do not have extra economic resources derived from family or partner, they cannot afford to make a living in the site only with their income as teachers. As another option, living in another district means spending hours on the way. So, teachers have troubles about sustaining their life while working in Yeniköy. When they live, new inexperienced teachers are assigned to this school and the same process takes place:

Betül: "We mainly complain about changing teachers. Almost all the teachers in ortaokul are too young. They are just graduated, unexperienced or they are assigned, such as our teacher of the Turkish course. Someone else was working at the first semester. Now, someone else has come. Since there is not placement not, the Ministry of National Education just assigns whoever is available. It is not something good. What we do not like and complain about is young, unexperienced teachers who are constantly changing in ortaokul."

Complaints about parents: Parents are complaining about each other in many aspects. Firstly, although the parent-teacher association is working actively and many parents are involved in, it is not seen as sufficient. Some parents are blaming some others because of lack of responsibility: they are always asking for better conditions but they do not take the hit to change. Just a few parents are struggling to run the association, as they told. On the other hand, second criticism is that some parents are involving in schooling too much. This critic has two aspects: one is about some parents' attitude while communicating with teachers, they build a close friendship with teachers to develop better opportunities for their children in school. The second one is the opposite, some parents do interfere in the teachers' profession too much by crossing the line and exceeding their authority without putting a distance.

Critics about the students: While all the parents describe their children as responsible as a compliment in particular, they complain about the irresponsibility of the students in Yeniköy in general. The reason behind irresponsibility is other children's parents, according to parents.

Due to the comfortable economic conditions of families, children are able to easily reach anything they want all the time. So, they do not know the value of what they have, according to parents' criticism. For instance, a child does not care about painting material to keep it because in case it is lost, the child knows that it is replaceable immediately. Children do not try to embrace and save the things, the culture of saving is a lack among them. This criticism of parents is related to their class background and the mobilization they experienced. They mostly grow up in a culture which promotes saving and utilize the limited opportunities they get especially during their childhood. On the other hand, these children are born into consumption culture which parents criticize but also promote in their relationship to their own children.

4.1.2. School Choice Strategies towards Selection Mechanisms

As I demonstrated in the previous part, Yeniköy was a strategical decision for the parents. However, considering the forthcoming high school entrance exam, parents have developed different strategies on the way during the 3 years of this longitudinal research in which students have been tracked from 6th grade to the last year of the ortaokul, 8th grade (see the Research Design chapter). This part examines that how the strategies of the parents differentiated during these three years especially with the influence of the high school entrance exam.

Before explaining the strategies, I want to highlight a common opinion among all of the parents although they followed different paths. They all agree that the quality of the education provided in Yeniköy, or in any public school in general, is not adequate to get a high grade in the high school entrance exam and to enter into one of the qualified high schools. Both a troublesome examination system and general quality of public schools are the reasons for their sense of lack. "Even though this is Yeniköy, education is not enough", they state,

because Yeniköy is considered as an exceptional case among standardized public schools. In the circumstances, parents develop different strategies. It is possible to collect them under two main headings: one is the strategies *within the system*. Studying in Yeniköy while taking additional support from outside resources for success or going to a private school, the second one is moving *out of the system* through going abroad or registering to a foreign-based school which follows their own system.

4.1.2.1. Empowering Strategies within the System

A)In Yeniköy with external support

The basic strategy that parents who decided to continue formal education in Yeniköy is as follow: on one hand, doing their best to improve all the conditions and opportunities in the school through their own resources as much as possible, and on the other hand, providing external courses, such as private courses or enrolling in private teaching institution according to their budget, so minimizing the economic cost compared to the prices of private schools in their level. The annual fees of private schools which are perceived as qualified and successful are so high for economic conditions of the parents, as an important factor behind this strategy. Because most of the parents experience the ontological crisis of being middle class: having the high level of cultural capital with less economic capital or risk to lose it. In this case, parents develop a path against this crisis in Yeniköy. The parents create another way: improving the conditions of a public school as if it is private, all together with the parents like themselves,rather than paying 50-60 thousand Turkish Lira annually to private schools (the price is stated by the parents). Also,it is not affordable for many of them. Not only the annual fee is the only concern among parents but they also think of the other costs they may face in a private school such as tours or daily expenses of children. For instance, Betül states that they evaluated the private schools as an option but decided to a public school due to economic reasons:

"We were planning to send her to a public school… Actually, ITU has also a private school. In fact, they did not give a discount, it is a very expensive school and one of the most expensive schools in Istanbul as far as I know. They gave 25 per cent of discount. We calculated, we had two children. We would afford but we had to follow austerity policy to be able to. It means a lot of sacrifice from our social life, for example, we cannot go for a vacation. We did not like that idea. In addition, let's assume that we paid the school fees. We heard too much stories about social activities and their expences in those schools. Clothes, vacations… We cannot afford them. It means, a gap will occur between our children and their classmates. We did not like that possibility, so we did not think about private school."

In addition to transforming the school, all students in Yeniköy have external resources which support their studies. Some of them began taking additional courses starting from 6th or 7th grade, but there was no exception in 8th class. All students are enrolled in private teaching institutions or taking private courses or both. Ebru, for instance, was completely against private teaching institutions or additional courses when we first interviewed in 6th grade. But in the last year, her daughter was also going to a private teaching institution because they think that school will not be enough.

Another important point is that they consider Yeniköy as an exceptional case but while distinguishing Yeniköy from other public schools, they compare it with private schools. There are parents who visit Yeniköy to learn more because they think Yeniköy is a private school. However, when parents compare the difference between private and public school, they assert that in a public school, parents must take more responsibility, work actively, and provide support in many aspects. One of the parents says that:

Ekin: "This school has become like a big companies in the plazas with the new parents here. They suppose that here is a private school, they have such a mentality. So, I wish they can think about what they can do for the school by leaving their ego. It is so interesting, they want their children to have everything and they complain constantly… Here is a public school, the budget allocated by the state for this school is so limited. Nothing would be provided without the effort of the parent-teacher association even they complain. It would be better if we all give."

This parent calls others to take more responsibility while complaining about the ones who criticize school as if it is a private one. In order to improve a public school, parents must make an effort. According to this perspective, parents think that the role of parents in a private

school is lower since they pay for all these services. So, parents do not need to run after the teachers all issues related to schooling. The money they pay to a private school is to make all these things run itself without their own effort.

Although these parents have chosen to stay in Yeniköy and to transform the school, they keep private school as an option in their pocket, rethink when a problem arises because still private is a possible option for many of them although the fees are challenging for them. For example, Asu says that: "Last year, I was thinking if the quality of Yeniköy is getting lower" and so she visits a private school that her friend suggests:

"I said fine, I went there. After the negotiation, I gave up from that idea. I askd for a certain level of discount, they did not give. Then, I calculated that the other child of mine s attending a private school. If I also make expense for her… The economy is not going well and I am retired not, ultimately, I need to be careful… I mean, if they offered me 50 per cent of discount, I would register my child. They offered 35 per cent. Then, somethings bothered me, I gave up."

Betül is also another parent who keep their eyes on Yeniköy and also keep the idea of the private school in her mind. She expresses her hesitation about her decision due to her concern about teachers' qualification in Yeniköy:

"Actually we have been thinking but I am not inclined to private school, I do not have positive ideas about the private schools in general. But the teachers were not well, I though what we can do in that case. That we have learnt that new teacher will arrive around June and July. We decided to continue here. I am so glad about our decision."

Dilan also experienced a similar process. She is inclined to find a private school but her children were not willing to leave Yeniköy since their strong friendships although they were awarded a high level of scholarship. Dilan did not insist on their children who were studying in a Jewish school in first 4 years. She had hesitation about here at the beginning with regard to being a public school, but she says: "Yeniköy does not look like any other public schools, it is much better. We are satisfied."

B) Enrolling to Private School

Another common strategy parents follow is registering a private school in order to improve students' academic achievement and so mobility changes. The reasons that parents' decision to change the school and registering a particular school must be examined in these cases.

First of all, parents take this decision to an awareness of their own role in the success of their children. Sevinç says that: "I could not feel at ease if he stayed in Yeniköy". This expression is crucial because she indirectly expresses her emotional burden through the responsibility she feels on her shoulders. Indeed, the anxiety level of parents who changed school (including the ones who moved out of the system) is decreased significantly. This case demonstrates the link between "individuals' inner emotional worlds and external social and structural processes", as Reay (2005, p. 923) underlines. Both their own expression and my observations are in the same direction as the release parents' experience. Mevşah is one example:

"The rest is up to Nilüfer in that case. I mean, we provide all the opportunities for her. I would not have an inner peace if she continued in this school, I would think that we left her in a weak environment. But not, it is all up to her. She has everything now to perform well and achieve. So, we are comfortable here."

The comparison between the role of parents in private and public school in terms of involvement in schooling, as stated above, is the same here: registering a private school diminishes the parents' effort and anxiety. Now, I will explain the main reasons behind the parents' choice of a private school:

Two in one, private teaching institution and school: As stated above, all of the parents in Yeniköy are providing additional courses for their children. Parents who changed to a private school also knew that if they have stayed in Yeniköy, they would pay for private teaching institutions like other parents. Even education market offers courses in a wide range of price, parents in Kentel choose the one with a higher price since they believe that education is expensive institutions are more comprehensive, but also institutions in this area are expensive in relation to the location where upper-class people are the dwellers. So, parents are paying a

considerable amount of money for the courses. In that case, by the parents provided two in one by registering a private school which focuses on the exam preparation process. Asu, for instance, visited one of those schools while she was trying to make a decision about the school and she was told that:

"We are preparing students towards TEOG. *You do not need to pay for an extra teaching institution* than school."

Sevinç also shares a similar concern:

"He would not achieve well in the exam in the old school. I would have to send him to somewhere else, a private teaching institution. It cost almost as this private school, there is no private teaching institution cheaper than twenty or thirty thousand (TL). Send him to the school, then pick him up to the institution… My life is passing on the road. We sent him, at least, school and the private teaching institution will be all in one."

Exam-based Curriculum: The most common reason to change school was the belief that their children cannot enter to a qualified high school or fulfill their potential if they stayed in Yeniköy, because firstly, education in Yeniköy is not satisfying. Teachers do not do test enough. Teachers do not pursue and discipline students as much as they need. There are too many unnecessary elective courses such as sport and art which are waste of time while studying for the exam. Sevinç, for instance, was so angry at school because courses offered in etuts were not math or science courses which will be asked in the exam:

"It is extremely bad. Look at the etudes. They ask us which courses we desire to see I the etudes. We want math, English, science, Turkish. What they offer: basketball, painting, visual arts, traffic. I don't care! Children has already been there for six or seven hours. If they will stay more, it should be science, English, math… There is a list, we fulfill the form. We choose Turkish, English, foreign languages. I choose math firstly. Then, the final list is announced. What is inside, visual arts, music…"

*Foreign language education***:** In the 6th grade, parents were complaining about the insufficiency of English education in public schools including Yeniköy and providing additional opportunities for their children to improve their language skills. The general opinion was that private schools offer better language education compared to public ones. The ways of learning English was on the agenda of parents:

Mevşah: "All schools exploit parents' weakness for forign languages. So, the money paid for this cannot be underestimated. We know many families like us. We have friends whose children attend schools all around Istanbul. We hear everything. For example, you spend too much money for your children to register a private school. Then, in spite of that, the child study English prep class… Rather, send these children abroad, register a summer school in another country with native children."

On the other hand, interestingly, parents who registered their children to private school did not mention English as a reason for the change. It might be about the presumption that English education will be better in these schools in any case. But more than that, the entrance exam for high school has become the main and a huge topic on their agenda when we came to the last year. As far as observed, parents' concerns such as language education are delayed as well as sport and art activities until the exam year passes.

Competitive Environment: Competition with herself and among children is considered as the trigger of success by parents. In Yeniköy, children do not have competition due to several reasons. For example, students were able to achieve the requirements of courses without making a serious effort, so they feel successful and do not try to improve themselves. Grades also create the same sense as the teacher always grade students with high points. On one side, parents were satisfied with high grades due to its importance in the calculation of TEOG exam, but on the other, they concern that children are getting used to having undeserved grades. Students do not get into the competition because their grades are already high and more than 95 for many of them:

Mevşah: "Teachers give higher grades since grades has become vital in TEOG system. But children begin to assume that they are able to get full grade only with this level of studying. Whereas, it is hard to get 100 with that little studying. It is not easy. You must really make an effort. This child has 99.7 grade point average. Now, TEOG is a competition. Nilüfer was ranked the first without making any effort here. When we want her to make an effort, they considered our demand as strange. As if it is enough to be the most successful in the school. Whenas, she does not study. I mean, as if she was making an effort to be the first… They do not give sufficient motivation for children. They give high grades. Assessment and evaluation do not work well."

In addition, private schools provide a high level of scholarship for successful students through an exam. These successful students escalate the competitive environment in a private school

for all children because they have much more successful students which they can compare themselves. The illusion that Yeniköy creates about success is a barrier to students' self-development, according to some parents. For instance, Mevşah is complaining about the situation of private teaching institution which was declared to shut down, because of the lack of these institutions, private schools have become a come compelling option:

"Whatever the goal of the average, you go on that direction. And children pull down each other. This system does not support high success students. So, as parents, you need to find these environments. Now, they shut down the private teaching institutions but under these circumstances, parents have been constrained to private school because only private schools put children in an order. Through going a private teaching institution, children have the opportunity to compete with children like themselves. Now, that opportunity is taken from their hand."

*High Grades in Private Schools:*The grade is an ambivalent issue for parents, always on the agenda in many aspects. Since the grades in school were calculated for the high school entrance exam, parents follow their children's grades continuously and they want to keep them as close to 100. Because thousands of students do all the questions right in the TEOG exam and school grades become determinant ultimately. Therefore, the grades are the source of a serious anxiety for parents. The general view among the parents is that private schools are grading higher. Parents believe that many people change their school from the public than to private even just for the aim of keeping the grades higher. The common opinion is that, especially for the courses such as music and painting, private schools directly provide 100 for students.

Parents interviewed for this research did not express their concern for the grade to change the school directly. However, even if the grade is a reason for their decision, it is understandable that they keep it to themselves because it is known but not legitimate among parents. But indirectly, for instance, Sevinç complained that the grades of her child did not become as high as she expected after registering a private school. Even if the grade was not the only

motivation for her to change the school, it is seen that she also had an expectation about the grades of the child which were relatively lower in Yeniköy.

Teachers' Performances: Many of the parents think that teachers in public schools do not have enough motivation to contribute to children's development. Teachers in private schools achieve that support better. They explain that lack of motivation through lack of trace of performances and assessment and evaluation test for teachers in public institutions. So, teachers have the sense of security which is seen as a barrier to their motivation to do something better. The discourse of parents about the sense of security and motivation is related to internalizing of the neoliberal system which they try to hold on. The growing sense of insecurity among their class position is also legitimized by accepting these norms and generalizing through other occupational position. It does not mean that their opinion cannot be reportedly corrected in another research focuses on teachers' motivation, which is out of the scope of this thesis, but what they take for granted is about what they internalized as neoliberal subjects of the NMC.

Sevinç: "These teachers make their getaway to a public institution. Are the others (in private schools) selected, maybe? I do not know, in Seyran Collage, for instance, what the teachers do in that school? How all of the students have become successful? Is it all about money? I am very curious about that. I visited Kalem Collage, they all have coaches who knows what to do. Because their goal is that it is better for them how many of the students become successful. Well, why does the public school Doğuş not have such a goal? I do not understand that what motivates teachers in private schools and what does not in here, is it all about money?"

Differences between Private Schools

Although such a fraction among private schools does not exist officially, there are two types of private schools *in the eyes of parents*: exam-based private schools and education-based private schools. Social class background of the parents and the meaning attached to different private schools are connected because their school choice and their strategy to raise a child is also linked. The contradiction here is parents are willing to send their children education based schools which, according to their own definition, focuses on the personal development

of children in various aspects. But they send their children to exam based schools which only focuses on success on high school entrance exam. They also emphasize that these schools have only "commercial concerns". The content of education children receive in schools is crucial in terms of developing cultural capital. They want to raise self-confident, competent in communication, enterprising, critical thinker, good at art and sport, multilingual. So, as well as the title and reputation of the school, the content is important for the parents. But the ultimate decision is on the opposite direction: Mevşah expresses the contradiction:

"Our goal for the high school is being able to raise a child who is self-confident, capable of standing on her own feeds, able to contribute to her environment and the country, who has a healty brain, critical, who has a worldview… I mean a child who is aware of everything, well educated. This is our aim. For sure, it is extremely hard to make this true through the public educational opportunities."

Rather than education based schools, as they call, their school choice is exam based ones. Because, due to the distribution of their capitals, they play the game according to its own rules, as a reflection of their class position. In other words, the system is not suitable to invest in the cultural capital of their children as they desire, and they do not have enough economic capital to create an alternative space in or out of the system. Their strategy includes a kind of sacrifice in the way of achieving cultural and economic capital as they desire in the long run:

Asu: "(in the past) Anatolian high schools were capable of rising students who observe the West, know foreign languages, become global citizens. We do not have them anymore. There are just a few of them, such as Galatasaray, Istanbul Erkek, Kabataş, Kadıköy Anatolian. Your child is able to enter one of those or not. The quality of the rest of the high schools is so low. In order to enter one of those successful schools, student must answer all the questions correctly, and his/her grade average must be 100. Is not is so pitty?"

On the one hand, they criticize the system and express their sorrow for their children. They are rich in knowledge and analyzing capacity to criticize the existing system in detail and in multiple dimensions. But in practice, they adopt the system. Through "hot knowledge" which refers to "acquired through the 'grapevine', a particular manifestation of social networks, and relates to first-hand or second-hand recommendations or warnings about specific institutions, based upon some form of direct experience" (Slack et al., 2014, 208), they are always updated

about current developments and possible ways towards the system. So, parents take the position after evaluating many options rationally. To sum up, they criticize the system but play the game based on its own rules. Although they do not like it, they meet the requirements. Sevinç, for instance, says that the private schools which were transformed from teaching institutions are not educational institutions, the only thing they do is to do a test for the exam. But she registered her son in one of those schools. But this contradiction must be understood as a class strategy:

"They shut down the private teaching institutions and they turn into private schools. Well, are they achieving their goals, yes. Because they do not perceive education, they just focus on the exam… I mean, he registered to Yol Collage compulsorily, there is nothing else to do. It is better for the TEOG… They told us we prepare students only for the TEOG, and they convinced us."

Asu also expresses the same a tight situation that she falls in about private schools and herconcerns about high school:

"There are many private schools but most of them are bullshit, they just focus on money. They do not aim to raise a child, but only earn money, they are commercial schools. I do not want to register my child into one of them. For example, my daughter is studying at Saint Antonie, I observe that they care about art, they care about literature. They create book lists, students enter exams after reading those books. In these exams, students discuss and evaluate the books. This country need to raise such brains. There are just five or on school in total. My concern is to get her into one of these schools. I do not have any other aim. If money is needed for that, we will find and spend somehow. This is our experience."

Another criticism about exam based private schools is they blow the grades but it causes the failure in education life of the students in the long run. The strategy for most of the parents is being able to enter into a well-qualified public high school or winning high level of scholarship from one of the well-known private high schools. If a student gets high grades without deserving, she might be unsuccessful in the high school because she cannot adopt difficulty of the courses in a well-qualified high school. Therefore, the concern is that a student who enters into one of the outstanding high schools without having a strong educational background cannot comply with the high school life both socially and academically:

Sevinç: "It does not work in the other way, too. Dershane transforms but becomes private school. They cost around 40 thousand (TL) or 50 thousand (TL). It does not work again. As I said, (parents) say that I will better pay this money for a year 40 thousand (TL) or 50 thousand (TL), and (the private school) puts him into the exam. Then, (the parents) say I continue education in a well Anatolian high school without paying (fee). But the child is overdosed, it does not work, he faces difficulties."

I listed the main reasons to change the school from Yeniköy to a public school. The last quote about the advantages and positive aspects of the private school is from Mevşah:

"Discipline. They announce a schedule at the beginning of the semester and they follow that schedule. It is important in terms of *institutionalism*. Teachers are close and distant to students at the same time. They said that teachers are *solution oriented,* it is so critical for us because our main concern here is teachers' approaches, their use of language. Academically, they are so successful anyway, the school is well-disciplined. Additionally, the school sends a report each week. In this reports, you see the homework of the forthcoming week as well as the results of the last week. So, you are able to *track your child.* If the student does not complete the requirements, s/he has to spend her lunch break in the library. In other words, there is a *sanction*. Education must be like that. Teachers *track* students closely, they want students to make an effort. This is so crucial for the TEOG."

According to Mevşah, the discipline, institutionalism, being solution oriented, tracking the child, appropriate use of language appear as the significant factors while evaluating a private school.

4.1.2.2. Out of the System: "I do not want to raise my child in this education system"

Moving *out of the system* means that developing a strategy through which students follow another way than the Turkish education system offers to enter high schools, trough exams or address based system. Basically, it is possible in two main strategies: entering to another system through going abroad or registering a foreign-based school where a different game with different rules is played. These options are available for parents who are richer in the economic capital because it cost more money. The cultural capital which allows parents to criticize the current system is not enough itself to falling out of it, economic capital is crucial for this path. Therefore, considering the parental profile in our research, this cannot be a common strategy for them due to lack of economic capital. Still, three of the interviewees have moved out of the system somehow. This strategy is exceptional in our field, so I will briefly explain all case by case. But before that, considering that class practices contain the

emotional dynamics (Savage, 2000), I must state that the level of anxiety among parents who moved out is visibly declined, as seen in the parents who changed school and registered to a private school.

Two of the parents have moved out of the system by going abroad. Filiz developed a very unusual strategy because she was not highly rich in economic capital. But she established her own way to deal with the ontological crisis of low economic capital with high cultural capital. She concerned that she will not be able to send her child to a private high school as qualified as she desired. On the other hand, it seemed too difficult for her child to enter to one of the best public high schools, she must get exhausted extremely. Even if she was accepted to Robert, they have to pay too much. American high schools in Turkey are also highly expensive compared to their income. So, she found a strange way and moved to Macedonia:

"Macedonia is very cheap compared to Turkey. I searched all the private schools in Turkey. I do not have an opportunity to register my daughter to an American high school but they have two American collages that I can send her."

What is important is Filiz want to see her daughter while studying in the USA. She cannot afford American colleges in Turkey. In an indirect way, she sent her daughter to an American high school in Macedonia where her economic condition allows her to make it real:

"I said my daughter: we are going to move there because we aim to provide you a qualified education. She will know another country, this is so important. I have talked to some children here. If families do not care personally, children do not have an opportunity to learn foraign languages even in Kabataş or similar high schools, in Anatolian high svhools. So, I am not going to waste my child's time here. She may go to America after that, which ever university she would like to go. She may enter with a scholarship. And she may continue her sportive activities, even her music training."

Ekin, the other parent, has moved to the USA. I had an opportunity to interview her for the second time in one of the visits of her to Turkey. She compared the Turkish education system with what they face in the USA. She had serious concerns about adaptation before moving, but this decision was like an adventure for them as she describes because she thought that if they cannot adopt the system and lifestyle in the USA, they move back to Turkey. But even in

this scenario, they had before moving, she thought that her children will learn English in advance level in any case, at least. However, they did not have a big adaptation issue, she is so happy with the participatory education system in which the students are able to improve their skills in multiple ways. As long as they do not face a problem with her husband's occupation, they intend to stay in the USA.

Merve, on the other hand, stayed in Turkey but moved out of the system by passing to a French school which is affiliated with the French Consulate. Merve has studied in France and she is married to a French man. In the 6th grade of her son's education, they moved to Turkey. He was registered Yeniköy. Although Merve perceived Yeniköy as an exceptional case among Turkish public schools, she believes that children raised in the Turkish education system become ignorant. She was so anxious in our first interview, she expressed her fear that her child will turn into an ignorant child who cannot express himself, who is low in the cultural background, who does not like reading, and so on. But being successful in high school entrance exam depend on being ignorant, according to her. In other words, if she stayed in Yeniköy, there would be two ways on her: raising an ignorant child with high success in the exam or providing opportunities for him for his cultural development with failure in the exam. This is nearly the same concern that the parents in Yeniköy shared as I explained when discussing the issue of private school choice. They would prefer educational based school, but they strategically choose the exam based schools. Merve was so afraid of "*losing her child*":

"If I leave my child within the TEOG, I need to give this decision with my husband, it means I will make my child a person who learns parrot fashion and who cannot write and think. In that case, I would send him to a French school. The school of the (French) embassy do not follow Turkish curriculum, as I visited. At worst, I turn back and settle France permanently, then he studies until university and finishes."

Adaptation problems that the child has when he first came to Turkey due to language and cultural differences were also additional crucial issues for this family. But this parent had an opportunity to move out of system thanks to the nationality of her husband. So, they changed school and continued to French Consulate's school which applies French education system as they used to in France.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I examined the mechanism and the dynamics behind school choice of the NMC parents as a strategic decision based on their social class background. This research demonstrates that choosing a public school in a site and moving to that site to be able to enroll in that school are class-based strategies of the NMC for ensuring children educational achievement. By doing so, they are able to create a more homogenous social environment for their children who attend a school where children from the similar family background attend. They transform the opportunities of the school through their own resources and effort. Thus, they do not have to pay a high amount of annual fee for private schools, but they create isolated private-school-like places and opportunities in a public school. This strategy is new and crucial because it is developed as a solution to the crisis of the NMC due to the tension between economic and cultural capital.

In the three years, I have been tracing the parents, some of them have shifted to another grounds due to the forthcoming exam for high school entrance. Although all of the parents were agree that the education provided in Yeniköy, like any other public schools, is not adequate to have high grades in the high school entrance exam. However, the name and the quality of the high school is so important for the parents. So, the parents developed new strategies towards the selection mechanism according to their own resources. Most of them acted within the system, which means, the parents have played their cards strategically within the existing rules of the game, the selection mechanism. The first group who stayed within the

system continued education in Yeniköy and provided external resources to improve students' academic success towards the exam, such as dershane or private courses. The second group registered in a private school, and by doing so, they do not have to send their children both private teaching institutions and a school, both in one. But ultimate aim of all parents who stayed within the system is being able to enter into one of the well-known public high schools or a private high school with a scholarship.

But some of the parents change the game they play in by going out of the system by moving abroad or going to a foreign-based school. This strategy requires a high level of economic capital, so it is not common among the NMC parents. Being able to say: "I do not want my child to study in this system" is luxury for the NMC parents due to insufficient economic capital.

4.2.PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN SCHOOLING

Parents' strategies to empower mobility changes of their children are rooted in involving in schooling practices and childrearing practices in general. In this chapter, I examine the processes and mechanisms through which parents activate their resources while interacting with the school, the other parents, and with their children.

"Middle-class parents tend to feel more comfortable in interacting with schooling institutions" because schools are the middle-class institutions(Lareau 2011, Stacey, 2016). Bourdieu demonstrates that the cultural capital of the lower class is not valuable in schools. On the other hand, the middle-class values are enriched in the schools, parents are expected to participate actively, and mothers are considered in charge. In other words, the institutional standards of schools and the middle class values and mannerscorrespond to each other. Thus, the middle-class parents interact with school managers and teachers in a stronger way. These parents are capable of running lobbying activities which is a typical middle-class ability since lobbying requires a certain level of cultural capital. They can manipulate school managers in order to shape the school in the direction they desire. Parents may know better than teachers about the content of the courses or teaching pedagogy, so they may interfere strongly in conflicting or empowering encounter. They can mobilize their capital in favor of schools' educational success. Additionally, this group of parents is entirely aware that the academic success does not inherent to school or students themselves, but parental involvement in schooling process, in general, has a considerable impact on school achievement, as Asu states clearly:

"The students in this school have high success but the parents of the students in this school are so attendant. We observed that it's actually completely up to the child and the family."

The discourse of neoliberalism such as "student will be successful in a condition that she has it in her", "ultimately, it is up to the student himself" legitimizes the social inequalities passed from generation to generation because these statements leave the responsibility on the shoulders of individuals by making the reproduction mechanisms invisible. Lawler (2005, p. 798) states that:

"the social-structural dimensions of class inequality are now understood as being embedded only in the subjectivities of social actors. Explanations for inequality come to inhere within the subjectivities of persons who are then marked as 'wrong' or 'right', 'deficient' or 'acceptable'"

However, according to the findings of this research, the NMC parents are aware that success is the combination of multiple factors, and they play a significant role in the educational achievement of their children. In relation to that, Mevşah made a considerably important observation:

"If the child has the potential, the conditions to realize the potential must be constructed."

This sentence refers to a very crucial debate because the potential of a child does not refer to the success directly, like the forms of "capital". The potential of the children must be activated to do something with it. To activate the potential, some strategies must be developed, as activation of capital is crucial to facilitate it, and as the strategies developed to activate capital. To examine in detail, "he is smart but not studying" is a lower class statement. Because intelligence is a potential which may be improved but it does not enough in itself. The part that "he is not studying" refers to a passive version of the potential. In consequence, "he is smart but not studying" is equal to "he is not smart and not studying". On the other hand, the NMC parents do not let the potential slide, but they develop strategies to activate the potential through converting resources. For instance, if the child does not study, they pursue the reasons behind this undesired behavior to change it in a positive way by seeing

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professionals such as a therapist, education coach, and counselor. They plan their action rationally as far as possible. Education process of children is a field to involve and interfere with these parents. As I explained in previous chapters, the ontological crisis of the NMC is the reason for anxiously involving in schooling. Their social position is not guaranteed. The sense of security in this class is so weak. Converting their rich cultural capital into economic capital is a risky process. A bourgeois family of generations does not experience this anxiety of upward mobility that much strong, but the NMC stands on an uncertain ground in which they feel the need for hanging on to. So they act strategically. For instance, they can delay gratification as a typical middle-class attribute. They put cultural activities aside in the exam preparation process according to their priorities, as it is going to be explained below.

In this part, I focus on the NMC strategies in the process of involving in schooling in three forms. First, I examine the parents' relations to each other in relation to schooling, second, I emphasize the ways in which parents involve in school as an institution directly, and third, I demonstrate how parents' relations to their children and their approaches of childrearing turn into strategies to increase their life changes in social hierarchies.

4.2.1. Intergenerational Closure: Relationsamong Parents

Granovetter (1973) compares the level of intimacy among lower and middle-class relations and demonstrates that in lower class relations, the effect of social networks is weaker while the intimacy is higher. The opposite is asserted for middle and upper classes: intimacy is lower but these weak ties are strengthened because resourcefulness of social capital is stronger. Similar strong resourcefulness is observed in this research. For example, even in short encounters within the school, parents may share important information with each other about the preparation process for the high school exam. However, the level of intimacy among the parents is higher thanks to the opportunities of site life. Parents know about other

parents' life and background in detail: their job, level of education, worldview and so on. In other words, intergenerational closure, which refers to "meaningful social relationships existed between children and their friends' parents" (Fletcher et al., 2001), and it was so strong in our findings (for more empirical research, see Coleman and Hoffer 1987; Coleman, Hoffer, and Kilgore 1982; Hoffer, Greeley, and Coleman 1985). Parents do not only know each other very well but also they are aware the importance of knowing each other, as Savage states: "…people are also aware that their contacts are not socially random and that are strategic values in knowing certain kinds of people" (Savage, 2015, p. 130). To exemplify, Filiz states that:

"There are any kind of people in my friends' profile. I mean, I do not distinguish in general but I am really careful about the level of education and family life of my immediate social environment."

Betül also said that they are like in a bell-glass in this site with people like themselves and they can feel comfortable and secure thanks to this closeness. Therefore, social ties between them significant in many aspects. To establish these ties, parents visit each other's homes, organize parties especially for their children's birthday parties, and so on. They also use technology actively to communicate: they have WhatsApp groups where they can reach each other all the time and especially in case of emergency. Parents of each classroom in school have their own WhatsApp groups, as well as the other groups founded by parents who have a close friendship. During the time they spend together and their sharing on smartphones, they share information and ideas about schooling process. Ekin exemplifies that:

"Most of my friends here are the mothers of the classmates of Ecem. Therefore, we know each other well, we inform each other about school success of our own children thanks to each others' children, and we know what happens in the school. For example, let's assume a fight takes place in the school. Ege does not tell me because he is upset or he does not care. But I learnwhat happened from Evrim, she says did you know that Ecem has cried too much. I do not know."

Parents are informed by other parents about the issues in school. So, they can gather easily when it is needed. One significant example of the importance of activation of social capital

among parents is Emel's experience. Her cultural capital is weaker compared to other parents among her. But she converts her social capital into cultural capital. She has hot knowledge thanks to her network through which this site and this school provided (thanks to her economic capital on the other hand). By doing that, she contributes her child's schooling in a stronger way:

"We have a very close group of friends. I have four friends with whom I am so close in this site. I am in touch with everybody in the classroom, all people in the school know us thanks to Eylem and Berdan, we know everyone but there are four or five people who I have intimacy. They are like my sisters and brothers. We discuss with them about what to do. They usually give me some opinions. They help me because they are all upper and senior to me. We analyze with them."

Carbonarı (1998) underlines the importance of the intergenerational closure in academic achievement and states that "Higher degrees of intergenerational closure have mixed effects on educational outcomes" (p. 309). Considering the importance of the social network among parents, I will demonstrate how these networks affect parental practices by touching upon the childrearing approaches, decision-making process, and lobbying activities:

4.2.1.1. Child Rearing Approaches and Ideal Parenting

Parents do not only share about the school but also they Exchange ideas about ways of childrearing. They have an effect on childrearing approach on each other (Ball, 108). In the frame of educational attainment, they talk about how to treat to children. In these conversations, parents usually divide ways of parenting into three categories: attendant, indifferent parents and moderate parents between them. Merve, for instance, makes a similar division among parents in Yeniköy. She divides parents into two categories: conscious and ignorant parents. She defined conscious parents as people who are well educated and culturally rich. Conscious parents are anxious and care about the culture of their children, follow the books they read, pay attention to study discipline and the occupation children will choose, and so on. Because, according to her, this system will create an ignorant generation which will not be able to lead a progress.

"Merve: As far as I see, families with high level of education are the dwellers of this site. On the other hand, there are some families who never mind… They let children to play with ball, watch whatever serious he wants on TV, but if you give that much freedom to children, you will see the country… But mothers are so anxious. I mean, the ones who are well-educated and conscious. The other part of them never mind, they only crack the seeds and watch TV for whole days.

Interviewer: Well, what is the difference between these two types of parents, in your opinion?

Merve: Ignorance, I mean, Ignorance."

Asu also defines attendant parents which is idealized:

"Caring about only school success and performance does not mean to be attendant parent. I mean, if a parent only tracks the grades of the student, whether she has 100 or 90 points from the exam, it does not make the parent attendant. But, what is happening in the school, how is the relationships of this child in the classroom and with her teachers, and moreover, with the other students… I mean, the important this is all these. Teachers are so crucial but also what kind of relationships she estanblishes…"

Therefore, parents who want their children to be enlightened and successful must interfere in the process actively by taking responsibility. Ignorant parents, on the other hand, are people who do not care and pay no mind about their children. They are not uncomfortable when their children watch series on TV, play with a ball on the street. They let them totally free. In our interviews, this type of parenting has not been observed, however, her condescending attitude towards this type of parents is crucial due to two reasons: firstly, when she is criticizing a way of parenting, she is also promoting another way of parenting. So, this discourse has a constructive dimension: having anxiety, for example, becomes salient as a positive characteristic of parents. Gopnik (2016) points out another anxiety of middle-class parenting: *the anxiety of being defined as careless by other parents*. Therefore, even this "ignorant parents" have not seen in our data, this insulting discourse on "ignorant parents" creates an anxiety to demonstrate your anxiety to other parents to prove that you are not an ignorant parent, ironically. Betül, for instance, feels that she might be one of the indifferent parents. On the one hand, her child is taking private courses and playing volleyball and her schedule is already full. But while listening to other parents' practices during the meeting in school, she feels inadequate:

"Betül: In fact, I may be a sort of in the category of the indifferent parents. When I hear the conversations in the parent-teacher meetings, I feel like we are doing nothing and we are indifferent parents. I feel like that… (the other parents say that) we bring our children, let's assume, to swimming course at 9 o'clock, we pick up him at 11 o'clock and take him piano training, we pick up him at 3 o'clock and take him math private course. They tell all these. But I do not ask them if the child is able to do all of these. I mean, it is not my business. But there are many parents who say we pick up him and take somewhere else, constantly.

Interviewer: It causes the feeling of inadequacy as far as I see.

Betül: Yes, exactly. But I do not know what else could be done, but still, it causes that feeling."

This example also demonstrates the basic tension between cooperation and competition as Ball underlines (2004, p. 98). Parents promote each other to contribute children's development in general but also compete with each other in some circumstances. They evaluate their own parenthood in comparison to others. Another example that demonstrates that how parents who embrace different strategies construct their position as opposed to other parental attitudes is that Ekin underestimates the parents "who chase the title". She belittles the attitude that being ambitious as a parent about the name and label of the high school or university their child will be accepted.

In this part, I referred to parenting that may be seen not directly related to the parents' strategies in relation to schooling, but I assert that these strategies are penetrated into parenting in general. Childrearing approaches of parents and class strategies in schooling processes cannot be understood separately. (I will examine parents' involvement in organizing schedule and activities of children for the same reason below). Description of an ideal parent of Ayda demonstrates the connection clearly:

"Attendant parents is someone who attend meetings at school regularly, communicate with teachers constantly, have information about what is happening in the school, know about her child in the school environment, and more… I mean, someone who track the psychological and physical development of her child properly. She is the attendant parent. Otherwise, she got this grade, ot she could not (it is not the case). We usually talk about the grades in our conversations. And then we ask, is it all? Of course, not. *If Aylin is a loveless child, if her relationships are bad, it is more saddening for me because I experiences the business life*. I mean, I observed that there are many people who graduated from the schools by ranked the first but they are not more successful. *I mean, the priorities in business life is different. People who are better in social relationships, who are able to hold her network… the point is not having 100 grade from the exam.* Therefore, people who areall arounder and have social skills,

they call emotional intelligence, who have higher emotional intelligence can shine out. So, we need to evaluate children as a whole. *We want her to play tennis, play guitar, piano, to swim… Our reason is not to make expert her in those fields*."

In this expression, Asu defines idealized attendant parenthood as the combination of multiple parameters. But Asu invest in children's personality and cultural development such in academic achievement for the same reason: having a successful career in business life in the long run. She wants to raise a child rich in cultural capital to be able to convert into economic capital. So, all these strategies in and out of the school must be evaluated together since they serve for the same goal ultimately. Betül, who is a lecturer in one of the best universities in Istanbul, shared a similar concern with Asu and said that school success is not enough in itself. Some students who graduated from universities in the countryside may pass their own student because they have other necessary qualities. Additionally, while talking about the exam preparation process and parental involvement in this process is explained in relation to parental approaches.

4.2.1.2. Effect of the Parents on Each Others' Decisions

Sharing of parents have an impact on each other's decisions. They discuss decisions such as the appropriate time to provide supplementary courses such as the appropriate time to take additional support, private course of private teaching institutions, the best institutions to register as supplementary, whether going to a private school or staying, whether leaving artistic and sports activities during exam preparation year and so on. Before deciding on anything about schooling, they know other parents ideas and actions. For instance, they ask each other which private institution they have chosen and if they are satisfied and recommend there. According to others' preferences, they may change their stance. Others comments and recommendations matter for parents. One of the parents in the classroom registered her child into a private teaching institution in 5th grade. Even she was the one in that classroom, other parents thought about her action and reviewed their own decision. So they talked about the

"ideal time" to begin to take extra courses towards high school entrance exam. In any case, they explain their decisions in comparison with other parents'. Mevşah explains how parents influence each other both in cooperation and competition:

"(Parents' decisions) affect each other, I was not aware of that. I realized later. We, for example, everybody are so close to each other here. But success of a child might create a negative environment as well. I mean, if a parent registers her child to a private school, it may bother other parents. It may happen. They may say that she did this, we should also do it… It is going like a sequence. I mean, we see. For example, some of the friends are going to the private teaching institutons like crazy, they are taking private courses, and there are some children whose performance have increased. I observe."

The parents convert information from their resources as detailed as possible, the other parents provide a resourceful capital to reach information in this way. In that citation, Asu states that she knows what other parents are doing in this process, and she associates that with parenting approaches among these parents:

"In fact, a group of parents among I am in touch with begin to prepare from this year, like ten or twelve of the total population of the class, like thorty or thirty two students. They are seriously get their children to take private courses, send to private teaching insitutions, or something like that. Let's say, half of the classroom, there might be some others who provide additional courses and I do not know. Another half is indifferent. Maybe it is because their children are not outstanding (in terms of academic success). And there are some parents who say that I will care next year… I mean, there are three approaches: one is indifferent, one is over interested, and one is saying that I will care next year."

The information gained through social capital has an impact on decision making. Again, the importance of intergenerational closure draws attention here. Parents pursue other parents' preparation process.

4.2.1.3. Lobbying Activities

Lobbying is a middle-class action since it requires a certain level of cultural capital. Lobbying is about being able to gather when it is needed and to manipulate the school towards their own requests. Lower class parents may also attempt to lobby but they most probably fail due to the lack of cultural capital which allows them to talk through the effective language during lobbying. Therefore, they are inclined to be more aggressive because they believe that they are right in a situation but they cannot mobilize their resources to rich their hand against the

school. But middle-class parents gather easier, share information and opinions about the situation, plan their activities, and act together. For example, parents were not satisfied with the teacher of Turkish course, they took action against her:

Aslı: "We talk too much about this topic among parents last year… She was a retired lady, she came here to spend time. (In the parent-teacher meeting, she said) I show the grammer and ask in the exam, I do not follow the curriculum. I do not care if your children get lower grades in the exam. When the parents heard such a thing, because grades are so important for the parents and the students."

Afterward, parents complain about the teacher to school management. Finally, her contract was not renewed next year. Although they achieved what they want, parents also complain about other parents to not to involve in such demands, but as I will explain in detail below, it is about parents expectation. In addition, parents' involvement changes according to the topic, on the other hand. For instance, grades are extremely important for parents for explained reasons. Lobbying for grades is the most common among them. If one's child's grade is low, she talks to the teacher individually. But if there is a general lowness in grades, parents act together. Asu says that music and gymnastics teachers gave full grades for all students who took their responsibility. But that year grades decreased. In that case, parents complain to school management about the low grades and they were able to change.

"We also talked about that with the manager and the teachers. Our aim is not that all the students get 100 point but if all the students take their responsibility, there should not be a problem. This year, the same teachers behaved differently. We do not know why. We told when the case is this. And it is like going well, now. We do not know if we will experience such a problem at the second semester, but they fixed it for the first semester."

Another important point about lobbying is that this kind of interference of parents is seen as completely legitimate especially when the case is grades:

Mevşah: "They gives too much (grades, by referring to the private schools), every of them… That is to say, it is so understandable that parents make a pressure on school (for higher grades). Because the grade point average is crucial for the TEOG and parents know that some private schools give 100 points to students."

Being able to gather as 6-7 parents towards a problem might result in powerful action, as seen in the example, it may change the circumstances.

4.2.2. Engagement with the School

The parents have a strong bond with the school. These parents work in their own ways and Peck (2010) asserts that parents' ways of responses through activities in the parent-teacher association reflect a new process of ground level "neoliberalization". In this part, I examine parents' involvement in school especially through parent-teacher association in detail and parents' strategic relations with teachers and school managers. I also focus on the practices of parents' claim for their children's rights when needed since the assertiveness of parents is related to social class background. Finally, I argue that parents monitor the school consistently and interfere when they consider it necessary to involve in.

4.2.2.1. The Activities of the Parent-Teacher Association

Parent-teacher association must be examined to clarify the parents' involvement in the school because parents work so actively in parent-teacher associations. MacDonald (1998, p. 99) describes the parent-teacher association as a "good position to use the school beneficially for their children" for parents "who feel comfortable in a school setting". Parents interfere in school mostly through the channel of the parent-teacher association. Stacey (2015, p.216) argues that the motivations of the parent for involvement in the parents' and citizens' association "were seen to reflect a particularly contested version of neoliberal parenting, ranging between and combining ideas of altruism with a desire to enhance the advantage of their child". Most of the parents interviewed with were active in the association somehow: one parent is the vice president of the association, one is the wife of the president, one is old

president, and so on. Being "mother of the classroom" is another way to engage in school closely. Though these channels, the parents' hands are always on the school:

Dilan:"I may say that the parental profile of this school is upper than an average place. I mean, there are many educators here, for example. A foundation was established this school at the beginning and assigned. Since the establishment, they have made an effort to make here like a private school. It is aimed to sustain this tradition. Parent-teacher association works very well. There are smart boards and anything else that private schools have, the parents make too much effort to provide that. In my opinion, it is good that the parents make contributions and do not leave the school alone."

Parents pay 330 TL as the monthly fee in 2018 in order to provide opportunities which are not available through state funds for the school. There are camera system, dining hall, infirmary, cleaning and security stuffs in the school thanks to parents' contributions. Parent-teacher association arranges catering company to contract and they follow the quality of the food. In addition, parents organize graduation ceremony, festival, health seminars, body mass index measurement, publishing school yearbook, creating a school logo for creating a corporate identity for school and so on. Many famous authors of children' books, including Muzaffer İzgu, were invited to the school to give a speech to the students for 5 years in cooperation with publishing houses. Most of the events in the school are the result of the parents' effort. Charity Bazaar is one of them which also provides financial support for the school. In 2015, as far as parents said, 68.000 TL was collected in the bazaar as a contribution to the school.

Parents are proud and boast of their role in the parent-teacher association. They consider their work as it must be done by parents as if it is a duty although being part of the parent-teacher association is volunteering and none of the parents officially does not have to pay school fee as well. But each parent proudly explains at great length their contribution to the school. Filiz, for example, says:

"It has a value if you are able to do better than the existing one, but you cannot do it better, it does not have a value since you should develop it, do better. For example, there had not organizing a graduation ceremony properly, there was no gown or cap. I have renewed all the institutional identity and school logo at the opening of the school. Moreover, we published a magazine, and published school yearbook. The first yearboos was published in our period. Many projects have been implemented here.

Besides, there are educators thanks to the site environment in Kentel. We invited them, many things happened such as health seminars, measurement of body mass index, and so on. Then, the most important one was the book reading activity…"

Whilst she is boasting of their actions in the association, she relates all those to their personal skills and experiences converted from business life such as being an entrepreneur and being good at organizing events. Asu also carries the same proud of being an active member of the association and she feels satisfaction due to her contributions:

"There was not even a meeting room when I was in the parent-teacher association. Presentations used to take place in the computer room bby reflecting to the wall. This meeting room is my work. I am really proud of it. Now, it is a small room but we achieved it by creating external funds without affecting the school financially, under the conditions of the day. And more, we have contributed many things around the school. Environmental planning, basketball courts, decorations… And the maps in the ground has been done in my period, and so on. Moreover, all the musical enstrumants bought for the music room are my work."

Parents are aware that the budget allocated for the public schools is so limited. Although they criticize it, they do not come up with a macro level demand on change. Rather, they play the game according to the rules. These are the sources that the state provides, and these are the cards they have. So, they mobilize their own resources. Undoubtedly, their position in the game is related to their resources and their need to stay in the game. Because the importance of education as a reproduction mechanism is, on the one hand, the cost of creating an alternative to Yeniköy is on the other. Registering a private school which is the alternative for the parents costs more than they can afford, or at least, they have to follow an austerity policy to be able to pay the annual fee of a private school. Rather, they transform Yeniköy by spending time, money and effort. Sevinç also states that they spend money on the school and it is acceptable for them:

"We pay contribution fee for the general expenses. And more, we make additional contributions. I have bought TV something more, for instrance. Some others invested in the classrooms. We do not have a problem about that. I take our responsibility. And probably it happens like that in anywhere. Parents embrace their schools more or less."

While the parents invest in the school, they also expect other parents to make the same effort. They criticize other parents who do not spend money, time and effort as much as they do sharply. Especially if these "indifferent parents" are criticizing anything about the school, these "attendant parents" get so angry. Because if there is anything wrong with the school, it is seen as the parents' duty to solve that problem. All parents are expected to involve in schooling rather than criticizing only:

Ekin: "My only trouble is about the parents. I a doing my best to not to be like one of them. There is criticism against the school constantly. Like, that is lacking, this is insufficient... I mean, (they are like) I do not want to take responsibility but I want an excellent school, this is not possible. I am so angry with them."

To sum up, involving in schooling is seen as a necessity rather than a volunteering work. All parents are expected to take responsibility to make the schools' conditions better because the basic resources of the school's opportunities are provided through parents' efforts. These parents generally accept the idea of parental involvement. By doing so, they contribute to the schooling process of their own children. Savage argues that "most parents are aware of the power of "school-gate networks" (Savage, 2015, p. 132) as one of the findings of his research. The parent-teacher association is also a school gated social network. Findings of this research demonstrate a similar tendency to Savage's argument. Parents are aware of the power and importance of the association.

4.2.2.2.Relations with the teachers and the school managers

The parents visit the school very often thanks to closeness to their home. They sometimes get the kids to the school or go to pick up them after school. But if there is an important issue they want to talk, usually they take an appointment with the teachers or the managers through the phone. Office hours are scheduled for teachers and shared on the website of the school, but parents usually do not follow the office hours.

Coleman (1985, Coleman and Hoffer, 1987) underlines the importance of establishing a close relationship with schools because parents' informal ties may facilitate involvement. For instance, when there is a problem in the school, parents may solve it more quickly thanks to their social connections in the school. The importance of these relations is also observed in this research. Filiz says that: "We know everything because we are in intimate forms with teachers". Some of the teachers are also the dwellers of the site, so neighborhood connects parents and these teachers. This closeness and intimacy may result in some opportunities as well as problems. Parents monitor teachers consistently thanks to this intimacy, so they create a space to intervene easily. Teachers assert that neighborhood is an opportunity because they are able to observe the personal life of the students and so this observation may be more helpful in their relations with students in the school.

The intimacy may cause some problems under some circumstances. Some of the parents assert that teachers behave some children as privileged since they have close relations with the parents of those students. So, they may discriminate against others indirectly. These parents argue that parent and teacher relations have an impact on teachers' treatment of students. For instance, these relations may affect whether the students' paintings will be exhibited at the end of the year exhibition, or whether they will be able to play music in the closure concert in school, or even in which desk they will sit in the classroom. Some parents may use personal contacts to enhance their children's school success. On the other hand, other parents also feel that they have to develop some strategies towards this attitude because they are concern about their children in the case that teachers do not treat all students equally. Mevşah expresses her concern and her reaction:

"You need to show that your child is not abandoned. You need to communicate with the school. Our school has such a handicap. Some student, parents and teachers have strong relationships, and it somehow affects to that. Yet, the school is trying to take precaution as far as I see but there is not much thing that we can do, unfortunately. This is a very specific issue. A school, located within a site. And some of the teachers also live in the site. Things which are not appropriate for professional life

might occur because there are strong neighborhood and friendship relationships. For sure, it is not easy to prevent it. But the balance must be provided, somehow… I mean, as well as the positive sides of the location and closeness of the school, there might be some negative sides. The teachers may confuse the thing, they may miss the points that this is a job where they have a salay and they should treat equally to all the students."

Teachers are expected to be fair to all students but parents are inclined to think that personal relationships affect, for instance, grades. Filiz proudly tells that she did not ask for higher grades from teachers, but unintentionally, she also expresses that she could have asked:

"Filiz: I mean, she has usually got certificate of appreciation (*teşekkür belgesi*), she has never fallen under the certificate of appreciation. But how she has got it, they get certificate of achievement (*takdir belgesi*) when their grade point average is 85. Ours is 84.7 or 84.8. Do you know that, she was missing the certificate of achievement for 3 or 4 years, 3 semesters, with 0.2 points in addition to appreciation. We did not do anything.

Inteviewer: Luck…

Filiz: No, it is not about luck. I did not coddle. And she did not talk to her teachers and say that I need a point to get a certificate of achievement."

Another criticism about the parents and the teachers' relations is about some parents' attitude towards teachers. Most of the parents are in higher positions than teachers economically and culturally. Sometimes the parents may underestimate teachers or try to "teach teachers how to do their job". One of the teachers who complain about this issue says that these parents try to rule the school through their money. Another parent expresses that trying to "put teachers in their place" and boasting about this attitude is completely wrong for her:

Ekin: "My trouble is about the parents… They try to teach the school and managers how to do their jobs. Same for the teachers. I do not hear all of hese from the teachers or the manager. I hear those while the parents chat with each other, interestingly. She says that "I said, Iput the teacher in his place, I take a swipe at him." Who are you to take a swipe at a teacher? At the end of the day, you leave your children into the hands of the theacher that you put him in his place. Is not it shameful?... But there are many of them who want to oppress teachers and who are disrespectfull to the manager in our school, unfortunately, as I see."

This conflict is the result of a social class encounter between teachers and the parents. These parents are more advance in the cultural and economic capital and they observe their children and educators continuously from the perspective of their own pedagogical approach. Teachers who are expected to be the authority figures in schools become weak in this encounter.

4.2.2.3.The practices of claiming rights

The encounters with institutions and authority figures are social class encounters. Parents reactions, attempts, attitude, demands towards a problem related to the school is based on their social class background. Since the schools are middle-class institutions, parents from lower class may feel the weight of water during this encounter. As Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, 127) say: "social reality exists, so to speak, twice, in things and in minds, in fields and in habitus, outside and inside social agents. And when habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product, it is like a 'fish in water': it does not feel the weight of the water and it takes the world about itself for granted". Yet, the NMC parents' relation to school is so comfortable since they talk through the same language. They try to solve their problems with the teachers or school managers directly. If they cannot get result during these conversations, they complain to provincial or district national education directorate without hesitation. These parents can express themselves clearly and use the communication channels effectively and they may go to the limits for their demands:

Aslı: "We had trouble with one of our theachers, Turkish teacher. I talked to the manager for 3 or 4 times. As a parent, I tell my complaint to them… She was a contracted teacher. Children were writing compositions in the whole lessons. She was playing candy crush or doing something else, leaving the children own their own, or watching videos. I was so bothered when I have feedback from my child, and I expressed them. After that, they did not renewed her contract. They contracted with another teacher."

This example shows that the parents have the potential to make changes in significant issues related to the school. They take action for change. Their intervention when they find grades inadequate is also another example of claiming their rights. In addition, Lareau (2011) underlines that the middle-class parents teach their children to be "assertive and demanding" in order to solve their problems. By claiming their rights when needed, parents also aim to "be a good example of the children" with their own action, as I will explain in detail in "Double

Check: monitoring children and themselves". Now, I will focus on parents' monitoring the school which make claiming for rights easier.

4.2.2.4. Monitoring the School

I examine monitoring practices of the parents both in parent-school relations and parent-children relations. Parents actively observe the practices, attitudes of the school, teachers, themselves and children continuously. The school called "boutique" facilitates parents' monitoring since it is a small school in terms of the number of students. Parents expressed their monitoring practices on the school in many examples. I chose two of them to exemplify, one is about selection for class president and the other is copying exams:

The issue about the class presidency is about democratic values that parents want to pass on their children. A selection takes place in the classroom among students, but the teacher assigns another student than the selected one by taking an initiative. One of the parents gives complaint petition to the district national education directorate. She explains her complaint as setting a bad example for children. By her complaint, she teaches her child to stand behind her vote because citizens should stand behind their votes for a democratic country, this understanding must be internalized during childhood through practices such as elections in school which may be considered as a miniature version of the macro politics. In other words, parent cares about the reflection of the practices in schooling on children's personality in the long run:

Mevşah: "I mean, she is Niüfer. I really do not want to think that how these things reflect to the other children. We are a bit… There is no need something directly happened to our child but we are not like parents who spend time at the school. We are in the topic because they are the top. A selection took place, a student was selected. We need to interfere because a student who even did not attend the selection is assigned as the class president rather than the selected one who is not seen appropriate. Children are going to learn democracy somehow. They do this selection in the schools to learn it. I mean, they do not do it for coup."

Another parent, Filiz, shares a similar concern with Mevşah about class presidency by connecting this practice with macro practices. In their classroom, the same student is the class president for three years. She complains about this situation because this child feels that he has the power. He is called "reis" (headman) in the class and he got spoiled due to his power over his friends. Filiz criticizes his position in the class because this situation takes place so similar in the macro politics in the country. So, she suggests an alternative system in which all students will be president in the class regularly and in an order. By this system, all students will be able to experience both sides of the system, according to her.

The second example about monitoring the school is about the teachers' attitude that shutting their eyes to copying during the exams in the class. Again, teachers are accused to set a bad example for the children according to the criticism. Because copying means stealing others' labor, so students should be thought that plagiarisation like any other kinds of stealing is a wrong behavior. But when teachers indulge and tolerate copying, the next generations will not internalize honesty and fairness as values according to the parents:

Sevinç: "How it can be normal? Is it possible? They copy! They are all, from the teachers to the managers, they are all okey with that. The school of Yeniköy is like that. They say, it happens in this age group. They get the child in. Just as the Turkey's expeience. It is so interesting. They get the child in and talk. Probaly, they tell why it is something wrong. Then, let him go. The child enters into the classroom, and says that "He said nothing. Nothing happened". That is it. But this child is still the class president."

In both examples, parents monitor teachers and managers' attitude and behavior not only to interfere and save "today", but to invest in the future of their children and society in general.

4.2.3. Schooling and Childrearing as a Class Strategy: Parents and Children

The professional ideology of parenting has shifted dramatically in recent decades but this shift in parenting ideology reflect on parents from all social classes in different ways since "social

class does indeed create distinctive parenting styles" (Lareau, 2002, 244). As examined in detail in childrearing strategies, the middle-class families are inclined to foster and to encourage special skills and talents of their children. They encourage their children to ask questions, express themselves clearly, as Ekin states:

"But, I say, thing of it this way, is it right to cry or doing something else according to you? Whatever, think which one is correct, debate with yourself. Learn how to look yourself from outside, I say. She says, yes, it might be like that. From that sense, it helps children for their self-development."

The expectations of teachers for students' performances have an impact on students' academic achievement because it plays the role of self-fulfilling prophecies. The effect of teacher prophecies on learning and on students' success has been studied and demonstrated through expectation theory (see Williams, 1976). However, the effect of expectation of parents on children's success and parent prophecies are quite understudied. The expectation of parents from children depends on their class background. Because, from the same perspective with expectation theory, the expectation of parents from their children creates a difference in treatment.

They involve in their children's' life in and out of the school in many aspects from organizing daily lives to children's social relationships. In this engagement process, the NMC parents rationalize their all decisions and attitudes about parenting. They always explain what and why they do whatever they are doing related to their children, and also they explain what were the possible other options and why they do not choose them. Parents' all these justifications and ways of engaging with their children is based on their social class background. In this part, I will focus on how the parents engage with their children in order to increase their academic success and mobility changes.

4.2.3.1.Double Check: monitoring the children and themselves

The parents can talk about their children at length because they have an eye on their children all the time. Parents continuously and intentionally observe their children. But they observe not only children, but they also have an eye on their own behavior that may affect children, as they monitor the school for the similar concerns. The parents stress the importance of reasoning in their communication with the children (Lareau, 2001, p.86) but the complexity behind this attitude must be examined. One parent, for instance, always tells her daughter about her day even nothing special happened. She explains the importance of this daily conversation: she thinks that if parents tell daily things to children, children will be more inclined to tell about their daily life and the issues to the parents. She does not directly tell her daughter to talk about her day, rather she talks about herself to encourage her to talk. She encourages her to unleash her feelings and daily problems. Another parent says that they intentionally shout each other as wife and husband while playing as a part of game volleyball to be an example for her daughter who is timid and shy in the sport. She encourages her child to have the audacity to be assertive when it is necessary:

"We went to the volleyball court with her father and all together, to have a match, as we said. We began hustle each other with Görken (her husband), we were in the same team with him. Ecem is with a friend of her. I am sayin that, you idiot, you are not able to kick the ball, he flingsme away, and I do the same. Then we yell at Ecem. Ecem does nothing. Then I told her to yell. I said, I am yelling at you, Let's yell at me, why you do not? Look at us, I am yelling at your father and he is yelling at me, are we fighting? But, I said, that is it. When needed, you should be frolicking. You always behave well and kind, but you will show your teeth when there is an attact against you, you do not have another chance. Otherwise, you cannot be happy in life. (He said) okey, I understood, and so on. After a few matches, he was getting better."

Parents monitor their children all the time because they aim to raise responsible, enterprising, well-educated, challenger, self-confident, talkative, critical-thinker, and children. Asu says that:

"Our goal for the high school is being able to raise a child who is self-confident, capable of standing on her own feeds, able to contribute to her environment and the country, who has a healty brain,

critical, who has a worldview… I mean a child who is aware of everything, well educated. This is our aim. For sure, it is extremely hard to make this true through the public educational opportunities."

Their observation of children is to achieve this aim. Although the education system is not seen suitable to raise such a child, parents make an effort through their own resources to achieve that aim. They establish personal relationships with their children considering their personality development, including daily conversations:

Ekin:"I always tried to explain that you can do it if you want, you can achieve, you have the potential, and you trust yourself. If you want something, really want it. Your way will open."

They encourage their children to develop these personality skills. To improve entrepreneurial spirit of her child, Ekin supports her children:

 "The girls made many candles at home, they learnt to do it in the lab. They ask if they can sell them (in the bazaar). I said, of course, bring them all, hand made things. Then, their reactions when they were sold or not… Let's console them, saying you can do it. Look, he is absolutely potential costumer…"

In addition, children are always promoted to being curious, seeking for answers, researching, being open to learning. Parents express that they try to encourage them to ask questions. Being able to express herself clearly and courageously is another crucial characteristic that parents want to see in their children. Parents boast of their children if they are able to read a poem in front of a crowd without hesitation.

Parents also pay attention to friendships of the children. They usually try to not to interfere in their relationships. Since most of the children are from the site, the general profile of the students is similar. But in the case that parents do not like a friend of their child, they may indirectly warn their children. . For instance, Aslı says that:

"Whether she is going to continue her relationship or not, I want her to make her own decision. But while interfering, I try to explain her the positive and negative sides."

Considering that these parents lead their children to ask questions and they talk in detail by giving justifications about anything, they use the same communication ways about friendships

4.2.3.2.Taking the responsibility of the responsible children

Another characteristic that parents desire to see in their children is being responsible, especially being able to take their own responsibility, in other words, the ability to stand on their own legs. But responsibility is over emphasized by parents. Therefore, it requires a specific discussion since there is an implicit contradiction in parents' discourse which must be revealed: on the one hand, all of the parents claims that their children are so responsible. But on the other hand, these parents are taking too much responsibility of their children. It seems as a contradiction at the first glance, but it must be read carefully.

Parents are so proud that they have a responsible kid, as they say. It is something to be proud of because being responsible means being able to stand on their legs "in the future" when they enter to competitive, unmerciful, ambitious business life as a citizen of global world. There will be no parents who will take care of them in working life. So, parents feel more comfortable about children's future as long as they growing up as responsible individuals. One of the channels that individualization is internalized is the aggrandizing being able to take one's own responsibility. I do not assert that being responsible is inherently related to individualism. But the emphasis parents put here is *individualized responsibility*, they never mentioned about collective actions while defining the responsible behaviors of their children. Children do their own duties without parents' reminding, for instance. They tidy their room up, own their own. They prepare their bag. They follow their exams, they take care of their own clothes. Especially, they study without parents insist on. This individualized responsibility and individualized studying practices go hand by hand. Because *the culture of individual success* dominates this environment which is fueled by neoliberal ideology. Parents regularly remind their children that "you are doing all these for yourself" although they say this sentence to motivate them. This expression talk through same individualizing discourse. In other words, it means "you are taking your own responsibility for your own interest,

nobody will take yours and you will not shoulder any others' in the future". Monbiot(2016) argues that neoliberalism wrench society apart and create loneliness as one of the results of competitive, self-interest, and extreme individualism. So, children should be ready for the cruel future life where they will be lonely in the neoliberal world. On the other hand, the personal experiences of the parents in business life is also crucial to understand their discourse. Because they experienced social mobility, their cultural and economic capital did not pass on them from their families, "nobody hand us to on a silver platter" as Asu expresses.

The point that draws attention about having responsible child is that parents talk as if being responsible is inherent to their children, so they are so lucky to have such children as a privilege. But there is a self-fulfilling prophecy here. When parents are asked for details, it is seen that they make a considerable effort to make their children responsible:

Ekin: "When they go to university, they will stay in their own house, or they will study abroad. Since we do not know yet, *I made too much effort* to be sure that they are able to do their own works."

Aslı shares similar goals:

"I want her to take her own responsibility… As a parent, I support her in any case and in anywhere but I will not be able to be with her in any steps of life. She must be aware of something. If she wants to have good things, she must struggle and run after that. I want her to see this, see that she can achieve. She has begun to see that she can do it during this year."

The point that I defined as a contradiction at the beginning is about the responsibility of these responsible children parents take. They state that children study without being warned but it does not mean that parents leave children own their own. They always observe and trace their studies and development. They know their children's grades exam by exam and in total as well as exam dates. Sevinç says a parent must trace her child's studies because private courses or teaching institutions are never enough:

"You have to track personally. You will reveal the points of the mistakes, identify the lacks, and then, you will go to the private teaching institution, and say that, "look, these are inadequate. This week, you should study about these topic." Just like that."

With a similar concern, Asu thinks that it is risky to leave children and institutions to their own devices due to the same reasons:

"There is no other way. Even though you sen your children to the private teaching institution, you have to look after your children. The institution looks and says, okey, it is very well. Ultimately, they perceive her as a customer. They flatter the family in order to keep the student. I mean, we have not begin this year, it is so early. There is no need for bother the child. In the next year, we will start with private teaching institution. In the 8th grade, we will run the studies personally."

Another important issue about responsibility and parental intervention is a comparison between the middle and lower classes. Although only one of the parents interviewed, Gizem, was lower class, her case shows that this lower class family leaves the responsibility on child herself. Parents' cultural capital is weak, and the child is richer in cultural capital in school-related topics thanks to the resources she converts from school, teachers, and friends. Even in 6th grade, the students' knowledge was more comprehensive than her family. So, she had all the responsibility for the schooling process. Although her parents want to support her they cannot, their resources do not allow them. Therefore, they leave the decision-making process on her when her peers enjoy sharing this responsibility with their parents. This situation creates a burden on the student since she was 13 years old which is a relatively young age to take all responsibilities for schooling.

In addition to Gizem's case, there is one other student who holds the responsibility: Ayşegül's child. Rümeysa and her husband are divorced. The child lives with mother and father by turns. Due to family affairs, this student takes more responsibility compared to her peers. Her parent Rümeysa says that:

"She is more responsible. As I said, Rümeysa tracks her all courses, exams, projects, she decides which project she will have a project, not me. Because I do not know her interest, or, she takes homework project from math each year. She took this year and the last year. She knows the thing. She advanced her grade in the course she had project, but English was so difficult for her last year. But this year, she is able to understand anything in English in courses. So, she did not take homework project from English. She decides."

According to Coleman's conceptualization (and Hoffer 1987), Rümeysa's experiences is a functional deficiency which is seen in the absence of strong relationships between parents and children. The case that social capital is deficient while human capital is strong in families is more prevalent today. The adult members are well-educated and individually capable but the children in the family cannot benefit from these resources of the adults due to a variety of reasons including divorce.

4.2.3.3. Leaving career behind and the importance of spending time with children

Leaving the job for taking care of children is a common tendency among mothers. This behavior is directly a class strategy due to three main reasons: firstly, the economic cost of child raising is expensive. Since the NMC families are basically nuclear families, they usually do not have support from older family members who may take care of children traditionally. Rationally, they calculate the cost of child raising for working parents and comparing to the salary of a job and labor they need to put for the job. But secondly, the cultural reason is usually more dominant and support the first economic reason: they want to raise a child "as they want according to their own values", to pass on cultural capital in other words. Not only mothers who quit their job to take care of children, but all the parents including mothers and fathers indicate the importance of spending time with their children to contribute the personal development of them. Because parents may be examples for the children and pass on manners and values during time spent together. Ekin, who is a working mother for two years but quitted her job when her first child was born, states that:

"But, all is about spending time with children. So, I gave up everything, from my career and other things. I left all beyond, and right or wrong, I wanted to raise my children according to my own rules. I will show them my understanding of wrong and right, and let them to decide own their own. The final decision belongs to them. For example, your clothing style does never resemble, any of four, five of

us. Sometimes I see what Ecem wears, my eyes are opened. I do not say what do you wear, my daughter, because it is her style."

The third reason that rationalizes the decision of mothers who quitted their jobs for their children is about their capacity to contribute to children in many aspects. In other words, these parents may help children's studies since they are well-educated. The time they spend together also useful for children unlike working-class mothers who provide food and security in the house and so a comfortable environment in the house, but lower class parents usually are not able to help children because they do not know about their courses. But the NMC parents have stronger knowledge about children's' courses and they are able to convert it to academic success for the child.

4.2.3.4. Getting children in competitive environments: ambitious parents

Being ambitious and competitive are the values which are coded negatively in Turkish society traditionally. But ambition and competition are the rising values of neoliberal ideology, on the other hand. This contradiction is observed in parents discourse. Since they also coded the word "ambition" negatively, they do not boast of being ambitious but they believe that ambition and competition are important for progress and development. Competition is seen as the trigger of success. So, they lead their children into competition both in academic life and in sportive activities. For many parents, providing a competitive environment was a significant reason to change school and find a private school in which successful students are attending since Yeniköy is not seen as competitive enough for assertive students, as I explained in detail in the previous chapter. This ambition and competition should be evaluated with the culture of individualized success and lack of peer group support which is a typical lower class behavior. But additionally, the ambition of parents themselves must be underlined as Asu states: "you are hooked on that environment although you consider yourself

conscious" and adds that they also lose themselves in the process while keeping eye on the number of tests solved, feelings of children, grades, achievement and so on.

4.2.3.5.Organizing social environment: *lonely but happy* children:

For the parents, happiness is an important keyword and a criterion which proves that they are in the right direction in terms of parenthood. They overemphasize the mood of children, whether children are happy. Parents regularly ask themselves if their children are happy, they observe and come up with an answer which must be yes or must be turned to yes. Seeking for happiness as the meaning of life is a general trend in today's neoliberal world in which personal development ideology always promote the idea of happiness as a life goal, so it is not surprising that one of the first things they want their children to have is happiness as middle-class parents who are. However, I want to specifically underline what some parents said indirectly but Filiz states clearly: "My child is lonely but a happy child". The "but" in this sentence implicitly demonstrates an internalized contradiction in parents' mind about being happy and lonely as a child at the same time. However, the students' social ties, friendships are weakening visibly as the high school entrance exam date comes close. In some cases, parents and students cut social ties gradually and consciously by giving a justification for that preference as the importance of focusing on only the exam and not to spend time for friendships. But in some other cases, friendships among students are collapsing in the last year. Students are inclined to think that these problems among them have nothing about the exam, but on the other hand, they express how much stress and pressure they are exposed to and how they can behave impulsively towards their friends because of the anxiety. Filiz tells their own experience:

"Emel does not have many friends, I mean, there are, but inside of the school, and one or two of them from the outside of the school. She does not have time in general. And more, we experienced things differently after this 4+4 thing. So, we gradually cut the friendship thing. Because we saw that somethings are so harmful. In that sense, in fact, she is a lonely child, but, happier."

Sevinç changed her son's school and registered a private school. Changing school might be challenging for a student in this age and may cause adaptation problems, so I asked about his social relations. Sevinç said that:

"He is more focused, he is aware that he is here for the exam. So, I think he does not have too much expectation from his private life. I thinks like that. I mean, for example, there are a few boys, and they are in the other classrooms. He could not used to them. He has some friends in other classrooms and in Yeniköy. He somethimes sees them, but he says it is not important. The important thing, he says, is that, my school is going to finish. He says, I mean, I am just going. He tries to focus on the school. He does not to make a big deal out of friendship. Although he is not pleased, he is getting used to them… He is aware of that, since we always rub in him, he is going for education. He says, I go for education at least… I mean, having friend is not important right now. *There is no need for that much expensive friendships*. He thinks that I will have friends in anywhere."

The expression of the "expensive friendship" is crucial to understand because what the parent evaluates as the expensive cost of friendship is the time which is spent with friends rather than exam preparation. So, friendship is seen as a waste of time in the exam year by some of the parents.

4.2.3.6. Organization of daily life

"Leisure is becoming increasingly important in the construction of social positions" (Wynne, 1998, p. 136) and children have unequal leisure opportunities based on their family background. Organization of leisure time is a crucial social locator. In this part, I argue that the organization of daily life of children is a class strategy for the NMC. Parents' strategies to increase mobility changes of children is also rooted in structuring daily life and schedule of children. Culture passed through the education system which constitutes a basis for social reproduction as Bourdieu explains, but only focusing on school is not adequate to understand social reproduction. Involving in schooling is not limited to only intervention in school as an institution, but it is a more extended process which spread into daily life as a whole. Scheduling a day of children, choosing the activities out of school, organizing free time must be examined in relation to the class position of parents and they turn into strategies in the NMC's practices.

The parents consider time as a field which always must be controlled, organized, interfered, and monitored. The school hours are rigid, so time out of school is more open for parental intervention (although parents may attempt to interfere with the content of time in school as explained). Since the activities participated in are a part of the process of distinction, the organization of time becomes a source of anxiety for the parents. For instance, Asu concerns about her daughters' free time activities because spending time in a café with friends is a waste of time for her. Asu would prefer her daughter to attend to cultural activities rather than chatting with friends. She explains her concern through being a conscious parent:

"I even always say that there are many theatres around, my daughter. Go to thetheatre with your friends. There are concerts. Going to a caffee, sitting for 5 hours and drinking tea and coffee is not an activity. It does not make contribution to your in terms of culture or manners. But go to the theatre together, or read a book together, read the same book and discuss about it. I mean, an attendant family approaches all of those as a whole. But, for sure, it is about consciousness"

To examine closely, I will demonstrate the findings of this research by focusing on the activities the children participating in, the organization of daily life.

In addition, Bowles and Gintis say that: "being there might be more important than learning the new curriculum" (2000, p) while discussing the process in school. The same argument also might be stated for many activities children attends regarding appropriation process of cultural capital. In general, being there is the point rather than what children get from there. In this sense, the importance of these activities in terms of their role in the process of locating social positions can bet comprehended better. As Asu's expression demonstrates the meaning that parents attribute to these activities in terms of appropriation of cultural capital:

"I mean, the priorities in business life is different. People who are better in social relationships, who are able to hold her network… the point is not having 100 grade from the exam. Therefore, people who are all arounder and have social skills, they call emotional intelligence, who have higher emotional intelligence can shine out. So, we need to evaluate children as a whole. *We want her to play tennis, play guitar, piano, to swim… Our reason is not to make expert her in those fields.*"

Generally, even though the schedules' of children are planned, their daily routine is neither so intense nor flexible. Parents intentionally try not to tire their children by very busy schedules. On the on hand, they lead children to participate in courses, but they also monitor the limits of children: for example, some of the children who have registered in volleyball course canceled it because of being so tired. Or, they might feel a need to make a choice between two options: for example, attending volleyball course or English course. Usually, the English course is chosen in this kind of situations.

In terms of the ways that parents involved in the organization of daily life and activities, they usually express that they let their children decide what they want to do. For instance, which sport they will engage in, which instrument they will play, how much they will study, and so on. They very often come up with the expressions such as "I do not interfere in…, I do not need to, because my child takes her own responsibility". The same parents, on the other hand, can changes their discourse just a few sentences later and say that "I let her do that for an hour, I set her free to do this". A considerable contradiction comes to attention at this point, what they do and how they express what they are doing do not match consistently. It seems like letting children do what they do, setting loose to make decisions related to her own life are more idealized and accepted attributes among parents. In addition, raising a "responsible child" is another highlighted point by parents, it should be evaluated in relation to the same discourse. Apart from whether children are responsible, being responsible is an outstanding personality trait that the parents want their children to have, as stated above. In one sense, this attitude seems like an intended trigger of self-fulfilling prophecy by claiming that children are responsible. In the case that parents do not favor the choices children make, they try to convince them by talking in detail. Language use clearly becomes prominent also in organizing time. To sum up, parents involve in decision process actively, they observe and

monitor children's way of using time, but they have a tendency to represent their role in the organization of schedules very weak.

Parents have a general tendency to divide the time out of school into three: studies and additional courses towards academic success, cultural, art, and sports activities, and free time.

a) Out of school – for school activities

The diversity between the parents become apparent particularly while providing additional sources directly for children school achievement. These 6th-grade students will take an exam (TEOG) which is significant to determine the high school they will attend 2 years later. Grade point average is also crucial for being able to be accepted by one of the qualified high schools in demand.

Since all the parents agree that courses given in school are not adequate for success in the high school entrance exam, there is a consensus on the necessity of providing additional sources for the students. The content of taking extra tuition differs according to parents' economic capital and expectation from educational success. Some of them prefer private courses while others choose private teaching institutions. Taking private courses are very common among students rather than registering in private teaching institutions. Some of the students take private courses regularly, some others take when they need supplementary lessons, usually before exam periods in the school. Math and Turkish are the most spread private courses taken. The general idea is that the private courses are more helpful although it costs more. On the other hand, while taking private courses is an individual activity, attending teaching institutions is more related to the socializing process. For example, one of the parents expressed that her daughter prefers to register to the teaching institution rather than taking the private course because this is an opportunity to socialize and to catch the news among friends.

Although some students do not take any additional lesson, their parents have also plan to provide supplementary sources for them at the year before the TEOG. Another salient and common point among parents is the belief that private courses or teaching institutions are not adequate by itself. This process should be followed by parents to get efficiency, otherwise, students cannot obtain success. So, even the child is not willing to take additional courses, the feeling of anxiety and concern leads parents to provide it in order to feel relaxed. Because it is perceived as a duty to fulfill.

Yet, different tendencies among the parents were observed. Firstly, some parents strongly tend to prepare their children for the exams. One of the students, for instance, is attending teaching institution for 2 years and will continue until the end of the middle school, according to their plan. Parents concern too much about the high school their children will attend. Therefore, doing test regularly and getting high marks in school are significant. They might feel a need to explain the reason to get 99.7 point average out of 100 points. Their involvement in this process is worth to examine, one parent expressed that:

"You must follow certainly. Even you send them to private institutions, you must look after your child and detect the points they make mistakes. You must go to these institutions and show them the points missing. You must tell them what they should exercise your child in each week."

These expressions demonstrate that parents also have a kind of "coaching" for their children. Some other parents, on the other hand, complain about the intense course schedules which prevent students to participate in cultural activities sufficiently. They are not willing to fill the spare time with activities towards grades in exams. Their concerns about controlling children' time depending on the goal that rearing a child who is rich in cultural capital.

Studying at home towards exams is also part of the time for school. Children study at home alone or with their parents or under the control of their parents. While the studying hours at

home is limited to an hour at 6th grade, it will occupy almost the whole time in the last year, as I will explain the change below.

Some of the parents expressed that they would prefer leaving academic issues of children to professionals, but in practice, all of the parents are actively involved in studying process one way or another in interaction with professionals. Most of the parents directly study with their children, some of them only track studies and provides motivation by talking or leading to a professional when needed. For example, Dilan and her child are so ambitious and studying regularly since 5th grade which is seen as early to begin studying towards the high school entrance exam by other parents. Even though Dilan is working, she takes care of her child's studies at nights after work, they also study together in summers when her work becomes is relieved. This process runs under mother's observation and involvement:

"If she asks me help for her studies. But she wants me to take the responsibility. I mean, when the semester finishes, she says, let's study together. Because she likes my guidance. She likes studying together. She does not like being alone. She likes taking support from me. So, I mean, when she is stuck, my mom asks me questions, checks if I finished to be sure, she does such things. And I said okey. In the summertime, our business becomes more relax after schools close, since we are working with schools. So, I can take care of her."

Asu and her husband, who set their sights on the top high schools in Istanbul, study with their daughter harder. Dilan's daughter is willing to study with her mother, she demands to study together but Asu and her husband force her to study together although some family affairs occur while studying since the father may get angry when the daughter did not understand the topic. But in their opinion, studying children one to one is the most efficient way of learning compared to private courses or teaching institutions. It must be added that the child also attending a private teaching institution:

"After a week, even though the daughter is crying or complaining, there is no escape. She will learn. There is such a determination inside of the father, ambition. Later, things have got in an order. They studied happily. In the second exam, the child did all the questions correct in math. My husband says that our daughter transformed from a student who does four operations meaninglessly to who solve problems comprehendingly, because she understands the logic behind it. Of course, they do not

specifically endeavor about what the child did not learn in the school or in private teaching institutions. And moreover, maybe the child may psychologically abstain from saying "I did not understand" among the children who understood."

    b) Cultural Activities: art, sport, tour, etc.

Sports Activity: Almost all students sport regularly. However, the common sports branches and meanings attributed to the sport by parents are significant. Because sports activities differ from one social class to another (Wynne, 1998, p. 311). Although economic factors behind the choice of the activity to be participated in are undeniable, it is not adequate to explain by itself (p. 318). Besides, the sport is never only composed of physical activity.

The most common sport among children is football for boys, volleyball for girls. In addition, due to the courses in etudes (given at school after formal schedule, and participation is voluntary), karate is following football and volleyball. Swimming, biking, tennis, table tennis, gymnastics, archery are other sports children engage in. Besides, time spent for sport is not limited to the course hours. Living in a site has an enhancing influence in terms of engagement in sports due to two reasons: firstly, some sports opportunities are provided within this area, such as tennis court, football, basketball and volleyball grounds, and swimming pool. Furthermore, children have an opportunity to bike together in the site, streets are proper for this activities. Secondly, parents feel free to let children go out to play with their friends outside.

Parents care that children attend at least one sports activity regularly. As opposed to the expected, the reason that they attach importance to the sport is not directly related to be healthy or to have physical beauty. Rather, the effects of sport on children' personality and socializing process are highlighted by parents. What children can learn by sporting are being sociable, claiming and asserting their rights, feeling confident, finishing what they started, doing their best, cut their wisdom teeth, turning an attack, and competing with being timidity,

shy, forgotten about As it can be concluded from these expressions, being sociable, enterprising, outgoing, talkative are outstanding as desired personality traits, and sport is perceived as a field in which children can be personalized in line with these criteria. For example, one of the parents complains about disrespect and intolerance as prevalent today in society, however, she states that her children are too fair, honest, kind, and considerate for this society. In other words, the role has been cast for sport is being a mediator between the generally accepted norms of society, and norms internalized by children:

Ekin:"My sister says that you raise these children wrong for this society. She says they are so kind and too gentle. Teach something according to our society. Yes, they will learn when they grow up. That is why I send them to sport. Because I choose team sports intentionally. When she is not able to do something in the team, they call her "loser" or something like that. I said, why is that, if they call you loser, can you response them as "you are the loser"? Response in case that there is an attact against you. Do not attact yourself, but keep your right for answer. So, they learnt to protect themselves thanks to the team sports. But, for sure, these are the steps. They are not well enough at this point. They fall down but I say you will handle this, too."

Artistic Activities: Three main artistic activities are outstanding: playing a musical instrument, painting, and participating in events. First of all, all students play an instrument without exception. Family and school are the main motivators for this tendency. Because while some of the students begin interested in playing an instrument at school in music classes, the others begin at home by playing instruments existed at home. For instance, the piano is the most common instrument in addition to guitar. Students usually learn to play piano at home. There is a piano almost in all homes, and children begin playing it, then take courses to improve their skills. On the other hand, the guitar, for example, they usually begin at school in music courses. Besides, mandolin, transverse flute, drum, violin are other instruments played by children.

Oil painting is also fostered by parents and painting courses at school. Some of the parents are interested in oil painting as a hobby. They express that their children' interest in painting is a reflection of their own hobby. Some of them paint with their children. Literature is also a

branch of art which is not so common. Reading skills are encouraged by parents all the time, they praise their children if they read regularly, and complain if not. Reading is not perceived as an art form which is optional according to your interest but perceived as obligatory. Some of them have "reading hours", they regularly gather as the family and everyone reads her own book, and then, they tell what they read and what they think about that book to each other. Writing, on the other hand, is not on the agenda. Just a parent mentioned that her daughter is writing poems and stories, due to her fathers' interest in literature.

Other activities: Even it is not so prevalent and outstanding activity, some parents visit museums and art exhibitions with their children regularly. This activity seems highly distinctive among parents because ones who visit exhibitions and museums present this activity as opposed to doing unnecessary activities such as visiting home, that is to say, the emphasis on preference seems strong on this point, at least stronger than attachment with music or sport.

Most of the parents attach importance to English language training. Some of the students attend English courses out of school, some others study at home with the encouragement of their parents. Going abroad in order to improve English skills by speaking with native speakers is another privileged trend. The reason that learning English is fostered is also related to the expectation from children: these parents expect their children to integrate to the global world in various ways. It is perceived as the most important necessity of being a world citizen.

To conclude this part, differently from a sport, parents take the importance of engaging in the art for granted. It is not something to be explained, there is no need to question that. Like a necessity, playing an instrument or going to an exhibition is a requirement of being a "cultured person". Because obviously being familiar to art, especially learning about higher

forms of art (although the meaning and content of "high art" might differ one social group to another) is fostered, while lower forms of art are ignored. In other words, what you do not play is as important as what you play. In this sense, what we do not see in the list of instruments played seems significant. For instance, none of the students is playing a traditional instrument such as saz or baglama (stringed musical instrument).

For both sport and artistic activities, it can be asserted that they are seen as a part of social life. These activities are perceived as hobbies which are required culturally. In other words, they should stay within the frontiers of social life, and not be a part of professional life. These activities are supplementary for professional life, in terms of cultural capital. Both their enhancing effect in CV for future applications to be accepted to a better job or a better educational institution; and their promoter effect in social positioning and relations are mentioned. However, students are more encouraged and motivated to integrate into the service sector which is more valuable in the social hierarchy of the NMC. It is the general future expectation from children. From this perspective, parents are aware that making cultural capital richer provides better mobility changes and empower social position, and so they intentionally make an effort to strengthen their children's cultural capital. On the other hand, the effect of the degree of cultural capital in this class background should not be underestimated, because, under a rapid structural transformation, the rise in cultural capital in this class has not taken place equally, rather, a heterogeneity in the distribution of cultural capital is observed when parent profiles are examined.

c) *Free Time Activities*

The word "free" refers to be free from obligations, required activities, and, so to say, from all "cultivating" practices; in parents' words. Sports activities out of the frontiers of pieces of training, for example, playing in the site after school is seen as a part of the free time. The

time spent with technological devices such as a computer, tablet, and smartphone is another common free time activity which is frequently mentioned. Time spent on social media, additionally, is too often expressed as free time. One of the parents, for example, boasts that she has not allowed her child to watch TV for 2 years after he was born. The ways of using free time and its duration can be sources of dispute between parents and children because most of the parents think that as such kind of activities are just a waste of time. However, the difference between academically and intellectually orientation of parents become visible at this point, additionally. While academically oriented parents are more restrictive when it comes to free time, intellectually oriented parents seem more flexible. For example, some of the parents directly limit free time, their allowance for children to play on the computer is just limited for an hour, or they can give time to children "to do what they want" in an hour. On the other hand, "letting children experience their childhood" is another outstanding discourse here because a connection between childhood and free time is constituted. In other words, childhood is experienced in free time, therefore letting children have their free time is letting them be a child in limited time. When viewed from this aspect, all the time spent except this relatively short free time, including time in school and out school can be seen as cultivation for adulthood, to have a better future. It reminds the call for defending children's right to play by Carlsson-Paige, author of "Taking Back Childhood" (2008), even though early childhood period is referred. The importance of creative playing, considered as one of the basic needs of children, is underlined by highlighting the effect of social class. Drills and tests led by children from low-income communities are discussed (Strauss, 2015). Regardless of whether playing is evaluated as a right or a need for children objectively, it can be stated that the discourse of parents interviewed about experiencing childhood and having free time demonstrates the connection constructed between them.

d) Delaying Gratification in the face of the forthcoming exam:

In between doing well in the exam and cultural appropriation

Delaying gratification a typical middle-class attitude since while lower class usually does not have enough sources to delay to future, the upper class does not need to delay gratification because they are rich in sources. But middle-class people have the opportunity and need to delay gratification, unlike lower and upper classes. In our example, delaying the process of appropriation of cultural capital to a near future is expressed as "she will improve English skills or she will continue playing guitar or basketball after she gets over the high school entrance exam". This preference is specific to the middle classes. To examine closely, parents' general attitude is as Dilan states in the 6th grade:

"Of course, I want them to use their intelligence, but, without loosing their social skills. She wants to spend time with piano, and I send her to a course. The others are interested in football, the boys, I send them to course. I do not want them to feel the thing, I mean academically, on their shoulders. I want them to have strong social skills. They are already responsible children. I do not need to make extra effort. They do their homework when they come from the school, I do not say them to do their homework. They know their responsibilities. So, of course I want to seen them in good positions, I mean, they have skills and abiliries, they have a head for that."

Three years before the exam, parents focus on cultural appropriation process of children primarily. As stated before as the contradiction of the NMC parents, they aim to continue concentrating on cultivation. However, the system leads them to change the direction at least for a year from their plan. Parents need to make a choice at this point:

Aslı:"In fact, children do not have extra time. As parents, we lie heavy on children, we create courses for them at the weekends. From that sense, we must tolerate something. I mean, whether we will focus on the TEOG and cancel all other courses, or we will push pressure on children to run them all."

But this choice is not easy and simply made by parents. It causes a considerable anxiety among the parents because they are aware that their resources are enough to open the ways for a qualified high school if they mobilize. But there is a zero sum game here: their time and energy is limited and if they mobilize their resources for exam preparation process, they will lose something else:

Merve:"Not achieving is impossible. You have money, you send your child to private teaching insituion, you do all. If the child is not stupid, there is nothing to be unsuccessful. I do not afraid of the TEOG, nothing. My fear is that my child is going to be ignorant with the TEOG. My child is not going to read. He will go to a museum but he will not know about the life of that topic or life of a musician. A child who stupidly do tests. A spoiled generation."

But ultimately, except the ones who had opportunities to move out of the system, parents lead their children to leave their prior activities, and they concern and concentrate on the high school entrance exam. At the 8th grade, almost all students quitted other activities they were attending. But it does not mean the end of the anxiety, because the cost of the exam preparation process is considered so high by parents:

Betül:"I want her to enter into a good highschool. But if the condition of entering a good high school is the weird states in the TEOG, *the cost is so heavy*. The cost of the TEOG is so weird. And, at the end, I mean, after getting high grades in the exam and enter good places, I do not think that her situation will be shining. Because in our university (she gives the name), our department accepts students with the highest grades. We offer courses. They are all students with high grades. But half of the classroom is lost. We see children as if they only have the duty of getting high grades. But they do not really care about the life."

As Merve states above, Betül's expression also demonstrates that delaying this process may cause loosing more than a year according to parents and the result of internalizing the values of the system may create children who are good at grades and bad at "life". Being bad at life refers to being poor in cultural capital.

Conclusion

In the previous chapter, I focused on school choice as a class strategy. In this part, I examined the reproduction strategies of the NMC parents during involving in the schooling process in general. I divided involving the process of schooling into three major points: strategies developed among parents, in interaction with the school and in their relations to their children.

Firstly, I explained the parents' relationships with each other in relation to the schooling of their children. Parents know each other closely and they established strong relations. These parents are also aware of the importance of parental networks to empower their power in the school and schooling process of their children in general. They can communicate and

organize easily and gather quickly when needed. Thereby, they can lobby towards school. In addition, the parents affect each other in many aspects. Their decisions have an influence on each other's about schooling but not only decisions, their childrearing approaches affect each other. They define their parenting in comparison with other parents by idealizing some parental attitudes and criticizing some others. They label parents as "indifferent" or "attendant" according to their ways of parenting and ways of involving in schooling. Parents' strategies are shaped by these networks.

Secondly, I examined how parents engage in the school as an institution and how they transform the school in the direction they desire. Especially through parent-teacher association, the parents spend time, money and energy in order to improve the schools' conditions and success and so, to improve children's academic success and opportunities in the school. These parents consider involving in schooling as a necessity rather than a volunteering work. In addition, they develop strategic relations with the teachers and the managers working in the school, especially about their children's grades and performance in the school. They keep their eye on the school and interfere when they find a gap or face an issue. Also, these parents are assertive and enterprising in their relation to the school.

Lastly, I demonstrated that the parents' way of parenting has a strong bond with the schooling process. Reproduction strategies of parents are rooted in parents' childrearing approaches and practices. They aim to raise responsible, enterprising, sociable, self-confident, self-conscious, rational, ambitious, competitive children whose life changes in business life will be higher. Their aim matches with the qualities of a neoliberal subject. In order to raise such a child, parents interact with their children and organize their daily life to achieve both appropriations of cultural capital and exam success strategically. Their priorities change towards the exam and they may delay cultural investment for their children after the exam.

CONCLUSION

The economic transformation in Turkey is accompanied by a social transformation that has ended up with the change in class structure and the emergence of the NMC. This class of well-educated, young professionals who integrated in the global culture experience the lack of the sense of security. Under the tension of high cultural capital with the shaky ground of economic capital, the middle-class identities of families are continuously under threat. Therefore, they always struggle to protect class privilege in the broader social and economic context. The parental practices and strategies of the NMC are shaped against this background. Since education is a central sustaining mechanism of class reproduction from the perspectives of middle-class families, these parents overemphasize the schooling process of their children. However, considering the rapid and immense privatization of education with the economic concerns and uncertainness of the NMC, the parents feel trapped because their existing resources do not allow them to raise their children in the way they idealized. They criticize the education system by reasoning and explaining in detail, however, their economic capital does not let them to create an alternative for most of the NMC families. In this point, the parents develop strategies parents to increase academic success, and social mobility chances of their children.

In this regard, I investigated the class strategies of the NMC parents in the field of Turkish education system in Istanbul in this study, drawing on three years of in-depth interviews with the students and their parents from the middle-class background. The same students and the parents have been tracked for three years starting from the 6th grade to the 8th grade, where the student will take the high school entrance exam, which was the TEOG at the first two

years of the research and transformed to LGS at the last year. Through purposive sampling technique, I conducted the research within a school located in a site where the middle-class people are the dwellers. This study, firstly, demonstrates that NMC parents strategically enroll their children in a public school in a site. Their choice of school is a class-based decision. The main motivation of the parents of living in this site is the existence of this school. By doing so, they are able to create more homogenous and isolated environment for their children, and they create "private-school-like spaces" in public schools together with other "parents like them", from similar socioeconomic background. So, the school choice and the choice of place of residence appear as the basic strategies of all of the parents in the research. However, the parents' strategies have differed toward the forthcoming high school entrance exam. At the 7th and 8th grades, the parents acted differently. I divided their strategies regarding school choice into two categories: strategies within the system and out of the system. The parents criticize the selection system harshly because the system does not leave a space for appropriation of cultural capital for their children as they desire. The main focus of life has to be the exam preparation process to be able to enter one of the top high schools which is vital for the parents and the students. Most of the parents stayed within the system by following two paths towards increasing success in the exam: the first, staying in this public school by providing additional sources such as dershane or private courses, the second, enrolling in a private school which concentrates on the exam preparation process.

In addition to the school choice, I documented the strategies developed during involvement in their children's schooling process under three headlines: initially, I revealed the strategic use of the intergenerational closure, relations among parents, lobbying activities by this group. Secondly, I focused on the parent and the school relations by putting an emphasis on how parents activate their own resources to transform this public school according to their own interest, and how this transformation has ended up the creation of a private-school-like place

through their of resources and effort, rather than paying for private schools. After examining the strategies developed among the parents and in the relations with the school, I attempted to demonstrate that the reproduction strategies of the NMC parents is embedded into the child-rearing process as a whole.

Middle-classness has become the ideal social identity (Reay et al., 2011, p. 1) particularly at the developed countries such as the United States (Lareau 2003, Weis 2008) the United Kingdom (Ball, 2003, Reay et al., 2011) and Australia (McLeod and Yates, 2008). They share certain anxieties and fears regarding lack of ontological security about their class position. These insecurities affect middle-class parents' relationship with their children's education. The findings of this research are mostly corresponding to the other studies about middle-class relationships to education. For example, there are similar elements of the parents' account of choice-making for school such as cost, policy, family and social network, and so on (Ball, 2003, p. 118). Locality is also another crucial element, the middle-class families have a tendency to choose or create distinct urban spaces where they share middle-class sets of values. With this purpose, the middle-class parents choose a socially exclusive suburb state school and transforming it with their own resources in many cases as seen in this particular research (Reay et al., 2011, Tomlinson, 2005, Webber and Butler 2007, Butler and Hamnett, 2010) and urban middle-classes have a higher propensity to move out of the central city (Boterman, 2012). Parents who have the resources for residential mobility move their house to access to a school they desire, and they also make the school work for them for further advantages (Reay et al, 2011, Crotzier et al. 2008). On the other hand, parenting practices are changing and the middle-class parenting has been transforming into being strategic, watchful, determined, anxious job (Gopnik, 2006). Childrearing approach of the middle class parents, "concerted cultivation" as Lareau (2002) conceptualizes, has an impact on the ways of the organization of daily life, interventions in institutions, social connections, and language use,

and so on. The social class background also affects parents' ways of involving in schooling. The middle-class parents' active involvement practices into schooling is also corresponding to the findings of this research, they have high awareness of the importance of parental involvement for students' success, the power of intergenerational closure (Savage 2015, Lareau 2002, 2011; Ball, 2003, Kahlenberg, 2001), they share similar concerns such as being called as a "bad parent" (Butler and Hamnett, 2010, Gopnik, 2006). This research also correspond to findings of studies in Turkey although they are so limited. The research Rutz and Balkan's research (2009) demonstrated the competition to win a place in the educational hierarchies and concerns of the NMC in Istanbul. This thesis documents similar the findings with their research about the NMC parents' relationship to the education. Not only about the education, but this research shares the arguments about the middle class people's housing preferences with the studies which focus on the cultural differentiation in Turkish urban spaces and the middle classes (Ayata, 2002; Öncü, 1997).

This thesis aims to make a contribution to the academic literature in which the link between the NMC and education is highly understudied. This study is significant since it reveals the new strategies of a new class of people in a new economic, social, cultural and urban context. People from different social class backgrounds have been affected by the privatization process in education in different ways, and their relationships with the high school entrance exam differ. The strategies revealed in the thesis clearly demonstrate that parental background of children has an effect on students' schooling process and academic success due to the unequal distribution resources and capacities to play within the rules of the game. Lareau (2001, 96) suggests to "examine the uneven linkages between schools and families of different social class background" to "understand why the social class has an impact on education". This study attempts to demonstrate the link between school and family of a specific social class background, the NMC, with the aim of providing a base of comparison for future studies.In

addition, the data analyzed for this study was a part of the TUBITAK project that explores how parents from upper, middle and lower classes activate their resources to protect or promote their children's class position in transition from middle school to high school. I only focus on the middle class practices in this thesis because the lower and upper class practices are beyond the scope of the problematic of this study. However, comparative studies in different classes are crucial to reveal differentclass manifestations appearing in the forms of strategic use of social networks, lobbying, organization of daily life, and so on. Therefore, although this study does not attempt such a comparison, it aims to provide a basis for future studies.

The findings of this thesis touch upon some significant but understudied topics which need to be studied in detailed. Firstly, the urban restructuring has been experienced rapidly and immensely especially in the metropolitans, including Istanbul in the last decades. There are crucial studies which shed light into different aspects of urban transformation such as the processes and implications of squatting and gentrification, collective housing (TOKI in Turkish case), urban poverty, mega-projects, housing market and so on (Erman, 2016; Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2001, Keyder, 2000, Özbay and Bartu-Candan, 2014). However, the relationship between the educational and urban inequalities is quite understudied in the literature (Polat and Çelik, 2016). This research demonstrates that the address-based system does not work for the NMC parents since they have enough resources for residential mobility, they move out of the city for creating isolated and homogenous schools with the middle-class sets of values. However, this strategy is one dimension of the issue. Therefore, there is a need to look more closely at this relationship between urban structure and schooling which is the legitimated reproduction of inequalities. Secondly, private schooling is increasing in any level of education from primary schools to higher education. The intense and dramatic privatization process in education has been demonstrated quantitatively in several studies with

statistics. However, the differences among private schools seems to go rather unnoticed among these studies. This thesis demonstrates that the parents from the NMC background desire to send their children in only particular private schools, as explained in detail. Also their discourse about the differences among private schools seems highly crucial. However, this issue should be studied qualitatively with a specific focus on the differences among private schools and how these differences are perceived by parents from different socioeconomic background. In addition to the privatization, the implementation of the conservative ideology into public schooling has an impact especially on parents and their relationship to public schools. The voice of the parents about secular concerns cannot be heard in these studies. Another suggestion for the future research is about the changing parenting practices in Turkey. The childrearing approaches and strategies have been changing as well as the changing family structure in Turkey regarding social class background. However, there is a lack in the literature about the changing parenthood in Turkey, although the rising number of the studies on the same issue around the world (Fass 2016, Gopnik 2016, Lareau 2000, 2011, Reay, 1998). Moreover, this research reveals the reproduction strategies of the NMC parents but it does not claim whether these strategies work in the long run. Another longitudinal research which tracks the same parents and students after ten or twenty years might be conducted to come up with an argument about the future outcomes of these strategies. As the last suggestion for future research, I realized that the studies that investigate the link between social class and unequal parenthood practices in schooling evaluate the "parenthood" as a whole without considering the diverging practices of men and women in parenthood. Although I touched upon the changing family structure in the NMC in the study, this research is also lacking seeing that how parenthood roles among men and women differ based on social class. I must note that all of the parents I have interviewed were women, as seen in Figure 3. In the literature, the common way of handling this issue is making a short

note which indicates that "all the interviewees were women as in the many other research in this field", but the question is, would the findings differ in the case that all the interviewees were men, or a balance was redressed.

Appendix

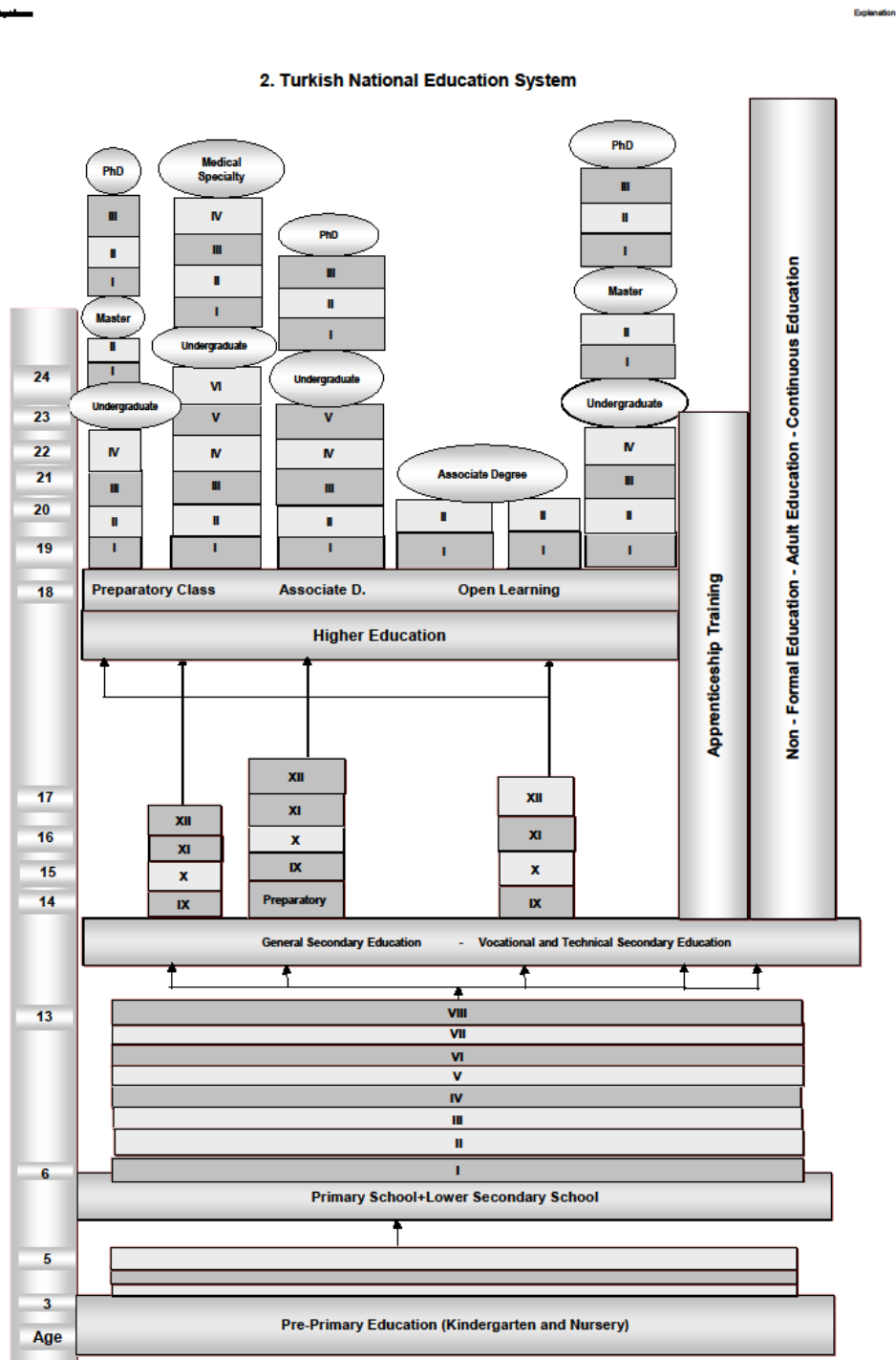*Figure 3: Turkish National Education System. Source: Meb.gov.tr*

Table 3: Interviewees' Profile

(All interviewees' names are pseudonyms)

The Names of the Interviewees	Educational background Mother	Occupation Mother	Educational background Father	Occupation Father	Notes
Aslı	BA	Not working (Banker)	High school	Private sector (textile)	The mother quitted the job to take care of the children.
Dilan	BA	Private sector (they are owner of the company)	High school	Private sector (they are owner of the company)	They have software company at the beginning, now, candy production and marketing
Elçin	High school	Private sector (on their own boat)	Primary Education	Private sector (on their own boat)	They organize events in their own boat.
Ekin	BA	Farmer	BA	Private Sector (ship agent)	Mother takes care of the fields.
Ayşegül	BA	(Tourism and hotel management)	BA	Real estate agents	Divorced parents
Gizem	Primary Education	Baby sitter	Primary education	security staff	The only lower class family from Uskumruköy
Merve	Ph.D.	Not working (Banker)	MA	Private Sector (export specialist)	The family moved to Turkey from France in 2015. The mother quitted her job to take care of the child.
Sevinç	Highschool	Retired (working as authorized service) now: professional site manager	High school	Retired (working as authorized service) now: he runs his own shop (decoration)	Divorced parents. Before, they were working as authorized service of a well-known company.
Asu	BA	Retired - marketing	BA	Private sector - computer	The mother continues working

		manager		engineer	after retirement.
Betül	Ph.D.	Assoc professor - electrical electronics engineer	Ph.D.	Professor - electrical electronics engineer	
Mevşah	BA	Private Sector - (Finance and authorship)	BA	consulting company (he is the owner)	The mother is also an entrepreneur.
Emel	Primary Education	Not working	Primary Education	Taxi driver (owner)	The mother was working as secretary and accountant before marrying.
Filiz	BA	Designer	BA	Designer	They design several products and sell together.

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