

EDUCATION FOR 'MOTHERHOOD': A CASE STUDY ON THE
SUBJECTIVITIES OF THE WOMEN PARTICIPATING IN THE MOTHER-
CHILD EDUCATION PROGRAM

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"Education for 'Motherhood': A Case Study on Subjectivities of the
Women Participating in the Mother-Child Education Program"

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Thesis Abstract

Sevi Bayraktar, "Education for 'Motherhood': A Case Study on the Subjectivities of the Women Participating in the Mother-Child Education Program"

This study aims to analyze the subjectivity formations of the urban to rural migrant women who are subjected to the education programs on 'motherhood'. Among the variety of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) the focus of this study is on the Mother-Child Education Program (AÇEP) of the Mother-Child Education Foundation (AÇEV), which is a private foundation working with the state institutions collaboratively. In this regard, this thesis examines the operations of the 'Education for Motherhood' Program in one of the politically marginalized and economically deprived areas of İstanbul, the Gazi neighborhood, and tries to comprehend its 'reflections' in everyday life experiences of the women with whom the actors of state and civil society attempted to make 'proper' mothers. In this process, through a fantasy of modern, middle-class womanhood, as the model of 'proper' mothering, the working class women living in the Gazi neighborhood are alienated to their class positions, ethnic identities and the ways of gender-based oppression within the patriarchal social structure. In fact, this study tries to display how power operates in the 'gap' between the fantasy of middle-class nuclear family and the actuality of the everyday life conditions of the marginalized inhabitants of the Gazi neighborhood. To this extent, while women become the agents of the state at home and the mediators of its operations in the neighborhood they use various "tactics" around this 'gap' and play with different subject positions to have "agency" in the face of the power-holder actors both in the private and the public spaces.

Tez Özeti

Sevi Bayraktar, "‘Anneliğin’ Eğitimi: Anne-Çocuk Eğitim Programı’na Katılan Kadınların Öznellikleri Üzerine Bir Saha Çalışması"

Bu çalışma, ‘annelik’ üzerine verilen eğitim programlarının öznesi olmuş kırsaldan şehre göç eden ailelere mensup kadınların öznelliklerini inşa süreçlerini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Program bağlamında, devletle işbirliği içerisinde çalışan Anne-Çocuk Eğitim Vakfı’nın (AÇEV) Anne-Çocuk Eğitim Programı’na (AÇEP) katılmış olan kadınlar çalışmanın odak noktasını oluşturmaktadırlar. Bu anlamda, bu tez, İstanbul’un siyasi olarak marjinalleştirilmiş ve kötü ekonomik koşullara sahip bölgelerinden biri olan Gazi Mahallesi’nde sürdürülen ‘Annelik Eğitimi’ Programı’nın işleyişini incelerken, bunun devletin ve sivil toplumun aktörleri tarafından ‘mükemmel’ anneler yapılmaya çalışılan ‘mahalleli’ kadınların gündelik yaşam deneyimlerinde nasıl yansımaları olduğunu anlamaya çalışmaktadır. ‘Mükemmel’ annelik olarak görülen modern, orta sınıf kadınlık fantezisi aracılığı ile Gazi Mahallesi’nde yaşayan işçi sınıfından kadınlar kendi sınıflarına, etnik kimliklerine ve ataerkil toplumsal yapının toplumsal cinsiyet temelli baskı mekanizmalarına yabancılaşmaktadırlar. Böylece, bu çalışmayla, iktidarın orta-sınıf çekirdek aile fantezisi ile Gazi Mahallesi’nde yaşayan marjinalleştirilmiş kesimin gündelik yaşam koşullarının gerçekliği arasındaki ‘yarık’ta nasıl işlediğinin gözler önüne serilmesi amaçlanmaktadır. Bu süreçte, kadınlar bir yandan devletin evdeki ajanları ve onun işleyişinin aracılığı haline getirilirken diğer yandan bu yarık etrafında çeşitli "taktikler" izleyerek ve öznellik pozisyonlarıyla oynayarak özel ve kamusal alanda iktidar sahibi aktörlere karşı güçlenmenin yollarını aramaktadırlar.

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"If the child has to learn how to obey, the mother must know how to command... If you find a child willfully disobedient, dirty, untidy, slovenly, or obstinate, and you wish to trace these results to their ultimate source, cherchez la femme –study the mother" (Pritchard, *Infant Education*, quoted in Davin: 1997; 137).

To the employees of the Gazi Community Center,
and to the women sharing their words and
worlds with me...

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I –INTRODUCTION	1
About the Field.....	2
About the Researcher and Methodology.....	9
Background of the Research Questions.....	16
CHAPTER II –DISCOURSES AND TECHNOLOGIES IMPLIED IN THE MOTHER-CHILD EDUCATION PROGRAM.....	33
Discursive Themes of the Program.....	35
Technologies Implemented during the Program.....	63
CHAPTER III –READING SUBJECTIVITIES OF THE MOTHERS.....	94
‘Tactics’ as a Way of Resistance in Everyday Life.....	97
Mother and Child: Individuality vs. Subject as a ‘Mother’.....	101
Mother and Mother-in-Law: New Tools for the ‘New’ Women.....	125
About the Husbands: "In Fact My Husband is Very Good".....	140
CHAPTER IV –SUBJECTIVITY AND LOCALITY: AT THE MARGINS OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD.....	150
Meanings and Connotations of Living in the Gazi Neighborhood.....	153
Placement of the Neighborhood.....	156
Far from the Gazi Neighborhood: Playing with New Identities.....	160
At the Margins of the Household: Relations with the ‘Other’ Women.....	169
CHAPTER V –CONCLUSION.....	205
APPENDIXES	212
A – Author’s certificate of the Mother-Child Education Program.....	212
B – An illustration from the Program Booklet.....	213
REFERENCES	214

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This is an inquiry concerning the subjectivities and identities of rural-to-urban migrant women participating in an education program for mothering, and the way 'modern self' and 'modern motherhood', complemented with the fantasy of middle-class conjugal family, is re-constituted through the knowledge of expertise. This study is not only about 'motherhood' which, as a category, comes to legitimize hierarchical gender relations both in the public and the private spheres by naturalizing care and nurturance as a mother's 'duty' (Chodorow, 1978). It is also about the discourse of modern education which observes, evaluates and disciplines the individuals involved (Ball, 1990). In the intersection of motherhood and education, how the state opens up a space for itself to intervene in the communities and the individuals is a further concern of this study.

In the context of the "Mother-Child Education Program", which is a program implemented by a state institution in one of the poorest, most marginalized neighborhoods in urban İstanbul, I tried to analyze the way the state intervenes in the family unit by calling the mothers as the agents of the state's intervention, and how the mothers, in turn, responded to this call. What changes when the women are "interpellated" as 'mothers', and what other female identities are available to the women, other than being a 'mother'? Why and in which ways does the state try to reach the 'improper' mothers of the marginalized neighborhoods to make them 'proper' and what is the function of 'education' in this process? How does an imagination of 'proper' mothering in a middle-class conjugal domestic order fit with

the everyday actuality of the women living in the Gazi neighborhood? To this extent, what impact does the education have on the everyday lives of the women both in the households and within the web of kinship, and in the neighborhood and within the communal networks of their neighbors?

These aforementioned questions were the primary questions during this study. These questions cannot be considered separately from the problems of modernity in the non-Western nations, and they require an in-depth analysis of the socio-historical background of "education for women" discourse in the modern nation-state of Turkey. While such an analysis exceeds the limits of my study, I have approached to the "Education of Mothers" as a continuation of a modernization process that started over a century ago. Therefore, throughout this research, the field of "Education of Mothers" can be seen as a display window for the various ways the state intervenes in the community by investing in women and their families via modern discourses of education and imaginaries of modernity and the modern family.

About the Field

During the course of my study, in the Gazi Community Center, every Wednesday thirty women gathered at 09:00 in the morning and stayed until 12:30 in the afternoon to complete the Mother-Child Education Program (AÇEP) organized by the Mother-Child Education Foundation (AÇEV). During that time, they played games, participated in lectures on 'good' mothering, and shared their experiences about particular issues related to the topic of the day's lecture. This was an education program for mothers and they, as 'mothers' of the Gazi neighborhood, were supposed to learn modern and 'proper' ways of mothering through these lectures by improving

their skills on mothering and homemaking. As a part of the program, sometimes they went on picnics, or to conferences, concerts, and museums located in different parts of Istanbul which were not only physically but also socially and economically far-removed from the Gazi neighborhood.

The neighborhood where this research was conducted is located in the heights of the Gaziosmanpaşa district, and within a particular area where revolutionary factions of left-wing organizations and a politically active Alevi community are living alongside Kurds, Gypsies, and migrants from Eastern Anatolia. Therefore, because of their strong political associations, the inhabitants of the Gazi neighborhood are not only stigmatized by their marginalized identity within the nation-state, but they are also imprisoned by poverty, and unemployment due to marginalization.

In this context, the Gazi Community Center where the education program for mothers is implemented is highly significant since it is one of the most visible state institutions in this marginalized neighborhood. The Community Center is an institution of the Social Services and Child Protection Agency (SHÇEK) affiliated directly with the prime minister, or a state minister nominated by the prime minister¹. The Community Centers are not the only institutions working under SHÇEK. In fact, SHÇEK is in charge of plenty of others: Daycare Centers (for the children in need of assistance), Institutions of Orphanage for orphan children, Nursing Homes for the elderly, Care and Rehabilitation Centers, Child and Youth Centers, Women or Men Guesthouses for the psychologically or sexually exploited, Family Information and Rehabilitation Centers for families with handicapped children. The functions and operations of all these institutions are designated by law according to the articles of code 2828.

¹ The Social Services and Child Protection Agency was established in 1983 as an institution working as a part of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. However, with a decree law in 1991 it became affiliated directly with the Prime Minister, according to code 2828.

In the code of 2828, article 8 states that Community Centers are daytime social service institutions that "develop participative, productive, and self-sufficient individuals for the improvement of society and the family". According to the law, these centers, which function only during daytime, can also work with other institutions and volunteers collaboratively (SHÇEK, 2008). The Community Centers are located in poor *gecekondu* areas (shanty towns) with high migration rates "to 'integrate' migrant people into society". The authorized officers from SHÇEK are responsible for controlling and supervising this 'integration' as well as the other operations of the Community Centers.

For these reasons, for the marginalized inhabitants of the Gazi neighborhood, going to the Community Center means getting in touch with and becoming 'visible' in their relationship with the state. As one of the women, Taziye², said, they thought they were going to be discriminated against in the Community Center just as in any other state institutions. However, when they entered the building the first sound they heard was from one of their folk songs playing on the Alevis' radio station *Yön FM*. They decided then that it was not one of the typical state institutions.

Although the community centers are controlled and supervised by the officers of SHÇEK the social workers working in these institutions are largely responsible for implementing the programs conducted in the centers. Thus, in the Gazi Community Center, those Alevi folk songs that welcomed people may not represent the officers of SHÇEK, and more likely reflect the personal tastes and political stand of the executive social worker of the center.

² I use nick-names for all of my interviewees in this text.

The Gazi Community Center was established in 1998 as the fourth Community Center of Istanbul³ and almost all of the responsibilities for the Center rested with *Deniz Hanım* who had been the manager, educator, and expert social worker of the institution since 2002. Because Deniz Hanım's husband belonged to the Alevi community and because *Sadık Bey*, the other social worker involved in the child labor prevention programs of the institution, was a Kurd with a political background, it was perhaps not surprising that the Alevi songs that surprised the women were being played on the Center's sound system.

During my fieldwork, only these two social workers were working in the Gazi neighborhood's community center. However, they not only worked within the Center but also visited the families and households in need of assistance. In a neighborhood of 35,000 inhabitants, the two social workers ran from pillar to post to identify those in need of social assistance, financially or/and psychologically, from the institutions of SHÇEK. They visited people at home, and organized meetings and marches in the street – mainly against child labor which was very common due to widespread poverty amongst Gazi's families. In those visits, Deniz Hanım coordinated the meetings as well as writing and managing a heavy load of bureaucratic paper-work, and Sadık Bey talked with the Kurdish-speaking people and translated their words into Turkish, the national language of the state's social assistance. Therefore, the two social workers had agency not only in the prefabricated building of the Community Center where they faced the regular state controls placed on SHÇEK officers, but also out of the building, in the neighborhood, where they mediated the state's social assistance.

³ There are eight Community Centers operating under SHÇEK, and all are in shanty town areas: The Gazi Mahallesi, Bağcılar, Samandıra, Kocamustafa Paşa, Mustafa Kemal Mahallesi, Sultanbeyli, Yakacık, and Zeytinburnu Community Centers.

This mediation is important because in addition to its educative programs, the Community Center also assists the poorest families financially, although the amount of money they receive does not save them from the conditions of poverty⁴. However, according to Deniz Hanım, the main purpose of the Community Center is "to achieve the integration of migrant people into the modern urban city", and thus, education projects have a vital role in its operations. In the Gazi Community Center, various educative programs are conducted: Education of Mothers, Human Rights of Women, Reproductive Health and Family Planning Seminars, and Mother Training for Day Care Centers. Other than day care services there are also programs for children and teenagers such as "I am a Human, I am an Individual, I am a Citizen". Depending on the institutions or individuals who are willing to work in collaboration with the Community Center, these courses may vary from year to year. Courses have included literacy courses, folk dancing, computer skills, painting, and English language courses. At certain time intervals, there are also regular meetings with the psychologists and/or the lawyers, depending on the agreement between the Center and certain NGOs (such as, Women's Citizenship Network –KAYA), universities (Yıldız University), corporations (AÇEV) and other professionals. University students can also volunteer in the Center's activities and programs. During my fieldwork in 2007, in addition to the two social workers, there were two interns for the day care centre and there were just three more women who were responsible for the entire secretariat, cooking, and cleaning.

In this context, The Mother-Child Education Foundation (AÇEV) is working collaboratively not only with state institutions such as SHÇEK but also with private

⁴ The statistics for 2008 show that there were 68 people who received financial assistance from the Center. Among the 68 people, 59 were women while just 9 were men. This data supports Aksu Bora who argues that, in impoverished families, men are hesitating to get financial assistance while women feel more comfortable applying for such assistances (Bora, 2002).

companies and NGOs at the national and international level. It uses both buildings belonging to the state and the skilled labor force located within those institutions (such as social workers and teachers from various branches, secretarial staff, and cooking and cleaning personnel). However, social workers, teachers, and other educators working in particular state institutions need to participate in AÇEV's training programs before they can start to use one of AÇEV's programs to educate adults and children. Therefore, AÇEV uses sources of infrastructure and the labor force of state institutions in exchange for the implementation of its programs and its education materials. Among its educative programs, the Mother-Child Education Program is accepted as the best example of a state and 'civil society' (NGO) collaboration (Bekman, 1999).

The Mother-Child Education Foundation (AÇEV) is a non-governmental organization established in 1993 for "researching, developing, implementing, and advocating" programs for early childhood and adult education. It collaborates with different institutions both at the national (such as Ministry of National Education, Ministry of Health, Social Services and Child Protection Agency, and TV channels – TRT, NTV, Kanal D) and international level (such as UNESCO, UNICEF, UNDP, European Commission, and The World Bank). In terms of financial support, AÇEV is supported by "national and multinational companies, individuals, multinational aid organizations, and national and local governments" (AÇEV, 2008).

The roots of the Mother-Child Education Program conducted by AÇEV go back to 1982 when a few academicians started to conduct research in Boğaziçi University. The fundamental pillar of this research was based on a model education program for "mothers" living within the rural communities, marginalized groups, and the poorest people and in the socially and economically deprived areas of the city

(Bekman, 1999). The original name of the program was The Multi-Dimensional Development of Child and Education of Mother Program⁵. The research program started in the Zeytinburnu, Cibali, Gültepe, Üsküdar, and Maltepe districts and the whole research project took four years, from 1982 to 1986 (Çulha, 1986), to complete.

The main objective of AÇEP is to “support the eight-year education”– eight years being the duration of primary education in Turkey. Every woman having a six-year-old child can participate in these programs because the objective is to teach the child how to study in the following year when she/he starts school. Since “the success of the eight-year primary education depends on qualified and widespread pre-school education” (AÇEV, 2007a), AÇEP aims to educate mothers first. The program takes twenty-five weeks (from September to June) in groups and it includes regular ‘home visits’ to the homes of the ‘mothers’ in order to “supervise and support their everyday practices” at home (Bekman, 1999, p. 16).

There are also Education of Fathers classes conducted in the evenings with a male teacher. However, due to there being fewer male participants and an insufficient number of male educators, they are not as common as the Education of Mothers courses. From AÇEV’s perspective, AÇEP is a “scientifically based, home-centered education program” in which “the lectures are given [directly to the mothers] in order to make them aware of pre-school education of the children... The child’s need of pre-school education is thus satisfied in the home environment” (AÇEV, 2007b). Hence, it can be said that the program does not only keep the women at home but also emphasizes the education of the ‘mothers’ rather than of the children.

⁵ For that reason, instead of the Mother-Child Education Program I prefer to use the "Education of Mothers".

Although the Community Center collaborates with various NGOs, corporations, universities and individuals (mainly because it has limited financial resources and a restricted share of the state treasury budget), and although it has activist Alevi and Kurdish social workers, it still represents the state and is subjected to state control. The Center is seen as a reflection of a state hegemony which observes, judges, discriminates and punishes, but also confirms, appreciates, and rewards at the same time. Therefore, in order to comprehend the entirety of the field area, we have to consider both the empowering and the intimidating character of the Community Center as a state institution. Then, we should also consider the particular locality of the Gazi neighborhood with its marginalized inhabitants, as well as the operations of AÇEV focusing on the ‘education’ of the ‘mothers’ living in this neighborhood.

About the Researcher and Methodology

I began to take part in the Education of Mothers classes in the Gazi Community Center in the spring of 2006. Although I could not attend the courses on a regular basis during that period, I had a chance to make preliminary observations and think about full enrollment. In September 2006, I participated in the Education of Mothers in the Gazi Community Center, and continued until June 2007.

In the first five months I just observed the atmosphere in the classes and took notes about the lectures, warm-up games, and some interesting points, for my research. These five months, including a break for three weeks, were also necessary for my contacts with the women in the group. As they were thirty it took time before I got used to them and they got used to me. My situation was a bit suspicious for the

women in the beginning of the classes: I was seen as a strange person for them, a young woman with a modern outlook coming to the Education of Mothers in the Gazi neighborhood, traveling all the way from Beşiktaş, and she does not even have a child! Moreover, I was the only person in the classroom who was taking notes during the classes.

It was quite understandable that they should be ambivalent about my role in the classroom. I was also unsure about my situation. I was ashamed when they were discussing their stories on motherhood as I did not have any. After a couple of months, I started to talk about my sister's childhood, and the experiences of my mother because I felt excluded from these 'mothers'. However, after the third month, I realized that I could introduce different subjects in our conversations. In fact, they were the ones who decided to start talking to me about subjects other than motherhood. I thought that it was my achievement at the time and I only realized the truth long after. When we started to wait for each other after class to spend some more time out of the classroom, they allowed me to get involved in 'other kinds' of conversations, which were mostly about family matters –specifically about the mothers-in-law, husbands, illness, and rarely, about sexuality.

I also felt unsure about my behavior in the field for another reason. Although I was participating in the Education of Mothers classes regularly like the other women, I had different kinds of relationships with the people working there, including the expert social workers. I was often seen in Deniz Hanım's room talking with her and I could sit there for a long time. I was trying to speak with her without the 'mothers' being around, but it was not possible all the time. Moreover, I had easy access to the official documents of the Center. I could have the copies of almost every kind of report, statistics, and formal state documents. I even had the Teacher's

Booklet (curriculum book) of AÇEP. Normally, you are not allowed to copy the content of the Program Booklet, and as such, its content signified an intimate area between the expert-writers of the Program Booklet and the expert-teachers, who were obliged to follow the instructions of the expert-writers in the classes. However, I disrupted this reciprocal relationship by getting a copy of it.

In my fifth month in the field, my insecurity decreased. However, this was also the time I realized how little I comprehended the situation of the women, though I thought I understood their social, political and economical oppression. Though I had been in the neighborhood for five months, in my mind, they were still a ‘mass’ of women from the Gazi neighborhood. They were ‘these women’ that they did not have particular names, nor smells, touch, ways of laughing or crying. Therefore, in the fifth month, just as my relations with the women were improving, I came face to face with myself and with the slippery ground of epistemological violence that an ethnographic work may contain.

At the end of the fifth month, I felt ready to start my interviews. Indeed, I was afraid to interview the women up until then. We shared funny and sorrowful moments during the classes, however, we really started to get into each others’ lives with these interviews. The women also started to organize weekly home meetings (*gün*). Therefore, I was going back and forth between the houses of the women both for the interviews and for *güns*⁶. My participation in the *güns* allowed me to make more detailed observations, as I could examine the relations between the women out of the classroom environment. In some of the gatherings, the women came with their friends and with other female relatives (sisters, daughters-in-law, sisters-in-law etc.)

⁶ It was not easy, because all the street names are composed of the numbers in the Gazi neighborhood, following the incidents of 1995, as will be discussed in the third chapter. As such, it was confusing for me to find, or re-find particular houses and I was lost a few times within the street numbers. Because of this, generally the women came and took me to their houses after we met at a certain point.

which gave me the opportunity to also observe homo-social relations in wider kinship networks.

Therefore, I preferred to go to the houses to conduct my interviews with the ‘mothers’ in AÇEP and participated in their weekly gatherings both on *gün* days and the education classes. Moreover, at the end of the sixth month, outdoor activities organized by SHÇEK and AÇEV also started in an intense way: picnics, conferences, museum visits, concerts and theatre plays. In these ways, I became closer and closer with many of the women. For that reason, the most complicated and crucial question I was thinking of was the problem of *representation*. How could I represent the knowledge and experience transmitted in our conversations? How could I avoid the manipulation of their questions in the writing process of this research? How could I express the words of each single woman with regard to the limits of the academic-analytical language? How could I provide a space for them to talk freely in their own languages?

I should note that I aimed to understand each woman that I interviewed within her own singular, particular way of ‘being’, and I tried to reconsider and reformulate my questions accordingly. I remembered the details of the interviews: the smell of the tea and cookies, hidden meanings of the gestures, the moments where ‘the mothers’ constructed and re-constructed their words, the way they spoke, the changing tones of their voices when they mentioned different topics, the conditions at home, the children, if there were any around, and their physical relations with the children and with other neighbors. In this way, I was able to think deeply about each woman in her own singularity (her gestures, her ‘touch’, the unique history that she shared with me, her relations with her children, with the neighbor women, or with the women in the education program, and her position in the web of her (extended)

family network), about the unique conditions of the moment when I interviewed her (was it early in the morning or late in the afternoon, was it close to the time that the husband would come, or it was the time when he had just left the house, where were the children at the moment, and so on), and about her "way of being" at that moment (was she nurturing the children, or cooking for the dinner, or washing the dishes – and in many cases, unless I was a 'special guest of the day', the women were doing all of these during the period I was there. If she had to wash the dishes she prepared coffee afterwards and we continued our conversation in the 'guest room' –if they had such a room in the house).

I should admit that the most of the conversations/interviews were conducted in the kitchens. I do not have any answer about why. Both the women and I felt much more comfortable in the kitchens than we did in the living rooms, or in the guest rooms. Is it because women are associated with the kitchen as an area of female work, as it is situated in the modern dichotomies of man-woman, public-private, and culture-nature? Is it because women feel comfortable in the kitchen, as it is one of the unique areas where women can claim power, or, is it because women spend most of their time in the kitchen by familiarizing themselves with that space? Whatever the answer is, the fact was that it provided us with a kind of female space where we could share our experiences and our 'words'. Thus, I felt quite content, open and comfortable in a space rich with the smells of the meals that were being cooked at that moment.

Only after that kind of a process, which helped me to re-consider the women in their own unique and singular "way of being" in the world, I could then start to think about their commonalities, shared experiences and expressions. Only after that,

could I think about and examine the ‘self’ construction processes of the women as ‘educated mothers’ and the related discourses during these processes.

Therefore, the thesis methodologically relied on an ethnographic inquiry conducted at the Gazi Neighborhood Community Center during AÇEV’s Mother-Child Education Program from its beginning to the end in 2007. However, it was not only conducted at the Community Center, but also in the places where the ‘mothers’ experienced the world –at home, in the streets of the neighborhood, in the school of an elder child, in one of the neighbors visits, wherever they accepted my presence either as ‘a mother from the class’, as ‘a student from a university’, as a friend, or just as a woman. In this process, I had different relationships with the women since not only was it hard to enter the same kind of relationship with each of the thirty women, but also personal ideas and manners caused each relationship to develop differently⁷.

Therefore, I used both participant observation and in-depth interviews as the research methodology for this ethnographic inquiry. Moreover, my participation in the *güns* as well as in the outdoor activities gave me different perspectives, especially about the networks and ties among the women. In my interviews, I asked open-ended questions and let the women express themselves freely. I did not use any survey techniques as "a survey cannot easily account for processes, and it imposes preconceived categories that may have no meaning to the individual" (Özyeğin, 2001, p. 47). Rather, as Marcus and Fischer (1986) suggest, I tried to look at the processes at a "microscopic level" (p. 15) by being concerned with the organization of everyday life of these ‘mothers’.

⁷ I felt uncomfortable sometimes because a mother could come and ask about the ‘right’ way to do something, or one could start to talk about her practices at home and expect me to approve.

Therefore, in the first chapter, I start to examine the issue of the implementation and the operation of the discourses of the Mother-Child Education Program (AÇEP) conducted in the Gazi Community Center. Thus, the content of the educations will be complemented by a discussion of the technologies used, including expert positioning in the processes, the way women are spatially and temporally placed in the classes, the confessing practices, and the games and the performances held in the classroom. In every institution the procedures of the program can vary depending on the aim and experiences of educator. As I will analyze in the following pages, I had a chance to observe two types of educators: a retired teacher of a Girls' Vocational High School and an expert social worker. This provided me with a comparative perspective about the discussions on expertise. Thus, two important questions lead the first chapter: How can we associate 'motherhood' with the discursive field of modern education in the context of the Mother-Child Education Program, and what is the role of expertise in this process of association?

In the second and third chapters, I examine the question of subjectivity by discussing whether these 'mothers' take different "subject positions" as a result of the "Education of Mothers" classes. In other words, if those women desired to embrace different selves, instead of a particular 'mother' self who is identified with "nurturance and care" (Chadorow, 1978), how did they practice it in their everyday life and what were the challenges in practicing these different selfhoods? How did they articulate these new subjectivities with the previous ones and how have their relations, both in the household and in the neighborhood, changed accordingly?

In regards to the question of subjectivity, in the second chapter, I try to examine their relations in the households within the context of extended kinship networks. I aim to comprehend how these women "constitute" themselves when they

face the (extended) family members, especially their children, mothers-in-law and husbands, within the patriarchal structure of the domestic sphere. In this way, I will trace the possibilities of agency by following the pathway opened up by the scientific language of pedagogy. Thus, I will try to disclose the gaps between the "pedagogic language" of the "Education of Mothers" and the "performative language" of the women's everyday life, and in this way I expect to find a fruitful ground for discussing the 'maneuverings' of the women between the two.

In the third chapter, I discuss their subjectivity formations relative to the locality of the Gazi neighborhood as a marginalized area located just beyond the "city walls" of the urban space (Downing, 1988) where poverty and the migration are fatal problems, and there is insurgent political activism from various political groups. It is also a particular area to study, with its multiple networks and strong community ties. As a part of the education process, by visiting the bourgeois public spaces in urban areas (by going to the conferences, concerts, playhouses, and the museums) how they re-constitute themselves through the reflection of the other women in the space of the neighborhood will be my leading question. In this context, by exploring how women are subjected to the discourses of education and motherhood I try to comprehend the new methods of state intervention in the localities.

Background to the Research Questions

Contextualizing the Problem of Motherhood

Questions about the education of women and the ways of 'proper motherhood' have been hotly debated issues in the post-colonial context related to the emergence of the

nation-states by the beginning of the twentieth century (Abu-Lughod, 1998; Burton, 1999; Cooper & Stoler, 1997; Kandiyoti, 1996; Lewis & Mills, 2003; Williams & Chrisman, 1994). While the political structure of states has changed from empires to nation-states how could women participate in the construction of the nation-state became an important question in the modern –and ‘modernizing’- world. In fact, ‘motherhood’ as an unstable concept has always been questioned and re-formed throughout history⁸. However, the motherhood of the twentieth century gained a distinct character through the intervention of science and technology. Therefore, from the beginning of the twentieth century up until the end of second World War, not only the discourse of a homogeneous and unified nation which assumed women to be mothers who were central to national projects but also scientific and technological improvements were articulated into the modern understandings of womanhood and the constituent motherhood.

Furthermore, through new approaches developed in the sciences of psychology and pedagogy, motherhood became not only identical with bearing a child, but there was also an entire package of moral codes and mode of behaviors behind the notion of motherhood. Among these moral codes and modes of behaviors, an orientation toward nurturance and care became part of women’s personality (Chodorow, 1978). Moreover, the mother and child started to be seen as two parts of

⁸ Shari L. Thurer (1995) analyzes the notion of mothering in a socio-historical perspective starting from the Old Stone Age in her book *The Myths of Motherhood*. She shows how motherhood has been reinvented throughout history up until the advent of the scientific and professional mother in the twentieth century. After analyzing Sumerian, Egyptian and Ancient Greek understandings of the mother she focuses on the mother concept of the Middle Ages which was embodied in the Madonna image. Starting in the 1500s, the ‘obedient’ mother appears who leaves the knowledge of doing things to the father figure. However, the modern mother in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries takes this knowledge from the father and becomes the person responsible for domestic affairs. By the first half of the twentieth century, the scientific mother who has scientific knowledge about housework and child-rearing appears. By the mid twentieth century empathic features were also added to this mother image. According to her, the idea that although a mother might be involved in a professional business, they should take care of everything in the household becomes the remarkable and distinctive feature of our era.

one single entity. The beginning of the twentieth century became a turning point when women were nominated as the persons responsible for the physical, moral, and intellectual development of children (Sharky, 1998). This triggered the individualization of women in the domestic sphere, as I will discuss with reference to my case study in the following pages. By becoming attached to her child and by taking on all the responsibility of child-rearing, the 'mother' became individualized and detached from her female networks. However, this discourse of maternal responsibility might also endow 'mothers' with a certain kind of agency against settled hierarchies in the extended families – a point that will be discussed later.

Therefore, discourses of the emotional attachment and heavy maternal responsibility became widespread throughout the twentieth century and motherhood became subjected to an essentialist interpretation as a natural, universal, and unchanging concept. However, this idea was criticized by the feminists in the second half of the twentieth century who argued that the “maternal practice”, -“protecting and preserving life, fostering growth, and molding an acceptable person”- could be practiced by anybody who engaged in mothering (Ruddick, 1989).

Indeed, I approach motherhood as a political category in this study not only because women's mothering is central to the sexual division of labor in society but also because it is a re-forming concept which is used by the dominant discourses in a historical context. This point will be expanded on in the following pages. In other words, “women's maternal role has profound effects on women's lives, on ideology about women, on the reproduction of masculinity and sexual inequality, and on the reproduction of particular forms of labor power” (Chodorow, 1978, p. 11). To this extent, the reproduction of mothering is a central and constitutive element in the social organization and reproduction of gender.

In that sense, the “politics of motherhood” (Luker, 1984) is closely related to the subordination of women in the sexual division of labor, which can be discussed within the framework of the hierarchical, gendered dichotomies of modernity. Motherhood has been defined in terms of the binary oppositions of male and female, mind-body, nature-culture, reason-emotion, public-private, and labor-love. Mothering has been assigned to the subordinate poles of these oppositions. It is viewed as “naturally” female matter and located only in the private sphere. Moreover, because these spheres operate hierarchically, as the public sphere dominates the domestic culturally and politically, fathers dominate mothers, or men dominate women. This kind of a perspective not only leads to the view that men’s rights in women’s sexual and reproductive capacities are taken-for-granted, but also naturalizes the mothers’ dedication to child care by claiming that it is because of their “innate qualities of self-sacrifice, moral purity and narrowness of intellect” (Glenn, 1994, p. 14).

In this process, it is commonly accepted that motherhood involves a strong emotional attachment, and specifically dedicated love for her children, her husband, and for posterity. If a woman cannot provide such unreciprocated love and dedication to her family then she is supposed to ‘blame’ herself for becoming ‘deficient’ in her mothering. Far from being an individual matter, feelings of ‘blame’ and constant ‘deficiency’ stem from the ongoing evaluation of women’s motherhood by a group of “experts” who gained utmost importance and became involved in every field of social life in the scientifically modern world of the twentieth century (Eyer, 1995). There was not only an inflation of ‘experts’ intervening especially to the areas of child-rearing and housework but every woman was also expected to be

an "expert" of her own family unit, as I will discuss in the following pages of this study.

In that sense, the reproduction of the conjugal family, which occurred as a relational and personal institution during the period of early industrialization in the Western context, can be identified with the politics of sexual inequality which was re-shaped in this period. This was the period where the household started to be seen as the unit responsible for reproduction and consumption. This is, in fact, an ideological and discursive split between publicly organized production and privately organized consumption and reproduction. Following this split, the discourse of the "natural" division of labor is reorganized whilst woman's mothering determines the primary location of woman. That is, she is located in the domestic sphere because of her childcare responsibilities. On the other hand, men find a primary social location both in the public sphere and in civil society where there is nothing such as biological or natural attachment between equals (sons) but there are bonds forged outside domestic relationships. Thus, there is a "reason" and "fraternity" behind this bonding among men in the modern (fraternal) form of patriarchal civil society discourse (Pateman, 1988). Therefore, "society" and "culture" become the products of their 'reasonable' and 'fraternal' relationships in the modern form of public sphere. In this process, women become qualified only with household duties, and the "children they raise are seen as pre-social creatures" (Yuval-Davis, 2003, p. 26). As a result of this process, as long as subordination to the patriarchal authority in the domestic sphere is retained in the public realm, women's participation in the public sphere of the nation-state is derived from their duty of 'motherhood' (Pateman, 1992), which indicates a segregationist and unequal way of participating in modern

public space⁹. Therefore, in the contemporary feminist literature, women's participation in the public sphere is an important and one of the most debated issues (Landes, 1989, 1998, 2001; Davin, 1976; Goodman, 1992). In the Turkish context, women's participation in the public space of the modern nation-state was also a hotly debated issue and a determining influence in "education for women" discourses and policies, since modern women were seen as "the main actors having responsibility of the socialization of the revolution" (Akşit, 2009, p. 20).

History of the Education of Women in Turkish Context

Women have been exposed to educational practices as a part of the modernization process that started with the late Ottoman period in the second half of the nineteenth century and carried on into the birth of the Turkish Republic¹⁰. With the establishment of the new nation-state, "education for women" gained an utmost importance, not only because of their "maternal responsibility" for bearing healthy, disciplined, and modern 'sons' for the modern nation-state¹¹ but also because women were seen as the signifiers of the modern face of the contemporary Turkish Republic.

Initially, the modern education of girls began in the Ottoman period in 1858 with the secondary schooling for girls (*Kız Rüştiyeleri*) and then, the Girls' Industry

⁹ In regards to the subordination of women both in the public and the private spheres, Sylvia Walby defines different types of patriarchal forms. She divides them into two categories: public and private patriarchies. In the "private patriarchy", we can see the power of patriarchal relations at home which force the women to stay within the borders of the household. Here, there is an individual exploitation of a woman by her husband or her father. Private patriarchy is exclusionary because it excludes women from the public sphere. In the public patriarchy, however, women are exploited collectively through the common acts of men (Walby, 1997).

¹⁰ According to Kandiyoti (2003), modernization and westernization attempts started with the era of Ottoman reforms during the *Tanzimat* period (1839-76) and after the *Tanzimat* that "the 'woman question' appeared on the Ottoman political agenda, never to leave it again" (p. 264).

¹¹ In Selahaddin Asım's book, *Türk Kadınlığının Tereddidi Yahut Karlaşmak* (1910), he mentions that the mothering function of Turkish women should not be identified only with their own fertility, but their motherhood should be extended to the motherhood of the nation (Durakbaşa, 1998, p. 40).

Schools (*Kız Sanayi Mektepleri*) (1869-1920)¹² were opened, and lastly, women's teacher training colleges (*Dar-ul Muallimat*) started operating in 1870. It was the first time in the Empire that an education program for girls, based on the modern Western values, had been put into operation. Among them, an important role of the Girls' Industry Schools was to bring the domestic education of women that was provided in the palace, the biggest household, into the public sphere¹³. Therefore, their roles were complicated, since they brought the "traditional" education of women into the industrial area, which was assumed to be a "modern" public sphere (Akşit, 2005). In this way, their education related to domesticity, and domestic practices were reformed with the introduction of mathematics and sciences. The first Girls' Industry School was established both for girls and boys, and it produced the homemade, material needs of the army, such as underwear for the soldiers. In this, the earliest example of the modern education of women, the Empire was still able to use subordinated labor for its own material production needs.

Following this period, and the decline of the Ottoman State, the transition from 'big' households (of the 'fathers') to conjugal families (of the 'sons') was assumed to be one of the fundamental necessities of the nation-state and the modern social order in the beginning of the twentieth century. In the West, when the home was freed from the workplace, the hierarchical social organization of the household

¹² In fact, "girls" were not visible in society until that period. The first use of the word 'girl' in the public was by Selim Sırrı in the magazine *Çocuk Duygusu* in 1913. 'Girl' was defined first as a Turkish girl, then as a Muslim, and then, as a philosophical term which was free from all kind of identities (Akşit, 2005, p. 137).

¹³ In fact, women were educated in the big households by the elder women during the period of the Ottoman Empire. Education was based on age hierarchies (*ekberiyet*) among women and the elder ones were educating the new comers in the palace. Moreover, the concubines of the palace were educated in the principles of Islamic law, languages, sewing, embroidery, harp playing, singing, literature, and so on, and then, they brought those that education to their own households when they got married, and they shared their knowledge with the other concubines. In that sense, systems of education operating in the palace were transmitted to the households of the elite. Therefore, before modern education operated in the state schools and in the public sphere, it was a certain ground for the systematic education of women based on *ekberiyet* relations. Through the Girl's Industry Schools, system of education of the palace education came to the public space and led to expansion of education for the lower classes (Akşit, 2009, p. 16-17).

was reconstructed into a newly organized family composed of parents and children. Although it does not mean that there was a radical transition from extended to nuclear family in the period of early industrialization¹⁴, family became a quintessentially relational and personal institution, “*the personal sphere of society*” (Chodorow, 1978). In this context, while the big households existed with the conjugal family units there was a transition from a multi-ethnic empire to a secular nation-state, and women were first the objects of political discourse of Westernization during the first decade of the twentieth century, and then later, political actors and citizens (Kandiyoti, 2003).

In that sense, last two decades of the Ottoman Empire, just before the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, were turbulent years, since there were Islamist, Westernist and Turkist movements, all of which were highly interested in the question of women¹⁵. Among these movements the Turkists’ idea of a ‘National Family’, which was nuclear and monogamous in contrast to the traditional Ottoman patriarchal family, stood out. As Kandiyoti pointed out (2003), the supporters of the latter view also advocated family policies which extended state control and intervention into the private realm of the family.

¹⁴ In the Egyptian context, the transition from households to the nuclear family was not a product of the industrial revolution, but it appeared long before the Industrial Revolution. The process of modernity did not lead to the destruction of the extended family in industrial cities. Rather, it led to an increase in co-residence with extended kin. The age of marriage prior to industrialization was late, not early as commonly believed. Family size was small, not large, and mobility was substantial, not limited. Kinship relations became more, not less, important in the nineteenth century, and were cemented by sharply increased rates of repeated endogamous marriages, especially between cross-cousins (Doumani, 2003). Duben and Behar (1991) make also similar implications in their study analyzing the issue in the Turkish context.

¹⁵ Among these movements, the Islamists were advocating for a pan-Islamic empire and against the ‘contamination’ of Islamic values by Western culture. The Westernists, on the other hand, agreed with the idea that the advanced technology of the West should come with its positivism and rationality, but held heterogenous views when it came to the role of Islamic values in this order. Lastly, the Turkists, with their leading ideologue Ziya Gökalp, were emphasizing national-cultural roots and advocating ancient Turkish cultural values. They argued for the mutual compatibility of Islam, Turkish culture and the technology of contemporary civilization (Kandiyoti, 2003).

By the time of the establishment of the Turkish Republic, as a part of a broad political project of nation-building and secularization, there was an emphasis on "women's emancipation" which was also related with the republican notion of citizenship. 'Emancipated woman' became not only the symbol of the Westernization of Turkish society but also representative of modern and national values. Thus, "the 'new woman' of the Kemalist era became an explicit symbol of the break with the past" (p. 279) and they forged new identities as professionals as well as patriots (Durakbaşa, 1987 quoted in Kandiyoti, 2003). Therefore, women came to be located in this new social order not only as mothers and wives, but also, as patriotic citizens of the nation-state. Thus, education became necessary to signify modern-women as the patriotic citizens of the new Republic (Sirman, 1989)¹⁶.

The Turkish modernization project was based upon a principle of educating 'the unfit', and women have been seen as the 'unfit' subjects of the modernization project. In the Turkish modernity experience, 'education' became a powerful instrument for catching up with the West and attaining modernity. It was an essential mean to create a homogenous and modern nation. Therefore, 'education' was seen to be crucial for women's participation in this modern nation-state, as modern and national(ist) subjects (Chatterjee, 1993). In other words, the women who were seen as not-yet-modernized - the ones who were 'deficiently' modern – had to be educated in order to 'correct' this 'deficiency'. Thus, woman, "the 'other' of the man-as-a-modern-subject" (Lloyd, 1996), "became an epistemological object that could be modernized through education" (Durakbaşa, 1988, p. 36). Therefore, in Turkey, as well as in the other nation-states of the early twentieth century (Baron,

¹⁶ As İsmail Kaplan (1998) argued that education in Turkey aimed to create a 'good citizen' who is loyal to the new state and to its values.

2005; Davin, 1997; Najmabadi, 1998), the modern educational regimes were essential in the construction of the “new”, modern woman¹⁷.

In this context, the Girls’ Institutes (1928-1944) undertook the mission of educating women in the first decades of the Republic in order to assist the transformation of society within the modern nation-state project. The primary objective of the Institutes was to create a new individual self who distributed the values of the Western civilization as well as constituting and preserving the Turkish identity. Courses run by the Institutes included millinery, sewing undergarments and embroidery, drawing, home management, cooking, childcare, hygiene, sanitation, cleaning, furnishing, decoration, and so on. During this period, there was an ideological reproduction of modernization led by the Republican elite. And, the production and generalization of the Republican ideology through the Girls’ Institutes sought to mark the girls as “the symbols of the cultural change” (Akşit, 2005, p. 167).

Until the 1950s, before nutrition gained domestic importance, “manners” and cooking foreign dishes, which needed expensive raw materials, were popular education courses (Yenal, 2000). The girls, who came mainly from middle-class families, were expected to set up new middle-class families as the pioneers of Western values. The aim of the new Republic was to transform the middle-classes into examples of modernity and patriotism. In the first decades of the twentieth century, when the middle-class women were being educated in the Turkish context with the national values and modern sciences of the Western civilization, the ‘irresponsible’ working-class women in Britain were being educated by nationalist

¹⁷ In this period, the Turkish woman was seen as a modern woman, who was intellectual, educated, smart, and attractive; a mother who would raise republican descents; and as a part of labor force which was needed by the young Republic especially in the professional areas (Bayrakçeken-Tüzel, 2009).

projects influenced heavily by eugenics (Davin, 1997), migrant and marginalized Chinese women in the US were being educated by the middle-classes into the middle-class culture of domesticity and hygiene (Shah, 1999), Japanese women were learning the fundamentals of *kyoiku mama* (education mother) which prescribed being dedicated, supportive, aggressive, and completely involved in your child's education (Uno, 1999), and Iranian women were being educated in sciences and management issues in order to apply this education at home (Najmabadi, 1998).

In this period, in order to raise the nation up to the standards of contemporary Western civilization, the transformation of motherhood and of the domestic sphere were pushed along scientific lines – the modern, hygienic, and rational principles for developing “productive members of society” (Sharky, 1998). Through the educational projects women became able to be educated in modern science as the equals and counterparts of men in the public space, however, they were responsible for the application of these sciences in the domestic instead of the public sphere. In this regard, “whereas the man was to be educated in the new sciences to be up to the tasks of national politics, economics, and modern industries, the woman was above all to be educated in the science of home management” (Najmabadi, 1998: 102).

‘Modernization’ at home by applying the ‘rational’ and ‘productive’ methods of Taylorism in housework gained popularity in the 1930s both in Turkey and in the Western world (Navaro-Yaşın, 2002). Organization of space in the household, strict scheduling of daily life, and the best way to practice housekeeping were the most important spheres of interests for the Turkish nationalists who were trying to create the fundamentals of a “modern” nation-state (p. 51). In that context, the Girls’ Institutes were raising Turkish girls as professionals in the workplace, “productive” housewives in the home, and experts in the area of child-rearing.

In this way, modern educational regimes were envisaging women as the ‘experts’ of housework and child-rearing. They became modern mothers and housewives by having the best scientific knowledge about how to do things in the domestic sphere. It was because the primary place of the girls who graduated from the institutes was still their homes. In this way, the state entered into the households, and the girls, the potential mothers of the new nation, were seen as the representatives of the state within the household (Akşit, 2005, p. 146).

After the Second World War, the popularity of the Girls’ Institute decreased but education continued until the 1970s. As can be seen in the 1961 annual of the Ministry of National Education, the Girls’ Institutes were still described in the 1960s as places for “preparing young women to become talented, skillful and informed housewives and mothers as required by an advanced society”. Civility and achieving “an advanced society” were still seen as possible only through the ‘proper’ education of women, since they were responsible for training future citizens of the nation and making the husbands ready to participate in its labor force.

In the 1970s, the Girls’ Institutes were replaced with the Girls Vocational High Schools which were first established in 1974. In this way, the schools for girls “abandoned the aim of teaching domestic subjects and were re-oriented towards training for employment in the private sector” (Yenal, 2000, p. 21). These schools became much more technical and their aim became to provide technicians and skilled workers for production-based technical job positions¹⁸. In this process, the middle class women, who were the main target of the Girls’ Institutes, were not interested in these technical schools which were training the working-class women of the future. Instead of these schools, (girls) ‘colleges’ came to be preferred by the

¹⁸ A recent work on this issue shows that “industrial vocational high schools have become places for only young people who have lower-class-backgrounds, after the introduction of neo-liberal policies and the settlement of flexibly-organized and dispersed production regime” (Erdem, 2007).

middle classes. As Yenal (2000) noted, with financial problems, economic crises and the failure of import substitution policies in the late 1970s and early 1980s, there was a drive to make the economy more export orientated. As a result, there were firstly cutbacks to the education budgets as the state gave up the regulation of the cultural realm and left it to the market economy, and secondly, decreased employment prospects in the private sector for the women graduating from the Vocational High Schools. This almost caused the end of the Girls Vocational High Schools. Because of the demands of the market economy, the state abandoned its regulatory function in the social and cultural realms in the 1980s (Esping-Andersen, 1990). However, after the state's retreat from these realms, the neo-liberal problem of 'insecurity' ensuing from the fragilities of the market triggered the expansion of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) (İpek, 2006). These organizations emerged as the new actors of social restructuring, by emphasizing the 'empowerment' of the individual and the nation. Because of increasing structural problems, especially in urban communities, most of the NGOs have become increasingly concerned with the provision of social services to the poor and marginalized people living in the urban space. In this context, the "education of women" became the responsibility of the NGOs targeting the poor and marginalized segments of the population in cooperation with the state institutions –and nation-state ideology.

Civil Society as a Way of New 'Government'

The 1980s were significant in Turkish history as the pervasive impact of globalization and an expansion of neo-liberal policies combined with the post-coup restructuring of society. In this period of economic and political liberalization, state and civil society

relations improved, as NGOs claimed to support the state in the areas where the state had insufficient resources. Governments started to demand the NGOs' assistance in a variety of issues, ranging from the provision of education to health and the environment. By the beginning of the 1990s, NGOs were joined in the promotion of social issues with the emergence of new actors such as Kurds, Alevis, Islamists, and feminists in the social and political life. In fact, while the state and state institutions were the main ideological carriers from the 1920s to 1970s, by the 1990s, mostly locally organized NGOs were starting to "share the state's burden" (İpek, 2006)¹⁹. By the end of the 1990s the state was still participating in the ideological reproduction of the masses by using and directing the activities of the NGOs.

By the 2000s, state "assistance" to the NGOs in various fields became remarkable within civil society-state discourses. The state and its institutions have provided places, and opened different kinds of fields for the work of the NGOs. These include schools, community centers and public education centers. The Mother-Child Education Program (AÇEP) conducted by the Mother-Child Education Foundation (AÇEV) in cooperation with Social Services and Society for the Protection of Children (SHÇEK) is such a case. In regards to their 'agreement', AÇEV and SHÇEK were cooperating in terms of the means of production. SHÇEK provided space for the participants and AÇEV provided the material used in the education programs. In this way, the programs and projects planned and organized by AÇEV could be run in the state institutions such as Community Centers of SHÇEK, or Community Education Centers of the Ministry of National Education

¹⁹ In this issue, some scholars argue that the crisis of state-centric modernity has given rise to elevation of civil society for the democratization of state-society relations (Keyman & İçduygu, 2003) while other scholars are suspicious about that, claiming that the NGOs remain within the parameters of the official ideology (Bora, 1990).

(MEB). Therefore, during these programs and projects, which were held in these institutions, AÇEV was free to use the resources and labor force of the state.

In the last two decades, while concerns about governing within (and through) the ‘localities’ have increased with neo-liberal politics and policies, NGOs have engaged with the local organizations. In this context, educating poor, migrant and working-class women, who live at the margins of the urban space and within their own local networks, was seen as necessary for the development of the nation and for providing ‘good’ citizens.

Therefore, starting from the end of the Ottoman era, the industrial schools, institutes, vocational high schools, and various state and NGO projects and programs for girls, women and mothers became locomotives for the modernization project of the Turkish Republic, following the nation-state’s values and objectives. It was an attempt to govern and to transform families by charging women with the re-construction of the modern nation. This aim, which is still on the agenda and visible in national and international projects concerning the education of girls²⁰ and women, has been carried out by NGOs for the last two decades, with their new government techniques.

However, there are also some changes today in terms of the structure of the educative projects. In the Republican period starting with the Girl’s Institutes, women who were subjected to the educative programs were the members of the middle-class families, while the target population of these projects now is the women

²⁰ The latest examples of the education of girls were experienced with the projects called *Haydi Kızlar Okula* (MEB-UNICEF, held by 2003), *Kardelenler* (The Support for Modern Life Association-Turkcell Company, held by 2000), *Baba Beni Okula Gönder* (Milliyet Newspaper, held by 2005). These projects mainly targeted the poor, marginalized and deprived Kurdish girls from Eastern Anatolia "to transform them into reading, thinking, adjudicating individuals, and participant women in the labor force and decision making mechanisms" (Baba Beni Okula Gönder [BBOG], 2008). In her brilliant sociological discussion on modern female education discourses, Elif Akşit questions whether these girls are the agents or the passive recipients of these projects, as long as they are identified with the ‘colored flowers of the mountains’ as it was referred to in the book *Kardelenler* written by Ayşe Kulin in 2004 (Akşit, 2009).

from the working-class, and lower-income families. In other words, middle-class women and their families are assumed to be already-modernized. Thus, the modernization project of the nation-state is seen to have fulfilled its mission because middle classes are assumed to 'fit' with the modern values of the nation-state. Now, these modernized, educated, middle-class members of society are educating the working-class families. In order to govern the families based on modern and national Republican values the working class women are called to fantasize a middle-class urban life which is put forward as the 'norm' for a 'proper' family and 'proper' motherhood. The women are invited to desire to be in the "scene" of a middle-class family. Therefore, the responsibility given to the women in those poor, working-class, and marginalized families is to transform the 'residual' members of the nation-state along the lines of modern and middle-class values, and to transform those communities into modern, national, middle class individual family units. Thus, through the implementation of these programs in the localities it can be argued that both the state and the middle-class volunteer staff of the NGOs are trying to transform particular localities by transforming its women first.

As a part of the modernization project, the experts of SHÇEK and AÇEV are working to modernize and individualize the families of the socially and politically marginalized and economically deprived inhabitants of the Gazi neighborhood. By desiring a higher class, having authority, to be heard and visible by the others in the public space, women take the responsibility for changing their families, and their locality. By investing in the women, state and 'civil society' are now engaging in the dissolution of community ties and the identities that unite them in these neighborhoods by individualizing the families.

Therefore, this research will aim to comprehend the politics on motherhood in Turkey by exploring its associations with modern discourses and middle-class ideals of motherhood and housewifery in the context of today's "Education of Mothers" programs. Regarding the aforementioned background of the issue in Turkish context, today's "Education of Mothers" can be understood and evaluated as a part and a continuation of an ongoing process driven by the modern nation-state, which seeks to govern the families by naming the women 'mothers' and subjugating them to the different forms of discipline.

CHAPTER II

DISCOURSES AND TECHNOLOGIES IMPLIED IN THE MOTHER-CHILD EDUCATION PROGRAM

In the field of the "Education of Mothers" conducted by the experts of AÇEV and SHÇEK, various discursive techniques are used during the program in and out of the classes. These discursive techniques not only individualize women who come to those courses of 'motherhood' but also divide the subjects and create a desire of a certain kind of 'proper' mothering within a proper family. Therefore, these techniques and programs can be read as ways of governing the individuals who are the subjects of such education practices²¹. In this chapter, I try to investigate the components of this 'properness', which is promoted by the 'experts' of state and civil society, and how it is promoted. Then I will relate these questions to the questions of governmentality.

In this context, the Mother-Child Education Program (AÇEP) provides a fruitful ground to discuss the discourses of education and motherhood since the program is located at the intersection the two. Education is central in liberal approaches as it provides the means of regulating people and to making them regulate their own behaviors. Thus, it is important to analyze the entire package of education by discussing its discursive themes and technologies separately. For the

²¹ Studies on governmentality, conceptualized by Michel Foucault, made a great advance in social theory especially in the 1990s. 'Governmentality' is interested in the emergence of particular 'regimes of truth' concerning the *conduct of conduct*. The questions of how we govern and how we are governed are important as well as the relation between the government of ourselves, the government of others, and the government of the state (Dean, 1999; Foucault, 1991).

discursive themes of the "Education of Mothers", my main concern is to question what kind of mothering is glorified as the 'perfect/proper' way of mothering, what are its components, and what does it serve in a larger context related to the other discourses, especially to the discourses of neo-liberalism. For the techniques and technologies implemented in the Program, I will point out the 'expert positions' in two ways: experts' ways of producing 'true knowledge' of 'proper' motherhood and their governing techniques based on inclusion rather than exclusion of the marginal segments of the society from the decision-making processes. The 'experts' are seen as the representatives of the state, and hence, their approval and disapproval are very important in the context of the Gazi neighborhood since its inhabitants are marginalized *within* their locality and stigmatized through their ethnic, religious and political identities in addition to their economic deprivation²². In this chapter, I will attempt to show new, neo-liberal governmental techniques applied by the experts of pedagogy and psychology who are working in those institutions. Therefore, I divide the entire discursive process into two parts: "discursive themes" undertaken during the lectures, and "technologies" applied by the actors of the program, which contribute to the internalization of the discourses and obedience to the expert authority. Therefore, I start my discussion with the discursive themes by focusing on both the 'lectures' and the 'program booklet', which the educators use during the trainings. The educator is required to follow the chapters of the program booklet as well as the instructions in it. It is neither possible nor necessary to mention all the twenty-five chapters here but I will pay attention to the points frequently emphasized both by the booklet and by the 'experts' in the classes.

²² This will be discussed in the last chapter of this study in detail.

Discursive Themes of the Program

'Good' vs. 'Bad' Mothering: Legitimizing the Dichotomies

There are obviously various meanings and connotations of mothering as there is a set of expected moral codes and modes of behaviors that 'mothers' have to fulfill. Certain activities such as "protecting and preserving life, fostering growth, and molding an acceptable person" are attributed to the mothers as the components of their "maternal practice" (Ruddick, 1980). However, meanings and identifications of this "maternal practice" are always complicated because they shelter a complex set of power relations and provide an effective ground for the "modern patriarchal" discourses (Pateman, 1988).

During the Education of Mothers classes, a particular modern mothering discourse was reproduced which glorified the individual, hard-working, self-criticizing, managing, 'consistent', and 'responsible' mother who was equipped with the scientific knowledge of child-rearing and housework. These meanings attributed to the 'good mother' constructed also its 'other' as the 'bad mother', who did not participate in full-time care of her children, who was 'lazy', 'irresponsible', 'inconsistent', and thus, 'easy' in her mothering²³. These two contradictory notions of motherhood were discussed in the Education of Mothers classes via the notions of 'successful' and 'unsuccessful' mothering, which I will discuss throughout this study.

²³ The 'bad mothers' are defined as the ones making their children miserable. Jane Swigart (1992) defines the 'myth' of "bad mother" as "a woman easily bored by her children, indifferent to their well-being; a mother who is so narcissistic and self-absorbed, she cannot discern what is in the best interests of her children. Insensitive to their needs, she is unable to empathize with them and often uses them for her own gratification. This woman damages her children without knowing it. Unable to learn from the suffering she causes, she is incapable of change" (p. 6-7).

In order to lead a fruitful discussion covering the discourses of the Mother-Child Education Program, a comprehensive analysis of “good/successful mothering” is needed. In this regard, by emphasizing my observations, participation, notes and documents, I would like to examine the variety of modern dichotomies constructing the broader dichotomy of good vs. bad mothering. In this context, moral vs. immoral, manager vs. subordinate, responsible vs. irresponsible, and consistent vs. inconsistent types of dualities were mostly reproduced throughout the trainings. The women were invited to participate in the reproduction of these dichotomies by taking sides, by desiring new types of subjectivities, and by making self-criticisms if there were any deviations from the desired "model-mother", who was derived from the white, middle-class woman (Glenn, 1994).

In that sense, "good mothering" is assumed to be an entirety of particular practices, which ‘enlighten’ the society on progress and harmony, while "bad mothering" is considered as a set of practices frustrating the coherence and harmony of the members of society. As was said in the class, if “the communities consist of the families and the families are constituted by mothers”, then ‘proper’ mothering becomes crucial for the well being of the whole community. In order to disclose the power games at play behind the ‘properness’ one should make an in-depth analysis of ‘proper mothering’ in relation with the other concepts and discourses. In this way, I intend to show how power relations are being sheltered through the legitimization of the dichotomies on mothering.

Morality and the “Moral Mother”

The reproduction of “good mothers” goes hand-in-hand with a particular ideology of mothering which came to the fore in the early capitalist period in the US. This was the ideology of a “moral mother” who was “bourgeois woman acting as both nurturing moral model to her children and as nurturing supporter and moral guide for her husband on his return from the immoral, competitive world of work” (Chodorow, 1978, p. 5). As long as she sat at home, took care of the children and the husband, guided them morally and motivated them for the challenges of the outside world, nurtured the family members with healthy and nutritious foods, cleaned perfectly to protect the family members from microbes and viruses, she could be seen as a model “moral mother”.

In that sense, the representation of ‘good mother’ as a ‘moral mother’ is reproduced and encouraged in the Education of Mother classes. For example, in the lectures on the “positive ways of child-raising,” it was recommended that ‘mothers’ should listen to the child when she/he came home from school and wanted to share his/her experiences of the day, and then the ‘mother’ should guide the child morally without getting angry with the his/her behavior and she should possess a domesticated ‘self-control’ and ‘patience’ as a ‘good mother’. This ‘moral mother’ and her ‘other’ –the ‘immoral’, ‘careless’ mother- were also illustrated within the Program Booklet (2003):

Ali’s mother is always at home when Ali comes home from school. She cooks nutritious meals, and thus, he can eat healthy food when he comes home. Then, while he is eating Ali talks to his mother about his day in school, and after that, Ali starts to study. His mother is with him, hence, Ali can ask her anything when he needs help. He becomes motivated for study in this way. And he becomes successful at school. However, Ayşe’s mother is not at home when she comes

home from school. It is stressful for Ayşe when she does not find her mother at home. Then she goes to the neighbor to find her mother. When she finds her, the mother gives the keys to Ayşe and says, “go home. Food is ready. Eat something, and then, study!” However when Ayşe goes home she eats junk food instead of the meal which her mother cooked. Because the mother is not there she feels free to eat anything. Then, instead of studying her homework she turns on the television and watches one of the serials (Part 21, p. 27).

The coordinator was in the class and ‘assisting’ the teacher when this story was read from the booklet, and its illustrations were shown to the women in the class. Then, the coordinator continued:

Which mother is better here? The mother must be at home when the children come home from school. She should prepare their food; while the child is eating there is a chance to talk with the child, and in this way, guiding and directing the child become possible for the mother. When you become closer to your children you can direct them more easily. Ali eats nutritious food, thus he becomes healthier. Because his mother is interested in his daily experiences as well as his homework he will also be motivated to study. Therefore, he will be successful at school. However, Ayşe’s mother does not show interest in her child. She does not share her problems and experiences. In addition, when something happens negatively the mother will get angry with her child. But you don’t know about your child! You didn’t listen to her once! Of course Ayşe will not eat the nutritious food nor will she study without her mother standing there. She becomes just as lazy as her mother. Then, when her husband comes home there will be a fight between the mother and child. The poor guy, who is already tired from working all day, won’t even be able to sit in peace in his own home...

In this story, the two kinds of mothers were evaluated both by the writers of the program booklet and the teacher in the classroom. Then, it was requested from the mothers to evaluate the situation once more after the double evaluation of the story by the ‘experts’. While the mothers were repeating the comments made by the expert/teacher they took positions against Ayşe’s mother who was evaluated as lazy, selfish, irresponsible, and thus, unfit to be a “mother”.

Alongside the gendered character of the successful and lazy children, which reflected on the hard working mother of successful Ali and the lazy mother of lazy Ayşe, the ‘identification’ between mother and child was remarkable both in the illustration and in the comments of the coordinator. When the coordinator emphasized that Ayşe would become just as lazy as her mother, she did not only identify the mother with her child but also she defined any possible future for the girl other than as a ‘lazy mother’. The coordinator assumed that laziness was an inherited characteristic that was transmitted from the mother to the girl. Similarly, Ali was identified with his mother as well since a hard-working mother could only give birth to a hard-working son²⁴. In this way, it became possible for the teacher to ask, “how can we expect an energetic child to come from a timid mother?” in the class on “the negative behaviors of children.” With such an identification process constructed between mother and child, the women were advised to be energetic and cheerful if they desired such children. Similarly, “if the mother was lazy, irresponsible, and ignorant” her child would possess the same characteristics.

Another remarkable point in this narrative was the unchangeable cooking practices of the mothers. Whether she was at home or not she had to cook a ‘nutritious’ meal for the family members, and it was not possible for her to go out without cooking earlier. In that sense, "even if she is ‘good’ or ‘bad’, ‘hard-working’ or ‘lazy’ a ‘mother’ always cooks a meal ready to eat" became a moral of this story. In this way, the cooking and nurturing ‘duty’ of the mother became normalized and naturalized through these narratives, and cooking became a natural practice by the mother even if she was ‘lazy’ and ‘ignorant’.

²⁴ In the second chapter, I will discuss the effects of this identification and the discourse of "attachment" assumed between the mother and child by referring to the interviews and questioning the associations of these discourses with the subjectivity formations of the women.

However, although her cooking practice was seen as the normal and natural duty of a mother, the characteristic distinguished a “moral mother” from the others – or, the “good/hard-working mother” from the “bad/lazy” one- was to make the food easily reachable for the family members and to assist them to eat in a pleasurable environment. The environment represented in the household by the mother was important for the experts who illustrated the "modern-and-pleasant" households with happy husbands and children, as I will discuss later.

Regarding these pleasant households, it was noticed both in the booklet and in the in the classes that the ‘good mother’ was not only mothering her child, but she was also the unique supporter and assistant to the husband, who returned home from the “immoral and competitive world of work” and would go back out into that world again tomorrow. Therefore, the “moral/good mother” not only re-constitutes her husband for another day in the immoral outside world by acting as a moral guide for him, but also re-constituting herself as “moral” woman away from the immorality of the outside world. In this regard, shouting, fighting, and getting angry are attributed to the outside world, while temperance, moderateness, peacefulness and carefulness become the features of the inside world, which are performed at home by the mother.

Additionally, a “moral mother” should be aware of the difficulties and hardness of the outside world, and thus, she should welcome her husband with understanding and good will. As it was written in the Program Booklet (2003):

When our husband comes home late without informing us we get angry with him. However, when we think about it and ask ourselves why we are so angry, we realize that our feeling is in fact worry [and] concern (Part 4, p. 6) ²⁵.

²⁵ Eşimiz haber vermeden eve geç geldiğinde ilk duygumuz kızgınlık olur. Ancak neden bu kadar öfkeli olduğumuzu kendimize sorduğumuzda asıl nedenin endişe, merak olduğunu görürüz.

Thus, the “moral mother” is the “manager of the household” as well (Najmabadi, 1998). She should know husband management very well to make her family happy and harmonious. She locates herself inside the home, cares and worries about the husband who is challenged with the harsh conditions of the outside world. In the aforementioned example, she was expected to ‘realize’ that there was no reason to feel angry. Thus, she probably made a mistake in the interpretation of her own feelings. Therefore, not only the management of the husband but also "the management of feelings" becomes very important for a woman, as a neo-liberal concern because emotions (their interpretation and management) are seen as central in individual success (İpek, 2006, p. 259). Thus, the mother who could make ‘correct’ analysis of her feelings approached her husband with “care and concern” if she wanted to be ‘successful’ in her mothering and housewifery.

According to this point of view, “conflict management” (*çatışma çözme*) is promoted as a fundamental duty of the women to preserve and re-constitute their families. In order to achieve this, the ‘mothers’ shall raise silent-questions such as “why is this man speaking this way (with anger, jealousy etc.)?” and “why is he talking like this?” As a result of these questions, the mothers are advised in the class “if we stop ourselves a bit, we can convert the conflict into something positive”. Therefore, if we do not get suddenly angry with our husbands, and if we keep our continuous patience and clemency instead, then we become able to manage the conflicts which may occur in the household.

Moreover, a ‘moral mother’ is assumed to be not only the moral guide of the husband and children but also the "nutritional expert" who is responsible for the health and physical development of the family members. If the husband eats some, but not all of the nutritious food she prepares she is advised to attract his attention

with a well-prepared dinner table. Therefore, the mother is seen as the person responsible not only for the family members' nutrition, but also for the social function of the eating activity:

Make a plan for your daily eating schedule as morning, noon, and evening... There should be at least two-three people together at the table. The purpose should be to see each other as well. The TV should be turned off. There should be an attentive table-cloth. It should give the feeling of "I prepared all this for you"...If you do it like that, you will achieve success ²⁶.

Therefore, a 'hard-working mother' would achieve *success* in the end by scheduling the meal and by preparing a pleasant atmosphere for eating as a family. In fact, the illustration of a carefully prepared dinner table around which the cheerful family members are sitting, chatting and eating with great pleasure is a 'fantasy' of a modern, middle class family depicted by the experts/teachers of the program, as I will discuss in the following pages. Within this fantasy, by motivating the family members with a very well prepared and attractive dinner table the mother takes an individualized responsibility for their social and moral reproduction. Therefore, the 'good mothers' are depicted not only as 'moral mothers' in their relations with the husband and the children but also as the hard-working 'managers' of the husbands and the house. In this regard, to fulfill all these responsibilities she is supposed to be at home when the children and the husband arrive. Instead of staying at her friend's place or being at work she is expected to be at home and organize it in detail. In this way, having a career becomes impossible for a 'mother'. Similarly, as will be discussed in this study, the women participating in the "Education of Mothers" classes will differentiate themselves from the upper-middle class women, who live in

²⁶ Sabah, öğle ve akşam olarak günlük yemek programınızı planlayın. Masada en az iki-üç kişi bir arada olmalı. Amaç, birbirinizi görmek de olmalı. Televizyon kapalı olacak. Özenli bir masa örtüsü olacak. "Bütün bunları senin için hazırladım" hissi vermek gerekiyor. Eğer böyle yaparsanız başarıya ulaşacaksınız.

bourgeois neighborhoods and have careers in business, by labeling them "easy mothers" because the professional women are seen to be distant from their children and do not make enough effort to satisfy the needs of the family members. Therefore, not being able to satisfy the needs of the children and the family members by hiring paid-labor for the housework and child-rearing, wealthy women are evaluated as "easy mothers" by the women participating in the "Education of Mothers" classes.

Individual Responsibility

Defining the mothers as the "managers of the household" causes them to take on a great and individualized responsibility, as I indicated above, because they become accountable not only for their own behaviors, but also for the misbehaviors of the family members. In fact, 'responsibility' is an important concept for neo-liberal discourses assuming that individuals are the only ones to improve their own capacities and life conditions. By emphasizing the 'individual' as the solely responsible of her/his own actions, and thus, by isolating him/her from the actual political and structural concerns, neo-liberal discourses aim to 'blame' the individual for his/her 'deficiency' in fulfilling the norms, and call them "irresponsible individuals". To this extent, whatever their social and political conditions are if they fulfill the norms and take responsibility of their families and communities, then, women become close to 'good' mothers. In that sense, the 'self-responsibility' of woman should be taken into consideration as one of the promoting values of neo-

liberal discourse. This discourse of “responsibility” has utmost importance in the constitution of the “mothering” discourse also in the classes ²⁷.

This “responsibility of the mother” can be analyzed through its twofold character as it is used in the classes: first, there is what I will call the ‘inclusive’ character of responsibility, which makes the act of responsibility a gesture of a mother towards the whole community. The mother is assumed to be responsible for the whole society not only because her children will be the future constitutive members of the community, but also because the mother becomes responsible for mothering the husband and other members of society. Second, there is what I will call the ‘exclusive’ character of responsibility, which makes the mother the only responsible person for her children since she is advised to exclude all other “non-nuclear family members” from the area of child-rearing.

Women are supposed to be responsible for the entire community as mothers. This is not only because they give birth which is identified as “national asset” by the nation-state, but also because they are mothering both their own biological children and also other members of the household, including husbands, elderly grand-parents, younger brothers and sisters, cousins, and so on. In that sense, the mother is supposed to be responsible for the acts and activities of the (extended) family members since she is ultimately responsible for educating, enlightening, and reproducing them. Hence, when it was asked in the classes randomly and frequently,

²⁷ The notion of "maternal responsibility" is problematized also in the writings of the feminist scholars. According to Adrienne Rich (1995), ‘motherhood’ is composed of two different meanings which are institutional and experiential. Motherhood as an institution assumes that mothering is immanent to the women and every woman is born naturally as a mother. This argument claims that the most fundamental responsibility of a woman is child-raising; and love is the only thing that a mother can feel towards her child. Therefore, maternal responsibility does not give power to a woman in the household. Rich calls this "powerless responsibility". There is always someone who has the authority (experts, relatives, neighbors, etc.) to tell the woman how to mothering.

“whose responsibility is this?” the mothers’ internalized and the collective response was, “the Mother’s!”

In the classes, it is expected that the mothers should take on the responsibility to “enlighten” the other members of the community by transmitting the information given in the classes. They were advised to bring the handouts of the lectures home and to circulate them in their neighborhoods. They were to put these handouts in some ‘key’ places at home like on the dinner table, on the refrigerator, or in the places that the husband and the other members of the family could see and read them easily. Similarly, the mother should show them to neighboring women when she went to home meetings (*giin*) or when other women came to her home just to sit and chat. In this way, it is assumed that the mothers have "agency" to become the volunteer actors of the ‘enlightenment’ of other people who did not participate in the "Education of Mothers" classes. And during this process, they are expected to be understanding, peaceful, devoted, hard-working, and persuasive towards other people. In other words, women are invited to mothering when they change and transform the people around them just as they would change their children and their husbands.

In terms of the “exclusive” character of responsibility discourse, it is crucial to emphasize that the mother is seen as the only person responsible for the child-rearing practice. In that sense, all the other (extended) family members such as grandparents, daughters-in-law, sisters and neighbors are excluded from this realm.

It was advised in the classes to:

Do not allow the grandparents to intervene in your child-rearing business. Tell them “please, do not interfere, I know how to do it,” and apply the correct way of child-rearing. You are the responsible ones. Do not allow anybody to take care of your children!

It is a repeated dictum that mothers should not allow the activities of the other relatives and neighboring women into the realm of child rearing. Nobody can intervene and interrupt the mother's child rearing business, excluding the husband who should be educated by the mother to "assist" her in this realm. Hence, the mother is seen as the only person who educates her children in a proper manner. In order to reach this objective, she should dismiss the grandparents and her female relatives from the business of child rearing in the household as "nurture by anyone except the mother were automatically assumed to be dirty, incompetent and irresponsible" (Davin, 1997, p. 92). In my opinion, this approach endows mothers with a certain kind of "agency" against the constituted patriarchal relations among the women in extended families. Here, it would be worth mentioning that the 'mothers' (as the 'brides' having less authority in the extended families) become able to escape from the authority of the senior women, especially the mothers-in-law, in the household by using these discourses on child-rearing. By emphasizing her own responsibility in the child-rearing business the 'mother' could have an opportunity to eliminate the patriarchal authority of the mother-in-law in this realm, and thus, she could take on different subject positions within the web of kinship relations.

However, the same process also attempts to destroy the homo-social bonding among women inside and out of the household, as it causes the mother to be isolated in the domestic sphere by concentrating on her multiple responsibilities within it. Thus, after the removal of the grown up children, grandparents and other kin-ordered members of the family from the household, the 'mother' becomes isolated at home, and as the "infant and child care has become the exclusive domain of biological mothers, they are increasingly isolated from other kin, with fewer social contacts and little routine assistance during their parenting time" (Chodorow, 1978, p. 5).

Therefore, the discourse of ‘individualized’ mothering also causes the detachment of the woman from their previously constructed networks in these areas.

Through the discourse of ‘individual responsibility’ the woman isolated from her social and economical conditions becomes the one who can be blamed for her ‘failure’ of mastering the household. It is seen as a failure of the self and a lack of skillfulness. Indeed, the women are seen as the ones having lack of ‘self-control’, which labels them ‘irresponsible mothers’ in the words of the coordinator:

The objective of this program is to speak to their consciousness. First, we call to the mothers’ consciousness. Then, through self-control, they find the true morality in the end... This morality comes from the responsibility which these mothers do not have...²⁸

If we understand the word self-control is equivalent to the concept of "self-discipline", then, these words can be interpreted as the women can *find* the ‘true morality’ if they discipline themselves. Moreover, as the morality comes from responsibility, if the mothers have “responsibility” they will reach for morality as well. However, they have neither responsibility nor morality because they lack "discipline". In this context, the ‘irresponsible’ mother, with her complementary features of ‘laziness’, ignorance, and lack of discipline, is in a strong relationship with the ‘immoral’ one. The coordinator continues:

There is no sense of responsibility in the mothers. They do not even wake up early to set the table for the breakfast. It is such a painful and bad thing. The child wakes up on his own...goes to watch TV...then he goes to the kitchen to eat whatever he finds...His mother wakes up at nine or ten o’clock and prepares breakfast for herself... and when the child does not come to breakfast the fighting starts... but they have already eaten something...The basic need of the child was not satisfied by the

²⁸ Bu programın amacı vicdanlarına seslenmek. Önce vicdanlarını sızlatıyoruz, o sızlayınca iç denetimleriyle doğru ahlakı buluyorlar... Bu ahlak bu kadınlarda olmayan sorumluluktan geliyor...

mother: the need for food...Then *Ayşe Hanım* calls at around eleven o'clock...and the mother goes there with her child ... There is no lunch for the child... What did *Ayşe Hanım* cook? Cake, kısır, pastry...these are given to the child as lunch...then at three o'clock she says: "ay, my husband will come, let me go and cook something for dinner!" If the husband does not come she does not even cook. I am serious. She comes home because of the compulsion of the husband, and the dinner is prepared...It is the only meal that can be eaten together as a family whereas breakfast is missed... If the lady wakes up early...²⁹

Therefore, by giving mothers full responsibility for household management composed of time scheduling and organizing nutrition for the family, they are not only identified with "care and nurturance" causing the reproduction of the embedded meanings of the 'motherhood', but also they become accountable for the inappropriate and immoral behaviors of the family members as well as the unpleasant atmosphere in the domestic sphere. In other words, the 'improperness' of the imaginary ideal-home can be directly related to the 'irresponsibility' of the 'mother' who lacks "self-discipline". In that sense, women alienated from their actual political and economical conditions are both supposed to fantasize the middle-class, 'ideal-home' and be responsible for its realization through disciplining themselves.

²⁹Annelerde sorumluluk duygusu hiç yok. Anneler bir kere sabah kahvaltısı için uyanma zahmetine katlanmıyorlar. Ne kadar acı bir şey. Ne kadar kötü bir şey. Çocuk kendi kendine kalkıyor, ilk yaptığı iş varsa çişini yapmak, elini yüzünü bile yıkamadan televizyonun tuşuna basmak. Karnı acıkınca mutfığa gidip ne bulursa onu yemek. Ondan sonra annesi saat 9-10 gibi kalkınca kendine göre kahvaltı hazırlıyor, çocuğunu çağırıyor, e çocuğun karnı zaten tok çünkü kendine göre yedi. Sofraya gelmeyince çatışma, kavga dövüş bağırta, ağlama, iki taraflı sinir bozukluğu. Çocuğun temel ihtiyacı anne tarafından giderilmedi, kendi kendine giderdi beslenme ihtiyacını. Saat on-on bir gibi bir telefon, *Ayşe hanım* bunu öğleden sonra çaya davet ediyor. Öğle yemeği yok. Çocuk üstünü başını eh işte giyiniyor, çocuğa sorulmuyor gidelim mi gitmeyelim mi, kişi yerine konmuyor çocuk evde zaten. Belki çocuk *Ayşe hanımın* çocuğuyla kavgalı, ya da orda hiç çocuk yok. Bu da göz önünde bulundurulmuyor. *Ayşe hanım* orda ne yapmış o gün? Kısır, kek, pasta. Çocuğa öğlen yemeği diye bu dayatılıyor. Saat üç filan oluyor şöyle diyor: "ay" diyor "eve gideyim de bizimki gelir, akşam yemeği yapcam!" Koca gelmese onu da yapmayacak. Ciddi söylüyorum. Kocanın zoruyla eve geliniyor, akşam yemeği hazırlanıyor. Akşam yemeğinde eş erken geliyorsa ailece yenen yegâne ve tek yemek. Hâlbuki sabah kahvaltısı ailece yenebilir. Hanım erken kalksa...

Tutarlılık –a new concept for discipline

The term “consistency” (*tutarlılık*) was the one of the most important and most repetitive discursive words used in the "Education of Mothers" Program.

“Consistency” is defined as the mother engaging in similar types of behaviors when she is faced with similar situations. For example, if the mother wakes her child up one night for his toilet need, then she has to wake him up the next night as well.

Similarly, if the mother does not allow her child to eat something, she should continue her stand even if the child starts to cry. It is also expected from her to keep her stand on the following days, after a particular decision. Only if it serves a certain end –like a reward after the success of the child in a particular issue- the mother can allow her child to perform the prohibited activity. This approach consists of a sense of ‘discipline’ applied by the mothers to the children, but at the same time, and more than that, it refers to the mother’s self-discipline.

‘Consistency’ was used to support the various discourses on maternal love, authority, scientificity, gendered hierarchical structure of the household, responsibility, mother-care, and so on. It became one of the key words once the trainings started. When something went wrong in the household –or in the life of the child- and if it was considered as a ‘deficiency’, then, the aim became to ‘correct’ the “inconsistency” (*tutarsızlık*) in the behavior of the mother –as it was seen as deviance from the norm:

The feeling of motherhood comes into being through the first lactation. An ‘emotional-tie’ is constituted through the lactation. Among the mothers who do not suckle their babies, this tie is constituted later than the ones who do suckle... A mother suckles her baby nervously if she practices it after a discussion with her husband. However, before the discussion, she suckles him/her with

love. This causes “inconsistency” in the behavior of the mother and results in the loss of confidence for the child.

In this example, “inconsistency” is not only used for supporting the scientific discourse but also for legitimizing subordination to the patriarchal authority, which is embodied by the husband in this context. In other words, the above-mentioned quote intends to say “do not discuss it with your husbands. Otherwise your child becomes *defective* and *abnormal*”. Thus, by the mediation of the term ‘inconsistency’, scientific discourse is articulated with the patriarchal discourse and reproduces it.

After five months of training women’s responses became almost automatic when they were faced with questions of any ‘deficiency’ in the child’s or in the family’s life. Because of the insistent repetitiveness of the term, approximately 75 percent of the problems were considered to stem from the “inconsistency” of the ‘mother’. If she ‘failed’ to correct a particular behavior of her child, and if she made a mistake in managing the relations at home, the first reflex act became to question the “consistency” and “inconsistency” of the mother³⁰.

The “inconsistent mothers” were always criticized and warned not only by the expert social worker, but also by the ‘mothers’ in the classroom after they had internalized what might count as ‘inconsistency’ and what might not. For example, one of the mothers could not solve her child’s toilet problem although a couple of weeks had passed from the first lecture about the issue. In one of the classes, after the mother had been questioned by the other mothers it was decided that the problem stemmed from the “inconsistency” of that mother:

³⁰ During that period of time, it became inured to answer the following question in chorus:
Educator: “What shall we do to change their behavior?”
Mothers (in chorus): “We must be consistent!” (March 7, 2007).

It is the mother's fault... The mother did not behave consistently... Once, she woke him (the child), and then, she forgot to do it again while she was chatting with guests. If the mother devotes herself she receives compensation for her effort... Mothers must be patient and consistent³¹.

These kinds of sentences were just a few samples of the many emerging one after the other in the classroom. The other women were criticizing the mother who 'failed' in her mothering, and the reason of her 'failure' was evaluated to be the "inconsistency of the mother" indicating undisciplined behaviors of the 'mother'.

At this point, I would like to emphasize the use of the word "discipline" in modern Turkish context. The term *terbiye* was used for the word "discipline" in the beginning of the Republican Era in Turkey. A variety of women's magazines and books focusing on the "new woman" and the new family of the modern Republic were published during that period, and *terbiye* was a frequently mentioned issue in these publications, as modernity came with the notions of order and progress which can be achieved through 'discipline'³². The new, modern and rational methods of discipline were appreciated while the old forms were seen as arbitrary and based on instincts. As Hasip Aytuna wrote (1939) "to raise a child, to *terbiye* a child, to raise new generations fit with ideals is a very complicated business. We cannot deal with the necessities of modern life through our instincts, through the methods which we knew before" (p. 21). Therefore, new and modern methods were seen to be crucial to *terbiye* the child. In those years, the state itself was seen as the main source in the application of *terbiye* to the whole nation: "State, without being indifferent towards

³¹ Annenin hatası... Anne tutarlı davranmamış...Önce çocuğu kaldırmış, sonra misafirleriyle konuşurken tekrar kaldırmayı unutmuş. Eğer anne kendini verirse emeğinin karşılığını da alır... Anneler sabırlı ve tutarlı olmalı.

³² In Egyptian context, in the last third of the nineteenth century the word and the concept of *tartib*, which means organization, discipline, rule, regulation, and arrangement, has been replaced with *terbiya* which means to breed or to cultivate. Since then, *terbiya* has been used for the term 'education' and has become a new constellation of practices (Mitchell, 2000).

family and community, should take cognizance of *terbiye* of whole nation.

Otherwise, it is not possible to renew and improve the nation”³³ (Kanat, 1941, p. 8, quoted in Şerifsoy, 2004, p. 168). In this period, *terbiye* could also be applied by the society towards the individuals. *Terbiye*, as a requirement for the progress of an individual, should be applied by mothers, fathers, teachers, and masters –who were in charge of domesticating the child (Baltacıoğlu, 1930).

In that sense, *terbiye* was considered to be an act towards others. It could be applied to the other persons (*terbiye etmek*). However, when the term ‘consistency’ was used within the pedagogic language of child rearing it converted *terbiye* to a self-reflexive word by calling it ‘consistency’ which was used only in an individual manner referring to "self-discipline" (*tutarlı olmak*). The idea behind the term ‘consistency’ was that a disciplined mother would bring up disciplined children. Therefore, in the case of the "Education of Mothers", women were advised they had to be ‘consistent’ towards the children and others by being self-disciplined. Although both *terbiye* and ‘consistency’ have similar connotations with regards to disciplining someone, the subject and the object of this disciplinary act varies: The other person is considered the object of the act of *terbiye*, but in the case of ‘consistency’, the mother herself is both the object and the subject of the disciplinary act.

In this process, the mothers are expected to not only be self-disciplined but to also be a strict rule-maker in the household. Thus, the discourse of “consistency” is used both to shape the personality of the children and to manage the problems and the conflicts that might occur in the domestic sphere. Mothers are advised to use their rule-making responsibility to solve the conflicts at home. In that sense, husband and the (extended) family members are supposed to be directed by the ‘mother’ to

³³ Devletin, aileye ve muhite de kayıtsız kalmamak şartile, bütün milletin topyekün terbiyesine ehemmiyet vermesi lazımdır. Başka türlü milleti yenileştirmek ve ıslah etmek mümkün değildir...

act in ways similar to the mother. The husband should not say “yes” to the child, while the mother says “no”. Otherwise, it is assumed that this causes a ‘deficiency’ in the child’s personality. As the expert/teacher said in their advice:

Family is also a group. Mother and father should achieve this business without breaking the hearts of the others [extended family members]. It is of course not easy because we are a society which still has traditional characteristics... The "consistent relation" of the mother and the father is very important (because) whatever the family experiences, the child will experience the same ³⁴.

Therefore, the mother is responsible for constituting “consistent relations“ between herself and her husband in order to mold the personality of the child in a ‘good’ way. If she cannot achieve this she is criticized by the other ‘mothers’ in the class. However, this kind of an approach ignores the power of patriarchy in the domestic sphere. Without talking about the power of patriarchy a woman lacks tools to explain her reasons of ‘inconsistency’. In other words, in order to be a ‘consistent’ mother towards her child a woman may face the family of her husband, but the husband will probably get angry in such a situation if it is his father and mother. Similarly, if the husband says "yes" to child although the woman insistently says "no", then, she may be exposed to domestic violence after their discussion. It is difficult to indicate domestic violence as the reason of her ‘inconsistency’ because being consistent is seen as a part of the "individual responsibility" discourse complemented with the fantasy of individual middle-class family. Therefore, when patriarchy stands out of discussion she is both violated at home by trying to be ‘consistent’ and criticized in the class by being an ‘inconsistent’ and undisciplined mother.

³⁴ Aile de bir grup. Anne ve baba diğerlerinin kalbini kırmadan bu işi halletmeli. Tabii kolay değil, sonuçta biz hala geleneksel özellikleri olan bir toplumuz. Annenin ve babanın tutarlı ilişkisi çok önemli; aile ne yaşarsa çocuk da aynı yaşar.

Notes on Fantasy of the Expert/Teachers in the Field

Consuming the “Beneficial” for the Family

In the classes, there was a notable intervention on the “consumption practices” of the mothers. “Consumption” was not a subject of education classes directly but it was always emphasized in-between the lines. In the following pages, I will try to examine how and in which ways particular consumption practices are emphasized and what are the products recommended for consumption. In this way, I aim to get some clues on what kind of ‘life’ is recommended, by constituting an ‘imagined’ life style for the families which are supposed to be managed by the ‘mothers’.

During the courses, the mothers were expected to consume not for themselves, but for the ‘benefit’ and well-being of their families. However, what was accepted as “beneficial” and “useful” for the family was recommended by the expert/teachers of the program, and offered a particular life style for these families. Moreover, the mothers were expected to construct a predicted life style in their families by desiring and consuming those recommended products. What kind of life style and what kind of class formation was recommended by the expert/teacher?

The example of a “pressure cooker” (*düdüklü tencere*) is a good example to start with. In order to cook healthier foods for the family members, to keep the vitamins and the proteins of the vegetables in the cooking process a pressure cooker was a highly recommended product for the mothers. Health was promoted as a way to raise intelligent children and healthy husbands for the outside world. In that sense, the modern and scientific methods of cooking, which are embodied with a

pressure cooker, were necessary for the mothers to achieve this goal. Moreover, applying these scientific methods for the health and the well-being of the family members could be done 'easily' by the mothers as the pressure cooker "can be bought easily in installments" in the words of the expert/teacher. In this way, the women in the classroom who desire to be 'good mothers' learn their object of desire: a pressure cooker.

Another example is about the embodiment of devotion by purchasing an extra television. As it was advised in one of the classes, if the children had some difficulties concentrating on their studies since they had to study in the living room where the TV was always on, then the mother should buy a small, extra TV to watch in her bedroom. It was supposed that the mother could watch TV without disturbing her child if she installed a TV in her bedroom. Although some of the women said in previous classes that they were living in the same room with the whole family, since economic deprivation prevented them from moving to a larger apartment, it did not change the prescribed form of the TV space at home. Moreover, installments were a recommended purchasing method here again.

Purchasing an extra TV was evaluated as a kind of self-sacrificing gesture because she did not only need to buy a TV but also to isolate herself in her bedroom just so as not to disturb her child while she/he was studying. However, by doing so, the mother experienced a kind of 'freedom', because with an extra TV she gained the chance to watch whatever she wanted without being interrupted by the different program choices of other family members. Therefore, by using up one extra television, the mother proved her 'self-sacrificing' character as she considered her child's success above everything else, but at the same time, she enjoyed with the feeling of 'freedom' by purchasing an extra television for herself. Additionally, as

she was provoked to consume and buy another TV, television was assumed to be a must in her life since she had to buy one instead of preferring not to watch television.

In-between the lines, there were also other bits of information on the consumption practices of the mothers. One of the recommendations was not to buy food sold in the streets. Instead of buying something from the street-sellers, whose products were assumed to be dirty (unhygienic) and unhealthy, she had to go to the supermarkets for her needs. Aside from the fact that the history of the supermarkets was not too long in the Gazi neighborhood (the first supermarket was opened in 2004), shopping from the supermarket was not one of the daily occasions of the 'mothers'. It was obvious that when the expert/teacher used the word 'supermarket' she thought about her own middle-class consumption practices among which passing through a supermarket before going home was a very common activity. For the women living in the Gazi neighborhood, the term "supermarket" could be identified with "grocery" where they could find packaged/branded products. However, by using the word 'supermarket' a middle-class professional woman's fantasy came out in which the 'mothers' imagined themselves as the consumers of the supermarkets by shopping from the shelves full of different products waiting to be consumed.

The way these consumption practices are articulated also has an impact on the global market economy. Because of the presupposition that the packaged/brand products are made in sterilized and hygienic conditions, they are recommended as healthier than the home-made products sold on the street. In this way, the consumption practices of women are articulated the gears in the global economy. For instance, it is advised that we shall not buy ice cream sold on the street, but the packaged/brand ones from the supermarkets. Similarly, it is recommended that they

shall not buy the ground beef from the butcher, who signifies an image of 'dirt' with his bloody apron and the flies flying from one mass of meat to the other. The butcher is a traditional seller, thus, he signifies a non-hygienic, dirty, and unhealthy way of producing and consuming. Instead, it is recommended that they buy the meat from the supermarkets after checking its expiry date.

While the local producers are evaluated as dirty and non-hygienic, the women were also advised to consume domestic products. We celebrated the "week of the domestic products" (*Yerli Mali Haftası*) in the classroom. The mothers brought in many different kinds of home-made foods to eat. The contradiction is worth mentioning. On the one hand, the products of the local sellers and the producers are indicated as dirty, non-hygienic and unhealthy as opposed to the brand products sold in the supermarkets, but on the other hand, home-made products made by the mothers are assumed to be the best –the cleanest and the healthiest- products. In this way, a woman's role as a consumer in the global economy is clearly articulated on one hand, and on the other, a woman is kept at home with the assumption that her domestic labor is more necessary than anything else for the hygiene and health of the family.

In these examples, every family member's survival and success are seen as depending on the acts of the mother although "to hold individuals solely responsible for their actions omits the wider social milieu" (Conolly, 2000, p. 280). Women are called on to consume with complacency as the consumption is practiced by the woman only on account of family. The 'mothers' are invited to imagine themselves in a middle-class household by consuming and "desiring" to consume certain products which are recommended (and desired) by the expert/teacher in the classroom. Those consumption practices "try to shape, sculpt, mobilize and work

through the choices, desires, aspirations, needs, wants and life styles of individuals and groups" (Dean, 1999, p. 12). Hence, the woman thinks that she can choose what to consume, or what kind of life style she can have. However, although a woman thinks that she is free to choose her life style and her consumption practices, this freedom of choice is used by both liberal and neo-liberal arts of government which presuppose an autonomous and participating self. Therefore, "practices of the self should be considered together with the practices of government" (İpek, 2006, p. 51).

Considering all these aforementioned examples on the consumption practices of the women living in Gazi neighborhood it can be argued that there is a particular life style encouraged in the education classes within the nexus of consumerism. It is the bourgeois family fantasy of the experts/educators to which the mothers are called to participate in through their consumption practices. However, as it is the imagination of the educators and the social service experts, the life-style practices, consumption of products, services and experiences which indicate the consumption of a particular 'life' which does not belong to the families living in the Gazi neighborhood, but belongs to the middle-class lives of the expert/teachers of the program.

In that sense, by going to the supermarket to buy hygienically packaged, brand products, buying an extra TV for the 'success' of the children, buying a pressure cooker in installments to cook healthier food for the family members, labeling the products of the street-sellers and local producers "dirty", but at the same time trying to use and consume domestic and home-made products, the women are invited to the fantasy of middle-class family life through their consumption practices. It is, indeed, the life style of the middle-class expert/educator who will casually stop off at a supermarket after a workday, and who will take off her modern-professional-

woman shoes at the entrance of her home just before she starts to cook with a pressure cooker. It seems that the mothers in the Mother-Child Education Program have no choice but to take their position in this fantasy of the experts.

Fantasy of Maternal Perfectibility

During the training, I noted that the ‘mother’ who was supposed to fulfill her mothering practice “perfectly” was identified with a certain kind of woman that was not, in fact, appropriate to the conditions of the women in the Gazi neighborhood. This ‘imagined’ woman was a particular ‘mother’ who could set a romantic dinner table with flowers and candles, put separate spoons for each plate of food and serve the each family member’s plate with pleasure. This woman knows that she has privacy in her relationship with her husband and teaches her children to respect this privacy by sleeping in their own beds in the kids’ room (although there is no such room in the houses of many women). This woman is encouraged to buy a pressure cooker in installments for cooking healthier and more nutritious foods for the family members. Alongside with the attitudes attributed to a “good” mother such as morality, devotion, a hard working and self-criticizing character, responsibility, and ‘consistency’, middle-class consumption practices also contributed to the “modern” ways of mothering which would altogether compose the “ideal mother”.

A “fantasy of maternal perfectibility” (Chodorow & Contratto, 1982) leads to a tendency to blame the mother for her imperfections and for the imperfections of her family. In this context, the imperfections of the mothers (the ‘deviations’ from the model-mother) are seen as their personal failures since their personality is abstracted from the material conditions that they encounter in their everyday life.

Such a project often attempted to erase and recast class differences by consolidating an “ideal mother” modeled along middle-class lines (Shakry, 1998), although class-related conditions of her activities are determinant in the woman’s everyday experience. In this sense, women are to be “remade” which entails the constitution of a private sphere of bourgeois domesticity, with motherhood recast as a rational, scientific, and hygienic vocation of women. Moreover, in the continuation of this process, because the mothers are abstracted and isolated from their class positions – as well as from their marginalized identities as culturally migrant, ethnically ‘other’, religiously sectarian, and economically poor- they become the objects of a fantasy in which ‘maternal perfectibility’ or ‘imperfectability’ is assumed to depend on their personal potential and desire. In that sense, this fantasy serves the individualization of the woman within their individualized family units. Moreover, because of the individualization of the woman, whenever there is a problem in the family, it is considered to be because of the “lack” or “imperfectness”, or “deficiency” of the mother, who is then labeled “unsuccessful mother”.

Whose fantasy is this in which all the women are being leveled without considering their particular conditions and the class positions? What does the fantasy of maternal perfectibility serve? The lectures, the narratives told in these lectures, and the games played in the classroom all create a “mise-en-scene” of a desired family, which has its collective and cheerful dinner times, helpful husbands, hardworking, energetic, and beautiful children, problem-solving family meetings, and so on. However, the identity of ‘mother’ is taken through the enjoyment of the other people who are the spectators of her action. They are the expert/teachers in the field. As long as it is a desire of Other (Zizek, 1997) this fantasy of ‘perfect mothering’ belongs to the educators, the expert social workers of the state and the

professional expert writers of AÇEV³⁵. In this context, the ‘mothers’ take positions as the “desiring subjects”. For instance, the coordinator encourages the mothers to imagine a nicely decorated dinner table around which the children and the husband are eating the appetizing meal the mother has cooked. According to the narrativization of the coordinator, if the mothers decorate the dinner table in a different style, then the husband asks “wow, what is happening today?” and if she serves the rice cooked with parsley on within a nicely decorated plate then her children, even if they have no appetite, would eat it with great pleasure. This kind of a fantasy not only "interpellates" women as “desiring mothers” but it does not leave any empty space to be filled into this scene –even parsley on top of the cooked rice is narrated by the coordinator in this fantasy. However, at the same time, it constitutes a great ‘gap’ between the fantasy of the expert and the reality of the women who desire to be in it. This ‘gap’ provides more space for the operations of the state power. There are further examples:

She wakes up at seven a.m. in the morning. She sets the table and prepares breakfast by 8 a.m. She provides for the whole family until breakfast ends at eight thirty. Then, the mother cooks the daily meal until 11 p.m. Hence, she will have time for herself the rest of the day...³⁶

However, the other type of mother,

... goes to bed late at night, wakes up late –of course- in the morning, and disregards the meal times of her children since she

³⁵ This also fits with the fantasy of the maternal perfectibility which is continuously constituted during the education process because of the “intersubjective character” of fantasy. Fantasy is not the fantasy of the subject, but the desire of the Other. Here, the question is not “what do I want?” anymore, but “what do ‘others’ want from me?” And “what do they see in me?” Or, “what am I to others?” (Zizek, 1997, p. 9). The enjoyment of the other people, as the spectators of one’s actions, and their satisfaction is crucial in this process of subject-making.

³⁶ Sabah yedide kalkar, sekize kadar kahvaltıyı hazırlar. Sekiz otuza kadar herkesin kahvaltısını bitirmesini sağlar... Onbire kadar o günün yemeği pişer, böylece günün geri kalanında kendine ayırarak vakti olur.

watches television and goes to her friends to sit and chat. She even does not have time to spend for herself ³⁷.

In these types of narratives used in the classes, the “aware”³⁸ (hard working-responsible-moral) and the “unaware” (lazy-irresponsible-loose) mothers are narrated in an imagined middle-class family mise-an-scene. Leveling the mothers within an ideal middle-class family means not only that the happiness and the annoyance of the family is attached by the acts of the mother but continuous dichotomies over good/bad, educated/uneducated, difficult/easy, and hard-working/lazy mothers are also created and reproduced. However, setting dichotomies as good and evil serves to reinforce a single model of motherhood and to treat deviations from the model as individual failures (Schepher-Hughes, 1992). Indeed, parental practices and affections occur in specific and cultural contexts, and “the ideal of good motherhood is itself culturally produced. Therefore, dichotomies of good and evil are being used to discipline so many mothers under difficult circumstances” (Conolly, 2000, p. 280) ³⁹.

Therefore, disciplining the woman through the desire of the ideal motherhood which can only be performed in a middle-class family –by blaming the women individually for any deviances from the ideal form of mother- becomes possible as long as they are abstracted from their actual class structures and gendered organization of their families. In this way, the ‘individualized’ woman has no choice

³⁷ Gece geç yatar, sabah da tabii geç kalkar. Televizyon seyredirken, arkadaşına gidip otururken, lak lak ederken çocukların öğünlerini atlar. Kendine ayıracak vakti bile olmaz.

³⁸ I translated the word *bilinçli* as "aware" and its opposite *bilinçsiz* as "unaware".

³⁹ These dichotomies label the mothering practices as good or bad and exclude any other alternative mothering practices, such as the mothering of women who live in poverty and whose children are not at its center –as in Conolly’s case (2000) on homeless mothers in the US, or, as in Schepher-Hughes’ case (1992) on Northern Brazilian mothers whose mothering practices are very related to political economical conditions and their extreme poverty. Additionally, the ‘naturalness’ of motherhood makes any deviation from that identity uniquely abhorrent; thus, as Conolly claims, the representations of anti-mothers, monster mothers and “other” mothers can be understood as one facet of cultural drive to monitor mothers, regulate them intensively and steer them toward fictive models of normality.

other than desiring to re-constitute her family in the way desired by the experts: the woman passing by the supermarkets for consuming hygienically packaged products, buying new televisions and pressure-cookers in installments, having knowledge and skill for preparing ‘nicely’ decorated dinner tables having separate food plates with separate spoons. With desire for this middle-class family it becomes possible to govern the economically deprived, working-class women and intervene in the households. The other discursive themes used in this field such as morality, responsibility, consistency, and scientificity support and deepen the fantasy of middle-class womanhood by reconstituting the split between ‘good’ and ‘bad’, ‘successful’ and ‘unsuccessful’ mothering.

As a complementary aspect of the discursive themes, I will now continue my discussion with the technologies implemented in the "Education of Mothers" Program. In the following pages, I will discuss how the above-mentioned discursive themes are applied by the mediation of different techniques and technologies.

Technologies Implemented in the "Education of Mothers" Classes

What are these techniques and technologies ordering, observing, scheduling, controlling, and criticizing women while constituting them as self-critical and self-disciplined subjects at the same time? How do these techniques re-produce both the authority and the morality of sciences in women’s daily practices and experiences? How do women become not only subjects but also objects of these sciences?

Following the path of these questions, in this part of my study, I am planning to evaluate the issue by approaching the “scientificity” through its objectifying and subjectifying characters. Thus, not only the reproduction of the "truth regimes"

related to the sciences and the scientific pedagogy but also the impact of the reproduction of the expert knowledge on these women will be leading my discussion. Therefore, how the experts write reports, collect information about women, how they share these accounts with other experts working for the state (SHÇEK) and for the civil society organization (AÇEV), and what the contentious relations between those experts in this field are will be some of my questions. Regarding the expert knowledge, surveillance techniques embodied with the ‘home visits’ of the experts will also be discussed in this chapter.

Training and surveillance techniques of discipline are complemented by the role of “confession” practices. Thus, I will also analyze the “experience sharing sessions” of the educations at the end of which women tend to be ready to render account of their lives through self-policing, and aim to be self-critical in front of the other women and the expert authorities.

Moreover, disciplinary placement of the women within the classroom throughout the activities is congregated with their everyday scheduling. Constructed temporal and spatial order contributes to the position of the women as self-disciplined subjects. In this context, my questions also focus on the organization of the bodies in a disciplinary fashion, and of making them self-disciplined individuals.

Last but not least, role-playing performances and games held in the classes will be also discussed to the extent of psychologicalization of the women’s materiality. By performing certain games, psychodrama plays, and improvisations a woman becomes both the actor and the witness of the scenes played out at the moment. Therefore, by discussing all these techniques implemented in the Mother-Child Education Program and considering their relations with the discursive themes

that were discussed above I will try to make a critical examination of the discursive constitution of the Program in the frame of Foucauldian legacy.

Experts in the Field: Legitimizing 'Scientific Truths'

A New Form of Governmentality

Along with the emergence of the concept of normality and the invention of the norms in eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe, 'experts' were placed in key positions in telling how one should conduct themselves according to these norms which were seen as the signs of civilization and progress. Regimes of practices, which generally become the objects of explicit *programs* that endeavor to transform those practices, were defined as organized ways of caring, administering, counseling, curing, punishing, and educating (Foucault, 1991c). In this process, those practices were both informed and reshaped by multiple forms of knowledge and expertise such as medicine, pedagogy, criminology, social work and so on. Regarding this, during the training in class, the 'misinformation' of the mothers and their 'lack of knowledge' are disclosed by the experts, and subsequently 'corrected', through which it becomes possible to manage women in the class and direct their knowledge on the basis of scientificity in the housework and scientific pedagogy in the area of childrearing.

Additionally, the experts check the attendances of the women in classes, report the absent, present mothers to the 'authorities', take notes about the 'improvement' of the 'mothers', and record their information. In these ways, they contribute to the organization, regulation, and individualization of the women. By

using these "disciplinary" measures, the expert makes the women accountable and controllable in the field of the "Education of Mothers" classes. In other words, the expert does not only objectify scientific knowledge in the lectures, but she also objectifies the women of her scientific knowledge by using these measuring techniques (Foucault, 2006).

The authority of the experts, which operates alongside the authority of science, can vary within the hierarchical organization of the experts in this field of "Education of Mothers", as there are a variety of experts such as expert social workers, (retired) teachers, professors and state officers. In that sense, it is important to analyze how scientific knowledge is reproduced upon these women by the 'experts' in this area through posing questions such as how they check the attendance of the mothers by having roll calls in the classes, how they supervise the mothers, and how they collect and report the information on the women within their relations with the other experts in the area of "Education of Mothers".

In my case study, the experts were either "expert social workers"⁴⁰ or retired teachers from the Girls' Vocational High Schools, notably the sewing and home-economics teachers. These teachers were working either in the Community Centers of SHÇEK or in the different institutions of MEB⁴¹. And in some cases, they worked in both institutions because of the 'expert shortage' in the state institutions. The former, the "expert social workers" graduated from specific departments of the universities while the latter, the (retired) teachers of the Girls' Vocational High Schools were not social work experts because they did not train for social work, but they became technicians and skilled workers to the production-based job positions.

⁴⁰ It literally is called "sosyal hizmet uzmanı"

⁴¹ The community center functioning under SHÇEK called "Toplum Merkezi" in Turkish; and the community center of MEB called "Halk Eğitim Merkezi".

After my interviews with both types of educators, I noted that expert social workers perceive the retired teachers as old-generation teachers with ‘traditional’ teaching techniques and a lack of information on the subjects they are teaching. Usually, expert social workers assume that retired teachers are not competent enough to master the modern techniques of education. On the other hand, the Vocational High School teachers perceive these experts as ‘pupils’, meaning that they do not understand the real world, they just try to apply what they have learnt in school, and in fact, they are yet to experience the vicissitudes and hardships of the outside world. So, an implicit struggle in the field can be observed between these two types of instructors.

There are different approaches between these two types of experts in most of the cases; however, these differences are quite noticeable in their education techniques. The expert social worker uses ‘modern’ education techniques such as psychodrama, arranging the mothers in an O-shape in the class, listening to the mothers mostly and discussing the problems with them, and thus, she encourages them to participate in the production of knowledge in the class. On the other hand, retired teacher of the Girls’ Vocational High School talks much more than any woman in the class, judges and corrects the women constantly when they start to talk about their experiences, arranges them in a U-shape, and gives them certain information from her desk which indicates a higher authority than the ones sitting across from it.

The retired teacher of the Girls’ Vocational High School first organized the class as a classical school classroom: The teacher’s desk was in front and the others sat behind each other composing four rows of two. Then, she changed the sitting order and made it U-shape. However, the expert social worker re-organized the class

as an O-shape, as was recommended in the booklet. In an O-shape sitting order, it seems that the organization of the chairs increases the possibilities for solidarity among the women by destroying the hierarchical positioning. However, there is no way of being out of the circle; and every single gesture of the women becomes visible and controllable in this circle.

These sitting orders reflect the different practices of the experts prompted by the different 'truth regimes' related to the forms of governmentality. New power represented by an O-shape sitting order embraces the women just as the circle embraces every single woman in the classroom. The new governmental order represented by the expert social worker evaluates the women as a part of the power and asks for their contribution to it. However, the retired teacher does not see these women as power-sharing actors. On the contrary, she excludes them from the means of power by making them sit across from her. These two practices refer to the different governmental forms of state. The retired teacher represents its power which excludes the women living in the Gazi neighborhood, with their marginalized ethnic, religious and political identities and within severe conditions of poverty. She calls the women with a higher and authoritative tune of voice. She dictates what she wants and is ready to punish if it is not satisfied. However, the expert social worker represents its absorbing power which includes these marginalized women and counts as the power-holders in their locality. The expert social worker talks *with* the women just as they are equals having equal rights on a decision. Although both 'classical' and 'new' ways of lecturing lead to the control and discipline of the women by

making them visible to the authority, they follow different ways of governmental techniques just as the state itself does⁴².

Accountability Among the Experts

All educators giving lectures in the Mother-Child Education Program have to be trained by the supervisors and the ‘experts’ of AÇEV. This training is applied at the beginning of the program, and during the program, the educators are called for meetings at regular time intervals. In these meetings, what is going on in the classes, how education works, and what kinds of problems occur during the trainings are discussed with the experts, who are the conductors of this program and the authors of the teachers’ booklet as well.

There are also “coordinators” in the field who are responsible for supervising the Mother-Child Education Programs conducted in all of the community centers in one region composed of three or four districts. The coordinator of the community center in the Gazi neighborhood was responsible for four districts and four educators.

The two kinds of experts that I mentioned previously adopted different views towards the AÇEV experts, as well as towards the coordinators. While the expert social worker of the program did not care much about their views, the retired teacher of the Girls’ Vocational High School cared much about the concerns of the others who were in ‘higher’ positions in the hierarchical organization of experts. The retired

⁴² Foucault (1991a) has produced multiple accounts of power in analyzing the emergence and strategies of modern power. Among these, while pastoral power refers to the Christian tradition where the governor (shepherd) is both the model, guide and the controller of the population, disciplinary power refers to the proliferation of disciplinary techniques and institutions to make the individual govern him/herself. Therefore, as these two forms of power can be distinguished under the modern power, aforementioned techniques of different experts also refer to the multiplicity of the forms of power.

teacher even invited the coordinator to the classes, and when she came the teacher left the "play ground" completely to the coordinator although the latter said that her work was not to control, but to 'assist' the teacher. Similarly, the coordinator was also highly respectful towards the AÇEV 'experts' who seemed in 'higher' positions than her. In our interview, the coordinator emphasized "AÇEV brought us up... Çiğdem Hanım is already the mother of this work"⁴³. By saying so, the coordinator reproduced an analogy by imagining herself as a 'child' and Çiğdem Hanım, the expert writer of this program, as her 'mother'. In this way, by going beyond the expert's relationship she imagined an intimate relationship between herself and the founder of the program. A similar kind of analogy was used in the classroom in different ways. As I will discuss later in this chapter, the analogies constructed between the "child-mother" and the "mother-teacher" indicate the most important performance of the 'mothers'.

These different approaches of the educators also affect the reproduction process of the knowledge of the mothers. On the one hand, there is a teacher gathering the information about these women into separate files with the respect of a higher expertise, but on the other hand, there is an expert social worker who avoids collecting such information except for the ones she has to report to the state officers.

The necessary paperwork includes the documents which the women have to bring before the classes begin, such as their pictures, residence documents, and application forms which contain some basic information about their families including the number and age interval of the children, the number of people the family has to take care of, the occupations of the family members, and the total income of the household. Other than these documents, attendance sheets and the

⁴³ "AÇEV yetiştirdi bizi... Çiğdem Hanım zaten bu işin 'ana'sı..."

reports on the ‘improvements’ of these women should be ready when an inspector of SHÇEK comes. The other kinds of reports and documents, which are supposed to be shown in the AÇEV meetings, depend on the initiative of the educator⁴⁴. For instance, the coordinator showed me a folder full of separate files on the women including their writings about the ‘changes’ they experienced –their small works by hand were even in the files. Although she does not use these papers directly, by showing them in the AÇEV meetings or in her interviews as means of evidence of her ‘success’ in ‘changing’ the lives of the women through education, she expects to be esteemed.

At the end of the education women become entitled to receive a certificate signed by the General Directorate of SHÇEK affiliated to the Prime Ministry⁴⁵. In this way, the woman participating in the education certifies her “adequacy for mothering” with an official document. In order to get this certificate of ‘mothering’ attendance is necessary. However, if the educator wants to give an exam at the end of the program she can mark the ‘mothers’, as the retired teacher did.

In this context, it should be emphasized that an attendance chart is necessary because the state officers of SHÇEK may want to see it when they come to inspect the activities of the Community Center. Attendance is a must for the women, and if a woman does not attend three classes without informing the teacher of her reasons, her right to participate in the education can be cancelled. Both of the educators called roll in each class, and absences were marked in the class list. The experts should be

⁴⁴ In this context, it is crucial to note that there is a “hierarchical, continuous, and functional” surveillance. The mothers in the education process are observed and controlled mainly by the expert/teacher who is supervised by the experts of AÇEV and the officers of SHÇEK. In this context, the officers of SHÇEK always have priority over the experts of AÇEV as the former’s authority over the teacher is regulated by law, through specific rules and regulations of the state, while the latter’s authority comes from the internal regulations and the capital of the AÇEV foundation. Therefore, an expert/teacher has to be ready to render account to the state officers when they ask about ‘improvements’ resulting from the education program, even if she does not respect the authority of the AÇEV experts.

⁴⁵ My certificate can be seen in the appendice of this thesis.

informed about the reasons for the absences, and in such a way it becomes legitimate for an expert to have information on the lives of the women. Once it becomes legitimate to have such information, the interventions of the experts also seem normal and natural.

Scientific Knowledge and Morality

By objectifying its own statements, the authority of scientific knowledge makes the statement of the expert valid and truthful beyond dispute. In other words, the hegemony of scientific discourses causes the evaluation of each statement framed by the expert/teacher as “true”. To this extent, a few months after the classes began I realized that the teacher was perceived to be the healer of all the problems of the women. The mothers in the class were treating the expert/teacher as if she had all the cures for the ‘diseases’ of the women because she had the scientific, and thus, the ‘true’ knowledge of things. The women in the class asked her questions passionately “what shall I do?” “Is it right what I am doing?” “I did not let my child choose something, am I wrong?”, “I easily get angry, how can I prevent myself from acting so?” Or, the questions might involve more practical information: “I used to drain the water when I cook pasta, is it wrong?” “My child wants me to put some cacao in her milk, shall I put it?” The mothers were behaving as if they needed the confirmation of a scientific authority. In other words, they were feeling ‘guilty’ about their mothering whenever they did not receive the affirmation of the expert. They wanted to be recognized by the expert who represented not only the authority of scientific knowledge itself but also the authority of the state. In order to be included in society

and accepted as citizens by the state they depended on the affirmation of their behaviors by the expert/teacher ⁴⁶.

However, the affirmation of the expert was not won easily, as they had to change some basic know-how techniques which were passed down through generations. In such cases, in order to confirm herself as the expert, she spoke definitively. For instance, in one of the lectures about using nutritional value of the products the following dialogue occurred:

Expert: "What do you use to cook food?"

Mother1: "Margarine"

Mother2: "Sunflower oil"

Expert: "Margarine is like plastic. It contains chemicals and additives. Use oil. You will get used to using it. Riviera must be used for cooking. Olive oil converts itself to cancer-causing substance when it is burnt. Because of that, sunflower oil must be used in cooking".

As can be seen, the 'threat' also became part of scientific knowledge. The cancer-causing effects of some products were used to prove the truthfulness of the information.

Expert: "We must use iodine salt to prevent thyroid shortage... For sun-dried foods, they must be dried in the shade; to dry them under the sun might cause cancer..."

Mothers (on the verge of a nervous breakdown): "Oh, Good God!"... "I won't eat them anymore"... "What shall we do?"

At the end of these classes, all the women were confused and their faces looked worried. Most of them had started to ask about their housekeeping chores and child-rearing practices in detail after the classes. In short, the conclusiveness and

⁴⁶ However, in our private conversations, or during the interviews they did not care about scientific information that much. Almost all of the women that I interviewed told me that they did not drain the pasta's water. Moreover, some of the interviewees told me that they found the instructions of the teacher on cooking and nutrition 'insufficient', and even 'incorrect' for some of the cases. Therefore, these questions asked by the women in the classroom do not reflect their everyday concerns about scientific housewifery, rather, in my opinion, they were trying to show their interest in the instructions and to receive the appreciation of the teacher, as the state representative.

decisiveness of the scientific statements together with the feeling of “we-are-in-danger” led the women to obey the scientific instructions of the expert not only normally and naturally, but also urgently.

Therefore, I have argued that the reproduction and the deployment of expert knowledge in the Program as a technique constitute an “objectified” and “rationalized” nexus of practices and beliefs. In this process, the relationships between the experts were important, since each type of expert represented a different truth regime related to the different government techniques for educating the women. From here, I would like to focus on the spatial and temporal order and the distribution of bodies as ways of governmental technologies.

Disciplining the Bodies

Spatial Structure of the Classes

By focusing on aspects such as the placement of the women in the class; the scheduling of their daily activities on the basis of housework and child rearing; and the surveillance of the women in their domestic sphere, it becomes possible to disclose how disciplines infuse into the bodies and reconstitute them within their daily life practices.

When we talk about the spatial distribution, the sitting order in the classroom was highly remarkable in my case study. In the classroom, mothers have to sit next to each other, without any empty space between them and form a circle. The expert/teacher and the blackboard are located at the only open space in the circle. In this circle, every bodily gesture becomes visible and controllable, and there is no

space for the mothers out of this circle. Since the women are linked to each other in this circle, they cannot sit down or stand up without disturbing each other –not only disturbing the person in the next chair but everyone because everybody looks at each other in a circle. Whenever they want to get out of the circle they cannot do so easily, as they need to get permission from the teacher and everybody looks at the one who wants to get out of the circle –and the women become curious about the reason for it.

The teacher, since she is sitting at the only open point of the circle, is the one who has the right to approve or disapprove of the acts of the women. For example, a woman needs to get permission (from the teacher) before she starts to talk. Actually, it is not necessary to get permission specifically, but her speech has to be approved/confirmed with the mimetic gestures of the teacher as there is no way to escape her approving or disapproving gaze in this circle. A small gesture is enough for the woman to continue, as she knows that her words are being listened to. However, she may be interrupted by the teacher if she talks about something “irrelevant to the subject”, or starts a “private conversation”. She is advised to talk about those issues with her friends in the break, or after class. In fact, the woman is continuously being approved of and disapproved of by the teacher and by the other mothers in this circle as well. Thus, being criticized negatively makes the woman embarrassed as she thinks that the others may become suspicious about her efforts on ‘good mothering’. For that reason, a few months after the education began the women began to avoid telling or asking something marginal. Instead, most of them talked about their mothering experiences just for their appreciation.

This way of placement is advised and recommended by the AÇEV experts who are also the authors of the program booklet. The reason behind that is “to

develop group consciousness and solidarity”. However, as I observed, the women sitting next to each other in that circle had started to fix and maintain the place in which they sat. In other words, after a while, the order of the chairs of the mothers became fixed and each one started to sit at the same place in the class. Furthermore, the mothers who look alike in terms of their clothing, age, and language capabilities (the ones who speak Turkish perfectly) had started to sit close to each other in the circle. Actually, when I went to the class after being away for three weeks, I was surprised to realize that all the mothers who ‘seemed’ middle-class, modern, young, stylish, and who knew proper Turkish were sitting together and all the ‘other’ mothers were sitting in the other half of the circle. It seemed to me as if the circle was split down the middle and two half-circles had appeared. Therefore, although they could sit freely, the women chose to sit in the same chair in the same place, in the same group of ‘mothers’.

To sum up, the O-shape sitting order seemed to embrace all the participants and include them in the decision-making processes of the group, but in reality it also made every participant visible and controllable. It also seemed to break down the classical teacher-student hierarchies by making the teacher sit next to the student/mother. However, in reality, this does not change the requirement that the mothers must get permission from the teacher. In other words, the sitting order of the classroom indicates a different way of government, but not the absence of it.

Temporal Structure of the Classes

Scheduling the Classroom

During the lectures, it was crucial to schedule the everyday life of the mothers by advising them on child-rearing, cooking, and chores. Moreover, through a proper organization of time schedule in the classes the women became ready to apply a strict schedule at home. In other words, just as the classes were scheduled in detail and the women had to be punctual for every activity, the ‘mothers’ were expected to apply another strictly scheduled program at home.

The use and organization of time were very important both as a technique in the classes and as a discourse in the education. Every week the classes started at nine and ended around twelve o’clock and were composed of two sessions. In the first session, which took one and a half hours, the women talked in the “experience sharing” session of the (previous) week, and a game was played or there was a performance as preparation for that week’s subject. Then, that week’s subject was lectured and discussed in the class. Lastly, handouts were distributed and each woman read one sentence aloud. After a fifteen-minute-break the second session of the classes began, but before moving on to the second session I would like to mention this fifteen-minute-break.

This was a break for drinking tea and chatting with the other women, but it was never possible to do that because there always was a long queue for the tea and for the toilets. Many times, it was not possible to finish a cup of tea even though you managed to get one. Eating and drinking in the class were completely prohibited in order not to break the concentration of the mothers during the lectures. Although

sometimes a few women came to the class with a cup of tea in hand, hidden under the papers, handouts, or plastic bags, most of them just left their cups outside.

In the second session of the classes, which began around eleven o'clock, the mothers performed their ZEPs (Intellectual Education Program), which also had to be performed with the child at home. ZEP booklets were used as one of three activities scheduling their everyday life. The other two emphasized during the classes were the scheduling of the children's toilet practices and the scheduling of housework practices such as cooking, cleaning, and assisting the child with his/her homework, as I will mention below.

ZEP (Intellectual Education Program)

In order to comprehend the operations of the ZEP exercises their performative character should be analyzed. Indeed, not only the implementation of the exercises and games but also the program itself involves a certain performative mothering role for the participants. There is an analogy established between the mothers and the children, and thus, all the lectures, in-class, and out-door activities were performed on the basis of this analogy. In other words, during the education process, the mothers became the children while the teacher represented the 'mother' figure. The teacher, as the main actor of this play, represented a 'model-mother' who had to be followed by the future's mothers, who were treated as if they were children.

Therefore, there was a "play-ground" where the "child-mother" (who improved herself by realizing her mistakes, being aware of them and learning the correct ways) became a better "mother" gradually, under the guidance of the "mother-teacher" (who accepted the mistakes consciously, corrected them, listened and made an effort

to understand everyone, but at the same time, had principles and limits). All the other performances aside, I argue that this is the main and most important performative activity enacted in the classes.

ZEP should be understood within this context, as it is just one form of this analogy established between the mother and her child. Through the ZEP exercises, the woman performs both the role of the ‘child-mother’ and of the ‘teacher/model-mother’ in her relations with the other women in the classroom, since its exercises are performed among the peers of mother and child.

ZEP booklets are weekly booklets including different kinds of exercises which have to be done by the child under the directive and orientation of the mother. This mother and child activity is practiced in the classroom every week during the last hour. The mothers sit at a table with five-six people and practice their weekly ZEP exercises in the class. In pairs, they play the role of both the mother and the child. When one person performs the mother role the other person responds as her child. And then, the one who acts the role of the child previously becomes the mother, and the next person performs the role of her child. This role-playing continues until the exercises of the week are finished.

There are also “assistant-mothers” (*yardımcı-anne*) at each table during this time period in order to handle the ZEP exercises, as well as to supervise and direct the ‘mothers’. They are chosen on the basis of volunteerism at the beginning of the program. However, they are exposed to natural selection over time, as being an assistant-mother requires much more work. The assistant-mothers have to stay in the classroom two more hours after the classes and perform the coming week’s ZEPs with the educator. Under the directive of the educator they learn how to lead the mothers in the class during the ZEP exercises. In fact, having more work and

spending longer hours on 'good mothering' is 'rewarded' with the title of 'assistant-mother' and the practice of leading the other mothers. They are expected to clarify any confusion on the part of the 'mothers' and to supervise them for the 'proper' implementation of the exercises. However, they remain the "assistants" as long as the "mother" is the expert/teacher herself.

During the ZEP exercises, 'assistant-mothers' observe, supervise and intervene in the mothers' way of doing the exercises. However, the expert/teacher in the class observes the assistant-mothers at the same time. If an assistant mother has difficulties in directing the women, then, the teacher intervenes in the situation as well as guiding the assistant-mother. Therefore, there is a reciprocal and hierarchical surveillance which puts the actors in the field in order.

ZEPs are composed of a series of performances that a mother should do to educate her child, such as teaching the child to make well proportioned drawings or paintings, making use of the child's creativity through story telling or picture setting, and so on⁴⁷. The mothers are expected to practice the exercises in these booklets with their child everyday at the same time and in the same place. The mother has to prepare the room and the table precisely for the absolute concentration of the child, and during this time interval, the mother should also concentrate exclusively on the child's study. Even if the mother-in-law, a neighbor, or a guest knocks on the door, the mother is advised to say "I am sorry, but I am making my child study. It is very important. Please come later" and then, to close the door without interrupting the child. In that sense, the women tend to break their homo-social ties with other women in the neighborhood and their extended families. However, as it will be

⁴⁷ Most of the exercises in those booklets support the good mothering discourse of the program. For example, when the child completes an exercise where they have to put the boxes with different pictures of an event in order, they find a story like this: Ali dirties the floor, and then his mother comes, and cleans everywhere. In the last box, she smiles with a broom and a dustpan in her hands.

discussed in the second chapter, women may use this advice from the experts to open up new areas for "agency" against the dominance of the patriarchal relations in the domestic sphere.

Scheduling Everyday

The mother becomes completely responsible for the time scheduling of the child and the family members. They should think about efficient scheduling to put things in order in the household. However, their everyday scheduling is already organized by the experts of the Education of Mother classes:

Just as we schedule ourselves, we will determine the schedule for the child's studies when they start school. The child should study both in the morning and in the evening. For instance, the child comes home at six p.m. You will give them time to relax until 6:30 pm. Then, the father comes home at seven. You have dinner (with him). The (serial) *Avrupa Yakası* starts at eight. What will happen then? While you are watching it and laughing how will the child study? For this reason, you should make separate schedules for each day... After dinner, while you are washing the dishes in the kitchen the father reads the newspaper. We should give the child half an hour or one hour for studying. We should talk with the father and the siblings to organize it. If there is a father we cannot agree with then we will arrange it accordingly. If it is necessary, (the child) studies before going to school. You will arrange this ⁴⁸.

This organized scheduling of the evening contributes to the discourse which constitutes the women as the "managers of the household", as I previously discussed.

⁴⁸ Nasıl ZEP'lerde kendimize bir saat koyuyorsak seneye de hem sabah hem de çocuk okuldan gelince birer ders çalışma saati belirlemeliyiz. 6:00'da geldi, dinlenme saati verdiniz 6:30. Yedide baba geldi, yemek yediniz. sekizde de Avrupa Yakası başladı. Ne olacak? Siz güle güle onu izlerken o nasıl gidip ders çalışacak? Onun için her gün ayrı ders çalışma programı yapılmalı. Onun yerine altıda geldi, 6.30'a kadar dinlendi, sonra yemek yediniz. Siz mutfakta bulaşık yıkarken baba da gazetesini okur. Yarım saat- bir saat çocuğa ders çalışma saati ayırmalıyız. Bunu babayla ve kardeşlerle de konuşup ayarlamalıyız. Eğer anlaşamayacağımız bir baba varsa o zaman biz onu ona göre ayarlayacağız. Gerekirse sabah okula gitmeden çalışır. O ayarlamayı siz yapacaksınız.

By mediating the relations between the family members and by scheduling their activities she takes on the whole responsibility of their ‘success’ in the outside world –the ‘success’ of the children at school, and the ‘success’ of the husband at work. It is a heavy responsibility indeed, because as is frequently repeated in the classes "the success of the child is the success of the mother". Therefore, in order to be ‘successful’ among the other women in the class she has to make her child ‘successful’ which requires the management of every single activity at home and the reproduction of the patriarchal roles in the domestic sphere, just as washing the dishes in the kitchen while the husband is reading newspaper.

As another aspect of everyday scheduling, housewifery practices, especially cooking and cleaning, are important. Confirming the discourse of maternal responsibility, the mothers have to organize their everyday cooking and cleaning schedule as ‘responsible mothers’ for the health and well-being of the family members. For instance, if the husbands are finicky with their foods, it is recommended to cook vegetables for lunch and a protein-rich meal for dinner. Or, it is advised to cook rice for lunch, and *bulgur* for dinner. In this way, mothers not only have to be ready to cook all day but also to watch and record the nutritional time tables of the family members.

The last scheduling activity that I would like to mention is on the toilet training of the children. The mothers are expected to wake the children up at night for their toilet needs. She has to wake them up twice a night: an hour and four hours after they go to sleep. However, if the children need to, they have to be woken up by the mother more often. Moreover, during the daytime the mother should be aware; she has to observe the child. Therefore, the mother has to dedicate her night as well as her day to her child. Women carry a daily schedule written on a piece of paper

when they come to class every week. If the children pee in their pants, they draw a rainy cloud figure under the day marked in this schedule. Similarly, if they do not pee, they draw a sun under that day in the schedule. In this way, the mother brings the paper full of rain, clouds and suns to the class, since she is responsible for the 'success' of the child. In the O-shape circle, the women hold those papers in their hands in a way that everybody can see each other's and explain the reasons behind the clouds, rains and suns. While 'successful' mothers are appreciated by the classmates, others receive advice from the 'successful' ones for the scheduling of the coming week, and go back home with the toilet charts. In these ways, it is assumed that the mother can use her time productively and effectively to practice both housewifery and mothering.

Surveillance

In the whole process of the "Education of Mothers", 'home-visit' is one of the explicit uses of power implemented through the surveillance techniques. It is a practice 'advised' by the experts of AÇEV, although it is not obligatory. For that reason, the expert social workers did not use this method, while the retired teachers of the Girls' Vocational High School did visit the houses regularly. Actually, I could not participate in these visits, as they were practiced by the teacher before I started to go to the Community Center. I asked that she called me when she went to the home-visits, but she dodged it constantly with an excuse about having meetings with the AÇEV experts. Therefore, I do not have any observation on home-visits. However, I had a chance to ask the teacher about it in the interview.

During home-visits, the teacher went to the house of one of the mothers from the class, and looked at her daily life practices to evaluate whether she was using the techniques that were taught in the classroom. As the teacher told me, they looked at “whether their children are sleeping with her, whether she has a cooked meal left from a few days ago in her refrigerator –or, if she cooks a fresh meal daily, and whether the home is clean or not”. The teacher could enter the house of the women easily with her ultimate authority as the teacher of a state institution. Moreover, not only she could go into the houses without any serious difficulties, but also her words were taken into consideration by all the family members who were at home when she came – mothers-in-law; other relatives living in the same apartment; even husbands who were at home at that time.

The ‘mother’ was informed most of the time before the home-visits. However, they might also “raid the house” according to the teacher. Of course, all these visits were seen as a part of the pedagogic process of the mothers. In fact, such a surveillance practice was becoming softened behind the ‘natural’ and ‘scientific’ impacts of the pedagogic discourse. Therefore, the use and utilization of the pedagogic process became important because the surveillance techniques allied with the pedagogy. In fact, surveillance undertook a pedagogic role. Thus, in the case of the Gazi neighborhood, every act and action, including surveillance, observation and control, were exercised in the name of educating the ‘mothers’, and as a part of their ‘pedagogic’ process ⁴⁹.

⁴⁹ Foucault (1995) discusses the three processes conjoined in a single mechanism: actual education, attaining knowledge through the application of pedagogic activity, reciprocal and hierarchical surveillance. A defined and regulated surveillance relationship is located in the heart of the implementation of education appliance (p. 263). Similarly, Davin (1997) also discusses how surveillance, observation and control are exercised through the discourse of educating the mothers in the context of ‘School for Mothers’ in the beginning of the twentieth century Britain.

Experience-Sharing: “Confession Session”

Before the expert/teacher started to lecture about the topic of the week it was the time for “experience sharing” (*deneyim paylaşımı*). During that time, in between the performances and the lectures, the mothers were invited to “share” their experiences from the previous week related to the subject ‘analyzed’ in the previous class. What did they do during the previous week in terms of the instructions of the previous class? How did they try to ‘correct’ their misbehaviors and change their ‘inconvenient habits’? If the mothers could not correct these misbehaviors what were the reasons? What kinds of changes did they experience when they applied the teachings at home? These were a few examples of the basic questions that were raised during “experience sharing” session. Moreover, if the mothers could not provide any changes they had made at home they were responsible to explain the reasons for that in the classroom. In that case, the educator, as well as the other ‘mothers’, had a right to expect a reasonable answer from the mother. Thus, the whole process of an “experience sharing” session became more of a “confession session” instead.

During the “confession sessions”, not only the disinformation of the ‘mothers’ was disclosed, but also it was advised that they replaced it with the correct one. When the women explained what they did in the previous week the ‘problem’ was figured out by the expert social worker, and then, some solutions were offered to deal with this problem. In fact, in the last two months of the educations, I observed that most of the women learned to figure out the ‘problem’ in another’s experience, criticize the ‘guilty’ party, and suggest solutions to improve the situation and to ‘correct’ the ‘guilty’ party. In this context, they were not only criticizing the other

mothers who could not provide a ‘progress’ on the resolution of the problem, but were also self-criticizing in front of the other ‘mothers’: “It is my fault. It would be perfect if I woke her up. I have been neglectful...”⁵⁰

This was the sentence of a woman who ‘shared’ that she could not change her child’s toilet habits. She was sorry and ashamed. The educator and her classmates listened to her and evaluated her reasons critically to decide if she was an ‘irresponsible mother’, or if she had some reasonable causes. Self-criticizing was the only thing to do for her, because, otherwise, the others would have thought that she did not even realize her mistake. In that sense, what the others wanted to see in a mother became a determinant factor in the confession practices of the women. Within these practices, self-criticism went hand-in-hand with the stories of ‘change’: “I am an impatient mother, but I feel a progress in me about that... My relationship with my children is better now...”⁵¹ As long as the women ‘confess’ the ‘problems’ in their behaviors, as long as they realize and disclose their mistakes, and try to change themselves in ‘progress’ they assume to approach the ‘ideal mother’.

Additionally, it is expected from the women to frame “I do” sentences during the ‘confession sessions’. In other words, if a woman frames a sentence such as “we do it like...” or “it is done like...” she is warned by the teacher to correct her sentence to “I do it like...” In this way, the women are urged to take responsibility for their own actions within an individualized discourse.

Therefore, alongside my discussion on disciplinary technologies, by mentioning how the spatial organization of bodies functions with the productive and qualitative time usage in the organization of the mothers’ everyday, the practice of

⁵⁰ “Benim hatam, ben kaldırıyordum çok güzel olacaktı, ihmal ettim...”

⁵¹ “Ben sabırsız bir anneyim, ama kendimde gelişme hissediyorum bu konuda... Çocuğumla ilişkim artık daha düzeldi...”

“confession” is also very important as “subjection of individuals to the accumulation of power in the state is provided by the use of technologies of discipline and confession” (Ball, 1990, p. 7).

Performances: Psychodrama, Role-Playing, and Games

The last technique that I would like to mention is related to the role of the performances in the "Education of Mothers" classes because the implementation of psychodrama techniques is a quite recent phenomenon in education. The Mother-Child Education Program predicts a pedagogic process with the use of different kinds of performative techniques. During the education, lots of games, activities, dramas and performances are offered by the expert writers of the program booklet. The applications of such activities can be variable, depending on the knowledge and interest of the educator. In my case, because the expert social worker had done previous work and studies on it she applied various techniques of psychodrama during the lectures. On the contrary, the retired teacher of the Vocational High School was just applying some performance-based exercises written in the booklet.

As having the knowledge of these techniques causes an important differentiation between the retired teacher and the expert social worker it can be useful to pose some questions, such as, what are the sources of these techniques? How are they implemented in the group-work? How are the games and role-playing exercises used in the context of psychology?

Psychodrama techniques started in the form of spontaneity theatre, which is a special form of improvisational theatre. The techniques of this theatre, such as reflection, role-playing, and soliloquy were improved over time. In this way, the first

framework of psychodrama and group psychotherapy was brought out into groups (Moreno, 1960). Through games and the improvisations it aims to draw the attention of the participants to a particular issue, to prepare the group emotionally, and to provoke different emotions in each group member (Blatner, 2002). In these ways, psychodrama techniques aim to contribute to further works on a particular subject held by the group.

These techniques can be applied in every group (children, adults, families, pregnant women, or mothers), in every situation (conflict, love, oppression, suppression), and in every institution (schools, work places, corporations). The best way to start is with warm-up games. These games may warm-up either the individuals or the group depending on the aim of the 'leader', which is the term used to identify the person implementing the games and psychotherapy techniques.

The warm-up games cause participants to both "discover the power of the group and to overcome the resistances of the group members"⁵². When one "gets out of her/his learned identity and becomes another person it is expected that he/she to see her/his own problem in a more clear way being at a distance to it" (Altınay, 2001). As a result of this process, the aim is that the person having the problem finds and solves his/her own problem. In this way, the relaxation of the person implying her/his problems in the character of other is actualized (Pehlivan, 2005).

In the context of the "Education of Mothers", other than the weekly exercises of ZEP, as it was mentioned before, there are also various techniques of psychodrama, role-playing, spontaneity, and warm-up games performed just before the lectures in order to prepare the group members for the subject. Through these

⁵² It is scholarly argued that a child improves some certain skills through games such as practicing basic skills, getting information about objects and people, improving her/his knowledge; learning social roles through role-playing, and lastly, improving imagination skills and emotions (Pehlivan, 2005).

performances, they are expected to figure out their own problems and try to find the 'solutions'. Moreover, the 'child-mothers' learn about the lecturing subject of the week while they are performing it. However, there is always a moral that can be drawn from the stories of the plays and the performances. I would like to give a couple of examples:

In the beginning of one lecture, Deniz Hanım asked Nur to narrate the last episode of the serial film she watched. However, while Nur was narrating the serial Deniz Hanım was interested in other things: While she said, "tell me; I am listening to you" she talked with the other women, stood up and cleaned the blackboard, and started to practice some other things in the classroom. Nur, on the other hand, was down, she was almost crying. She did not understand that it was a joke. Then, she said with anger "you called on me, but you did not listen to me!" However, after she understood that it was a joke she said that she used to do similar things towards her husband and her children.

The moral drawn from this small performance was that if the mother does not show an interest in the acts of her child while the child is talking then the child feels very bad – as bad as Nur felt at that moment. In this way, Nur, as the "child-mother" of this performance, would remember how bad she felt whenever she did not listen to her husband and her children. The other mothers who were not only the witnesses but also the participants of this scene would also remember this 'event' when they were faced with similar situations at home.

Alongside these types of small performances there were also simple warm-up games played in the first sessions of classes. For example, one woman who was called the postman⁵³ came to the center of a circular group and said "I bring letters

⁵³ As it is called *postacı* in Turkish the term postman has no gendered connotations in this context.

for the black shoes". Then the ones with black shoes stood up and changed their places, and the postman tried to sit in one of the women's chair when it was empty. There was no moral in this game. It was just to make the 'mothers' relaxed and warmed up before the lectures started.

There were also some longer (five-ten minutes) improvisations performed in the classes but they were just a few because of the time restrictions of the education classes. My last but not least example would be on one of these improvisations. With regards to 'conflict resolution', a family "mise-an-scene" was improvised in the class. There were seven groups each composed of four women who would perform the roles of the mother, the father, a seven-year old son, and an eighteen-year-old daughter. The problem given for the play was that the daughter wanted to go to India and the son wanted to go to ballet classes; and this had to be explained to the father. The 'mothers' were expected to solve any possible conflicts that might arise in such a situation. How could she find a satisfactory solution for everyone?

After a-fifteen-minute preparation, each group started to perform their play in front of the other women. In the performances, the children talked first to the mother; and then the mother tried to find a way to tell her husband. In all the groups, the family members sat down around a table and tried to solve this 'conflict' by talking and discussing gently with each other. Interestingly, all of the mothers told the husbands that the daughters *had to* go to India because it was necessary for her education. This fitted with the mother's reason for coming to the community center as well because before coming to the community center they told their husbands and senior family members that they had to go to the Center for the proper education of their children. Therefore, the daughters' adventure to India was identified with the mother's own adventure of going beyond the borders of the household.

Although the actual situation was different, almost all the groups depicted very democratic family meetings which resulted in the husband agreeing, or with a change in his solid and strict manners. During the performances, the women depicted the desired family, which they had learned to desire through their education classes. Only one group was very realistic. It ended with a fight between the mother and the father because the father did not only forbid his daughter from going to India, but also blamed the mother for spoiling the children. In this improvisation, the younger child, the boy who wanted to go to ballet classes could not even express his desire in that 'family meeting', at the end of which the mother and the father started to fight. Therefore, the democratic, modern, middle class family fantasy collapsed with the last performance from the women. After these performances, the mothers were asked to evaluate the family as "tolerant", "democratic", or "repressive". Each group chose one of these adjectives to define the families on the stage. In these evaluations, if a woman did not allow her children to do what they wanted, the other women evaluated her as a "conservative mother".

Therefore, by playing games, performing psychodrama techniques and improvising plays the women took on the roles of the other actors in their domestic sphere. Through psychological methods women were called to identify with the other characters in their lives and solve the problems through comprehension of the inner worlds and feelings of these characters. In this way, they were also supposed to realize the problems in their mothering and to develop solutions in order to 'improve' their mothering. As such, women became responsible for the solution of all kinds of problems in the family and they were supposed to approach to the family members with understanding because they have 'learnt' how the others felt. Women were rehearsing their lives in the classroom. However, "mise-an-scene" of the

classroom was very different than the actuality of life, which meant challenging heavy social and economical deprivation and violence, for these women.

To sum up, it is an entire process, including state officers, experts and ‘mothers’, working as a machine to produce “power”. Among the multiple accounts of power, disciplinary power works both explicitly, since it is everywhere and continuously awake, and, at the same time, implicitly as it functions in silence. In my case study, this power operates through neo-liberal governmental techniques such as voluntarily confession, surveillance through home-visits, democratic participation in decision-making processes, feeling the need for the expert affirmation, disciplinary spatial and temporal organization of everyday and psychologicalization. In this context, although it seems that the hierarchical relations between the experts and the mothers are overcome through these techniques of new government it is, in fact, still regulatory and disciplinary, but in a different way. Just as the sitting orders reflecting the different practices of the experts, who are prompted by the different ‘truth regimes’ related to the forms of governmentality, there are different forms of government applied in the program, among which some are less visible than others. However, this does not mean it is absent.

The discursive field of the "Education of Mothers" promotes neo-liberal ‘self-governance’ of the mother. The use of "technologies of self" by promoting self-controlling, self-criticizing, self-disciplining approaches necessitates self-correction of any deviance from the ‘norm’. Moreover, by framing "I do" sentences reflecting the individual responsibility, and being encouraged doing constant self-policing the women are trying to escape from being labeled ‘irresponsible’ by their classmates.

These processes combine with another neo-liberal discourse of "individualism". During the "Education of Mothers" classes, there was an emphasis

on the "individual responsibility" of the mother on the issues of home and husband management, and child-rearing. This (maternal-individual) responsibility discourse assumes that the fulfillment of the middle-class family fantasy necessitating pleasurable family environment and certain consumption habits depends on the 'success' or 'failure' of the mother. According to this point of view, everything is seen as a part of the individual responsibility of the woman, and apart from her economic, political and social structural conditions, she is evaluated as solely responsible for the management of the nuclear family unit and its 'improvement'. As a result, it becomes possible to blame the individual-mother for the 'deviances' from the ideal form by implying that it is because of her own 'deficiency'. This approach also conjoins with "feeling management" as long as the women are provoked to control their negative feelings like anger and temperament towards their husbands and the other family members. In this way, 'clemency' becomes the 'norm' for a woman, while anger and temperament are seen as divergence from the 'norm', belonging to the wild outside world; and thus, unacceptable for *the* mother.

Therefore, it is this discursive field of the "Education of Mothers" exposed to multiple technologies and "technologies of self" which attempt to govern families by investing and individualizing women in those families, and to intervene in the localities composed of individualized family units. Then, how do 'individuals' respond to those techniques of neo-liberal governmentality? If they are not passive recipients of these discourses how do these women interpret them in their everyday lives? In the following two chapters, I will discuss the subjectivity formations of the women as the *active* recipients and interpreters of the discourses of the "Education of Mothers" Program.

CHAPTER III

READING SUBJECTIVITIES OF THE 'MOTHERS'

I believe one can gain the most fruitful understanding of power relations by defining limitations and possibilities of the discourses and technologies applied in the Mother-Child Education Program, as well as examining the problem of subjectivity of these 'mothers' participating in the education classes. Because the subject is not only produced within discourses but also subjected to discourses an examination of which subjectivity and subject positions that the women take up provides us a critical analysis on the dominant discourses and the power relations in the field.

The process of subjectification constitutes individual-subjects from the people by organizing their everyday life and by telling them the correct ways of doing things in their daily practices. This is not only the process of subjectification because it goes hand-in-hand with the process of objectification as well. Foucault (2002) defines this process in the following terms:

This form of power applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others have to recognize in him. It is a form of power which makes individuals subjects. There are two meanings of the word *subject*: subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to (p. 212).

Foucault deals with three modes of objectification/subjectification which transform human being into subjects: first, modes of inquiry which try to give themselves the status of sciences, second, the dividing practices causing that the subject be either divided herself or divided from others, and third, the way a human being turns herself into a subject. Through these three objectifying processes, a 'self' is produced as an object of one's knowledge on herself.

In this way, the women depending on knowledge about themselves constitute 'mother-as-a-subject' positions. It is a particular 'mother' position because their motherhood depends on the practices which constitute and label them as 'proper/good' mothers or the 'improper/bad' ones. These particular mothering practices can be the ones that the women know already, as they learn from their own mothers and from the local female networks in which they are embedded, or the ones which are learnt and practiced recently by means of the "Education of Mothers". These are also "dividing practices" that divide the mother-subject either internally, within herself, or externally, from the others. The internal division caused by these new practices can come from how the women define and perceive themselves and their roles: as a self-sacrifice mother, as an individual young woman, as an educated 'modern' mother, as an expert of child pedagogy, or of housework, and so on. These practices also divide the mothers externally, from the other women, by causing various differentiations between the 'educated modern mothers' and 'the others'.

If the "modern subjectivity have formed by the contingent, shifting discourses and practices" (Strozier, 2002), then, how these women use the variety of discourses and practices in their everyday lives to constitute their subjectivities? In these two chapters, I will examine the subject positions these women assume as they interact with other actors in the field of power relations. By doing so I will try to

disclose the variety of those 'dividing practices' of the 'mothers' and the discursive forms of knowledge leading to those practices. What are the effects of the "Education of Mothers" program in the lives of the women in shaping the subjectivities of the mothers and in adding 'new' motherhood discourses and practices upon the 'old' ones? Moreover, by keeping in mind that taking subject positions is an ongoing struggle, a multiplicity of struggling relations with the other subjects and with the hegemonic discourses in this field of everyday life become important questions for my analysis.

In a perception of relational understanding, how do they construct 'motherhood' and their 'selves' in relation with this 'motherhood' category? What are they saying about their own and the others' 'motherhood'? Moreover, because these words and expressions are taken from the dominant discourses in the field it is important to question how they 'transmit' the words of the teacher, or the utterances used in the education classes (Bakhtin, 1981) and how they are 'transmitting' the technical pedagogic concepts such as 'coherency' (of the mother), 'conflict' (with the family members), 'listening' to, or setting 'eye contact' with (the children), and so on. How are they applying the sophisticated-technical language of the education in their daily life practices and in their relations with the other women? How do they use the "pedagogical language" that they learn in the 'classes of motherhood' in their everyday life? In other words, how can they attach the "pedagogical language" of the education to the "performative language" of their everyday?⁵⁴ How do they play

⁵⁴ Through the theorization of Bhabha (1990), it could be argued that the "pedagogic language" uses the 'mother-subjects' as its objects and places them into its authoritative/truth-telling/unquestionable language. On the other hand, "performative language" opens up the possibilities of difference. It brings up different state of beings in this world that 'mothers' become the 'subjects' of this language. "Pedagogical language", just like the "authoritative discourse" of Bakhtin (1981), exists before us. It gives us a grand narrative in which we can take our positions. However, there is always a "gap" between the pedagogical and performative languages. In this gap, the subjects can play with each other; they can shape, re-shape and transmit the discourses, through which way they construct a 'self'.

with each other, with the other subjects, in a 'gap' between these "pedagogic" and the "performative" languages, and how do they construct a 'self' by looking at themselves from this 'gap'? These questions lead me to make an analytical reading of the women's accounts in the following pages.

'Tactics' as a Way of Resistance in Everyday Life

Taking subject positions requires particular relationships with the actors in the power field. There are some struggles, bargains, and negotiations between the rivals in this game played by the actors. At this point how they struggle, what are the tools for struggling, and who has those tools become important to disclose the multiple layers of the relationships between the subjects.

In my case study, the way the women struggle was crucial for me not only because they were the subjects of the pedagogic disciplinary technologies of education systems of the modern nation-state, but also they were the subjects of this study as the women trying to survive in the web of patriarchal relations. Therefore, how they struggle within the stratified constitutions of everyday relations, what kind of tools they use, and how they use them in their everyday life are important for me to comprehend the ways and to see the possibilities of resistance within the power relations in everyday life. To this extent how much faculty they can have by taking different subject positions in their encounter with different focal points in the field of power games is another question drawing my attention.

So, what do the women do to reduce the grid of "discipline" which dominates and domesticates women located within the hierarchical structure of the

(disciplinary) institutions? In this study, I critically examine these institutions in particular: the Community Center as an educative institution, the Education of Mothers Program operating within the Community Center, and the extended and nuclear families within the web of kinship relations. By this examination, I attempt to figure out how women can manipulate the mechanisms of discipline by using 'miniscule' and quotidian popular procedures as well as by conforming to these disciplinary mechanisms only in order to negotiate with them. Moreover, what are the "ways of operating" the women apply in their everyday to deal with the disciplinary effects of these institutions?

The "ways of operating" provide a fruitful area to discuss the ways of resistance of the women in their encounter with the disciplinary forces of the institutions in this field because the "ways of operating" are based on everyday practices and they are 'tactical in character', as though "victories of the "weak" over the "strong", clever tricks, knowing how to get away with things, "hunter's cunning", maneuvers, polymorphic simulations, joyful discoveries, poetic as well as warlike" (de Certeau, 1984, p. xix). When the women confront other actors in the field, all of these tactics can be applied in their everyday practices, such as their ways of cooking, raising children, speaking with family members (as well as 'outsiders'), designing the home, preparing a dinner table, and so on.

These 'ways of operating' are the techniques both analogous and contrary to those dealt with by Foucault. As de Certeau (1984) conceptualized:

...(they are) analogous, in that the goal is to perceive and analyze the microbe-like operations proliferating within technocratic structures and deflecting their functioning by means of a multitude of 'tactics' articulated in details of everyday life; contrary, in that the goal is not to make clearer how the violence of order is transmuted into a disciplinary technology, but rather to bring to light the clandestine forms taken by the dispersed, tactical, and

makeshift creativity groups or individuals already caught in the nets of 'discipline' (p. xiv).

Thus, 'tactics' are based on instantaneous, hit-and-run activities that provide one with a kind of temporality to practice her/his individual or collective but dispersed resistance techniques. Mary Wollstonecraft, who is one of the first feminist theorists of social constructionism, traces acutely the tactical maneuverings of a social group whose activities are relegated to "the little incidents of the day" and whose members "necessarily grow up cunning" (Wollstonecraft, 1992; Hall 2004). Based on this, 'tactics' are "the little incidents of the day" which are located just in the ways of doing things in one's everyday life.

In that sense, I use the terms 'tactic' and 'strategy' in order to problematize and conceptualize the distinct forms of subject formation processes of the women. By following the conceptualizations of de Certeau, I underline the time-oriented character of tactic and place-oriented character of strategy for constructing a framework for the question of *subjectivity*. According to de Certeau (1984), 'tactic' is "a calculus which cannot count on a 'proper' (a spatial or institutional localization), thus not on a border-line distinguishing the other as a visible totality. The place of a tactic belongs to the other... Because it does not have a place, a tactic depends on time... Whatever it wins, it does not keep. It must constantly manipulate events in order to turn them into 'opportunities'" (p. xix). On the other hand, a 'strategy' is "the calculus of force-relationships which becomes possible when a subject of will and power can be isolated from an 'environment'... A strategy assumes a "proper" place and thus serves as the basis of generating relations with an exterior distinct from it" (p. xix). Therefore, I take cognizance of 'place' when I talk

about the "strategies" while I submit the temporal character of "tactic" into consideration to frame my analysis.

Moreover, when we look at the work of Foucault (2000), the term "strategy" is used first to designate the means employed to attain a certain end, second, to designate the manner in which a partner in a certain game acts by thinking and calculating the others' acts and in this way, to seek to have the advantage over others, and third, to designate the procedures used in a situation of confrontation to deprive the opponent of her/his means of combat and to reduce her/him to giving up the struggle (p. 224-225). Thus, "strategy" is defined by "the choice of winning solutions". Therefore, it necessitates not only a "proper place" as de Certeau implied, but also a set of long-term calculations and techniques in order to render the struggle impossible for the rival.

Therefore, I will mainly mention the "tactics", but not the "strategies" when I examine the subjectivities of the 'mothers' considering their relations with the AÇEV experts and akin because women lack the means to use for a "strategy" against the power-holder actors both in the household and state institutions. Within kinship relations, as a woman moves to her husband's family in an extended family structure, the bride is seen as a 'renter' but not as a 'house owner' who has the right over the means producing power. It is also the same for a woman going to the Community Center, as a state institution, by leaving her house. Moreover, a woman does not have time to make long-term plans because there is an urgency stemming from the possibility of violence against her which may come out all of a sudden. It may be physical violence applied by the husband and emotional one used by her classmates and the experts through the discourses of maternal perfectibility. Thus, the struggling of the women in this field of power relations is based on immediate

and spontaneous techniques and activities that have appeared just at the moment of their confrontation with the other actors.

Mother and Child: Individuality vs. Subject as a 'Mother'

Motherhood is commonly evaluated as a natural and primary role of women, an irresistible 'instinct', or a biological rule for women, as was discussed earlier in this study. However, this is not a naïve discourse, but rather a purposeful one that constitutes 'subordinates' from the women. Such discourses are fed with other patriarchal discourses that place women within a set of patriarchal relations in the society. These expressions of motherhood "prevent mothers from developing woman-centered desires and goals, and deny their interests and activities outside family. The ideology imposes expectations –for instance, twenty-four-hour devotion–that generate anger, frustration, and resentment. These negative feelings sometimes lead to behavior that is less 'maternal'" (Rich, 1976).

However, as Glenn argues (1994), "by depicting motherhood as natural, a patriarchal ideology of mothering locks women into biological reproduction, and denies their identities and selfhood outside mothering" (p. 9). In fact, women may compel the identities differently than the identity of 'mother' which is identical with "care and nurturance" (Chodorow, 1978). In the frame of my case study, I search for the possibilities of these identities by trying to disclose different subject positions that the women are willing to take up in their everyday confrontations with the agents of the dominant patriarchal discourses. Hence, in the following pages, specific to their relations with children, mothers-in-law and husbands, I try to examine their self-construction processes under the influence of the dominant mothering discourses

operated both in the "Education of Mothers" classes, in their kinship relations, and in their relations with the other women.

Within the extended families of the Gazi neighborhood, there is a child-oriented structure that requires mainly the nurturance and care of the child⁵⁵. In those families, the mother is identified with her child and the 'improper' behaviors of the child are attributed to the mother. The mothers, on the other hand, desire to be 'free' individuals apart from their children. They desire to construct a 'self' different than a 'mother'. However, they cannot dispose of the children who are seen as a body part of a mother. Because the dominant discourse is based on the motto "the success of the child is the success of the mother", the "Education of Mothers" Program attaches the child to the mother over and over again. In this process, in addition to the stress from the domestic violence and oppression they face, the mothers begin to feel resentment towards this attachment. Then, they use violence upon the children while talking within a pedagogical language of child rearing as 'educated modern individuals'.

Therefore, a woman undertakes many discourses within the web of patriarchal social relations as a 'mother' since "woman is conflated with mother and together appears as an undifferentiated and unchanging monolith" (Glenn, 1994, p. 13). Then, how do women desire to be 'ideal mothers', and are there any possibilities of taking up different subject positions other than 'mother'? In the following pages, I will start my discussion through questioning the relationship between mother and child to comprehend who this 'mother' is, what types of connotations the notion of 'motherhood' has, and how the women living in the Gazi neighborhood respond to

⁵⁵ For example, the bride/mother should not let the child cry. Otherwise, she faces over-reaction from the senior people in the household.

different meanings of 'motherhood' in the everyday of the neighborhood and within the relations set in the household?

Mother And Child Attachment

In dominant ideologies on motherhood, certain characteristics are attributed to women as 'mothers', and those features are seen as inevitable in the construction of motherhood, as well as of womanhood. In this way, an orientation toward nurturance and care becomes part of women's personality because the process of identity formation in girls takes place through continuous attachment to and identification with the mother, as Chodorow (1978) theorized in her psychoanalytic object relations theory.

That attachment to and identification with the child is taken for granted by the dominant discourses on motherhood. It seems like an irresistible and invisible 'attachment' between mother and child tying the two to each other. Attachment of mother and child is theorized in psychology as well as in educational sciences. This process is identified with the "maternal care". In the case of the absence of such an attachment between child and mother it is termed the "maternal deprivation" (Bowlby, 1969). In this context, researches on that issue sought to specify child-care requirements—such as love, attachment, and stimulation—and the respective effects of their lack or distortion.

In fact, this identification process of mother and child is entitled as a form of fusion that requires "treating mother and child as a single entity with unitary interests" in Glenn's analysis (1994). She argues that "this fusion denies personhood

and agency to both, however, mothers' interests and children's interests may conflict, and mothers may be forced to choose between them" (p. 13).

It is repeated all the time in classes that "the success of the child is the success of the mother", and hence, the mother wants her child to be 'successful' so that she can show how she is (the mother herself), in fact, 'successful'. However, sometimes this situation evolves into a 'success competition'. This 'success competition' occurs not only between 'the mothers' in the classroom through the success of their children, but also between the mother and the child when "mothers' interests and children's interests are in conflict":

My child used to soil her underclothes. I applied what Deniz Hanım told us. I woke her up regularly at night for a while. And now, she has given up that habit almost totally. However, recently I tried not waking her. I said, "let me see if it is her success or mine". She peed again. So, it was my success, I mean, the success of the mother!⁵⁶

Güldane told us that in the class, during the 'experience sharing' session, which I called the 'confession session' earlier in my discussion. There, Güldane became very happy while she was telling us about her 'success' even if this 'success' brought with it the 'failure' of her child. It was her 'success' because without her help and orientation the child would soil her underclothes again. She became a competitive individual: On one hand, she was proud of her child because the child gave up soiling her underclothes, making her a 'successful mother' among her classmates –as "the success of the child means the success of the mother". On the other hand, she was more proud of herself because she achieved it individually, thus, she had also 'individual success' which did not derive from the 'success' of her child. She

⁵⁶ Çocuğum altını ıslatıyordu. Deniz Hanım'ın söylediği şeyleri uyguladım; bir süre gece düzenli olarak kaldırdım. Şimdi o alışkanlığını bıraktı. Nerdeyse yüzde yüz bıraktı yani. Fakat geçenlerde bir deneyeyim dedim, kaldırmadım. Bakalım benim başarım mı yoksa onun başarısı mı göreyim dedim. Gene altını ıslattı. Benim başarımmış yani, annenin başarısımış!

inverted the previous motto and the success of the mother became the success of the child. In this way, the mother aimed to reject to share the responsibility of her child's 'failure' while she attached herself to her child in case of the child's 'success'. In other words, while she was emphasizing her child's success as her own achievement, she escaped taking responsibility for her child's 'failures'.

"It Does Not Fit With My Child..."

When they express the 'failure' of their children the 'mothers' use assumptions such as "my child is not like me...it does not work with my child", or "it is very beneficiary, but my child is different. The instructions do not fit with my child...", or "it is genetic, her/his father is just like her/him..." In these ways, they share the responsibility of the child's 'failure' with the husbands, or give the whole responsibility of her/his 'failure' to the child. Piraye says

Deniz, I think it is genetic, is like her father. She has a jealous character. She makes me shout. I shout too much... I saw the benefit (of the courses), not the harm, but I could not change her very much. And I think it is because of her nature (*huy*)... When I say do not do that she understands the opposite of what I say, but when her father says it she does it. For that reason, I did not see much change in her behavior. I always appreciate myself because I do not do something that another person tells me. But the wrong things are reasonable for her: if someone takes this and throws it she does the same...⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Deniz, biraz genetik gibi geliyor bana babasına çekmiş; kıskançlık huyları var. Beni bağırtmak zorunda bırakıyor. Çok bağıriyorum... Ben faydasını gördüm, zararını görmedim ama çok da değiştiremedim. Ben de bunu huya bağlıyorum... Yapma dediğim zaman benim dediklerimi ters anlıyor, ama babası söylediği zaman yapıyor. O yüzden ben çok fazla bir değişiklik görmedim. Ömrüm boyunca ben her zaman kendi kişiliğimi çok beğenmişimdir. Bir başkasının söylediği şeyi ben yapmam. Ama Deniz'in yanlış şeyler çok kafasına yatıyor: Bu, bunu alıp atıyorsa o da atıyor... "Sen dokuzda uyumadın mı? Seni öğretmenlerine söyleyeceğim" diyorum, bunun yanlış olduğunu biliyorum, ama o ondan anlıyor işte. Ama ne kadar uygulayamıyorsan da mantık olarak onun bilincine varman çok önemli. ...Mesela Deniz bir şey anlatırken Selçuk'a söyledim, göz teması kurmak gerek, televizyon izlememek falan lazım diye. Ona dikkat ettik. Ama ben Deniz'de fazla bir şey değiştiremedim.

Here, by identifying the processes of the two (mother and child), Piraye made a comparison at the same time between herself and her daughter. Although the education was very 'useful' and quite 'beneficiary,' she could not implement the teachings because of the 'character' of her child, which was different (or, say 'worse') than her (the mother's) character. She assumed that the nature of her daughter was the reason for her own 'failure'. However, Piraye had an individual 'success story' apart from her daughter⁵⁸. In her comparison, she took an 'individual' subject position developing a good character by struggling against the difficulties of her life. However, the daughter seemed to have neither a 'contentious' nor a 'good' personality according to Piraye. The father had a role on it because by attributing the 'failure' to the *genes* of the child Piraye wanted to share the responsibility of this 'failure' with her husband. In general, the mothers in the education class claimed the features bringing the child's 'failure' were immanent to the character of the child but not stemming from the 'failure' of the mother. Therefore, while they gave a voice to the "attachment discourse" when the child became 'successful' on a issue the women rejected being seen as responsible of their children's 'failure' and they became 'detached' from their children by taking a 'contentious individual' position.

Agency Coming Up With the 'Attachment' Discourse

Women may use the discourses of identification and attachment –which are supposed to occur between mother and child- for different purposes. While they are

⁵⁸ She told me her father left when she was young. She worked in the confection business where the working conditions and the work environment are quite corrupted. Although she could do anything in that atmosphere she was able to see the bad things and achieved staying far away from them.

talking about their children, they start to talk about themselves. In that sense, talking about the practices and experiences of the children open up an area for the women to talk about their own experiences. Strong patriarchal structure in the household prevents women talking about their experiences which are supposed to be inclusive of the private sphere, namely of the 'intimate' relations between the (extended) family members in the household. Besides, the dominant patriarchal mothering discourse says that women should think about and care of their children before themselves, which leads the women to talk about their children as the primary reason of their practices. Moreover, when they talk "out of the topic" in the classes, they are warned by the expert/teacher. Thus, they intend to talk about their children, which is always related to the topic, but they start to express their individual stories. The women want to talk about themselves, and, by doing *as if* they are talking about their children they open up a way to talk about their "individuality": individual choices and desires as well as their lives.

For example, the main purpose to come to the education program for 'the mothers' was to 'educate' their children before they started the primary school. In all my interviews the women had started to talk about the 'benefits' (*fayda*) of the education program for their children. Although the contents of this 'benefit' could not be defined in most of the cases it was the 'well being' of their children that invoked the 'mothers' to come to the education classes. This unidentified 'benefit' for the children was also related to the 'benefit' of the 'mothers', which could not also be identified clearly.

In that sense, it was interesting to notice that when the women were talking about the 'benefit' for their children they were intended to talk of the 'benefit' for themselves in dealing with the people and situations that they encountered within

their daily life. When they were talking about their children's changing manners, they were in fact talking about their own manners. When they talked about the difficulties of the children, they meant their own difficulties at home and in life. While the conversations continued, in almost all of the cases 'the mothers' identified themselves with their children and they started to express their own feelings, objectives, hopes and disappointments as if they belonged to their children. When they talked to me, for instance, they automatically started to talk about their children, and then used to make radical transitions to their own stories:

We have registered Dilay in school with a friend. Let me say only to educate her... You know there is an advertisement on T.V., which says, "the age of seven is too late, start to educate at the age of five". Therefore, let's educate them. We had started at the age of seven and we learnt so hard... Dilay's entourage became expanded there. She became socialized. They taught some concepts, she learnt them... For me, let me say that firstly my entourage was expanded. Arife and I said that everything is the same. Let's go there. At least our entourage becomes expanded, at least we become socialized, and maybe, something will change in life. And we learnt many things from Deniz Hanım...⁵⁹

In Atik's account, she used the same sentences for her and her child while she expressed the reasons why she came to the Mother-Child Education Program of the Community Center. She identified herself with her daughter and expressed her objectives and her reason for coming as though they belonged to her child. She stated that she wanted to 'get socialized' as her reason of coming to the classes of the Education of Mothers. However, as a necessity of 'good' mothering, she should think about her children before herself. For this reason, she said she came to make

⁵⁹ Kaydımızı yaptırдық. Sırf Dilay'ı eğitmek için diyim artık...Televizyonda bir reklam var ya, yedi çok geç, başlayın beş yaşından itibaren diye. O yüzden eğitelim. Biz yedi yaşında başladık ve çok zor öğrendik... Orda en azından arkadaş çevresi gelişti, sosyalleşti. Belli kavramlar öğretiyorlar, onları öğrendi... Benim ilk önce arkadaş çevrem genişledi diyeyim. Arifeyle dedik ki her şey aynı, en azından gidelim, arkadaş çevremiş genişler, en azından sosyalleşiriz, belki bir şeyler değişir hayatta. Ve çok şeyler öğrendik Deniz Hanım'dan...

her daughter socialized instead. The discourse of ‘motherhood’ and socialization were related to being ‘adventurous individuals’ who were willing to meet with strangers just to make life changes. In this context, she was in between an ‘individual self’, which was constituted as an ‘adventurous, young woman’ who had girl friends and cheerful conversations, and a ‘mother’ who was taking care of the interests of her child before herself and everything else. By getting around these subjectivities she was seeking for the possibilities of different ‘selfhoods’. The appropriation to this ‘adventurous individual’ who was seeking for freedom and novelty in the life could be also seen in the continuation of the story. Although she implied that she struggled for her child’s education as she experienced difficulties in her own education, an ‘adventurous young girl’ waves her hands at the back within her story:

I fell in love with a boy... I risked everything because of him. I went to secondary school. I finished it after a two-year break. He went to high school, and then I went to high school too. You do not see anything when you are at sixteen. Fortunately I fell in love and went to school. It was like ignition. But I saw him in school with another girl. It ended for me at that moment!⁶⁰

By starting with the sentence "I risked everything" she wanted to share a story of "individual success" with me. By using strong ‘I did’ sentences, this time she positioned herself in the scene of her narrative as though she was solely responsible for her actions and took the whole responsibility of re-starting school. As we used to practice in the confession sessions, by using ‘I-did’ sentences she did not intent to share her success with anyone (even with her baby).

Similarly, the ‘evolutionary’ processes of the child and the ‘mother’ were mutually constructed in the women’s words. The process of the child became

⁶⁰ Herşeyi göze aldım, orta okula gittim. İki sene aradan sonar orta sonu okudum. Baktım o çocuk liseye gitti, ben de peşinden gittim. On altı yaşında hiç bir şey görmüyorsun, ama iyi ki aşık olmuşum da gitmişim. O bir ateşleme gibi bir şey oldu. Ama baktım okulun içinde çocuk başka bir kızla dolaşiyor. Orda bitmişti zaten!

replaceable with the process of the women because the women aimed to express any improvement in their conditions within the household, as it was an improvement of their children. For instance, in the case of Güldane, she used the discourse of identification with her child to express the violence inflicted upon her at home and to display the improvement of this situation. She could not directly express how her experience afflicted her. However, by talking on behalf of her daughter, she found a way to express herself:

When my daughter asked me something I could not listen, when she wanted something I could not buy it. I did not even give her the right to speak. Nothing. 'Shut up', 'don't want anything', 'look, she/he will get angry', 'she/he will yell at you'. Now, for example, if the child wants to go to the grocer, I let her go. Even if she/he gets angry, what do I do? I could not even defend myself by using the right to speak. I did not talk, never. If you pay attention, I do not talk there (in the class) as well, because they⁶¹ did not let me talk. Always 'shut up' (and) 'listen' all the time. Now, at least, if my child asks: 'Mom, can we go to the park?' I take her, I show her around five-ten minutes, and then, I bring her back. I have learnt those things at least⁶².

These sentences one after the other in Güldane's narrative indicated amazing transitions between herself and her child. While she talked about her child, she continued talking about herself easily without any break and silences between the sentences. The "right to speak" that she did not give her child before taking the education classes was in fact implying the problem of her "right to speak" in the household. While she went to the education classes, she claimed the "right to speak" at home towards the senior members of the family, towards her husband, towards

⁶¹ It is not certain who 'they' are: her parents, husband, or the parents of the husband in this context.

⁶² Çocuğum bir şey sorduğu zaman dinleyemiyordum. Bir isteği oluyordu alamıyordum. Çocuğa söz hakkı bile vermiyordum. Hiç. Sus, hiç bir şey isteme, bak kızacak, bak bağırarak. Şimdi çocuk mesela bir bakkala istese gönderirim. Kızarsa kızsın ne yapayım yani. Söz hakkı alıp kendimi savunamıyordum bile, konuşmuyordum hiç. Bak dikkat edersen orda da hiç konuşmam, çünkü hiç konuşturmadılar. Devamlı sus, hep dinle. Şimdi en azından mesela çocuğum istiyor, "anne parka gidelim mi?" Götürürüm. Beş-on dakika gezdirir getiririm. Bunları öğrendim en azından yani.

close relatives and her neighbors⁶³. However, it was difficult to say her shy daughter earned that right since Güldane did not let her talk during our interview and she had to sit on the sofa silently if she wanted to stay with us in the room. Therefore, her assumption about giving the "right to speak" to her child was a symbolic gesture which, in fact, was done by her for herself. Moreover, she had 'succeeded' with that because, by this assumption, she became able to re-regulate the relations at home. Against the ones who were supposed to 'get angry' in case of the usage of the 'right to speak' she used the language of the educator: "It is necessary to give the child her/his right to speak. You should let the children talk at home on behalf of the family, let them go out on their own..." By using this language, Güldane tried to put her own "right to speak" on the agenda, and in this way, she also claimed her 'right to go to the grocer' which she was not allowed to do until a couple of years ago (before she moved to another apartment separate from her husband's family –even if this apartment was located just one floor down). Therefore, by identifying herself with her child she claimed her 'rights' in the household.

As the discourses of attachment and identification make the singularity of woman invisible, and as patriarchy makes them voiceless, 'the mothers' talk about their own desires, feelings, objectives, and disappointments as if they belong to their children and they gain agency against the powerful actors of patriarchal relations. However, they continuously compare themselves with their children at the same time, and reject taking responsibility of their 'failure' by attributing the bad habits of the children to their characters as they are immanent to the child. In these ways, although the child is seen as 'failed' the 'mother' does not want to be evaluated as

⁶³ According to Tual (1986), "listening, is not part of an equal exchange, but it is regulated by the relationship superior/inferior, which requires the obedience of the inferior for the pleasure of the superior" (p. 66).

‘failed’ individually and she re-constructs her ‘individual success story’ through detachment to her child.

Maternal Responsibility

I could not make her wear underwear. I did everything but I could not succeed. She did not want to wear them. She was saying that she was not comfortable with them. She was neither wearing undershirt nor pants... As we went back and forth by saying, "your friends will laugh you, this will happen that will happen" we got her used to wearing underwear⁶⁴.

The mother is assumed to be the only person responsible in child-rearing in the discourses of motherhood. As was also repeated in the "Education of Mothers" courses, the extended family members and the neighbors should not intervene in the child-rearing. As I mentioned previously, it was also advised that a woman should not invite the neighbors home if they want to come when the woman makes her child study. Because ‘mother’ is the one who can be questioned for the ‘good’ and the ‘bad’ manners of the child in the public sphere, grandmothers, grandfathers, and the other members of the extended family are excluded from child-rearing by assuming that they are not qualified to raise a child ‘properly’.

Therefore, the above-mentioned "achievement/success" is very important for Neşe’s relation with her child as well as her relations with the other family members. Excuses -which prevent the child from being ‘successful’- may stem from the responsibility of the mother or of the other relatives or of the neighbors. However, to eliminate those factors from the pathway to ‘success’ is the duty of the mother. She has to re-regulate the relationships at home in an extended family by using various

⁶⁴ Çamaşır giydiremiyordum ben buna. Ne yaptım ettim, bir türlü başaramadım. Giymek istemiyordu; rahatsız oluyorum diyordu. Ne atlet giyiyor, ne çamaşır giyiyor... Oraya gide gele, yok arkadaşların güler sana, şöyle olur böyle olur diye diye alıştırmayı başardık biz buna.

tactics towards the family members and the neighbors to reduce their ‘bad’ effects upon the child’s ‘success’. The mother should also use different techniques towards the children to make them ‘successful’. Neşe continues:

There are educative themes... I could not implement most of them with my child, but they can be applicable for others. For example, our conflict with my elder daughter got less. I got assistance from her teachers at school as well. But they could not be applicable for this one. I could not figure her out anyway. This one is contrary. Why has this happened to her? Because her grandmother and grandfather were looking after her. She did not even want to come to school (community center) in the beginning. They tell me "don't make her cry, why do you take her to school". They have spoiled her too much. Now they stopped spoiling her ⁶⁵.

The experts tell us in the classes that the members of the extended family should not look after the children because they do not know how to ‘educate’ the children, they do not know how to treat them in ‘proper’ ways, they do not know how to train the child to make him/her successful in his/her life. Thus, ‘improper’ treatment of the grandparents may cause damage in the life-flow of the child. Therefore, the mothers –who are the ‘responsible’ ones for the ‘success’ of the child-, should not allow the grandparents to look after the children. Neşe, by saying, "why has this child become contrary? Because the grandparents spoiled her" accepts her ‘responsibility’ upon her child. It is assumed that the ‘improper behavior’ of her child such as refusing to wear underwear and being contrary/refractory -which stigmatize the child as ‘unsuccessful’ as the child deviates from the ‘norm’- stem from the ‘improper behavior’ of the grandparents. Then, the question could be how should a ‘responsible mother’ act to prevent her child from being ‘unsuccessful’? By going to ‘school’

⁶⁵ Eğitici konular oluyor ya... Ben çoğunu buna uygulayamıyorum ama bazılarını uygulaniyor. Mesela büyük kızımınla çatışmamız azaldı. Onun okuldaki hocalarından da yardım aldım. Ama buna uygulanmıyor, bunu çözemedim bir türlü. Bu aksi. Bu da neden oldu? Bu da babaanne-dede bakıyordu ya ondan. İlk başta okula bile gelmek istemiyordu, onlar da "ağlatma, niye okula götürüyorsun" diyorlar. Bunu çok şımarttılar. Şimdi bıraktılar.

with her daughter, the 'mother' tries to 'rescue' her daughter from the 'harmful effects' of the grandparents. She advocates the 'norms' of the modern knowledge to raise 'proper' children.

Agency Coming Up with Responsibility Discourse

In this case, it can also be claimed that this kind of an 'escape' from the borders of the household in which grandparents have the ultimate power and authority above everyone may cause an 'agency' for her. Although the grandparents say, "don't make her cry, why do you take her to the school?" the 'mother' can disrupt the higher authority of the mother-in-law and father-in-law by continuing to take her daughter to the school. This 'agency' allows the woman to get out from under the power of the grandparents in the household. 'The mothers' want, desire, and are happy to use this agency. Therefore, they prefer to talk within a language which expresses that "the mother is the only responsible person to look after the children". In this way, they prevent the grandparents from using their power upon the mothers through using the children as a pretense. Since the mothers desire this agency they spoke to me during the interviews within the discourse they get from the education classes. Thus, all the technical terms (conflicts, sharing –love, time, work, talk- with the child, right to speak of the child, proper and improper behavior of the family members in the way of 'success' of the child etc.) permeate in their speeches and 'prove' the 'harmful' effects of the grandparents upon the child. At the same time, the women were in fact sniggering at the grandparents as they -as the 'younger brides' of the household- can defeat the elder's unquestionable authority this way.

In this sense, by owning the discourse of ‘maternal responsibility’ (which assumes that the only responsible person is the mother in child-rearing and all the non-nuclear family members are ‘harmful’ for the ‘proper’ development of the child) ‘the mother’ claims an ‘agency’ within the hierarchical patriarchal relations in the household and within the web of kinship relations as it will be discussed later in detail. She, who has a certificate given by a state institution, claims authority in the area of ‘proper’ child rearing as an ‘educated mother’. In this way, she becomes able to escape the power of the grandparents upon her although she also retreats from her relations with the neighbor women in this process. A ‘responsible mother’ becomes isolated in the neighborhood but more powerful in the domestic sphere.

Constituting ‘Self’ Between the "Pedagogic" and the "Performative" Languages

In the previous example, we see the use of the technical word ‘conflict’ (*çatışma*) among Neşe’s words. This is one of the very common terms that are used by the mothers participating in the "Education of Mothers" classes. This technical term coming from the scientific-pedagogical language of the educations is set into the language ‘the mothers’ used in their daily conversations. While they explain their relationships with their children, they identify this relationship with or without the ‘conflict’ in it, and, ‘success’ will depend on the solution of this ‘conflict’ by the ‘mother’.

I observed during my interviews that the mothers were maneuvering to constitute their subjectivities as ‘mothers’ as well as ‘experts of pedagogical child rearing’. This caused them to repeat the words, sayings, and gestures of the

expert/teacher out of the classroom. Sometimes, the women supported their words with the quotations from the previous classes.

However, it was not easy to repeat the same words with the same meanings and connotations, as the reality that these women experience is different than the one expressed in the classroom. Pedagogic language and the ways of ‘proper’ child rearing were taught in the classes of the Education of Mothers, but the reflections of the words in their everyday life may not have the same scientific content with the ones told in the classes. For example, Selena was trying to explain the power struggle embedded in their relationship with her son. As many other women, she also wanted to apply the "pedagogic language" to express herself within a scientific frame, but she had difficulty using the terms:

Fathers go in the morning and come in the evening. Our son tells me "I will tell my father". Who is taking care of you all day? Me. Your father is out during the whole day. Can he intervene? He cannot. If he sees you for an hour at night he gives money [and] covers the expenses of the house. I said "come on, go and tell your father!" I do not let him go if he does not come at the exact time that I tell him. He (the son) knows that as well. (Breathing) Really, mother should be thrifty (*tutumlu*)...not thrifty, she should be consistent (*tutarlı*).⁶⁶

Her uses of the words interchangeably made both of us laugh. The word ‘thrifty’ and the word ‘consistent’ have assonance in Turkish as *tutumlu* and *tutarlı*. She wanted to say *tutarlı* –the term frequently used in the classes, as I discussed in the first chapter- as a ‘consistent mother’ is highly appreciated and in many problematic cases the women get used to question the consistency (*tutarlılık*) of the mother in order to solve the problem at the moment. Becoming a ‘consistent mother’ is

⁶⁶ Babalar sabah gider, akşam gelir. Diyor ki seni babama söyleyeceğim. Bütün gün sizinle kim uğraşiyor? Ben. Baban bütün gün dışarıda, müdahale edebiliyor mu? Edemiyor. Akşam bir saat görüyorsa görüyor sizi, para veriyor, evin giderlerini karşılıyor. Hadi söyle babana dedim! Saatinde gel dediğim zaman saatinde gelmezse bird aha göndermiyorum, o da biliyor. Gerçekten annenin tutumlu olması lazım. Ay, *tutumlu* değil, *tutarlı* olması lazım.

assumed to be one of the most important objectives of the 'mothers'. On the other hand, the word thrifty (*tutumlu*) is referring to her everyday life, as being a *tutumlu* mother has a vital importance for these families who are living at the edges of poverty. However, there is no space for thriftiness in the fantasy of middle-class womanhood who can stop off a supermarket before going home, as is depicted by the expert/teachers. They were alienated from their class conditions by imagining a middle-class family whose members were not thrifty. However, Selena's everyday language suddenly made the 'gap' between the fantasy supported by "pedagogical language" of the middle-class expert-mother and the reality of Selena's difficult life conditions obviously apparent.

Pedagogy and Violence upon Children

While the mothers were talking within a sophisticated language of the teacher and using some terms and terminologies mentioned in the classes, they were contradictorily 'confessing' that they did not practice the instructions well. It was integrated with their claim that the instructions were "beneficiary but not practicable" for their children because of the special character or personality of their children. While they talked within a pedagogical language of child rearing they practiced alternative and already existent practices during the interviews: shouted at or beat the child, tried to open her/his mouth to put in a piece of food, scared the child to make her/him sleep by saying "Look, this is a doctor. She will give you an injection if you don't sleep" etc. While they did these things, they talked about "overcoming the 'conflicts'", "talking with the child"; "setting 'eye contact' with the child", and "giving the 'right to speak' to the child".

In other words, violence against children is always present in the women's relationships with their children. While a woman is talking about the right of her child to speak she does not allow her/him to talk during the interview. While a mother is talking about love that she is trying to construct between her and her child, she pulls the child from the arm to comb her hair. While a mother is talking about the importance of sharing an everyday practice with her child, she slaps the child to make him sleep.

Some women confess that their behaviors towards the children are not good, but there are always some reasons to justify those acts:

I say "did not you sleep at nine p.m.? I am going to tell your teachers!" I know this is wrong, but she understands only this way. But even if you could not implement, it is very important to comprehend (the instructions) logically...For example, I told Selçuk (husband) that we had to set eye contact when Deniz tells us something. We should not watch TV, or things like that. We paid attention to that. But I could not change much in Deniz... When you use violence you know why, but if the child is abused by the father...then, it would be very difficult...⁶⁷

Piraye knows why she uses violence upon her daughter, although she does not tell me her reasoning. For some other women, psychological problems may be the reason to justify the violence upon the children⁶⁸. According to Taziye, psychological

⁶⁷ Sen dokuzda uyumadın mı? Seni öğretmenlerine söyleyeceğim, diyorum. Bunun yanlış olduğunu biliyorum, ama o ondan anlıyor işte. Ama ne kadar uygulayamıyorsan da mantık olarak onun bilincine varman çok önemli. ...Mesela Deniz bir şey anlatırken Selçuk'a söyledim, göz teması kurmak gerek, televizyon izlememek falan lazım diye. Ona dikkat ettik. Ama ben Deniz'de fazla bir şey değiştiremedim... Sen yaptığın zaman neden yaptığını biliyorsun da, çocuk babadan şiddet görse... o zaman o çok zor işte...

⁶⁸ In her work, *Young Mother and Child Exploitation*, Işıl Bulut focuses on the "features of mother exploiting children". In her research conducted with the mothers registered in six Mother-Child Health Center in Ankara, she noticed that the adolescent mothers who "are not developed physically, socially, and psychologically" have over expectations from their children; they are impatient; they do not get in verbal communication, and they exploit the child physically. Bulut analyses the mother's relationships with the husband, the mother's past experiences about her own parents, and her relations with the child. She indicates that the most important stress factor, which causes the exploitation of child at home, is economic poverty. Another factor causing the exploitation of child by the mother is the violence used by the husband upon the mother. The ratio of the mothers exploiting their children because of the spousal abuse is 51.5 percent in Turkey (1996).

problems and stress cumulate over time. Finally, the women explode against the children. Most of the women were talking about their need of a psychologist to deal with their daily problems. ‘The women are suffering mostly’ said Oruç in order to rationalize her anger towards her child. Similarly, Selena rationalized her use of violence against her children with her personal experiences:

Stress stress. You live everything in life and a person has stress. The first child was oppressed too much. After living that much trouble, distress remains in a person. You got angry, (and then) you yell at the children... My elder sister told me "go, it will be quite good, I went". I mean that children have a right to... We tell the children "shut up, we will talk". We had forgotten that the children are separate beings. She (the elder sister) has two sons as well. They were very naughty. She was beating them too much. That’s what we learnt –like education is applied through beating. But, really, it is not like that. Really, if I was not beaten I would not have got married. I mean, I would not have run away. I ran away because of beating... I am changing while we learn the topics... I assist the studies of Fatmagül. I make my son study as well... I practice ZEP everyday with Fatmagül. I am being successful. However, when it becomes night I go to bed very tired. I fall into sleep while I am suckling the baby⁶⁹.

She had learnt experientially that education -or discipline- should go hand-in-hand with beating. Also, with the effects of distress that she experienced throughout her life, she numbed herself to beating her children. However, she accepts the fallacy of beating and expresses it in two ways by using a double language: On the one hand, she uses the technical-pedagogical terms used in the classes such as "separate beings" and "having a right to (speak)". On the other hand, she confirms the

⁶⁹ Sinir sinir artık. Hayatta her şeyi yaşıyorsun da insane sinir stress sahibi oluyor. İlk çocuk çok ezildi. O kadar sıkıntıyı yaşayınca insanda bir üzüntü kalıyor. Sinirleniyordun, çocuklara bağırdıydın... Ablam ‘git’ dedi; ‘bayağı iyi olur, ben gittim’, dedi. Çocukların bir hakkı olduğunu yani... Çocuklara ‘sen sus, biz konuşcaz!’ Çocukların bir varlık olduğunu unutmamız. Onun da iki tane oğlu vardı; çok dövüyordu çocukları. Biz öyle gördük, eğitim döverecek olur diye. Ama gerçekten de öyle değilmiş. Gerçekten ben dayak yemeseydim, ben evlenmezdim, kaçmazdım yani. Dayak yüzünden ben kaçtım... Konuları işledikçe ben çok değişiyorum... Fatmagül’ün dersleriyle uğraşırım. Oğluma da ders çalıştırıyorum. Fatmagülle ZEP yaparken daha çok kıskandı. Her gün ZEP yapıyorum Fatmagülle. Başarıyorum. Ama akşam olunca yatağa yorgun düşüyorum. Çocuğu emzirirken uyuyorum.

'truthfulness' of this language by giving examples from her life experiences, and thus, she tries to convince me by saying, "it is really not like that, I experienced it". Thus, the reality of her life experiences is used as a tool to confirm the 'truth' of the pedagogical language.

The women also say they practice some acts even if they do not want to, and regardless if those would be 'improper' acts for a 'proper mother'. Atik said

Beforehand, I got angry all of a sudden. Now I think before I get angry. At least I am thinking... We were in conflict with my own mother as well... I could not express myself to my mother... I want to express myself (to my child). I want us to share our love. I hug her, and she hugs me. I do not want to have the same kind of relationship with my daughter that I had with my mother. But you shout even if you don't want to. I mean she is a child... I am trying not to get angry like I was before... Sometimes it (not becoming angry) becomes possible... She is very churlish. She does not allow me to comb her hair as you see. I try not to get angry, not to yell, but it happens...⁷⁰

There is again a confession of the 'mother' about her violence upon the child. The reasons may vary: the difficulties of the life she is living, past experiences causing psychological damages, domestic violence upon the women⁷¹, a way of disciplining the children which is advised by the seniors in the big families, and so on. Although the women vacillate between the pedagogic language and using violence they find ways to open up a possibility to justify the violence upon the children.

⁷⁰ Önceden pat diye kızıyordum. Şimdi düşünüyorum kızmadan önce. En azından düşünüyorum. Benim kendi annemle de sürekli 'çatışırđık'. Karman çorman bir aileydik biz: kaynana, kaynata, eltiler, çoluk çocuk hep beraber otururduk, ilgilenmiyorlardı bizimle... Ben anneme karşı hiç kendimi ifade edemem. Ama ben en azından kendimi ifade edeyim (çocuğuma karşı), sevgimizi paylaşalım, ben ona sarılayım, o bana sarılsın. Annemle benim aramdaki ilişki gibi olsun istememiştim onunla. Ama ister istemez bağıırıyorsun, çocuk yani. Deniz Hanım bize kağıtlar verdi, broşürler verdi, onlardan okuyup...eşler de okusa... Eskisi kadar sınırlı olmamaya çalışıyorum... Bazen mümkün oluyor. Çok aksidir, saçlarını taratmaz gördüğün gibi. Kızmamaya çalışıyorum, bağıırmamaya çalışıyorum ama oluyor ya.

⁷¹ In the spousal abuse area, it is argued that age, extended family, an alcohol-consuming husband and living in the same home with the mother-in-law were significantly correlated with spousal physical abuse for women. Perpetrating child abuse was significantly correlated with history of childhood physical abuse and spousal physical abuse (Vahip & Doğanavşargil, 2006).

Pedagogy and Memory

Although the ‘mothers’ used this "pedagogical language" borrowed from the expert/teacher, they tried to approach its ‘gaps’ and legitimize this technical-pedagogical language by giving examples from their past experiences (from their childhood or adolescence). In this way, Atik mentioned about her relationship with her mother when she was a child, or Selena confirmed the ‘truthfulness’ of newly-taught scientific knowledge with her past experiences. For example, Atik had a memory from her childhood in which the relationship that she tried to set with her daughter came from this ‘experiential memory’ rather than the instructions of the expert/teacher. However, by using expressions such as ‘in conflict with the child’, ‘talking with the child’, ‘sharing her love with the child’, the mother was trying to put her memories into a pedagogic language that she had learnt recently. I would like to give another example:

My daughter was very crabby and contrary. I could not cope with her. I could not cope with her... She did not know how to share. She wanted her friends around, but she did not give even a piece of food to them. She didn’t give even to me, can you imagine? I am, in fact, an impatient mother... (Educations) also made changes upon me. I, myself, had forgotten that I was a child. Her every single action was deranging me... Now, Büşra understands as well. We get along better; now our relationship is better. Our relationship was not very strong as mother-and-child. Now we can sit down and talk⁷².

⁷² Benim kızım çok huysuzdu, aksiydi. Ben de gerçekten isyan ediyordum, baş edemiyordum... Paylaşmayı hiç bilmiyordu. Arkadaşları gelsin istiyor ama yiyecek bile vermiyordu. Bana bile vermiyor düşünebiliyor musun? Ben, bir de, sabırsız bir anneyim. Biraz faydasını gördüm, en azından hırçınlığı biraz gitti... Bende de değişiklik yarattı. Ben kendim çocuk olduğumu unutmuşum; onun her hareketi bana batıyordu... Ama artık Büşra da artık anladı; daha iyiyiz, şimdi ilişkimiz daha iyi. Anne-çocuk olarak ilişkimiz çok fazla değildi, ama artık bazı şeyleri oturup konuşabiliyoruz.

As did all the other mothers that I interviewed, Fatoş also went back and forth very easily between her child and herself in her words. When she mentioned her child she suddenly started to tell her own story, and then, she could easily continue talking about her child again. By evaluating and constituting herself an 'impatient mother' she showed that she was aware of her behavior and intended to change it by self-criticism, and thus, she could dismiss her 'impropriety'. Then, she confirmed the change by saying that their relationship, as mother-and-child, was better.

Furthermore, it was important to emphasize the sentence "I forgot that I was a child once", which meant that she remembered her childhood at the moment. By saying so, she constructed her narrative in the 'present tense', and hence, she related her childhood memory with her recently gained knowledge on childhood. In other words, she might remember her childhood experiences at the moment when she encountered her child. However, it was not the importance of sitting and chatting with the child to make the relationship better that she 'remembered'. She tried to engage her childhood memories with the pedagogic knowledge and the language of child-rearing. Although her experiential childhood memory did not advise her of the modern ways of child rearing, such as talking with the child, listening to her/him, setting eye-contact, etc., she remembered the pedagogical information given in the classes on how children feel in case of such a similar problem, although it was not the same with the one she experienced.

However, although the mothers try to put their experiences into the language of pedagogy and science there is a 'displacement' because they do not fit with each other: The women may remember something taught in the class by claiming it a part of their experiential memory as a reason for remembering. However, at the same time, they may not remember other recent information given in the class as it does

not fit with their everyday experiences. Therefore, there is a constant ‘gap’ not only in their everyday language, but between their experiential and cognitive memory:

I started the education program mostly for Ulaş, and to help him. I got its benefits as well... Our dialogue with Ulaş became better. It was not too negative already, but it becomes more positive. For example, I started to stick strictly to the rules. Actually I am not a person who does not obey the rules. I conform to the rules very much, but I pay attention to Ulaş to make him conform to the rules much more. I also try to apply this. It is quite effective... It is useful but it is very hard for a human being to practice it. Life passes too quickly; therefore, you can't practice it precisely. You explode from time to time. You flare up... I have learnt many things by coming to the courses. We claim that we know, but you learn so many things. Really, there are many. For example... Hold on, let it come to my mind... Especially in the health chapter... My memory has become very weak...⁷³

Çiçek could not ‘remember’ the recent information she learnt. She said that she learnt many things and she knew what would happen at the end of this story, namely, her ‘dialogue’ would be better with her child. She also knew that the information she got in the classes was very "useful" and "beneficiary". But, she could not ‘remember’ the information she got recently. She could not "fill the blank" between the beginning and the end of the scene. Some steps were missing. When she could not relate these two, she searched for ‘failure’, first, in life itself, which "passes so quickly that she could not apply the teachings completely". However, then she decided to take ‘responsibility’ of this ‘failure’. It was the ‘failure’ of her "bad memory that became weaker recently". Indeed, not remembering the recent information can be seen as the symptom of the middle-class fantasy. As long as this

⁷³ Ben en çok Ulaş için ve kendim de Ulaş’a faydalı olmak için başladım. Faydasını da gördüm... Ulaşla aramızdaki diyalog daha iyi oldu. Zaten çok olumsuz değil de, daha olumlu oluyor... Mesela, daha çok kuralcı olmaya başladım. Zaten çok kural tanımaz bir insan değilim, çok kurallı bir insanım da daha çok kurala uysun diye Ulaş’ın üstünde çok duruyorum mesela. Kendim de uygulamaya çalışıyorum bunu, bayağı bir etkisi oluyor... faydası oluyor ama onu uygulamak da insanı bayağı zorluyor. Öyle hızlı geçiyor ki hayat, o yüzden tam uygulayamıyorsun, dönem dönem patlıyorsun, parlıyorsun... Bir çok şeyi öğrendim. Bildiğimizi iddia ediyoruz ama o kadar çok şey öğreniyorsun ki, gerçekten bayağı oldu. Mesela... Dur bir aklıma gelsin... Özellikle sağlık bölümünde falan... Hafızam çok zayıfladı...

fantasy of middle-class womanhood depicted in the classes is dissonant with the actual life conditions and experiences of the women, it becomes difficult to fulfill the displacement that has occurred in the memory of the women. Therefore, as a symptom of this dissonance the women are constantly moving between remembering and forgetting.

Moreover, Çiçek could not decide what changed in her relationship with her son. She tried to give the example of 'dialogue' but then she 'remembered' that their dialogue was 'already' not negative. Then, she tried to go with the rules and rule-making manners, but later on, she 'remembered' that she "already" conformed to the rules very much. She could not decide what changed for herself and her child. She went between remembering and forgetting, and between being a receptive or disciplinary mother in the borrowed language she had been taught to currently use. Additionally, when we continued with the interview she told me a story of dramatic forced migration. She told me about her childhood experiences in the village, how her family came to Istanbul, where she worked, what happened to her family, how she met her husband, how she felt when she saw her husband (then fiancé) in the military barracks. She also told me how the problems had started with her husband in detail. We talked many hours on and off the record. I stayed at her place that night. However, Çiçek could not 'remember' what she has learnt in the education.

Similarly, Güldane, who keeps papers and brochures to read to the neighbors and the close female relatives, also said "I forget immediately what I learn in the class, but if I remember, I apply it immediately..." Just as in the previous case, the knowledge given in the courses could not be applied in the actuality of the women's lives. The middle-class fantasy of motherhood does not fit with the experiences and memories of the working-class, socially and politically marginalized women of Gazi

neighborhood. Therefore, they try to put the language of their experiences into the pedagogic language although there is a constant gap between the two since the pedagogic language targeted the middle-class woman as the 'ideal-model' for mothering. The experiential memory of the women rejects the knowledge of pedagogy if they do not use it as a way of empowerment in the patriarchal relations and as a tool to be used in different kinds of power relations. It can be claimed that forgetting appears just as a symptom of this dissonance, and women, through constant 'forgetting' and 'remembering', are seeking self in-between their displaced memories and languages.

Mother and Mother-in-Law: New Tools for the 'New' Woman

The issue of relations with mothers-in-law was an important component of my conversations with 'the mothers' of the "Educations of Mothers" classes. In our daily conversations, in weekly our meetings at homes (*giin*), in our chats during the outdoor activities, as well as in my interview conducted with the women there was a constant emphasis on mothers-in-law and the 'suffering' of the 'brides'. Oppression and violence of the senior family members upon the women was always a hotly debated issue in which all the women voluntarily joined. Some of them fled to their husbands, some of them got married because their family pushed them, some got married after waiting for a 'proper husband' for a long time, and some got married because they liked their suitors. Whatever the story of their marriage, the only thing that did not change in those stories was the discourse of "suffering" derived from their contentious relationship with the mothers-in-law.

Except for two⁷⁴, all the other mothers that I interviewed complained about the "suffering" they experienced on account of the husband's family. They defined the history of their marriages, which were full of 'suffering' and oppression because of the senior people at home, but mostly, because of the senior women in the household. However why were they emphasizing this 'suffering' stemming from the misbehavior of the mothers-in-law? Does this suffering only depend on the (mis)behaviors of the mother-in-law? Is not it related also to their ethnic, religious, and socio-political marginalized identities? How do women forget their 'suffering' stemming from this stigmatization and marginalization, but just from their mothers-in-law? Do not they talk about any other kinds of 'sufferings'? In the fantasy of the middle-class family and motherhood, the dominant discourse is about the exclusion of the mothers-in-law from the nuclear family which is exemplified as the ideal-form of family. At the same time, there is another process along with this exclusionary discourse. In this process, governmental power causes the women to forget their marginalized identities as Kurds and Alevis and to focus on their mothers-in-law and the family matters as the primary source of 'suffer' and pain in their lives. Therefore, women start to think that if they move to another apartment with their small families, then, all their problems and 'suffering' will end. However, as long as they are a part of 'deviant' Kurdish and Alevi communities their 'suffering' will not end even if they move and live apart from their mothers-in-law.

Focusing on the family as both the cause and effect of all kinds of 'suffering' and pleasures makes to seeing the social and political reasons of this 'suffering'

⁷⁴ One exception of this was Taziye: "We like crying very much... When I listen to an arabesque song I start to cry immediately... Therefore, when I go to my hometown, my mother cried too much after me, and I cried too. My husband tried to cheer me up..." She was legitimizing her suffering by saying that she likes to cry. The other exception was Çiçek. She is a very political person. Although her father-in-law and her husband speak in Turkish and do not know Kurdish because of the location of their village she and her mother-in-law were Kurds and speak Zaza. So, she sees similarities between herself and her mother-in-law.

complicated and even difficult. According to these women, the husbands are directed by their mothers, and thus, assumed as the main reason for the misbehaviors of their husbands. She is the mother-in-law who wants 'the bride' beaten, who runs the bride to do housework which should be done the way the mother-in-law wants, who does not help financially the 'bride's family' when they are in poverty, who spoils the 'mother's children. In any case, the mother-in-law emerges as the main source of problems in the 'family of the bride', and thus, she becomes the most important actor 'the mothers' face in their everyday lives.

Domestic Power of Mother-in-Law

Why are the mothers-in-law defined in the daily conversations of 'the mothers' as the main oppressors who have the ultimate power and dominance in the household? Why are they seen as so harsh and authoritative? Is 'evil' inherent to these mothers-in-law? If not, what is the reason for their dominance? I think that the studies on patriarchy will provide a fruitful area for this discussion, to question the dominance of mother-in-law in the household.

Patriarchy can be defined as ideology rooted in the "exchange" of women by men, and that is the idea that gives the universality to patriarchal ideology. In such an exchange, women as reproducers remained defined in kinship structures, while men entered into the class dominated structures of history (Mitchell, 1974). There is a relationship based on domination and subordination on the basis of a patriarchal relationship. Kate Millet (1970) defines two fundamentals of patriarchy in her *Sexual Politics*: male shall dominate female and elder male shall dominate younger. And the

most fundamental unit of patriarchy is family, defined again by Millett as a "patriarchal unit within a patriarchal whole" (p. 68).

Patriarchal structure defined by Millet is called 'classical patriarchy' in the work of Deniz Kandiyoti (1988). In this classical form of patriarchy, senior males dominate the younger ones, and although they dominate women in general, senior women have more rights to intervene in the acts of the younger women in the household. In other words, "under classical patriarchy, girls are given away in marriage at a very young age into households headed by their husband's father. There, they are subordinate not only to all men but also to the more senior women, especially their mother-in-law" (p. 278).

The similar kind of structures can be seen also in different societies like India. In North Indian kinship structure, in-marrying female coming from another group is viewed as a threat. Therefore, "her behavior must be closely watched. She must be re-socialized so that she must identify her own interest with those of the her husband's kin, and senior family wives tend to dominate the young in-marrying wives" (Dyson & Moore, 1983, p. 44).

In this context, women need to "bargain with patriarchal structure" as Kandiyoti argues (1988). These patriarchal bargains "exert a powerful influence on the shaping of women's gendered subjectivity and determine the nature of gender ideology in different contexts. They also influence both the potential for and specific forms of women's active or passive resistance in the face of their oppression" (p. 275)⁷⁵. In this bargain, women give submissiveness and propriety to the family of the

⁷⁵ Resistance in patriarchal bargain, here, indicates "the existence of set rules and scripts regulating gender relations, to which both genders accommodate and acquiesce, yet which may nonetheless be contested, redefined, and renegotiated... These individual power tactics do not attempt to alter the structure of the patriarchy, but women are maximizing their own life chances in it..." (Kandiyoti, 1988, p. 280).

husband in exchange for protection⁷⁶. As it is in an Indian case, "an insecure future will probably become more unstable when the husband dies... Therefore, women see children, especially sons, as a potential source of security" (Dyson & Moore, 1983, p. 48). However, this need for security and protection has changed over the past two decades because of the new market forces, capital penetration in rural areas, and the process of chronic immiseration (Kandiyoti, 1984).

In this new economical order, breaking of the classical patriarchy comes out of the separation of sons from the big household of their fathers. These young males have their own household units from now on (Kandiyoti, 1988; Sirman, 2005), and thus, "women escape the control of mothers-in-law and head their own households at a much younger age" (Kandiyoti, 1988).

In this context, imagining a future with the young women/brides serving the more senior women/mothers-in-law has collapsed. Especially, if the senior woman served and 'suffered' enough to deserve her side of bargain by getting protection, she would most probably resist against the change of the old/classical patriarchal order.

In my study, the mothers-in-law of the young women enrolled in the 'mothers' in the "Education of Mother" classes gave submissiveness and propriety to the husband's family in a patriarchal bargain within the classical patriarchal relationships, and now, they want their share. However, the sons tend to set up a new nuclear household unit by regressing from the bargain. This may cause the resistance of the mothers-in-law against their loss of power in the extended families.

⁷⁶ According to Sirman (1990), it is not a 'bargain', but a 'negotiation' of the inequal and contrary forces, and the women try to use various ways of empowerment to take advantage in this 'negotiation'. Regarding this, I have argued that the women use tactics but not strategies to claim agency in the big families surrounded by complex kinship relations. This is because the 'bride' comes to the household of the husband's family she always feels in danger as her husband's family may banish her whenever they want.

In this picture, brides try to quicken this process in which sons/husbands set up small household units apart from the non-nuclear family members of the extended families. Brides imagine being the ‘managers’ of these new household units, and thus, they try to eliminate the dominance of mother-in-law upon her son. They do not want to be subordinates to the mothers-in-law within the patriarchal kinship structure of the household. However, they keep the discourse of ‘suffering’, as a tactic, in case they cannot set up their own household units. I argue that this ‘suffering’ appropriate their experience to the experience of the mother-in-law, so that, if they cannot set up their nuclear units, then, they can claim to be a part of the ‘bargain’ again.

Therefore, such ‘suffering’ discourse appropriates the experience of the women/brides to the experience of the mothers-in-law who have to be submissive and obedient to their own mothers-in-law in order to have the authority of the household one day in the future by having the protection of their sons. In case of not being able to get out of the extended family relations (even if they move to a separate house), the women want to ensure that they have the protection from the family of the husband and the same authority as the mother-in-law has. Moreover, the women/brides are in a constant struggle to move out of the household of the extended family to another household unit composed of the parents and the children. In this new household unit they imagine being ‘modern individuals’, ‘middle-class expert-mothers’, and ‘managers’ of the household. In this context, it can be argued that these words about ‘suffering’ of the women also provide a ‘tool’ for them to actualize their imagination. Considering that the primary desire of these women is to move to an apartment apart from the extended family members, they use the words ‘suffering’ to legitimize their desire to move (for the ones who do not move yet), and to indicate their ‘individual success’ by moving out (for the ones who moved

already). In this way, the women guarantee their positions within the web of kinship relations both in the old order of patriarchy and in the new one where every son becomes the father, and every bride becomes the ‘mother’ and the ‘manager’ of the household. The women do not want to risk any of these positions. They want to have both. Therefore, "the dependent subject of the big house is reproduced alongside the independent subject of modernity" once more (Sirman, 2005, p. 166).

‘Managers’ of the New Household Unit

In this context, it becomes much more understandable why the women tend to separate their ‘family’ from the ‘family of the mother-in-law’ in their words. In order to talk about the family of the husband, the word ‘my mother-in-law and her family’ (*kaynanamlar*) is noticeably used. At the same time, the women aim to separate their own ‘family’ from the family of the mother-in-law. As can be seen in Selena’s words:

I got married when I was fifteen. We fought with my mother-in-law like cat and dog. My husband was the youngest of the family. He said would you flee to me? I said "yes". It was ignorance. When I came to my mother-in-law’s house, she said, "Mustafa, damn you; why did you take her!" I started to cry. My man said "don’t cry, be quiet!" I said "take me away from this house!" He did not even do his military service, where could he take me away? My man was working, and his brothers were eating, drinking and resting. My mother-in-law (and her family) didn’t even buy a piece of furniture for us... The house had burnt, we did not have a place to stay, but my mother-in-law (and her family) did not help us...I took care of my husband. I took care of myself. Nobody helped us. I worked ⁷⁷.

⁷⁷ On beş yaşında evlendim. Kaynanamla kedi kopek gibi kavga ediyorduk. Benim beyim en küçüktü... Dedi benimle kaçır mısın? Kaçarım dedim. Cahillik işte. Kaynanamın evine bir geldim, "Mustafa, senin Allah belanı versin, sen niye kaçırдың?" Ben başladım ağlamaya, bizim adam diyor ki "ağlama, sus!" Beni bu evden götür diyorum, daha askerliğini yapmamış nereye götürecek?... Bizim adam çalışıyor, kayınlarımız yiyip içip yatıyorlar. Kaynanamlar bir eşya bile almadı bize... Ev yandı,

She is living in a separate house now with her three children and her husband. This expression emphasized an ‘individual success’ of the mother which was achieved in spite of the mother-in-law (and her family). She assumed that she made a mistake by fled with her husband, but she was young, inexperienced, and ‘illiterate’ at that time. By looking at her ‘self’ from the present, she re-constructed herself as old, experienced, and ‘literate’ at the moment. Although her mother-in-law caused many troubles during the years they lived together, she ‘managed’ to dismiss the ‘bad effects’ upon herself and her ‘nuclear family’. Despite the oppression of her mother-in-law, she did not accept defeat and worked. This ‘individual success’ story was concluded with the unification of the ‘nuclear family’ and the elimination of the ‘non-nuclear family members’ from the household.

Moreover, implying that the husband and his brothers were under the oppression of the mother-in-law, she naturalized the treatment of those men in the household because the source of the problem was seen as the mother-in-law herself. This makes the patriarchal relations in the household ‘natural’ and acceptable to the bride/mother who comprehends that the main reason of the oppression is the personality of the mother-in-law managing the household and coordinating the relations within it.

In this case, through the achievement of moving to a separate house with husband and children, apart from the ‘family of the mother-in-law’, the ‘mother’ proved her "leading and managing power" in the household, which meant that she proved her ‘individual success’ in spite of her mother-in-law. In this way, the woman

ortalıkta kaldık, gene kaynanamlar hiç yardım etmediler... Hem beyime baktım, hem kendime baktım. Hiç kimse yardım etmiyordu. Çalıştım.

legitimized her struggling and displayed this struggle as an individual success story on the way to constructing a middle-class nuclear family (image).

This "leading and managing power" within a middle-class conjugal family image gives a woman a particular individual responsibility. With the new patriarchal structure, women, as they have their own household units, become the responsible individuals to manage this unit. The "woman now becomes her husband's helpmeet, becomes the manager of the household, instead of being subject to his management" (Najmabadi, 1998, p. 102).

As I mentioned before, it was advised in class that "if your husband came home late at night not to get angry with him immediately. Think first! And, when you think once, you will realize that the emotion you feel is not anger, but worry and concern" (Gazi Community Center, AÇEP Class, November 2007). The intention behind this advice is to say that a woman should worry about her husband instead of getting angry with him because normally she loves him. Thus, she takes care of him and his children voluntarily and dedicatedly (Shakry, 1998; Hill Collins, 1999). Therefore, husband management becomes a part of woman's duty in the household. Through her love for the family and her desire to become a 'learned woman', who applies the modern and scientific ways of housework and childrearing, she wants to make her husband happy and her family unified. This desire of being a 'learned woman' and the 'manager' of the small household unit of a middle-class family designates the emergence of the new woman of the new household unit.

Najmabadi (1988) argued that the three features of the new woman - 'scientific household management', 'learned mothering', and 'educated husband keeping'- were needed to run a household unit as the "kingdom of the new woman" (p. 111). So, the desire to move out to an apartment apart from the mother-in-law and

the extended family members is supported with a woman 'self' equipped with the best scientific way of doing things to run a household unit. It is imagined that the women taking classes have all kinds of information to run a house in the best way. They can now run the household even if nobody helps them, they can work outside if it becomes necessary, and they can look after their children as well as their husbands on their own.

To see oneself as the manager of the household who struggles to keep the family in unity brings also the desire of being a modern individual for the women. By using the image of this 'modern individual self', the woman opens the ways for some new possibilities to incite the mother-in-law or to make her retreat. I would like to remind of the case of Neşe: by using one of the discourses of scientific child rearing (which says that the mother is the solely responsible person in the child rearing business) she could prevent herself from the interventions of the 'non-nuclear family members' from at least one of the areas of her everyday encounters. Hence, she could escape the dominance and the authority of the mother-in-law in the domestic sphere. There are also other ways to dismiss the power of the mother-in-law by the 'brides' who use the pedagogic language of child-rearing and the knowledge of the true modern ways of household management as the tools for self-empowerment within their kinship relations that I will indicate in the following lines.

New Tools for 'the Mothers': The Question of 'Comprehension'

In order to constitute a 'modern' mother and wife subject position, the women need some new tools; in this context, 'pedagogy' provides them a new 'tool'. By using pedagogic language, the women of the Education of Mothers program claim an area

that the mothers-in-law cannot intervene easily, mainly because they "do not comprehend" it.

Many women told me that the senior people in the household (the mothers-in-law specifically) could not understand the instructions that they learnt in the classes. Because of that reason, they even did not attempt to explain those instructions to the senior women at home. In one of the cases, one of the senior women (*büyük elti*) also emerged alongside the mother-in-law:

I was reading the papers. My mother-in-law reacted too much because I went out (in order to participate in the classes)... She reacted "how dare you go out!" You could not explain them... The family is oppressor. My husband's brothers are also oppressors. While I go there back and forth, at least, you can go out. I can just go to my mother, and nowhere else. My husband's elder brother's wife (*büyük elti*) also reacted very much. But now, I am at a distance from them. I wish I could have done it before ⁷⁸.

Neşe continues:

When my mother-in-law says something I say "the things that we have learnt in our own experience are different than the ones we learn there", but they do not understand. At least we learn motherhood there. The children get educated, we get educated. At least we know, we read, how to behave. How was the education before? By beating, by oppression ⁷⁹.

She assumes that the senior women in the household do not understand the instructions of pedagogy which are about the new and modern ways of motherhood. She said that *at least* she was learning motherhood by participating in the classes. In

⁷⁸ Ben getirip kağıtları okuyordum. Kayınvalidemde çok tepki oluyordu. Evden çıkıyorum ya ondan problem oldu. Kayınvalidem "vay, sen evden çıkıyorsun..." falan filan bayağı bir tepkisi oldu. Anlatamıyorsun ki onlara... Aile zaten baskıcı. Kayınlarım baskıcı; en azından buraya gidip gelirken dışarı çıkabiliyorsun. Yani ben bir annelere giderim başka da bir yere gidemem. Büyük eltimin de çok tepkisini alıyordum. Şimdi ama mesafeliyim onlara ve çok pişmanım. Keşke daha önce koyabilseydim o mesafeyi.

⁷⁹ Kayınvalidem bir şey dediğinde "bizim kendi kafamıza göre öğrendiğimizle oranın farklı" diyorum; ama anlamıyorlar ki. Biz orda *en azından* annelik öğreniyoruz, çocuklar eğitim alıyor, biz eğitim alıyoruz; nasıl davranacağımızı en azından biliyoruz, okuyoruz. Eskiden nasıldı öğrenmek? Dayakla, baskıyla.

this way, she dismissed and invalidated the ‘motherhood’ of the mother-in-law and of the elder bride. However, their ‘old-fashioned’ mothering practices, like using violence upon children, over-feeding them, tricking to make the children sleep, eat, or quiet down were kept practiced by these mothers as well. Therefore, rather than using the contents of the instructions given in the classes, ‘getting educated’ itself was used by the women as a ‘tool’ to escape the intervention of the senior women in the household. Considering that the elder women in the household "could not understand" the modern-scientific language of the mothering instructions, and assuming herself as the one who was able to read the brochures and comprehend the instructions, ‘the mother’ could take a "distance" from the patriarchal sources of the authority and power in the household, which implied the possibility of her movement in the web of the patriarchal kinship relations.

Within a web of complex relationships composed of mothers, mothers-in-law, fathers-in-law, brothers of the husbands, sisters, the wives of the husband’s brothers etc., they use some tactics by attacking, escaping, and hiding from time to time. In this way, ‘the mothers’ tend to re-construct a new ‘educated’ ‘modern’ mother self by using pedagogical language as a newly gained ‘tool’. Especially in the area of child rearing, these ‘new’ mothers use pedagogy and ‘scientificity’ as ‘tools’ to escape from the dominance of the mothers-in-law and of the other senior women in the household.

Moreover, this can be expressed to the husband easily with the assumption that the other women do not have the ‘correct-scientific’ knowledge of child rearing. As the ‘importance of the education’ in the discourses of modernity is accepted as an (unquestionable) ‘truth’ in the public sense, people do not need to question the power relationships behind this argument. Especially, when this education is given through

a state institution, husbands do not seek for a reason to challenge with it. The women know that the "necessity of education" is taken for granted, since social exclusion and discrimination are conjugated with the discourses of 'improper' education of the 'individuals'. Moreover, if the state itself needs to educate people living at the margins of the urban space, it is comprehended as to bring services to the poor people who cannot have the access for the education⁸⁰. Therefore, the husbands do not prefer to challenge with the community center through which state shows itself and its surveillance upon the people living in this marginalized neighborhood.

In this context, Güldane's example is remarkable. She was not allowed to go out for a long time, but, for a couple of years, she started to go out. She first went to the grocer and then to her children's school for their parents' meetings. Because of her specific situation, Güldane seemed very happy in the classes. Neither had many friends in the class nor she talked much, but she was smiling and giggling all the time. She went everywhere that the program offered to the 'mothers': picnics, museum visits, conferences, meetings, and theatre plays –she even went to Bursa for a city tour with a group of women from the other community centers. I was very curious about how her husband allowed her to go to all those places, as I knew her husband and her mother-in-law were very strict on this issue. When I asked this, she giggled first, and then said:

I told him "this is necessary for the education of the child. As I registered the child I have to do those things now; otherwise, they expel our child". Then, my mother-in-law and he allowed me to go there. Otherwise, my mother-in-law did not let me go out. I suffered a lot because of them. I even could not go to my children's parents' meetings. They said that someone could cheat me on the street. As if people are kidnapped on the street! Now, I

⁸⁰ During the interviews, when I asked why the community center of SHÇEK functions here in the Gazi neighborhood, most of the women told me that it was because the state wanted to bring services to the poor people living in a place (as poor and marginalized) as the Gazi neighborhood. I use their opinions to frame my argument on this issue.

am going out. But he does not allow me to go out for any other reason. (By giggling) In the beginning, I told him I would bring the child only. And then, after a while, I told him that the mothers also had to go. I started to go as well: one day for the child, one day for myself... and then, the visits started for more days (Giggling)⁸¹.

Güldane posited the term ‘education’ in her relationship with her husband and her mother-in-law in order to be able to act when she faced their authority. By playing with different subject positions she tried to find a way to escape the patriarchal authority of the domestic sphere. When she encountered with the authority of the husband and the mother-in-law she became an ‘educated mother’ equipped with the ‘scientific knowledge of pedagogy’ which was comprehended only by herself. Within this language, she claimed that a (proper/ideal) ‘mother’ must go to her children’s parents’ meeting, and only with that she could challenge the patriarchal authority and go out. Therefore, the women use the scientific authority of the pedagogic language to dismiss the patriarchal power of the mother-in-law and the husband which makes the women subordinate to the domestic patriarchal order.

However, the women get used to take up different subject positions when they face the authority. They do not only become ‘educated mothers’ equipped with the complex and ‘incomprehensible’ pedagogic-scientific knowledge, but also other kinds of subjectivities they volunteer to take in order to challenge the patriarchal power of the mothers-in-law. Regarding this, I would like to give an example as last but not least anecdotal experience. As a SHÇEK organization, we went to Anadolu Kavağı by boat for a picnic with the women coming from the different community

⁸¹ Çocuğun eğitimi için gereklidir dedim. Oraya bir kere çocuk için kaydolunca bunları yapmak zorundayım şimdi, yoksa çocuğu atarlar dedim. Böylece kaynanamla ikisi izin verdiler... Kaynanam çıkarmazdı beni. Onların yüzünden çok çektim ben. Çocukların okuluna veli toplantısına bile göndermezlerdi. Yolda birisi gelir seni kandırır; sanki yoldan adam kaçırıyorlar! Şimdi çıkıyorum da, başka bir şey olsa gene göndermez. Başta haftada bir benim gideceğimi bilmiyordu. Sırf çocuğu götürcem dedim. Sonra, annerin de gitmesi mecburiymiş dedim. Sonra ben de gitmeye başladım. Haftada bir gün çocuk için, bir gün ben gidiyorum...Sonra bir de gezmeler başladı üstüne...

centers. As every activity needed to have an official, formal reason, the purpose of this activity was to celebrate the ‘Week of Family’ (*Aile Haftası*). Bilgen had to come there with her mother-in-law because her husband did not allow her to come ‘on her own’. Bilgen thought that her mother-in-law wanted to come and that she convinced her son to come with Bilgen. For that reason, she was a bit more angry with her mother-in-law than she normally supposed to be. She was, on one hand, behaving gently and kindly to her mother-in-law (she was bringing tea, asking for her needs, and acting as if she was considering the comfort of her mother-in-law), on the other hand, she was coming back and forth and complaining about her mother-in-law. While we were sitting at the open deck, she came next to us once more, but she was in a hurry this time and said:

I left her in the close deck. Her stomach was aching. I told her it would be better for her to sit down there, otherwise her stomach would be worse. Oh, she wanted to come and now it is good for her to have a stomachache. I told her I go to the open deck to talk with my friends from the class. I left her there. Let’s sing a song!⁸²

Then, we started to sing songs together. Bilgen gave a punishment to her mother-in-law and left her inside. While she behaved like a ‘proper bride’ she made her mother-in-law sit down to prevent her stomach becoming worse. However, in fact, she warned her by implying that she had something to talk with the other ‘educated mothers’. And a mother-in-law was not able to comprehend the topic. After she came to the open deck, Bilgen started to sing songs and became an ‘individual young woman’ who was free and cheerful with her girl friends around.

Therefore, in the women’s encounters with their mothers-in-law, there is a constant positioning of the women. Hence, the totality of those positions and this

⁸² Onu içerde bıraktım. Karnı ağrıyormuş. Sen burda otur, daha iyi dedim. Yoksa miden daha kötü olur dedim. Oh, hem gelmek istedi, şimdi de karnı ağrıyor işte. Dışarı gidiyorum, sınıftan arkadaşlar var, konuşcaz biraz dedim. Onu orda bıraktım. Hadi şarkı söyleyelim!

process itself constitute their subjectivities. As Bilgen did, they could become both 'good brides' by behaving gently towards the mothers-in-law and 'educated modern mothers' by using the language of pedagogy as a 'tool' to escape the dominance of the patriarchal authorities, and they could also imagine themselves as 'individual young women' within a group of girl friends. In these ways, they could maneuver in-between the power holder actors of the patriarchal kinship networks.

About the Husbands: "In Fact, My Husband is Very Good..."

As it was mentioned partly in these examples, the women did not mention the bad treatments of their husbands. On the contrary, they often told me "in fact" (*aslinda*) they "got along well" with their husbands; the husbands were "very understanding" and "too patient towards the children". "It is not an exaggeration, my husband is very good", "I tell him when I do something, and he does not say anything"; "my husband is an hard-working person...he does not hurt anyone, he does not think bad about anyone", or, "my husband is very gentle towards the children, he never shouts" were some of the sentences that the women framed in the interviews. The women tried to explain "in fact" their husbands were very gentle, sensitive, and reasonable.

However, I knew that the husbands were not that much good "in fact" because I heard many anecdotal stories about the violence upon the women in the households. Because most of the women were exposed to physical and psychological violence in their families, and supposing the husbands were that much 'good', who else did apply violence upon these women?⁸³

⁸³ Anny Tual (1986) emphasizes the similar kind of aspect in Iranian case. She points out "a woman should never speak of the defects of her husband, for instance if he drinks or if he beats her; the keeping of this kind of secret (*raz*) is a question of discretion (*razdari*)" (p. 56). However, she does

Once we were watching TV. After the news on a woman mukhtar, my mother-in-law said, "how can a woman become a mukhtar?" And I said "why you say so mother? Aren't you a woman as well? Instead of supporting her, why do you say so? You experience also the similar things, why you do not support her?" I inveighed a lot, but what can I do? I could not stop my self. I got angry. But then, my husband got angry with me too much, "how dare you can say all these to my mother!" he said. He said, "are they teach you to object to the elder people? " After that event, all of them became against me as I came here, but I came just to spite them...⁸⁴

Although her husband got angry with her very much -and a violent act was one of the most possible actions following this scene- Pırıl did not think about her husband badly. On the contrary, she said, "we got used to start fighting directly without talking and discussing anything before. Now, I try to make him calm down. In fact, my husband is so calm"⁸⁵.

However, if her husband was "in fact" a very calm person, why did he get so angry all of a sudden? She thought that was because of her mother-in-law, who did not comprehend the similarities between herself and the woman mukhtar and made her 'son' getting angry with Pırıl. However, she insisted on going to the education classes to spite her mother-in-law and the others powerful actors in the household: "My mother-in-law, my sister, and my husband...all of them are against me because I go there (the community center); but I came just to spite. Just to spite them"⁸⁶.

not explain the reasons for keeping this secret nor does she discuss about the question of discretion, both of which I will try to examine here.

⁸⁴ Bir gün televizyon izlerken bir kadın muhtar haberi çıktı. Kaynanam da "kadından muhtar mı olurmuş!" dedi. Ben de başladım: "Niye öyle diyorsun anne?" dedim. "Sen de kadın değil misin? Destek olacağına, niye böyle söylüyorsun? Sen de onunla aynı şeyleri yaşıyorsun. Niye destek olmuyorsun?" Bayağı çıkıştım; ama ne yapayım, tutamadım kendimi. Sonra da kocam bana kızdı "sen anneme nasıl böyle söylersin?" diye. "Size orda büyüklere karşı gelmeyi mi öğretiyorlar?" dedi. Ondan sonar hepsi birden karşılar benim buraya gelmeme, ama ben inadına geliyorum.'

⁸⁵ Daha önce hiç bir şey konuşup tartışmadan direk kavgaya girerdik. Şu anda ben onu sakinleştirmeye çalışıyorum. Gerçi benim eşim çok sakin.

⁸⁶ Şu anda kaynanam, kız kardeşim, kocam hepsi bana cephe aldı buraya gittiğim için; ama ben inadına geldim. Onlara inat.

Before this conversation, Pırıl was angry with her mother-in-law. She told me many stories about her relationship with her husband and her mother-in-law. She was also angry with her husband and her child. She told me that her father threw nitric acid to her mother's face and left them when she was young. Since that time, by identifying herself with her mother, she took care of her mother and she hated all men. She waited for a long time to get married because she was afraid. She ran a bad marriage which also contained domestic violence. With such a background, she wanted to take her revenge on the family members; she wanted to make her anger and hate apparent. However, she chose to speak with her mother-in-law directly instead of escaping from her power by using the discourse of 'incomprehensibility'.

Neşe also mentioned about the 'poisonous' effect of her mother-in-law upon her husband. The mother-in-law appears as a serious danger here, because she may cause domestic violence upon Neşe directly:

They even reacted to my husband because he did not beat me. They react me because I do not beat my children... For example, my husband's brother beat his wife many times next to me. My mother-in-law and the elder bride, because they had been beaten, wanted that I got beaten as well... My mother-in-law tried to convince my husband to beat me, but I know who induced her: the elder bride! ...I was afraid. I was not sure. I was telling (my self) what if something happened, if he got angry his mother could convince him...⁸⁷

The women implicated the parents-in-law –specifically the mothers-in-law- as the main source of the problems about the husbands. Güldane said that because her husband kept going on the way of his parents he did not allow her to use her 'right to speak'. Or, Neşe told that although his mother and his brothers reacted when her

⁸⁷ Eşime bile beni dövmüyor diye tepki yaptılar. Ben çocuklarımı dövmüyorum diye bana tepki gösteriyorlar... Mesela benim kaynım benim yanımda çok dövmüştür eltimi. Kayınvalidem de kendisi dayak yediği için benim de yememi istediler... Kayınvalidem kocama beni dövdürmeye çalıştı, ama ben taşın kimden geldiğini biliyorum: büyük elimden!... Korkuyordum yani. Emin olamıyordum. Diyorum parlar, bir şey olur, annesi de fiştekler iyice, ya döverse.

husband helped her at home they did some housework together. Thus, it seemed that 'their mothers' provoked their sons against the 'brides'.

In fact, in the web of the kinship relations, the women approached their husbands as if they were the figureheads. The husbands were not seen as the individual actors in these webs of relationships. In other words, in the women's expressions about their husbands, they examined the husbands as if they were just the 'effects' of some other forces, the 'effects' of some power relations that 'the mothers' encountered. In this context, particularly the husband's mother and generally the whole web of kinship structure appeared as the dominant forces which oppressed the woman and made her subordinate in a patriarchal structure. In this picture, the husband was seen not as a power-holder and individual actor, but as an 'effect' of these forces.

However, if we think that the husbands are just the 'effects' of the power relations in the household, especially of the ones between the 'mothers' and the mothers-in-law, then how can we approach to the violence applied upon the 'mothers' in the household? Can it be an 'effect' of the web of kinship relations as well, or can we approach it as a 'secret' that the women desire to keep in order not to disclose the 'gaps' of their imagined conjugal family? Why do not they tell me about their husbands' individual bad manners and domination? To analyze the issue the complex relationship between these questions should be comprehended.

I argue that the mothers are called to fantasize having a middle-class nuclear family while they try to leave the extended family and its power relations. Thus, the women are in a constant struggle with their mothers-in-law. They do not want the mothers-in-law *in* their (middle-class, nuclear) family which is supposed to be composed of the father-mother-and-children. In order to keep this small family

fantasy within a coherency, they do not share its "secrets" (Sirman, 2005) with other people. These 'secrets', as 'the walls' of this small family's intimacy, separate this unit from the realm of the public, and cannot be intervened by anybody except the members of this 'nuclear' family.

Therefore, the 'mothers' do not want to talk about the 'bad' manners of their husbands; however, they talk about the 'bad' and 'old-fashioned' features of their mothers-in-law without any hesitation. The women complain about the 'bad treatment' of their mothers-in-law while they do not make bad comments about their husbands. In order to keep her fantasy of middle-class nuclear family including only husband, wife and children, the woman desires to see her mother-in-law as the reason of her oppression and the fundamental family problems. Therefore, the women say that the 'bad effects' stem from the mother-in-law and her pressure upon her son. In this way, the women place themselves in the imagination of a 'happy', 'modern' and 'middle-class' 'nuclear' family. Hence, they keep its 'secrets' and accuse the non-nuclear family factors of destroying the 'purity', 'coherency' and 'happiness' of 'the brides'' nuclear family. However, in this very same way, the women become 'voiceless' regarding to talk about the patriarchal power of the husband. As the husband is a must in this fantasy promoted by the middle-class expert/teachers of the education program the women cannot blame the husband for his violence or oppression; rather, she sees the mother-in-law as the main reason of all 'sufferings'. Thence, the women become alienated from their gender conditions and cannot talk about the patriarchal power of the husband. This ideal of the middle-class family makes the women 'voiceless' and 'wordless' to talk about patriarchy although the husband continues his violence.

Art of Husband Management

As a part of the fantasy mentioned above, it is believed that the husbands can be 'changed' with the effort and good intentions of the woman, as an 'educated' modern wife and a mother. In her modern middle-class family imagination, she is the one who becomes happy while making the other people happy at home. She is not only the "manager of the household" but also knows the "art of husband management" (Najmabadi, 1998). Thus, the women desire to be the new actors within the power relations of the nuclear family by managing and organizing it. They are volunteer candidates of 'home and husband management'.

If I get ill my husband already does the housework, but normally we (women) do it, they do not do it already. I have learnt that I had a right (before my husband), but I knew it already⁸⁸.

Selena could not decide what changed in her relationship with her husband. She was ambivalent about whether she knew her rights before she became 'educated'. Now, as an 'educated', 'modern' woman, she mentioned that she was aware of her rights 'already', and her husband did housework 'already'. But, normally, he did not practice it 'already'. These 'already' sentences remarked her ambivalence to express the modern character of her conjugal family. The husband's assistance in the housework is taken for granted for the modern discourses of the middle-class nuclear family. It is assumed that there is a division of labor in the household, which is gendered in character by predicting the submissiveness of the women taking care of the family members within the domestic sphere and the breadwinner position of the

⁸⁸ Ben hasta olsam kocam yapar zaten, ama normalde işleri biz yapıyoruz, onlar zaten yapmıyor. Kendimin bir hakkı olduğunu öğrendim, zaten biliyordum.

husbands in the competitive outside world. Within the imagination of the ‘modern middle-class nuclear family’, everyone has duties, responsibilities, and ‘rights’ before another. It was also expressed in the words of Neşe:

We get along well with my husband...I keep quite when he gets angry, and he keeps quite when I get angry. I use curse a little, but he does never. We even wash the carpet together with my husband. But neither my siblings nor the brothers of my husband are like that. They get angry when we do housework together...⁸⁹

The woman, as the ‘manager’ of the household unit, becomes the ‘manager’ of the husband as well. The women aim to see the husbands as helpful, understanding, and gentle, which are the manners that can be taught by their wives. In that sense, the women suppose that they can teach the modern ways of behavior to the husbands and to the children in order to contain them into the image of the ‘cheerful’ and ‘modern’ nuclear family. Many of the women said that they read the papers and brochures given in the classes to their husbands to make them ‘better’ behaved. However, the utterances of the women were continued generally as if to say "if the husbands read these (papers) as well..."

Although the women desired to make the husbands read the papers given in the classroom, they try to use different ways to ‘change’ their relationship and make it ‘better’. Many of them were active in ‘husband management’ with the inspiration of the instructions:

I shout (sometimes), but my husband does not do that ever... By these educations, I tried to be more understanding towards my husband. You become more giving. You change. A woman is always already self-sacrificing. With this education, you become

⁸⁹ Biz kocamla iyiydik yani, biz daha hiç küsmedik eşimle... O kızınca ben susuyorum, ben kızınca o susuyor. Benim ağzımdan hafif küfür de çıkar ama ben eşimin ağzından hiç küfür duymadım. Biz eşimle beraber halı da yıkarız. Ama kardeşlerim öyle değil mesela, kayınlarım da öyle değil. Gerçi biz beraber iş yapınca kızıyorlar ama, kızsınlar...

more self-sacrificing. You try to be more thoughtful towards your husband⁹⁰.

Çiçek told that she became more 'self-sacrificing' and 'thoughtful' towards her husband by changing herself. Most of the other women also said that their husbands changed positively very much with these educations, although they were 'in fact, very good' before the educations. When I asked about the reasons of these 'positive changes', they generally told me because "when the 'mothers' changed, the husbands changed as well"⁹¹. Some of them said "it is most probably, I was shouting at the children at home, and he was shouting me by saying 'don't shout at the children', and then, we were fighting. When I stop shouting the children, my husband does not shout me anymore". Or, "I feel I get educated a bit more towards my child. My behaviors towards my husband became also different... previously, we used to start fighting before talking first"⁹² was another version of the similar kinds of expressions. Therefore, the change of the husband was depended on the changing manners of the wives (towards the husbands and the children). In this context, by "trying to be more understanding, more self-sacrificing and more thoughtful", the 'mother' took the responsibility of managing and changing her small family unit, without disclosing its 'deficiencies' to the 'others'.

To sum up, the "Education of Mothers" classes create a middle-class nuclear family desire. The expert/teachers initiate this fantasy and the participant mothers join it voluntarily. Then, it continues with the other women getting in touch with these 'mothers' in the neighborhood. In this way, a desire-chain is expanded in the

⁹⁰ Hadi ben bağırır çağırırım da eşim hiç yapmaz... Biraz daha eşime karşı anlayışlı olmaya çalıştım. Biraz daha verici oluyorsun; değişiyor insan. Zaten kadın hep vericidir ama biraz daha bu eğitimle birlikte daha verici oluyorsun. Eşine karşı daha anlayışlı olmaya çalışıyorsun.

⁹¹ "Anneler değişince kocalar da değişiyor demek ki..."

⁹² "Çocuğuma karşı biraz daha eğitim kazanmış duruma geldiğimi hissediyorum. Eşime karşı daha farklı davranışlarım. Daha önce hiç bir şey konuşup tartışmadan direk kavgaya girerdik..."

locality. In this fantasy, the woman desire to experience a womanhood having healthy children and smiling husbands, and managing her own small household unit. However, in order to achieve this fantasy she should not talk about patriarchy and the effects of the patriarchal power in her everyday life. The ideal of the middle-class nuclear family makes the women 'voiceless' and 'wordless' against the patriarchal power of the husbands. Therefore, they blame the mother-in-law as the main reason of their 'suffering' and the promoters of the problems in the domestic sphere.

As I tried to discuss the question of women's agency within the patriarchal kinship relations it became possible to see the various "tactics" used by the women. The women reproduce some mainstream discourses such as "attachment" between the mother and her child and "maternal responsibility" in child-rearing as well as "individual responsibility" in household management. They also accept to become "obedient brides" when they face the mothers-in-law as the powerful actors in the patriarchal order of the domestic sphere. However, they can also find ways to 'escape' from the power and the authority of these forces even they take the position of obedient and subordinate young bride. Using particular scientific-pedagogical language of the education classes becomes an important 'tool' for the women in their tactical struggle. Claiming herself as the solely responsible in her family unit and using the discourse of scientific 'incomprehensibility' in her encounter with the power-holder actors in the patriarchal domestic order the woman claims an agency and turns into the actor of hit-and-run tactics. Thus, the 'mothers' open up new tactical spaces for themselves by using "education" and its scientific language as a tool against the 'uneducated' but power-holder actors of the domestic sphere.

Moreover, because this pedagogic language does not fit with the actuality of their everyday life they constantly move between 'remembering' and 'forgetting', as

it was analyzed in this chapter. Similarly, if the instructions are not applied successfully the women aim to attribute the reason of the 'fail' to the character of the child which is assumed as genetically inherited. In this way, the women attempt to share the responsibility of the 'failure' with the husband while they want to take the responsibility only in case of the 'success'. As a result, the women frequently emphasize their stories of 'success' in mothering. They want to be evaluated by the expert/teacher of a state institution as 'successful mothers' which becomes the sign of their desired middle-class womanhood.

In this chapter, I tried to discuss the relations of the women with some of the key family members in their households in which context I questioned their "agency" and "subject positions" taken up when they faced the powerful actors within the web of patriarchal kinship relations. In the following chapter, I will try to discuss their relations in the context of the neighborhood. By examining the articulations of their subjectivities with the space of the neighborhood I will discuss about the possibilities of new female networks giving them 'agency' in the public space, and the possibilities of change in the social structure of the locality.

CHAPTER IV

SUBJECTIVITY AND LOCALITY: AT THE MARGINS OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Women's dynamic relations within their kinship networks; their tactics to escape from the power relations in the web of extended families; and their ways of maneuvering around the dominant discourses and the actors playing in this field do not compose the entirety of the picture to comprehend the subjectivity formation processes of the 'mothers' living in the Gazi neighborhood. Because it is marginalized in terms of political tendencies as well as the ethnic and religious identities of its people, Gazi neighborhood provides its inhabitants with a particular identity, which sticks to them even they leave the neighborhood and travel to the other localities within the city. As the community living in the Gazi neighborhood is identified with Kurdish and Alevi people, who are considered as 'separatist' and 'factious', and thus, 'dangerous' for the national unity within the history of Turkish Republic, these people are marginalized within the locality of the Gazi neighborhood⁹³. In that sense, not only because of the economical deprivation and

⁹³ Representations of both Kurdishness and Aleviness in the public space has been perceived as a threat to the national unity and homogeneity of Turkish nation. In the 1970s, there was the fear of 3Ks that were defined as the main threats to the Turkish Republic: Kommunists, Kurds, and *Kizilbaşlar* (a pejorative word for Alevi). In the socio-political history of the Turkish Republic, both Kurds and Alevi were welcomed to the public space just if they deny their identities as Kurds and Alevi.

Turkish state has long denied the existence of Kurds who were referred to as the 'Mountain Turks' (Secor, 2004) but not an ethnic identity. Neither the politization nor the visibility of Kurdish identity has been acceptable for the state. From the late 1930s until 2006 the Kurdish language, Kurdish dress, Kurdish folklore and Kurdish names had been banned. In 1949, non-Turkish names of the villages, towns, mountains, hills and rivers have also been changed. By 1977, giving Kurdish names to the children were not permitted anymore. Although the ban of the publications in Kurdish

their migrant status in the urban city, but also because of their ethnic and religious identities as Kurds and Alevis they are always subjected to the mechanisms of 'othering'. Therefore, the ways of positioning the women in and out of this locality become an important variant about their subject position, which is particularly related to their citizenship as well.

In this context, because women are associated with the domestic sphere by modern patriarchal discourses, the relations of these women with the domesticity of the households and with the publicity of the neighborhood will compose the two dimensions of the discussion that I intend to conduct in this chapter. Hence, I will try to examine the women's relationships to their everyday localities, which will be defined as the localities of the neighborhood and the household.

Firstly, by considering their relations with the neighborhood, I mainly search for the meanings and connotations of being a dweller of the Gazi neighborhood for these women, and then, how they position themselves within this locality. Since the neighborhood is marginalized by the political, ethnic, religious and class-based identities of its inhabitants, how do women see themselves as a part of the

language has been lifted in 2001, teaching of the Kurdish language in schools is still prohibited. Kurdish identity politics has been emerged and uprised by the end of 1960s which was followed by the armed insurgency of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party); and since 1980s, Kurdish nationalism has posed a direct challenge to Turkish nationalism's claim of homogenous sovereign nation. Kurdish Question has continued with the long lasting armed conflict between the PKK guerillas and the Turkish military was consolidated with the imposition of the emergency rule in some Kurdish cities and continued with the social and political violence including systematic assassinations and torture (Aslan, 2007).

In regards to Alevis, Islam which is kept under state control and patronage in Turkey was subsumed in the statist and nationalist discourses. As the members of non-Sunni communities, Alevis' participation to the nation-state required the emphasis on their Turkish identity as they were seen as the representatives of the authentic Turkish folk culture from Central Asia. They had to leave their religious believes in order to be 'proper Turks'. Until 1980s, Alevis were organized in leftist organizations individually, but since the end of 1980s, homogenization and politization of the Alevism followed by the emergence of the "question of Alevism". Alevis started to avoid disclosing their identity in the public as its revealing could bring about symbolic and physical harassment. However, in the 1990s, their belief was promoted as part of 'Turkish Islam', and thus, Alevis were included to the political life as part of a 'culture'. Their worship places (*Cem Evi*) were announced as 'cultural centers' (Es, 2006). In this process, they were both recognized and criticized with their Turkishness although not all of the Alevis were Turks, but many of them were Kurds. Therefore, having both Kurdish and Alevi identities, as the most of the inhabitants have in Gazi neighborhood, bring a complete marginalization, as there becomes no way to become a 'proper Turkish' citizen.

community of the neighborhood and what are the possibilities of not being a part of it? What is the role of the "Education of Mothers" in providing women with different identities to the communal identity of the Gazi neighborhood?

In order to understand their positioning within the context of the Gazi neighborhood, I need to analyze their relationships with other women, considering not only the women from Gazi but also women from wealthy districts. How do they approach 'other' women from the wealthier neighborhoods and how do they position themselves in relation to the women of their neighborhood? Although they do not have much interaction with women from middle and upper-middle class neighborhoods the education program provides ways to discover the wealthier areas of the city by organizing outdoor activities such as conferences, concerts, picnics, theatre plays and museum visits, and these will be discussed here. By participating in these outdoor activities, how do these women position themselves within a space that they can 'touch' the 'other' (bourgeois) localities of the urban area? In other words, how do they place themselves within the public space of bourgeois activities?

Secondly, I examine the subject formation of the mothers in the context of domesticity, by considering the household as a self-contained dwelling and a "specific modern order of spatiality" (Mitchell, 2000). What are the meanings of 'going out' of the borders of the household for these women, as many of them could leave the house only under the 'necessary' conditions defined by the patriarchal authority? In this context, what are the meanings of going to the Community Center by walking through the public space of the neighborhood? What are the possibilities of having different identities and belongings in the public space, 'outside' of the domestic household? Also, with regards to their new types of relations constituted among the women in the classroom, what are the possibilities of constructing 'new'

networks and belongings alongside the ‘old’ ones? What are their relations with the other women coming to the community center by walking through the same streets, and passing by the public space of the neighborhood?

In other words, in this part of my work, by departing from the meanings attributed to the neighborhood and its dwellers, I search for the possibilities of different conceptions of womanhood and motherhood for these women with regards to their relations with the spatial borders of the neighborhood and of the household, as well as with the actors playing in those spaces. In this way, I will examine what kinds of different subjectivities these women are willing to take at the margins of the neighborhood and of the household, as the localities of their everyday encounters.

Meanings and Connotations of Living in the Gazi Neighborhood

Living in an urban area and having the right to use of it in exchange for accomplishing certain duties and responsibilities come with the notion of ‘citizenship’ which indicates "both a status and a practice" for the people having it (Işın & Wood, 1999). When we look at the etymologic origins of the term ‘citizen’ we notice that it generates from its relationship with the city. In eighteenth century, the term ‘citizen’ was being used for the ‘free individual of a city’. Therefore, "while the dwellers of a city were called citizens, the ones out of the walls of the city were called ‘subjects’" (Downing, 1988, p. 9).

In this context, it is hard to say that the inhabitants of the Gazi neighborhood are free individuals of the urban area as ‘citizens’, but rather, they are closer to the ‘subjects’ who are living outside of the ‘walls’ of the city. They are the ones who are living in the outskirts of the city, outside of the city walls, which separate the

bourgeois public spaces of the city from the living spaces of the marginalized and migrant communities exposed to the heavy conditions of poverty⁹⁴.

Therefore, it is important to analyze the neighborhood in a bit more detail and examine the articulations of the women with the locality of their neighborhood in order to comprehend the ways of exclusion and differentiation within the urban space of the 'citizens'. In the bourgeois public space of the urban area, the meanings and connotations of living in the Gazi neighborhood marginalize the people. For instance, some of the women told me they could not say that they were from Gazi neighborhood while they were applying for a job, or registering their children for school in a different neighborhood. In that sense, being a dweller of Gazi neighborhood is an important obstacle to benefiting from the social and the economical opportunities of the urban city. As one of the women said, even if the profession of her husband was *kebab* cooking which needed a particular kind of skilled labor, he could not find a job for many months just because he said to his boss that he was from the Gazi neighborhood. What then are the reasons of this marginalization that leads to this exclusion?

By 1995, which was the year of the Gazi neighborhood incidents, where seven out of the seventeen people killed by bullets belonging to police officers, the neighborhood had been divided into smaller neighborhoods by the state authorities to control the area. On March 12, the incidents started with gunfire on a café by an unknown person, and then spread to some other marginalized areas where Kurds and Alevis are the majority among the inhabitants, such as Ümraniye and Okmeydanı.

⁹⁴ According to the statistics of a real estate company the poorest locality of İstanbul is the Gazi neighborhood with a monthly income of 920 TL per household. The research showed that the monthly income of one household in Etiler is equal to the yearly income of one household in the Gazi neighborhood (Evrar, 2008).

Considering that the inhabitants of the Gazi neighborhood were composed mostly of migrant people from Kurdish and Alevi backgrounds, most of whom had to migrate from their villages for political or/and economic reasons, it was obvious that this firing was purposeful, and thus, was being used to incite other incidents. Besides, not only Kurdish and Alevi communities were active in the area, but also revolutionary left-wing organizations were highly influential, which made the inhabitants of the neighborhood active agents of political movements at the national level.

However, after the incidents, the neighborhood became militarized with the army positioned in the streets and the imposition of a curfew, which lasted for three days. Although it has been found out recently that the state itself was responsible for the purposeful firing and the incidents that developed afterwards, the ‘bad reputation’ of the inhabitants of the Gazi neighborhood, as ‘disobedient’, ‘disordered’, and ‘anarchist’ people, who lack control and discipline, has remained⁹⁵. As the inhabitants of the neighborhood are stuck with this ‘historical’ bad reputation, and all the negative connotations, they are discriminated and excluded both within the state institutions and in the public sphere by the prejudiced gaze of the public which is supposed to be composed of the obedient, ‘full citizens’.

For these reasons, people living in the Gazi neighborhood are constrained to keeping their identities as secret. Even if this ‘secret identity’ does not result from being a part of the Kurdish or Alevi community anymore, because of the inflation of the books and the projects conducted by different NGOs examining ethnic and religious segregations, it still results from being a part of the community of the Gazi neighborhood.

⁹⁵ I use the term "anarchist" with the way it has been used in Turkish political history as disordered, disobedient, and thus, dangerous and harmful for the social order and welfare.

Placement of the Neighborhood

Gazi neighborhood is located at the heights of Gaziosmanpaşa district within a particular area where mainly revolutionary fractions of left-wing organizations and a politically active Alevi community are living alongside with Kurds, Gypsies, and the migrants from Eastern Anatolia.

The biggest construction of the neighborhood is five-floor Gazi Mahallesi Cem Evi, which is located at *İsmet Paşa* street, just above *Atatürk Farmyard* Primary School, and before coming to *Zübeyde Hanım* neighborhood. The names of the state institutions as well as the streets and the neighborhoods in the area are significant because many of all these names originated in the names of the founders of the Republic and military officers, and they call the dwellers of the neighborhood as the subjects of the militarist national Republican authority⁹⁶.

The history of changing names of the streets and the schools in the neighborhood is quite new, as is history of the street numbers. In the neighborhood, starting from Gaziosmanpaşa district, each street has a number instead of a name. When one describes the address she is living, she says, for instance, street 2056, no: 11/7, so that without using any name she can give her coordinates easily. This is, in fact, the way of expressing and displaying the militaristic disciplinary order and the regulation of the neighborhood, as well as of the group of the bodies living in it⁹⁷.

⁹⁶ Even the mother of Atatürk, Zübeyde Hanım, representing the Republican mothers, reminds us of the importance of 'mothers' in the nation formation process to the dwellers of the Gazi neighborhood. Just like a precursor of today's mothering educations, it becomes a sign which indicates the 'lack', or 'unfitness', of the women in the Gazi neighborhood in order to be the "mothers of the nation".

⁹⁷ Although it exceeds the limits of my discussion here, this militaristic order of the neighborhood can be analyzed within the theoretical framework of 'biopolitics' which is defined by Foucault (1980) as a technology of power, a way of managing people as a group. Biopower is literally having power over other bodies, an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugations of bodies and the control of populations, as I mentioned in the first chapter in the context of civil society organizations.

There were other physical consequences of the incidents upon the placement of the neighborhood. Alongside the division of the neighborhood into four areas as Gazi, Zübeyde Hanım, Yetmişbeşinci Yıl, and Yunus Emre neighborhoods, the roads and the streets were reorganized; so that many streets were reconstructed to intersect each other. The roads are important, because in the name of bringing ‘order’ and ‘regulation’ to the neighborhood, the roads are in an endless process of reconstruction. Moreover, while the same roads are always under construction, the rest, especially at the backyards of the neighborhoods and the areas where Gypsies are living, are identified with the dirt, mud and clay.

Such dirt and mud, which increase in the wintertime, signify "a relation to social value and social disorder" (McClintock, 2003, p. 648) which makes a continuous ‘cleaning’ and ‘reconstructing’ intervention of the municipalities possible⁹⁸. When I went to the neighborhood during the wintertime the motorway passing in front of the Community Center was being reconstructed, and it was very difficult to walk or to cross the road because of the mud. When we talked with the women they said that the same road had been under construction twice before.

Moreover, it is at the end of the highway, which connects the neighborhood to Şişli and Taksim, which are supposed to be the central neighborhoods of the city with huge numbers of inhabitants, transportation facilities and many work places. Thus, when this road connecting the neighborhood to the highway is under construction, it becomes very difficult to travel to the central areas of the city, as it takes too long. There are buses only going to Topkapı, Yenikapı, Beyazıt, Eminonu, Vezneciler, Şişli, and Taksim and coming back to the Gazi neighborhood, which is their last station. Among them, the first five neighborhoods open to the lower-class

⁹⁸ Anne McClintock (2003) gives the example of use of dirt in Victorian culture by arguing that "iconography of dirt became deeply integrated in the policing and transgression of social boundaries" (p. 648).

neighborhoods of the old city where cheap products and open markets can be found. The last two neighborhoods having access to Gazi are supposed to be middle-class areas, which have many opportunities for transportation to the other parts of the city. However, it is not very easy to travel as it takes one and a half hours to reach to one of these central neighborhoods because there are plenty bus stops on the way as the busses pass through many different neighborhoods. Also, if there is a traffic jam, the time spent on the way takes around two-two and a half hours. Besides, especially on Sundays, there are only a few buses in use (for instance, the buses to Taksim run just three times per day), and thus, people need to be patient in order to go to those neighborhoods if they want to travel on weekends. Moreover, on the pretext that the buses might be attacked by activist political organizations, there are some arbitrary government prohibitions on the entry of buses into the neighborhood (Türk, 2007).

Because of these reasons, if the people want to go to the public places where cinemas, shops, cafes, and restaurants are located, instead of going to Taksim or Şişli, they often prefer to go Gaziosmanpaşa district, which is the closest one that they can go by mini-bus. Additionally, Gazi neighborhood is not famous for its outlet shopping nor is there a (textile) manufactory for cheap consumption, so that people from other neighborhoods and from the other parts of the city do not have an attractive reason to go to Gazi. I have never gone there, for instance, before I have started to work on my research. Therefore, difficulties of transportation contribute to the exclusion and differentiation of the people not only in their workplaces and during the workdays, but also in their leisure time during the weekends.

Therefore, because of the negative connotations of the neighborhood the husbands may not find a job even if they are *kebab* masters; the mothers may not register their children to a school in a different neighborhood as they are ashamed

with the prejudicial gaze of the schoolmaster; and the women may not find a word to say when their children ask why the comfortable and air-conditioned ‘green buses’ do not come to their neighborhood. They may not say that the ‘green buses’ are prohibited for the inhabitants of Gazi neighborhood because of ‘security reasons’.

To this extent, political history, social structure and the particular locality of the neighborhood contribute to the exclusionary meanings and connotations of being a dweller of the Gazi neighborhood which sticks upon the bodies of the people living in it. In that sense, within the history and the socio-political structure of the neighborhood, considering "social class, ethnicity, gender and citizenship status operate as intersecting dimensions of social inequality" (Collins, 1999, p. 118) how the women experience being a part of this marginalized community identified with the locality of the neighborhood becomes an important question for me in analyzing their subjectivities.

In this context, the "Education of Mothers" Program provides the women the possibility to go out of the borders of the neighborhood and the possibility of traveling to the other parts of the urban area, which is not an everyday occupation for the women. Especially, considering that they travel around the city without their husbands the practice of ‘going out’ of the neighborhood opens up the possibilities of ‘new’ selfhoods and ‘new’ types of belongings for the marginalized women of the Gazi neighborhood. It was difficult to ‘go out’ of the household, but now, the ‘experts’ are offering to take them to picnics, conferences, playhouses, and museums all of which are located ‘far’ from the neighborhood⁹⁹. Most of the women have

⁹⁹ In his book, *Questions of Modernity*, Timothy Mitchell (2000) underlines the relationship between modernity and spatiality. He argues, "modernity presents not only a particular version of the production of the space, but a particular image of the spatial order" (p. 27). In that sense, while the bourgeois areas are around or close to the old city and Bosphorus, poor neighborhoods with their marginalized ethnic communities are pushed towards the outskirts of the city.

never practiced bourgeois activities like going to a conference or visiting a museum, nor have they used bourgeois public spaces full of cafes, shops, and leisure time oriented spaces. By going to the conferences, meeting with the other ‘experts’ there, listening to the lawyers and psychiatrists, walking around the gardens of Topkapı Palace, or by going to a playhouse in a luxurious district these women practice different ways of being beyond the borders of the neighborhood.

Far from the Gazi Neighborhood: Playing with New Identities

Outdoor activities are one of the most important components of the Mother-Child Education Program since it introduces women to different public spaces in the city and to activities and actors that the women would not normally meet in their everyday. By going to picnics, theatre plays, conferences, concerts and museum visits the women find themselves within new kinds of socializing environments in brand new places most of which they have never visited before. Here, I would like to examine some of those outdoor activities organized by SHÇEK, or/and, by AÇEV in collaboration with the other actors in the field such as NGOs, experts, and municipalities. This examination would be useful not only to comprehend the different techniques of the program but also to recognize the different actors playing in this field.

When we went to the picnic in Anadolu Kavağı by boat, it was an event organized by SHÇEK for the Family Week (*Aile Haftası*), and thus, the women from the other Community Centers were there in the picnic area as well. The boat trip was an important socializing space for the women, because during the boat trip, rather than being ‘mothers’ they became young individual women with various skills and

desires. As it was in the case of Bilgen, which I mentioned in the previous chapter, it became possible to leave the mothers-in-law, who did not *able* to comprehend the talk of brides about scientific child-rearing, by imagining herself as part of a group of ‘educated’ women. The boat became the socializing space of the young and skillful individual women. During that boat trip the women realized what a beautiful voice Pırl has when she is singing; how funny Nur is when she mimics people, how Zeyno looks as attractive as a model in pictures, and so on. On the boat, two women found out that they were speaking the same dialect of Kurdish. Although they were in the same classroom for six months they could not figure it out before the boat trip because they never spoke in, or about, Kurdish. The instructions, naming women only ‘mothers’ and ‘individuals’, did not let them talk about their ethnic identities nor the related structural oppressions.

The women and I also developed different relationships during that picnic, such as when Taziye came next to me and asked in a low voice about the things in the sea, pointing at jellyfish, or when Oruç bought me a wristlet, the same as one she had bought for herself. The women, while they were singing, dancing, talking and enjoying the trip, were different from the women they were, both in the classroom and in their weekly gatherings at home (*gün*). They were neither the ‘mothers’ in competition nor the ‘manager’ housewives serving whole-heartedly by calculating the best and the most practical ways of cooking and doing housework. In that moment, they were simply enjoying discovering the individual skills of the other women and having their skills discovered by others.

Regarding the conferences, I would like to discuss the example of one organized by SHÇEK in cooperation with the ‘expert social workers’. The subject was about domestic violence and the framework of the conference was constructed

around honor killings. There were some lawyers, psychologists and actors from some NGOs and the location of the conference was in Tarlabası Rotary Nursery School for orphan children. At the end of the conference some of the women went next to the professionals to ask for some information, but most of them (as they told me later) could not ask because of the crowd. Although they were not able to ask their personal questions, and thus, could not receive any advice or psychological/legal assistance from the professionals, it was important to go to a conference for the women. It was also emphasized in the interviews, where many women mentioned the speeches and referenced to the speakers. Later on, talking both about the conference and the professionals who were in the conference became an issue among the women within their chats in and out of the class, which caused a differentiation between the women who went to the conference and who did not, as I will discuss later in detail.

As another example, the concert I went to with the women was a March 8 organization of AÇEV in collaboration with Şişli Municipality. As a result, the mayor came to the concert hall by distributing roses to the women in the area. As it can be imagined, the mayor, arriving on the scene to the applause of women, was the dominant figure and source of authority there, but the women of our class did not care much about him. In fact, they only cared about when the concert would start after a long day of speeches. Unfortunately, we had to leave from the concert hall before the concert finished because it was time to go: our bus was waiting outside, just like the husbands at the doors of their homes.

The theatre play had a similar destiny with the concert, because we could not get in the playhouse as it was full. The place was in Akatlar, in the back streets of Etiler, one of the most famous and top upper-middle class neighborhoods in İstanbul. Because the Gazi neighborhood was quite far away from Etiler and the bus driver did

not know the way to Akatlar the women were late and the other women, participants of the various courses of AÇEV, occupied all the seats. But, in fact, it was good for us, because we had a possibility to go to Bebek, another upper-class neighborhood, and to drink some tea altogether. It was the only outdoor activity that we found a chance to walk around and enjoy our 'real' leisure time.

As it can be noticed, the women were traveling to and from these places by bus. All these activities and their timing were pre-scheduled and the women had to respect it. They get on a bus, and go to the place of the activity, and then, when the activity finishes they gather around the bus again and go back to the neighborhood. In this way, like a school activity, they are scheduled, organized and regulated during the trips beyond the borders of the neighborhood¹⁰⁰.

The last outdoor activity that I would like to mention here is the museum visits. As "institutionalized memory sites" (Özyürek, 2001) museums were an interesting experience for the women. As Güldane said that the women used to go to picnics with their families, but they never go to the museums in their free time. As such, it was a completely 'new', 'bourgeois' experience for the women.

As it is argued by Özyürek (2001), "in bourgeois spaces constituted by museums, the visitors both see themselves as a part of a public composed of the people who are not very different from each other and, by internalizing the gaze of the museum which aligns the objects and the civilizations, they become the object and the subject of this power" (p. 187). In this context, when I think about Topkapı and Dolmabahçe Palaces, which were the museums we visited, it was interesting to

¹⁰⁰ This reminds us of the collateral use of 'disciplinary and emancipatory notions' as it is determinant for the women's participation to the public space in the Iranian case where "the new disciplinary and regulatory practices and concepts defined the acceptable social space for freedom for the modern women" (Najmabadi, 1998, p. 113). Similarly, while the women constitute themselves as free individuals going to the bourgeois areas of the city, they, at the same time, are scheduled, regulated, and disciplined.

figure out what kinds of objects and civilizations are aligned by the gaze of these museums. So, what was the reason behind going specifically to these two museums?

In Topkapı Palace, the objects from the most magnificent period of the Ottoman Empire are on display. Although the Ottoman sultans lived in the palace until 1856, the objects exhibited are from the sixteenth, seventeenth and a few from the eighteenth centuries. In the treasury room of the palace there were incredible jewelries of the sultans and meritorious diamond collections. Although he was one of the last sultans of the empire and lived in Yıldız Palace, even the costly silvers and the jewelries of Sultan Abdulhamit II were brought to Topkapı. As such, Topkapı Palace Museum is exhibiting the glory and magnificence of the Ottomans, who are supposed to be the historical predecessors of the Turkish nation. Moreover, when we look at the walls of the palace, all the maps just go back to 1699, which is theoretically the end of the expansion period of the Ottoman Empire, and thus, the maps show the most expanded borders of the empire. Therefore, when one looks at the maps she/he probably think how strong the Ottomans were in the history, as the predecessors of the Turkish nation.

In Dolmabahçe Palace, on the other hand, the influence of European modernity, the magnificence of the Ottomans, and contemporariness of the new Republic are all exhibited. As Atatürk lived at the end of his life and died in Dolmabahçe, all the clocks were regulated to show 09:05, as the time he supposedly died. In Dolmabahçe Palace Museum, his bedroom and his bathroom are preserved with the furniture as well as the other rooms ornamented with the objects which were given by the foreign diplomats as presents mostly to the nineteenth century Ottoman Sultans. In this way, the modern design of the palace, which is a copy of the famous ones constructed in Europe in the nineteenth century, and its moderate luxury

represent the new sentiments of the late Ottoman and early Republican periods. In fact, the palace was constructed to show that the glorious Ottoman Empire was still alive although it had almost collapsed by the time the construction was finished in 1856. The palace was the replication of the magnificence of the Ottoman Empire, but in a modern form just as its contemporaries in Europe.

Therefore, the history that the visitors of these museums witness is a voluntarily and honorable transition from the glamorous luxury of the Ottoman Empire to the moderate but enchanting modernity of the Turkish Republic. The transition from the classical architecture of Topkapı Palace to the modern architectural style of Dolmabahçe signifies a political and social transition towards modernity, which goes hand in hand with the nation-state formation. Therefore, the visitors of these Palace Museums are called to witness the evolution of *the* state, from the classical empire to the modern nation-state, represented as impressive, decisive and strong during the ‘history’. And now, the inhabitants of the Gazi neighborhood, as subjects of the long lasted state-based marginalization processes, are called to share and proud of this (national) ‘history’ through forgetting all the other ‘histories’ expressing their own processes of subjectification and marginalization.

By walking in the museums among the regulated history and the aligned objects of it, the women from the Gazi neighborhood were also consuming a particular taste and culture. They were not only consuming bourgeois public spaces by walking in the streets of the wealthy neighborhoods, by drinking tea next to the sea and in a café full of upper class people, and by sitting in the gardens of the Palace Museums, but also they were consuming a particular bourgeois culture which gives to the women an imagination of particular middle-class identity. They become

the ones among the 'equals' in this new public space by producing and consuming new types of class identities, which gives them a particular citizenship practice and status deriving from the cultural consumption practices of the middle-classes¹⁰¹.

The relationships of the women with the public space of the neighborhood were restricted to visiting a neighbor, bringing a child to school, and going on a picnic as a family. However, by traveling to the other parts of the city, by going to the conferences, theatre plays, by visiting the museums, and by walking around the streets of wealthy districts, as bourgeois public spaces, they could imagine that they have become citizens within the 'city walls'. This practice and status of citizenship was being created through the particular (cultural) consumption manners, the use of bourgeois public spaces, and the construction of new networks among individuals.

Therefore, the women could imagine themselves as 'full' citizens and as free individuals within the urban space by participating in the conferences, going to the picnics, concerts, and playhouses, and visiting the museums. By traveling to Taksim, Sultanahmet, Nişantaşı and Etiler, which were the living spaces of upper and upper-middle classes, the woman reconstituted the urban space as an urbanized, civilized middle-class individual and imagining herself as if she had the right to use the bourgeois public spaces of the city freely, just as a 'citizen' does.

However, although they imagined that they became free individuals and equal citizens the reality was different because their relation to the bourgeois public space was very limited by the places that they visited. It was true that around the

¹⁰¹ Işın and Wood (1999) analyzed this type of citizenship by departing from the notions of cultural capital theorized by Bourdieu and new class discussions problematized among various intellectuals. In this way, Işın and Wood developed the notion of "cultural citizenship" by arguing as "the rise of 'culture' as a means of changing the way individuals relate to the work they perform and to their sense of self as consumer indicates that identity becomes technology of government. Cultural citizenship is not only about rights to produce and consume symbolic goods and services but also an intervention in this identity work" (p. 152).

¹⁰³ According to Habermas (1991), in the nineteenth century, avenue or street, which everyone can walk around on, is described as one of the most important spaces to create the notion of 'citizen'.

district of Sultanahmet/Gülhane where Topkapı Palace Museum was located; Etiler/Akatlar where the playhouse was found; Bebek where we went to drink some tea and to enjoy the view of the Bosphorus were all bourgeois public spaces with the streets full of cafes, tea houses, luxury shops, patisseries where everyone could walk around¹⁰³. However, the reality was different than that they imagined, as the particular locations of the outdoor activities were out of the main streets of those districts. For example, Rotary Tarlabası Nursery School was far from the main square of Taksim, or Gülhane was a park far from the main streets of the old city. Similarly, if the women had found a place to sit in the playhouse they could not have the opportunity to walk through Bebek to drink tea and chat together because Akatlar was also far from the main shopping streets of Etiler and the coastline of Bebek. Additionally, as I mentioned previously, because they used to come to the buildings of the events and go back to the neighborhood immediately after the events by private buses arranged by the Community Center in order to be at home on time, before the husband comes, the women do not have time and the opportunity to walk around those streets and the avenues freely like an urban bourgeois woman does, but they imagine that they do. As Neşe mentioned "there is neither a teahouse nor a café in the Gazi neighborhood that you can go alone to drink tea or just to sit". The women are *in* this imagination and desire to enjoy with the bourgeois publicity of the wealthy districts. One develops an image of an urban self that goes to a café alone as a woman –although she will be subjected to the violence of her husband if she is late or leaves the house without cooking.

By constructing different selves than the ‘mother’ in the public area, as a free individual woman, a modern young woman, an urbanized bourgeois woman who has pleasures of the urban space and particular taste and cultural consumption practices

she imagines a citizenship status other than the one tied up with her 'motherhood'. The women desire and imagine that they are tied to the public space on the basis of the social contract among the 'equals' who may have common interests and shared bourgeois practices¹⁰⁴.

Therefore, walking at the edges of the bourgeois public spaces where the 'walls of the city' are presented, and imagining 'full' citizenship through bourgeois cultural consumption practices the women construct new types of belongings. However, the constitution process of these new types of belongings also causes new forms of differentiations and exclusions among the women. In that sense, while they desire to constitute their selves in the public space beyond the category of 'motherhood', how they differentiate themselves from the 'other' women in those public spaces would be an interesting question to pose. In that sense, I perceive that their approaches to the both women living in the Gazi neighborhood and in the wealthy districts would open up a fruitful area for discussing their ways of subjectivity formation in this process.

¹⁰⁴ Carole Pateman (1992) argues that women's participation in the political order has never been felt as a merely exclusion; on the contrary they were included to the public order. However, this inclusion of women was upon "their political duty which derives from their difference from men, notably their capacity for motherhood" (p. 19). This difference was also the reason of their exclusion from citizenship because they were incorporated to civil society as men's subordinates. Therefore, women's participation and inclusion in the public sphere of economy and citizenship is through their capacity of motherhood. Considering the claim of Shah (1999) who claims "the gendered programs of care and cultivation in the domestic space also prepare individuals for their vital roles as citizens in the public sphere" (p. 20) it can be argued that their citizenship depends upon their performance in the mother position which has domestic care and cultivation as signs of the women's citizenship in the public sphere.

At the Margins of the Household: Relations with the 'Other' Women

Subjectivity depicts itself through the 'other'. In the social construction process of gender, this 'other' becomes men for the women, however, more than that, it becomes 'the other women' who are the fellows of the women (Bora, 2005).

According to Bora (2005), the differences between women just as the other kinds of differences shelter and designate the inequalities and power relations. Moreover, although there are differences between the experiences of women, the hegemonic one is the middle-class womanhood experience, and thus, the others construct themselves by positioning accordingly.

Therefore, by walking around the bourgeois public spaces, by experiencing the values and tastes of the middle-classes, and by becoming involved in new relationships how do these women associate with and differentiate themselves from other women? Who are 'the others' of these 'mothers' going to the 'Education of Motherhood' courses in the Gazi neighborhood? How are they approaching the mothers in the neighborhood and the ones in wealthy areas, and therefore, how do they constitute themselves through their positioning? What can we say about their relations with the other 'educated' women participating in the same Mother-Child Education courses in the Gazi neighborhood? In this regard, I will discuss their subjectivities and the possibilities of female networking within the context of the neighborhood.

'Easy' vs. 'Difficult' Mothering

Although they go near the public spaces of the middle-class neighborhoods by means of the organizations of the Community Center and AÇEV, most of the 'mothers' do not have a direct relationship with other women living in the wealthy neighborhoods. Only Çiçek has a relative (her husband's sister) who is living in Acar Kent, which is one of the resident areas for the upper-middle class people. Çiçek told me that when she brought the 'papers' to her, 'even' she wanted to come to the educations although she sends her child to Doğa College. However, she could not come because of the distance, as Acar Kent is far from the Gazi neighborhood.¹⁰⁵ By implication, she was proud of participating in those education programs because she was doing something that was desired by an upper-middle class relative. She was proud of her effort and devotion to become a 'good mother' although she did not have the opportunities that her husband's sister had. Therefore, her 'hard-working' mothering performed by reading, circulating, and practicing the information given throughout the classes provided "a medium through which she becomes 'modern' subject by eradicating "hurting" differences with the wealthy" (Yenal & Ahıska, 2005, p. 15). By referring to the hard conditions of her life to raise a 'proper' child she not only differentiates but also sublimes her motherhood in compare to the motherhood of her upper-middle class relative.

Most of the women did not have direct relationships with the wealthy women but they were speaking easily about the womanhood of the upper classes. In this context, the representations, reflections and the images about the motherhood and womanhood of the upper classes indicate how the women evaluate their own

¹⁰⁵ "Bir görümcem var, Acar Kent'te oturuyor. Çocuğu Doğa Koleji'ne gidiyor. Ben Deniz Hanım'ın verdiği kağıtlardan götürdüm, o bile gelmek istiyordu, ama uzak olduğu için gelemedi" (Çiçek, April 2007).

motherhood and womanhood relative to them. Since womanhood is constructed within the processes of identification and differentiation (between one's self and the 'others') the meanings attributed to the women from the Gazi neighborhood and from the wealthy neighborhoods indicate various distinctions between these women. One of the distinction points was based on having a 'social life' according to Neşe: "You did not go to the school, you did not work; I mean, you do not have a social life. This place (classes in the Community Center) is a social life for me. The one who stays in Etiler has a social life I think"¹⁰⁶.

As I mentioned in previous parts, Neşe had difficult relationships with her family members who were against her going to the Community Center. She went to the Center in order to have a 'social life' in spite to her family members who wanted her to stay at home. She thought that having a 'social life' distinguished the one living in Etiler from the one in the Gazi neighborhood. In that sense, the 'social life' materialized in the place of the Community Center made her closer to the wealthy woman. However, the difference was constituted at the point that she considered the ways of having a social life. She struggled in order to go to the place to get socialized. On the other hand, a woman in Etiler had *already* a place for a 'social life', hence, she did not need to consider and struggle for it. So that it was *easy* to take the advantage of having a ready-to-use social life, and the women living in the wealthy neighborhoods already possessed the (economical and social) opportunities for which the women living in Gazi were in a continuous struggle.

There were similar kinds of examples supporting this point of view. As another aspect of differentiation, there was also an emphasis upon 'psychological problems' possessed by the women associated with living in poverty and

¹⁰⁶ "Okula gitmemişsin, çalışmamışsın, yani bir sosyal hayatın yok. Burası benim için bir sosyal hayat. Etilerde oturanın bir sosyal hayatı vardır" (Neşe, April 2007).

deprivation. The women desired to mention the great difficulty of the physical and economical conditions in which they had to struggle for ‘perfect mothering’ by preserving their ‘good-morality’. In that sense, ‘self-sacrifice’, ‘devotion’ and ‘suffering’ became the features of the women of the Gazi neighborhood, as a way of distinguishing themselves from the mothers of the wealthy neighborhoods:

The ones in Bebek do not need that... Indeed, one should make them mothers. We are all mothers already. These people (*referring to herself and to the neighbors*) know what is what already; these are self-sacrificing people; they are the people who suffered greatly. We are damaged psychologically but...¹⁰⁷

The bonding she constituted was remarkable as long as she was positioning herself next to her neighbors. Through this way, she constituted the women from the wealthy neighborhoods as opposed to the ‘self-sacrificing’, ‘suffering’ women of the Gazi neighborhood. ‘Suffering’ made them ‘fit’ for good mothering while the mothers from the wealthy areas were assumed to be ‘unfit’ as they did not ‘suffer’ as much as the ones from the Gazi neighborhood. Here, suffering signified all the moral virtues of the mother, which were congregated under ‘devotion’ and ‘unreciprocated giving’. Oruç differentiated herself from the wealthy women by implying her moral virtues as a ‘self-sacrificing’ and a ‘suffering’ mother. Moreover, the ‘psychological damage’ related to this ‘suffering’, was evaluated as a kind of ‘proof’ to display the amount of ‘suffering’ they have experienced. This ‘suffering’ not only indicated the moral virtues of a ‘good mother’, but also it gave the women an experience of struggling when faced with difficulties. In this context, the main reason of the ‘psychological damage’ was poverty, as Taziye emphasized:

¹⁰⁷ Bebek’tekilerin ihtiyacı yok ki... Aslında oradakileri anne yapacaksın. Biz zaten hepimiz annemiz. Zaten bunlar neyin ne olduğunu biliyorlar, bunlar fedakar insanlar, çile çelmiş insanlar. Psikolojik olarak bozulmuş durumdayız ama...

Deniz Hanım told us that these Community Centers are located in such places, called *taşra*, like Gazi, where the income level of the people are not high. For example, we do not have a possibility to send the child to the day care center here... In Etiler, and in that kind of places, most of the people have good income. They can educate their children how they like...(the mothers do not get educated) but at least they can go to a psychologist whenever they want!¹⁰⁸

In comparing herself with the women from the upper classes, the ‘psychological damage’ she claimed to possess became again a ‘proof/sign’ of her ‘suffering’. Moreover, even if ‘the other’ mothers from the wealthy neighborhoods had the signs of ‘suffering’ and ‘self-sacrifice’ they could ‘erase’ it by going to a psychologist. However, the ‘sign’ of suffering was permanent for Taziye, and for the mothers from the Gazi neighborhood, since, according to her, they did not have an opportunity to go to a psychologist.

Therefore, alongside severe economical and social conditions, deprivation from means and resources, high poverty and the oppression from family members, their ‘struggling’ to practice the ‘proper’ mothering appear as common attitudes of the women in the Gazi neighborhood. There becomes a bonding implied through the words of the women that makes them position together and sublimates their struggling and devotion through the notion of "difficult mothering".

However, although the distinctions seem clear in many cases, sometimes it may be confusing whose mothering is easy and whose is not, especially when the issues about housewifery come into this picture:

¹⁰⁸ Deniz Hanım söyledi: Bu toplum merkezleri daha çok durumu iyi olmayan, gazi mah gibi, taşra dedikleri yerlerde oluyor. Çünkü burada mesela bizim çocuğu ana okuluna gönderme imkanımız yok... Etilerde falan çoğu insanın madi durumu iyi. Onlar çocuklarına eğitim de verebiliyorlar istedikleri gibi... (kendileri eğitilmiyorlar ama) onlar da istedikleri zaman psikoloğa gidebiliyorlar en azından.

Are there no other motherhood educations? Aren't there? To make the people knowledgeable, benefited I guess...I do not know... I thought (the educations) are in everywhere. Isn't it? There isn't any in luxury places, no? Is it because they (the people from Gazi) are unknowledgeable, living in odd corners? I don't know, Deniz Hanım did not give us any information about that. Maybe they did not think it is needed for the rich people; they are educated... I think being a housewife is the more difficult vocation. (In wealthy areas) The child and the mother become far from each other; they can see each other just at nights. I think housewifery is the most difficult vocation. For example, they cannot wash that carpet. They get it washed. But it seems that the workingwoman has a different value. I think they cannot do housework. Though, we may not do what they do as well... I regret very much that I did not participate to the Mother Trainer Program. They have started the internships; they can work in the school afterwards¹⁰⁹.

Güldane imagined herself as a candidate of the 'proper' mother and the housewife with her domestic capacity of housework and with her knowledge about child rearing. However, while she was thinking about why the Education of Mothers courses were in the Gazi neighborhood, but not in the wealthy areas, she constructed her self not only as 'poor', but also as an 'uneducated' person compared with wealthy people. However, to fill the gap between the poor, uneducated 'self' and the educated, knowledgeable 'self', first, she used the "pedagogic language" of the child rearing by indicating that the mother and the child should not be far from each other; and second, she claimed her superiority in housework as a 'hard-working housewife'. By approaching to the gap in two different ways she despised not only the motherhood, but also the housewifery, and, with these two, the 'womanhood' of the wealthy woman.

¹⁰⁹ Annelik eğitimleri yok mu oralarda? Yok mu? İnsanlar bilgilensin, faydalansın diye herhalde... Bilmiyorum ki...Yani...Her yerde var zannediyordum ben. Yok de mi? Lüks yerlerde yok de mi? Bilgisizler, kıyıda kenarda kalmışlar diye mi acaba? Bilmiyorum ki, ondan hiç bir bilgi vermedi Deniz Hanım bize. Belki zenginlere gerek duymamışlar, onlar eğitilmiş... Aslında ev hanımı daha zor meslek bence. Çocuk anneden, anne çocuktan uzak oluyor, akşamdan akşama görebiliyor. Ev hanımlığı bence en zor meslek. Mesela onlar oturup o halıyı yıkayamaz. Yıkattır mesela. Ama görüldüğü zaman dışarda çalışan kadının değeri daha farklı. Ev işini bence onlar yapamaz. Gerçi biz de onların yaptığını yapamayız belki de... Ben çok pişman oldum Egitici Anne Programı'na katılmadığıma. Ordakiler stajlara başladı; okullarda falan çalışabiliyorlar.

On the other hand, she also wanted to work as she thought that the value of a professional woman was different from that of the housewife. So, she evaluated her self as 'less valuable' compared with a professional woman. By implying on the 'higher value' attributed to the workingwomen she felt regretful because she could not participate to another program, which would give her the opportunity to work.

In fact, it is because the domestic labor of the housewife is not visible in the public sphere of the market economy. Moreover, her labor is not only invisible but also it is unpaid. Malos (1995) argued the woman is paid through her husband who is supposed to receive enough to support himself and his family. In such a "game of truth", housewife is defined as a woman whose work is to "maintain and organize a household and look after her husband and children –we think of washing, cooking, cleaning and the full-time care of pre-school children" (p. 34). However, her "vocation is not only to create a clean and productive family by performing all these acts, but also she should ensure the skilled erasure of every *sign* of her work", and thus, "housewifery is a career in vanishing acts" (McClintock, 2003, p. 651). On the other hand, workingwoman is defined as a woman who contributes to the welfare economy, which is the reason of the "higher value" attributed to the workingwoman. Because the labor is evaluated regarding to its contribution to the welfare of the market economy identified with the public sphere, although women have a double work both in and out of the household, her labor in the domestic sphere is not recognized. However, housework is assumed as a domestic 'duty' of woman within the modern capitalist patriarchal division of labor.

Therefore, Güldane observed and analyzed herself, and then, she interpreted and recognized herself as a domain of possible knowledge about mothering and

housewifery¹¹⁰. As a result, she constituted her self as a 'knowledgeable/learned mother' and a 'hard-working housewife'. Wealthy professional woman, on the other hand, was constituted as neither a 'proper' mother as she was far from her child, nor a 'proper' housewife as she was not able to wash a carpet. In both aspects, the wealthy professional woman was accused to be 'unfit' for mothering and housewifery. Because she was wealthy, she could get the carpet washed, or the child raised, however, using paid labor in the domestic works labeled her as an "easy mother" as she did not endeavor enough for mothering 'properly'.

In this context, the 'hard-working mothers' of the program take place within a bonding, which is supposed to be among the women from the Gazi neighborhood. When they talk about wealthy women, the women constitute themselves and the other mothers living in Gazi as self-sacrificing, devoted, hard-working, suffering but struggling mothers equipped with the features of good-morality. However, this bonding is broken up when they constitute themselves relative to other women living in the neighborhood. Moreover, interestingly, as a way of differentiation, the similar connotations of "easy mothering" are used for the neighbor women.

In this context, it was interesting to see that in their relation to the neighbor women 'the mothers' defined them as 'others' who were 'illiterate', 'uneducated', 'uncivilized' and 'lazy'. These notions were expressed by implying that the neighbor women were not only "uneducated"; but also "too lazy to leave their villagers' culture and habits in order to adapt a new, modern life". In this way, 'the mothers' placed themselves as 'hard-working' and 'struggling' ones who could adapt the requirements of the urban area. I would like to draw attention to the words of Atik:

¹¹⁰ In the Foucauldian analysis (1998) the constitution of the subject is defined as an object for herself: the formation of the procedures by which the subject is led to observe herself, analyze herself, interpret herself, recognize herself as a domain of possible knowledge... the subject experiences herself in a game of truth where she relates to herself (p. 461).

They are coming here from the village directly... illiteracy is much more in Gazi... they are the people who do not go to the school, coming from the village directly. They could not improve themselves. If you look, here, all are from the same village of Sivas. They have a common village, they have a common culture; they could not leave (their attitudes) in the village. Their behaviors, their ways of thinking did not change... always the same; that is why probably Gazi did not develop...¹¹¹

Atik, although she was also from the village of Sivas originally, by saying that they were all ‘villagers’, and they were all ‘illiterate/uneducated’ people living in this neighborhood, she drew a line between her self and the ‘others’, ‘the neighbors’ in this context. Besides, by looking at herself from the place between her and the ‘others’ she saw herself as ‘urbanized’, ‘modernized’ and ‘educated’. When she was living in İzmir/Aliağa in her teenage years she used to go to the public library, as she likes reading very much. When she got married she was excited as she was planning to go to a metropolitan city with big libraries. However, after her insurances, when her husband accompanied her to Gaziosmanpaşa Library which was the only public library nearby the neighborhood she got disappointed so much because of the poor conditions of the library and the books in it. She told me that even the small library of Aliağa was better than the one here, in Gazi. She constituted herself as a ‘modern’, ‘educated’ and ‘urbanized’ individual who was appreciative about the books unlike the ones living here who did not even value reading nor had a public library which was an important sign of being ‘civilized’ according to her.

The word ‘villager’ is often used to signify the ‘uneducated’ and ‘not-yet urbanized’ people. In this way, she reconstitutes the rural vs. urban dichotomy of

¹¹¹ Direk köyden buraya geliyorlar ya...eğitimsizlik falan gazide daha çok...okula fazla gitmeyen insanlar. Direk köyden gelen insanlar. Kendilerini geliştirememişler, o kadar görüyorum yani. Hep burası aynı köylüdür yani hep baksan Sivaslıdır. Köyleri ortak, kültürleri ortak, köydeki şeylerini bırakamamışlar.Hareketleri, düşünce tarzları hiç değişmemiş yani hep aynı o yüzden belki Gazi gelişmemiştir ama burdaki oSelenara bu insanların karıştığını zannetmiyorum yanio daha farklı bir şey. Bu insanlar yapmaz; dedikodu yaparalar...

modernization in her words. In this dichotomy, being ‘civilized’, ‘enlightened’ ‘educated’, ‘aware’ and ‘modern’ are located at the side of ‘urban’ while ‘uncivilized/barbaric’, ‘needing for enlightenment’, ‘uneducated/illiterate’, ‘unaware’ and ‘un-modern/traditional’ become the adjectives attributed to the rural. Being rural/‘villager’ is mostly identified with being poor as well. Çiçek was in doubt about going to the Community Center in the beginning, because she thought that these centers were "opened in the peripheral areas (*varoş*) like Zeytinburnu, Ümraniye, and Gazi in order to pacify the leftist people living in those places". However, after she continued with the educations her judgment has changed. She said, "I think because those are the poor places; there are many people here who came from the village side, that is the reason." She argued that because people were villagers living in Gazi they were economically deprived, and thus, they needed an education to improve their economic capacities. So that it was not that the state desired to pacify the leftist people here, but to educate people to improve their living standards, meaning, their economic conditions. Piraye also said, "I think the people from *varoş* (marginalized, poor) area need this (education) more... I think the reason is to bring service to the people whose income level is lower...but many of them are not even aware of this"¹¹².

Piraye’s words constructed her ‘other’ in the neighborhood not only as poor, but also as ‘unaware’. In her expression, needing education, being poor, and ‘unaware’ were complementary to each other and were located at the side of rural in the aforementioned dichotomy. Similar to Atik’s point of view, she also implied that the people living in the neighborhood were ‘uneducated’ and ‘unaware’, to which

¹¹² "Bence varoştaki insanların buna daha çok ihtiyacı var... Bence sebep gelir seviyesi düşün insanlara hizmet vermektir... ama bir çoğu bunun bilincinde bile değil" (Piraye, April 2007).

extent state attempted to educate them to improve their capacity of knowledge which was supposed to increase their income level as well.

Education is seen as the way for people extricate themselves from deprivation and poverty in the modern capitalist discourse. Thus, not attempting to fulfill the ‘lack’ of education implies remaining in poverty. Moreover, it is seen as the personal responsibility of the individuals in neo-liberal discourses. As such, it is assumed that being poor or rich depends on the person. In other words, modernity states that the economic and social status of the individuals depends on their effort, and their willingness to get educated is evaluated as an important part of this effort. Many of the women relate ‘education’ with wealth and equality (with the middle-classes) in the public realm. Thus, label the ‘uneducated’ women not only as ‘poor’ but also as ‘un-urbanized’ and ‘unaware’ signifies their ‘inferiority’ in terms of their equal citizenship, as they remain in the ‘rural’ side of the hierarchical dichotomy of modernity. However, in the modern capitalist system, social inequality is continuously reproduced although the biggest claim of the education is to attenuate it (Ball, 1990).

In this context, when ‘illiterate’ is identified with the notions of ‘villager’, ‘uncivilized’, ‘not-yet urbanized’ and ‘poor’ the women participating in the Education of Mothers Program take on the responsibility of making the ‘other’ women in the neighborhood ‘literate/educated’, and ‘urban’:

I put them on the table in the living room. As Deniz Hanım told us, to make the other women read those papers; I always put them here... For example, I informed my friend and she participated in the group of Friday. I had directed her¹¹³.

¹¹³ Ben onları hep oturma odasındaki masanın üstüne koyuyorum. Deniz Hanım demişti ya, diğer kadınlara da bunları okutun; ben o yüzden hep buraya koyuyorum... Mesela ben birine anlattım, Cuma günü gruba katıldı. Onu yönlendirmiş oldum .

Or,

I put the things (papers, brochures) that I received in the class in a file.
And I show them to the other women when they come to my house.
They are in a file. I open the file and read them sometimes¹¹⁴.

Therefore, it is expected from the mothers to "enlighten" the other women with the instructions of "Education of Mothers" classes. They are advised to bring the handouts of the lectures home and to circulate them in their neighborhoods. They should put these handouts in some 'key' places at home like on the dinner table, on the refrigerator, or in the places that the husband and the other members of the family can see and read easily. Similarly, the 'mother' should show them to the neighbor women when she goes to the neighbor gatherings (*gün*) or when the other women come to her home just to sit and chat. In this way, it is assumed that the mothers having agency become the actors of the 'enlightenment process of the modernity' by 'illuminating' the other people. Moreover, in these ways, the desire of 'educated motherhood' is expanded to the other women, just as the brochures and papers in circulation. When they meet with their sisters, neighbors, and close relatives the women promote their knowledge on pedagogy and scientific housewifery and defend the teachings out loud and give examples from the instructions and from the experiences of their classmates. In such an environment, the other women become in silence, as they do not feel that they can defend the 'traditional' ways of child rearing and housework against the arguments of the 'educated mothers'. Therefore, the women circulate the fantasy of 'educated motherhood' in the neighborhood. In other words, while the women try to 'enlighten' the neighbor women who are seen as 'uneducated', 'uncivilized', and

¹¹⁴ Derste aldığım şeyleri dosyaya koyup eve gelen kadınlara gösteriyorum. Dosya halindeler, arada açıp okuyorum.

'lazy' they also construct and circulate the desire of 'educated', 'civilized' and 'modern' womanhood which fits with the ideal of middle-class woman. In this way, they also aspire to the status of 'educators'.

However, this effort may not be enough for the women in the Gazi neighborhood as they are "not only uneducated but also lazy to change their villagers' culture" as Atik implied previously. This notion of 'laziness' is an important phenomenon as it is also mentioned implicitly in some other cases. For example, Selena said, "the children in Gazi have too much freedom, (because) their mothers are not looking after them, they leave their children freely in the street", therefore, the 'mothering' that the neighbor women perform is not appreciated as 'proper mothering', because it seems 'loose', based on 'lazy' attitudes instead of 'knowledge', 'consistency' and 'struggle'.

Some appreciated it, some said 'why do you go there? You know all these stuff' Actually, it is not... For example muscle growth of a child... We did not know all these. When they say 'why do you go there', now, I say 'go and see. You say that you raise a child, but you will see if you raise a child really!' I show (the papers) to my sister as well, I explain to her what we have talked about (in the classes)¹¹⁵.

Güldane does not accept the 'motherhood' of the 'other mothers', as they are not 'really' able to raise a child because they do not have all these information. They even do not know the 'muscle growth' of a child, how could they become 'mothers'? In this context, 'the mothers' getting 'educated' in the Mother-Child Education Program evaluate the 'other women' in the neighborhood as 'uneducated', 'illiterate', 'villager', 'un-urbanized/uncivilized', and 'lazy' through which way they

¹¹⁵ Takdir eden de oldu, gitme bildiğin şeyler deyen de oldu. Aslında değil. Tane tane anletiyor ya Deniz Hanım. Kas gelişimi mesela çocuğun... Hiç bilmiyorduk onları. Şimdi söyledikleri zaman "gidip görün, çocuk büyüttük diyorsunuz ama görün bakalım çocuk büyütmiş müsünüz?" diyorum. Kardeşime de gösteriyorum, konuştuklarımızı anlatıyorum.

detach from their previous networks and communal identity. As ‘educated’, ‘modern’, and ‘urbanized’ ones ‘the mothers’ take the ‘responsibility’ to ‘illuminate’ the others, because these ‘other mothers’ leave their children on the street freely; they do not take attention to the children; they do not improve their knowledge to make the children successful in the school; and they could not leave their villagers’ culture and ways of behaving behind.

Therefore, the women participating in the Education of Mother courses are willing to take up a position within the bonding that they imagined to be composed of the ‘self-sacrificing’, ‘hard-working’, ‘devoted’, ‘suffering’ but ‘struggling’ mothers and housewives of the Gazi neighborhood. In this way, they claim that the wealthy women have lack of knowledge and capacity both for mothering and housewifery practices. It is assumed that because they hire paid labor in the domestic sphere for the housework and child rearing, and additionally, because they can go to a psychologist to get rid of any ‘psychological damage’, and to erase the ‘signs’ of suffering, if there are any, the wealthy women practice ‘easy mothering’. However, by differentiating themselves individually from the women of the Neighborhood by labeling them also as ‘easy mothers’ the women break up their previous bonding and dismiss their communal identity.

To sum up, although these women emphasize the bonding among the ‘self-sacrificing’, ‘hard-working’, ‘devoted’, and ‘suffering’ mothers of Gazi neighborhood in which way they constitute an identity of ‘mother’ in their encountering with the women from the upper classes, they break up this bond when they face the women of their neighborhood since they label these neighbor women as ‘villager’, ‘uneducated’, ‘not-yet urbanized/uncivilized’, and ‘lazy’. In this context, while the woman constructs a hierarchy of education and knowledge

between herself and the 'uneducated' women in the neighborhood she devaluates the knowledge of the other women, and does not need to be in their network. Therefore, in her encounter with the neighbor women she cannot position herself as one of 'them'; she cannot take up the connotations of being a woman of the Gazi neighborhood anymore, however, she can neither approach the experiences of the women from wealthier districts. As long as she constructs herself through her difference from the other women she cannot belong any of these networks, and detaches herself from the previous ones. She becomes individualized and dissociated in her relations and networking with the 'other' women, who are exposed to the similar ethnic, religious, and political marginalization and patriarchal oppression. As she becomes individualized and does not be a part of these groupings she feels as if she is free from her gender, class, and ethnic identities and places herself in the imaginary of 'educated-modern-woman' in an individualized family and an 'urban', 'equal citizen' in the public sphere, but with a significant frustration due to the fact that it is not possible.

Desire of Socialization

The families of the women in the Gazi neighborhood were neither individualized nor free from the dominance of the hierarchical kinship relations. Because of the oppressive patriarchal order in the households many of the women were not allowed to go outside frequently. However, when they went to the Community Center they could get out of the borders of the domestic sphere and pass by the public space of the neighborhood. This was an important change for many women and triggered the other struggles against the patriarchal dominance of the elder family members.

However, although the women getting out of the home and passing through the same streets in order to reach to the Community Center might construct new networks through their commonalities they were always hesitant to do so. Now, I will discuss about the reasons and the effects of this hesitation and the possibilities for the women, who do not feel belonging towards her previous networks, to construct new networks and new belongings with the other 'educated' women who exceed the borders of the household via going to the "social space" of the Community Center every week.

For the most of the women participating in the "Education of Mothers" classes, the Community Center was represented as a space where they could "get socialized", meaning to meet with the 'other' people who they did not know (well) before encountering them in the Community Center. Almost all of the women that I interviewed mentioned that they desired to participate in the Mother-Child Education Program in order to 'get socialized'. Statements like "I went there to meet with new people, and to get socialized", "everyday was the same, I thought I could get socialized in this way", "I thought I could see different people", "I wanted to go in order to make a difference in my life, and to cope with my stress" were common. To this extent, it can be argued that the fundamental reason of the 'mothers' for participating in the courses is 'to change something in the life' by getting out of the borders of the house and by making new friends and new networks.

Previous research into the subjectivity of women participating in the different programs in the Community Centers indicated that the participant women saw the Community Center as a space which was in-between 'inside' and 'outside' (Karabekir, 2004), or in other words, in-between the domestic and the public spheres constructed by the modern patriarchal discourses. However, in my case, the

emphasis of ‘socialization’ requires us to perceive the issue from a different angle by considering the meanings of ‘outside’ where the women have to pass by in order to go to the Community Center. In her case study on women’s participation in the Moroccan public space, Fatima Mernissi (2003) argues that when women go out of the domestic universe signified with sexuality, inequality and subordination they enter *umma* as a public universe of men signified with equality, unity, and reciprocity. Therefore, when a woman leaves the domestic space she encounters a male gaze signifying her as sexually available. Motherhood, in this context, gives the women a kind of asexual feature in the public universe of men, and thus, "transgressing" its borders becomes acceptable for the ‘mothers’, especially if they ‘go out’ for the education of ‘better’ mothering. For the women, on the other hand, it is just the desire of ‘going out’ by breaking the oppression of the patriarchal domestic order, which prisons them inside the household, and the desire to meet with ‘new’ people in that space.

In that sense, ‘going out’ of the house and getting into particular relations with ‘strangers’ were the fundamental reasons for going to the Community Center for the Education of Mothers Program. They attempted to participate in the educations, as Neşe said, "just to leave the house, and at least, to learn something"¹¹⁶. In this regard, ‘leaving the house’ (and the patriarchal relations in the household) was the main reason to go to the Community Center while "learning something *at least*" is seen as a side effect of it. Instead of, or along with, going to a neighbor for a morning coffee they now go to the ‘mothering’ classes of the Community Center.

When women talked about getting socialized, to break the routine of everyday and to meet with new people by going to the Center, they were, in fact,

¹¹⁶ "Sırf evden uzaklaşayım, en azından bir şeyler öğreneyim diye..." (Neşe, April 2007).

talking about the desire of constructing new types of relations, however, they did not really care with whom. A shred identity, or ethnic, class, and gender ties were not very important anymore to get socialized. On the contrary, women desired to talk with the ones they did not know well before. Thus, the Community Center itself became an area where ‘individuals’ could get socialized and meet with new people, learn new jokes and stories, and tell theirs to other people.

The women participating in the "Education of Mothers" class were organizing weekly gatherings (*güns*) among each other as a form of classical type of female networking and interaction. Therefore, the women kept practicing these ‘old’ ways of networking in their recently constructed female networks. However, the *güns* of these ‘educated’ mothers were different than their previous experiences: First of all, there were no or minimum gossiping among the women because they did not want to be labeled as a ‘gossiper woman’, who had many negative connotations among the ‘educated’ women who comprehended the necessity for respecting the privacy of the individuals. Secondly, the women mostly talked about the lectures and the tips of pedagogical child rearing in their *güns*. By making comments about the instructions and praising the personality of Deniz Hanım as their model-mother these women created a desire of an educated, middle class modern womanhood and expanded it to the other ‘not-yet educated’ women who came there as guests of some women. Therefore, although the practice of *gün* was remained as a way of female interaction the ‘new’ attitudes of the women changed its content.

Moreover, along with the weekly gatherings, now, they also gathered to go to the Mother-Child Health Center for a smear test by following the dates and fixing the appointment with each other. They became individualized and professionalized in their relations and networks. Thus, having similar kinds of individual interests such as

visiting a museum, going to a conference, educating a number of children in ‘new’, pedagogical ways became important for their interaction.

If there is another program which suits me, I am thinking to participate in it after I send Sıla to school (next year)... If it suits me I will go there, if it does not, I will meet with the mothers in Sıla’s school; I will get into a dialogue with them¹¹⁷.

As Neşe implied that many women planned to keep ‘socializing’ by constructing new networks individually with the mothers of the future classmates of their children. In fact, many of the women were dreaming of being connected with the other ‘mothers’ whom they would probably meet when their children would start primary school. By imagining the new relationships that they were willing to enter, these women searched for the possibilities of new networks. And, these networks were supposed to be constructed ‘individually’ upon their common interest: the children. In that sense, they positioned themselves as ‘individuals’ seeking ‘adventure’ by meeting with new people beyond the borders of the domestic sphere.

In this context, the women were excited, not only because their children would start to go to school in the following year but also because it would open up the possibility of new ways of ‘socialization’ and new relationships among the women whose children were going to the same school. They were assuming that they would be able to construct new relationships with the other women that they imagined to meet in the space of the school or of the classroom. Furthermore, some of the women were imagining that they would become the ‘mother of the classroom’ (*sınıf annesi*) by dealing with the ‘competition’ among the ‘mothers’. It was a passionate dream of Güldane, for instance, to get ahead of the other mothers and

¹¹⁷ Orda bana uyan bir program olursa Sıla’yı okula gönderdikten sonra gitmeyi düşünüyorum. Sıla’yla ilgileneceksin, ders çalıştıracaksın... Eğer bana uyarsa giderim, uymazsa, Sıla’nın okulundaki diğer annelerle görüşürüm; onlarla diyalogta olurum.

become the 'mother of the classroom' in her daughter's class. When I asked her about the duties and responsibilities of a 'mother of the classroom', she replied that the 'mother of the classroom' took care of everything in a class: she took care of the order and good outlook of the classroom; she managed the students to make the curtains clean, and organized *kermes* to manage the physical needs of the classroom. Although "it was a tough job" as she said, she believed that she was well suited to it because she said she was 'patient' enough which was a necessary aspect of a person applying for the voluntary 'mothering'. She imagined herself as if she was applying for a white-collar management position in a company as a middle class professional woman, but, indeed, she did apply for a 'mother' position.

The main component of their 'socialization' desire was to become able to 'talk' about them selves. In that sense, they were ready to get into new relationships as long as they could express and share their words. Because they talked with the women in the class mainly about children, they did not have much opportunity to talk about their stories in the classroom. However, they mostly preferred to talk about themselves, as most of the interviewees said, "the mothers need to talk about 'other things' (other than the children)", however, they could not, because it was an education program for 'mothering'.

Oruç complained, "I like the part that we talk mostly; I got bored with the ZEP session of the educations. I wish we could talk much more, but we could not..." Taziye was also sore about it,

...It is said that "this is not our topic", but mothers need to talk. At least I need to, because I lived such things that they are accumulated in time. I wanted to go to a psychologist, but where would you go? If I had a possibility, I would have gone... I am in a depression (and) you could not explain this as well. Even if we do not talk about ourselves, when we talk in the class, it is like a

therapy; the problems are accumulated during the week, but I feel I get relaxed after the class¹¹⁸.

Out of ten ‘mothers’ there were three who said that if the mothers wanted to talk about themselves they could go to the other programs in the Community Center, such as the Women’s Human Rights Program where women could talk about their experiences. However, for the most of these women getting permission from their families for a Women’s Human Rights Program was almost impossible since they could barely get permission for participating in a program ‘to educate the children’. As Pırıl, Oruç, and Güldane said, if they asked permission (from the family of the husband) to participate in another program conducted in the Center "they would not be allowed to come for sure".

This desire of ‘talking’, as a part of the socialization process that the women imagined, became a complex phenomenon in my case study. I noticed that ‘the mothers’ were saying that they needed to talk to someone about their problems just to get relaxed and to leave the psychological burden of past experiences behind them. Metaphorically, the women said that they have forgotten how to talk and they remained ‘wordless’ in this world. It was because they were not allowed to talk within the borders of the household in front of the senior family members, since a woman’s silence was a sign of subordination and consent (Tual, 1986). However, they were continuously differentiating themselves individually from the ‘other’ women in the class. They did not trust them to talk about their ‘intimacy’, but then, complaining about not being able to talk to anybody in the classroom. I will search for the reasons of this complexity in the following pages.

¹¹⁸ ...Konumuz değil deniliyor. Ama annelerin konuşmaya ihtiyacı var. En azından benim yani. Çünkü o kadar çok şey yaşadım ki birikti. Bir ara psikoloğa gitmek istedim. Ama nereye gideceksin? Elimde imkan olsaydı giderdim... Tam bir bunalım. Anlatamıyorsun da. Kendimizi anlatmasak bile derste konuştuğumuz zaman bir terapi gibi geliyor bana. Bütün hafta birikiyor birikiyor, oradan çıktığımız zaman çok rahatlamış hissediyorum kendimi.

'Talking': "Even If You Do Not Talk, Your Face Shows Your Grief..."

'Talking' indicates an often used and multi-layered notion within the expressions of the women. Since 'to talk to someone' has important interior connotations for the women's lives, to question the meanings attributed to 'talk' would be quite fruitful for my discussion here:

I thought that the only problem is mine. This is because we were not going out. They even did not allow me to go to see my mother. We did not use to go to a neighbor; there was no one single friend. In this way, we became dull (*körelidik*) in one house. We became dull! I was not like that when I was not yet married. We got dull; I forgot the words that I would talk with¹¹⁹.

'Getting dull' is something about the sense of 'touch'. It can be interpreted as becoming 'nonfunctional' because if you touch something (for instance, to a knife) which gets dull, it does not hurt you anymore; it can not cut anything, thus, it loses its purpose in the world of objects. It needs to become sharp again in order to become functional.

Similarly, Neşe thought that she became 'dull' within the borders of the house; she became 'nonfunctional' because she could not 'talk' as she was always at home according to her expression. In other words, she implied that because she was not allowed to go out of the house she forgot her 'words' which made her talk. She said that she was not allowed to go to her mother, the closest to her within her kinship network, nor to a neighbor, the closest to her in the physical space of the neighborhood. As she was stuck at home she had "forgotten how to talk". However,

¹¹⁹ Tek sorun bende var diye görüyordum. O da bir yere çıkmadığımızdan. Beni annemi görmeye köye göndermezlerdi. Bir komşuya gitmezdik biz; bir arkadaş yok. Öyle öyle biz bir evin içinde körelidik. Körelidik! Ben Bekarlığımda öyle değildim. Körelidik; konuşacağım kelimeyi unuttum.

by getting permission from the husband's family to go out to participate in a mothering program in the Community Center, she "re-membered to talk" with her 'words' again. Neşe continued, "...but by going there and coming back here, sometimes I talked; sometimes I became silent. Now, do not the ones, who do not talk there, have a problem? Yes, they have..."¹²⁰

Here, the gesture of 'talking' implies to become 'sharp/functional' again. By re-using the 'words' that she claims to have forgotten, she slowly 'remembers' 'talking'. After a time period spent at home in silence, which makes her 'dull', the notion of 'talking' is strongly related with her movement from the interior to the exterior spaces. In that sense, the implicit meanings of 'talk' are associated with the movement of the women in-between public and private spheres. As such it can be claimed that her 'talk' implies getting out of the borders of the household which also makes her 'visible' in the public sphere. By talking, and by using her voice out loud she gains 'visibility' as a woman beyond the borders of the household.

I would like to give another example: Güldane told me that she worried so much because she thought that when she would stop going to the Community Center she would forget her 'words' again. Güldane had no 'voice' at home towards her husband and her mother-in-law. She was in silence all the time by serving to the family members. Now, she thinks that she has started to 'talk' as she has started to make comments to the words of her mother-in-law. However, her friends still criticize her for being one of the traditional subservient brides of old times. In fact, Güldane is happy to have her 'words' again, however, she thinks with anxiety that she may forget them when the education classes finish. She thinks that when the instructions finish there is a possibility she will be obliged to be 'silent' again:

¹²⁰ Ama buraya gide gele gide gele, yeri geldi sustum, yeri geldi konuştum. Şimdi orda konuşmayanların sorunu yok mu? Var...

I look at my self and (I say) how stupid I was. Why did I make myself oppressed that much? Now, I look around... We met (with the women); we had new friends. I look (at them); everybody is quite free. I think by myself... As I was locked up in the house, indeed, I had forgotten what I knew, briefly. Let's see if I will change next year; if I go back to my past mode after the school is finished? I do not think so, I do not know... ¹²¹

Therefore, being locked up in the house was related to her 'silence' and 'forgetting'. For as long as she was locked up within the domestic sphere of the household she forgot to express her experiences and herself. But when she has started to 'go out' for the purpose of the education she 'remembered' the presence of the women around her, on the streets, in the public areas, and at the institutions like the Community Center. When she became 'visible' in the public space she remembered, and thus, talked more.

To sum up, the notion of 'talking' and having the use of one's voice implies 'visibility' for the women as they leave the domestic space of the household and enter the public space. What was forgotten is the practice of going out, playing games in the streets and having fun beyond the borders of the household, which were the practices of their teenage years. However, as soon as they grew into mature women they were covered by a web of duties and responsibilities performed within the domestic sphere, where they became stuck later on and became 'wordless' and 'voiceless'. In this process, when they started to go beyond the borders of

¹²¹ Kendime bakıyorum, ben ne kadar aptalmışım; niye kendimi bu kadar ezdirmişim. Şimdi ortamı da görüyorum ya, çevreyi... Tanıştık, arkadaş edindik; bakıyorum, herkes gayet özgür. Kendi kendime düşünüyorum... Hep evin içine kapanmışım ya, daha doğrusu, bildiğimi de unutmuşum kısacası. Bakalım seneye değişir miyim; okul bittikten sonar başlar mıyım eski halime? Başlamam herhalde, bilmiyorum...

domesticity they felt that they re-gained their voice, which made them ‘visible’ in the public space¹²².

The invisibility of a woman is related to her identification with the domesticity of the household, which is set apart from the ‘visibility’ of the public space. Since the ‘world’ of the domestic is positioned as primarily a woman’s space, her access to the public sphere is seen as marked or exceptional (Mills, 2003). The invented distinction between the ‘natural’ sphere of the family, and the ‘political’ sphere of civic society defines the position of women in the public sphere through their ‘exception’ which marks them as the dependents and subordinates of male citizens, the breadwinners in the modern patriarchal system (Pateman, 1992). According to Pateman, liberal theorists defined conjugal relations as belonging within the sphere of *nature*, the area of domesticity and family, where there is no political status based on a contract under political law. Because this space of nature is beyond contract, the domestic sovereignty of husband over the wife, and thus, the exclusion of women from possessive individualism, was justified since both derive from natural, but not political, law. Therefore, women are subordinated to men in the conjugal contract and enter the public realm only through this subordination, which is rendered invisible within the category of ‘private’ (1988). In this context, not only the subordination but also the woman herself, by losing her ‘words’, and forgetting to ‘talk’, becomes ‘invisible’ in the ‘private’ sphere (Armstrong, 1987; Saul, 2003).

In this regard, the ‘invisibility’ of women stems from the ‘invisibility’ of their subordination within the domestic sphere of the patriarchal order. For that reason, having a voice and making this voice heard is important for a woman in

¹²² In fact, it is also the attempt to control women’s visibility in the public space since women’s sexual power is seen as strong and dangerous for the whole system of patriarchal order (Graham & Brown, 2003; Mernissi, 2003; Kandiyoti, 2003). Therefore, entering the public space does not mean to be ‘visible’ directly, but the women in my case imagine that it is. Just to going out of the domestic space is enough for the women to assume that they are ‘visible’ and being able to heard when they ‘talk’.

confronting this subordination. Therefore, forgetting the words that were once known implies the lack of going out, and, of having friends in the outside world. Güldane does not know if she will keep practicing these when the education program finishes, because, if she does not, she thinks that she will become ‘unheard’ and ‘invisible’ again within the borders of the household which is the reason of her anxiety of forgetting her ‘words’ *again*.

Another aspect about ‘talking’ relies on its ‘intimate’ character. In that sense, the women used the notion of ‘talking’ to differentiate themselves from the ‘other’ women. Although they mentioned that they needed to talk very much, they were not talking that much between each other both in and out of the classroom. It could be understandable that they had to talk mainly about their children in the classroom, but why did those women not prefer to talk to each other out of the classroom? Similarly, they knew that they had experienced similar things but because they did not talk much about these experiences the women were surprised when a woman started to tell a story of ‘suffering’ and ‘depression’. What restrains them from talking about their problems?

... For example, Atik... She does not talk ever, but (I think) she has many problems; she participated in none of the programs; she did not come to the Bosphorus tour, to the concert; she didn’t come anywhere... I am sure she has many problems. I guess so. Even you do not talk, the face shows (the grief) itself ¹²³.

Although Pırıl saw the ‘grief’, and could see how aggrieved one person was, she was hesitant to talk, and to ask about the other’s problem. The other ‘mothers’ were also experiencing similar kinds of feelings:

¹²³ Mesela Atik... Hiç konuşmuyor, ama çok da sorunu vardır; hiç bir programa katılmadı; boğaz turuna, konsere gelmedi, hiç bir şeye gelmedi... Eminim onun çok sorunu vardır. Ben öyle tahmin ediyorum. Ne kadar bir şey söylemesen de yüz kendini (acısını) belli ediyor.

For example, one day I was so distressed, so bad. I came to the class and I saw that Zeyno was also very bad that day. I understood that at one glance. She was in such a bad mood that like with one touch she would cry. She was laughing again (as usual); she was cheerful, but she was in a very bad mood, indeed. I swear that I wanted to say 'what is your grief my sister, come on, let's go together, you and me, let's cry to each other'. I wanted to say that so much; but I could not¹²⁴.

Oruç could not talk with Zeyno that day, but she took it into her heart. How come it is possible that even though these women see each other's "grief", and even though they can "understand the distress of another at one glance", and even though they want to say "let's go and cry my sister" they cannot 'talk'? Even though they always say that they need to talk more than anything, why they do not talk to each other, and share their problems to think about solutions? Why they are always in-between 'to talk' and 'could not talk'?

First of all, they were staying at a 'distance' towards the other mothers by not talking much because they were the rivals within a 'competition of motherhood' in the classroom. Thus, 'the mothers' were competing in this area for their 'individual success'. All the 'mothers' in the class were into this 'competition of mothering', and they were all alone with their problems whatever their special, unique conditions were. The outcome of this competition was defined through the 'success' of the women depending on their performances in their motherhood and housewifery, and the indicator of this success was the "success of the child", and the happiness of the husband in a conjugal family. Therefore, in order to be seen as a 'successful mother' a woman tried to keep her middle-class conjugal family image. In this way, it did not become possible to talk about patriarchy in order to be able to keep fantasizing a

¹²⁴ Mesela, bir gün ben çok sıkıntılıydım, çok kötüydüm. Sınıfa bir geldim, baktım ki Zeyno da o gün çok kötü. Ben bir bakışta anladım, dokunsun ağlayacaktı. Gülüyordu, yine şen şakraklı ama çok kötüydü o da. Valla öyle içimden geçti ki 'senin ne derdin var kardeş, gel biz senle gidelim, bir güzel birbirimize ağlayalım' demeyi öyle çok isterdim ki, ama işte deyemedim.

middle-class family. In other words, the women talk with each other as the desiring subjects of 'proper' motherhood which does not allow them to question the patriarchal structure, nor does the other structural conditions. This ideal of the middle-class motherhood in a nuclear family unit makes them 'voiceless' by taking up their words to talk about patriarchy. Therefore, their 'depression' conditioned by their gender, class and ethnicity cannot find a 'voice' to express its actual reasons, and thus, it becomes not possible to challenge with them. As I mentioned previously, women became able to talk out of the domestic sphere. They told me that they got socialized, constructed new networks, communicated with the strangers in the public sphere all of which made them visible and heard by the others. However, because they could not talk about patriarchy and their relevant experiences women were not satisfied with their 'talk' in the public sphere. Therefore, the need to 'talk' that the women emphasized was to need to 'talk' about patriarchy, otherwise, it was not just merely a 'talk'. Because of that reason, although they told me that they started to talk and became visible when they went beyond the borders of the household and met with different women they felt they could not talk to each other, as they lacked the tools to collectivize their stories of oppression. This became another way of taking the words and voice of the women from their hands.

In this regard, although the 'improper' conditions of the household are expressed in the classes the women try to present themselves as strong and good enough to overcome those difficulties. In other words, 'the mothers' construct their 'selves' by showing to the other mothers that they could overcome the difficult situations in the family by making the family members understanding and happy, by making their children successful, and by getting the non-nuclear family members out. By fantasizing such a middle-class nuclear family and placing themselves in it

as hard-working mothers, they know that they will be approved of as ‘successful’ mothers. That impedes them from disclosing and sharing their formidable problems as these problems may disqualify them from the ‘competition of the motherhood’. They do not want to disclose the ‘traditional’, or ‘not-yet modernized’ aspects of their families as each traditional way of practicing motherhood and housewifery causes them to lose points in this ‘competition of proper mothering’. Therefore, without mentioning many ‘intimate’ problems, which are mainly stemming from patriarchal structure they place themselves in the fantasy of middle-class ‘nuclear’ family. The women try to see themselves as ‘proper/perfect mothers’ in this scene, and, through the ignorance of the structural problems they subject to, they expect to gain points in this ‘competition’.

The other reason that prevents women from talking about their ‘intimacy’ can be about the slippery character of the ‘networking’ among the women. They do not trust the other women in general because they may gossip and disclose their ‘family problems’ in the neighborhood. We practiced that in the classroom as well. As a warming-up game, the teacher started to play the whispering game: She told something by whispering to the woman sitting next to her, and then, the woman told it to the next one, and then it continued as a chain. The woman at the end of the line told everyone what she had heard out loud, but the sentence she said was very different than the first one, which came from the teacher. The moral learnt from this game was that if you tell something (intimate) to the other one, it will be extended to the others and it is heard as a different thing at the end. One of the interviewees reminded me of this example and said ‘therefore, it is not good to share everything with other people’. In fact, she was right because in case her sayings are heard in the neighborhood the outcome of these words may cause domestic violence upon the

women in the household. In this way, they internalized the motto says do not to trust the other women as they may gossip.

However, these practices among women are not, in fact, 'just gossiping' with the negative connotations attributed to women. As Capp (2003) argues "women's talk was stigmatized as gossip not because it differed in character from men's, but because it was perceived as the subversive behavior of subordinates" because its "friendship and informal exchange constituted a social and economic nexus outside male knowledge or control" (p. 63-64). In fact, the women find ways to limit, evade, or accommodate male domination, both by their own efforts and by harnessing the support of their female friends or 'gossips'. "Women frequently sought to negotiate the terms on which patriarchy operated within the home and neighborhood, seeking an acceptable personal accommodation that would afford them some measure of autonomy and space, and a limited degree of authority... If patriarchy could survive and adapt, women proved equally adaptive in their ability to contain it or soften its edges" (p. 25). In that sense, "gossip is one of the occasions that bring women together in the course of their daily lives and hence, it has significance since it leads to a kind of female interaction among the women" (p. 56). However, the women now became hesitant to get into this female interaction with the other women as they have recognized in the classes once more that it might be 'harmful' for the order and harmony of their nuclear 'family'.

The fantasy of middle-class motherhood excludes gossiping as it professionalizes the relations among the women; however, because the others may gossip the women leaned not to trust anyone. Therefore, not only the competition to fulfill the ideal of the middle-class and modern womanhood prevents them to talk about the patriarchy and question the structural conditions of their poverty, ethnicity

and oppression but also the possibility of domestic violence impedes the ways of ‘talking’ and bonding among the women participating in the Education of Mothers. In this context, when they talk to the other women beyond the borders of the domestic sphere and claim to become ‘visible’ and gain ‘voice’ in the outside, this ‘talk’ covers another kind of silence that the women are exposed to. This silence stem from not being able to talk about patriarchy among each other, and for that reason, women become not satisfied and feel as if they are not able to talk really.

Differentiations among ‘the Mothers’

These reasons of ‘not being able to talk’ to the other women in the class are legitimized through using various ways of differentiation among the women in the Education of Mothers classes. In order to keep their ideal of middle-class nuclear family they cannot talk about patriarchy and its oppression upon themselves, and thus, they use these ways of differentiation as a pretext of the problem of ‘talking’. Their ways of differentiation indicate not only the distinction between ‘I’ and ‘the others’, but also the difference between the ‘successful’ and the ‘unsuccessful’ ‘mothers’ in the ‘competition of motherhood’. In this context, indicating the ‘others’ as the ones who ‘get behind’ becomes a way of differentiation in their words:

You know, most of them in the group do not fit in with us. We are like ten people who participate in everything. You know who participates in every activity, and, when the others always get behind, you could not do... A person could not get in a relation (with them)...¹²⁵

¹²⁵ Biliyorsun grupta zaten çoğu bize uymuyor. Biz on kişi falanız her şeye katılan. Grupta biliyorsun her şeye katılanları, diğerleri de hep geride kalınca insan şey yapamıyor... İnsan birden kaynaşmıyor...

Fatoş was friend with a group of women in the class who were speaking Turkish properly; and who seemed young and knowledgeable. She implied that the participation in the activities differentiated the women within the class because the participant women, as the ‘individuals’ having common interests, tended to construct new networks among each other. However, she was not a good friend of Güldane, for instance, who also participated in the activities by using many creative ways to get permission from her husband. When Fatoş continued to talk it became more understandable who were the ones ‘getting behind’:

My impression is that they (the women in the class) are oppressed (*ezik*). I perceive most of them as oppressed... I felt that in that environment (in the class) most of them are poor, oppressed by their husbands. I do not know if I am also like that... but I don’t think so... I am not like that for sure¹²⁶.

She assessed the ‘other mothers’ as the ones who were ‘oppressed’ by their husbands (and his relatives). The ‘oppressed’ ones, as she implied through giving the example of one of the women in the class, were the ones living mostly in the extended families, who needed to get permission from their husbands and from the families of the husbands before going somewhere, just as Güldane used to do. In this context, the need to get permission became a sign of ‘getting behind’ in the expression of Fatoş, as she said that she did not get permission from her husband, but just said where she went. She implied that the need to get permission was the reason for ‘getting behind’ within the social relations of the classroom, which were set between the individuals who were able to get away from the domination of the kinship relations within the extended families. According to her, although Güldane was an ‘educated’ women, as they were classmates, she did not struggle against the

¹²⁶ Onları ezik olarak görüyorum. Çoğunda ben, mesela, ezik olarak görüyorum Ben o ortamda çoğunda hissettim eşlere karşı boynu bükük, ezik. Ben de mi öyleyimdir bilmiyorum, ama ben kendimi kesinlikle zannetmiyorum.

subordination within her extended family and that caused to label her as 'oppressed'¹²⁷. In this way, a group of women who did not see themselves as subordinated and 'oppressed', including Fatoş differentiate themselves from the 'others'. While the other women who did not participate in the courses were already assumed as 'uneducated' the 'educated' women should be the ones who knew how to struggle against the oppression of the extended family. If they could not do so, although they were 'educated', then, they were labeled as 'oppressed' who could not achieve to cope with the husband's family. Fatoş used such a differentiation when she described her 'other', as the one who was 'oppressed' and 'domesticated'.

Evaluating women as 'inexperienced' causes another common used differentiation among the women in the Education of Mothers classes. The women who see themselves as 'experienced' define it in terms of either the number of children they have or the years passed with the husband and his family, referring to the 'suffering' they have had to experience. For example Neşe defines the 'other mothers' in the class as 'inexperienced', which is related to the number of children:

Don't they (the ones who do not talk in the classes) have problems? Yes, they have, but they do not want to talk because they are new. The ones who do not talk all have one child... I guess (they have problems) because I experienced it also. I do not know if it is because of my age, or, shall I say it experience? When I look at (someone) now I perceive who feels how. You know who is aggrieved and how. Of course all pains are different, but you know a little... For example, *Ayşe Hanım* and I had experienced almost the same things. When they came to my place we talked for hours with her, if we had time we would talk much more¹²⁸.

¹²⁷ The discourse of "being oppressed" was used in the narratives of the women quite a lot. For example, Selena said that she goes to the school (to the community center) because she does not want her child to be oppressed. If we assume that she identifies herself with her child, it can be argued that she, herself, does not want to be oppressed, and thus, she wants to go to the educations. Similarly, when Güldane said "I look at my self; why I did I let myself become oppressed that much?" she draws a line between her past and present and evaluates her past 'self' as oppressed.

¹²⁸ Şimdi orda konuşmayanların sorunu yok mu? Var. Ama konuşmak istemiyorlar, çünkü daha yeniler; o konuşmayanların hepsi birer çocuklu... Ben kendim yaşadığım için öyle tahmin ediyorum. Artık yaş mı desem, tecrübe mi desem, ama ben şimdi bakınca kimin nasıl olduğunu seziyorum.

According to her, the number of the children displays the experiences that women have. Therefore, having three children gives her an authority above the ‘new’ mothers. Moreover, because the other women are ‘new’ in their mothering she approaches them with an understanding: "We had a problem with one of the mothers; but I thought she is ‘illiterate’, she is still a child (and thus, I did not react to her much)..."¹²⁹ In this way, she differentiates ‘experienced self’ from the ‘inexperienced’, and thus, ‘illiterate’ other. In this way, she behaves like she is the ‘elder sister’ of the other women (of the "child-mothers") in the classroom and she shares her words with the other ‘experienced’ women like *Ayşe Hanım*. Although she finds similarities between herself and *Ayşe Hanım* in terms of their common experiences it should be underlined the term *Ayşe Hanım* as its use is a new phenomenon for the women. Normally, the relations between the women, even if they do not know each other well, are converted into fictive kinship through the use of kinship terms (Duben, 1982), such as ‘sister’ (*abla*, or *kardeş*) as the most common kinship term among the women. However, instead of using this they call each other as *Hanım*, which indicates a formal and distant relationship between the urban individuals. Therefore, although she chooses to talk to *Ayşe Hanım* because they have similar experiences, as the elder sisters of the ‘new’ mothers in the class, there is a formality in their relationship which is very different than their previous womanly relations in the neighborhood. By calling each other by *Hanım* they behave like ‘strangers’ encountering in the urban public space. Although *Pırıl* shares her

Kimin nasıl dertli olduğunu biliyorsun. Tabii ki her dert ayrıdır da, biraz biraz biliyorsun... Mesela *Ayşe hanım*la biz hemen hemen aynı konuları yaşamışız. Bize geldikleri gün kaç saat konuştuk, zaman olsa daha da konuşacağız.

¹²⁹ Sadece bir tanesiyle (annelerden) problem oldu; ben de cahilliğine, çocukluğuna verdim (bu yüzden fazla tepki vermedim)...

words and her ‘suffering’ with another woman she does not attempt to construct a kind of bonding with this ‘stranger’.

Another kind of differentiation among the women is also related to experience, but this time, the determinant factor of the experience is not the number of the children, but the years spent with the husband and his family during the period of the marriage. According to Selena, if a woman spends more time within her marriage she gains more confidence and authority in the household:

The new ones have more problems because their marriages are not settled down. We talked (about it) in the class one day. The ones who have been married for five years said ‘we are always fighting’. But, the ones who have been married for ten years said ‘our marriage is settled down quite well’. They say that people get divorced before their seventh year in the marriage; there are no divorces after that. Man also gets used to it (being married); he says I come back at home at the end. For example, you could not make my husband sit down at home in a weekend five years ago. But now, he stays at home. On Sundays, for example, he is continuously walking from this room to the other. I say him ‘sit down a bit!’ I mean, our marriage is settled down now. My husband is thirty years old...¹³⁰

Therefore, while they approach the neighbor women as ‘uneducated’, ‘uncivilized’, and ‘not-yet urbanized’ the women are constructing different kinds of ‘other mothers’ within the classroom as well, and they construct their subjectivities by positioning across them. This ‘other’ in the classroom can be expressed by a ‘mother’ who is sometimes ‘oppressed’, and sometimes ‘inexperienced’ depending on the number of the children they have, or the years passed from the beginning of their marriages. In some way, ‘the mothers’ need to draw a line to distinguish

¹³⁰ Yeniler daha çok problem yaşıyor, çünkü evlilikleri daha oturmamış. Bir gün derste konuştuk. Beş senelikler biz hep kavga ediyoruz diyor. on senelikler de diyor ki, bizim evliliğimiz artık iyice oturmuş, diyor. Zaten boianmalar yedi seneden önce oluyormuş, ondan sonar olmuyormuş. Erkek de alışıyor; dönüp dolaşıp geleceğim yer benim evim diyor. Mesela benim beyimi beş sene önce bir hafta sonu evde tut tutabilirsen; dışarıda arkadaş ortamını bırakamıyordu. Ama artık evde. Pazar günleri mesela bir o odada, bir bu odada dolaşıyor. Diyorum, otur şurda biraz! Yani bizim evliliğimiz oturmuş artık. Beyim otuz yaşında...

themselves from the 'other' mothers in the classroom, but the same differentiation process may provide other forms of belonging among those women. In this way, the women may recognize the possibility of getting into different relations with the ones, for example, who have experienced the similar ways of oppression, and by 'talking' with them they can find ways to express and share their 'grief'. However, this will not satisfy the women as they lack of tools to talk about patriarchy because they are in a "competition of motherhood" which prisons them into silence to fantasize the modern womanhood in a middle-class family. Thus, while the women could intervene the family matters of the other women in their previous female networks, now the domestic space of family is assumed as 'intimate'. In order to realize this fantasy of 'perfect' mothering in a middle-class nuclear family they cannot "gossip" nor can intervene the 'intimate' family matters of the others, but they can just listen to each other as 'strangers'.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

In the years 2006 and 2007, when I conducted this fieldwork I participated not only in the lectures held in the classes of the “Education of Mothers” but also in various indoor and outdoor activities that the program offered to the women. This gave me the opportunity to participate in various female networks in the neighborhood and to observe the female interactions in these networks –as well as to think about my own position as a researcher and as a woman living within the "city walls" of the urban space. Thus, this process directed me to question my own position in the field area: Was I a researcher also was there to interview the women; was I a friend of them also came from the central districts of the city; was I a modern young woman also could travel all the way to the Gazi neighborhood alone; was I an inexperienced young girl attending to the mothering courses but did not even have a child? I was all and maybe none. This study and my interaction with the women as the subjects of this research, led me to face my middle-class ‘fantasies’ in many ways.

The aim of this study was to analyze the new technologies and discourses of the state (in collaboration with NGO’s) employed for governing the marginalized local communities through educating women. We have seen how the discourses of modern motherhood promoted new tasks and individuality in female interactions and in communal networks among the working-class, rural-to-urban migrant families. The women who were the subjects of this study were the participants of an education

program for mothering undertaken by a prominent civil society organization (Mother-Child Education Foundation-AÇEV) in Turkey cooperating with a state institution (Social Services and Society for Protection of Children-SHÇEK). In my thesis, I have attempted to understand and discuss the discourses of ‘proper’ motherhood imposed by SHÇEK and AÇEV on the one hand, and the responses of the women to these discourses on the other.

However, this study is not only about ‘motherhood’ which has been turned into a category to legitimize the hierarchical gender relations both in the public and the private spheres by naturalizing care and nurturance as the ‘duty’ of women, but also about the discourses of modern education which observes, evaluates and disciplines the individuals (Ball, 1990). In the intersection of the motherhood and education, the ways that the power can operate by calling women ‘mothers’ within a fantasy of modern and middle-class motherhood, as the ideal model, is one of the main concerns of this study. Therefore, through using the discourses of ‘proper/successful’ motherhood and imaginaries of modernity and modern family intervention to the marginalized communities living at the edges of the urban area becomes possible. It does so by investing in the women in those localities.

In that sense, the place where this research was held, the Gazi neighborhood, was a unique place to observe the new technologies of power upon the marginalized segments of the society. This was because the Gazi neighborhood has been identified with politically active Kurdish and Alevi communities, who were considered as ‘separatist’ and ‘factious’, and thus, ‘dangerous’ for the national unity within the modern history of Turkish Republic. Because of their political stand stemming from their ethnic and religious identities as Kurds and Alevis they were marginalized and always subjected to the mechanisms of ‘othering’ by the Turkish nation-state. In this

marginalized locality, the Community Center, as a state institution where the education program for mothers was held, displayed the new articulations of the state to the marginalized localities.

Throughout this study, I argue that the women become alienated not only to their gender conditions, but also to their class, ethnic and religious identities by desiring a middle-class conjugal family for herself. Additionally, this desire comes from the fantasies of a group of experts who are the designers and the operators of the educative program for 'motherhood'. In that sense, I question the alienation and individualization of the women and their families in relation to the promotion of conjugality as an ideal form of constructing a family in a particular marginalized locality where extended kinship relations and big families are determinant in its social structure. In this way, it becomes possible to dissolve the ties among the extended families by individualizing them into conjugal units, and to give the whole responsibility of the management of these units to the women who are not only individualized but also alienated from their material conditions and political bonding within a fantasy of middle-class family and womanhood.

Therefore, throughout the thesis, discourses and technologies of the education program are examined on the one hand, and the subjectivities of the participant women shaped in interaction with these discourses on the other. By questioning how the women in the Gazi neighborhood respond to the instructions of the program experts it is intended to disclose the operations of governmentality and the ways to struggle with the power-holder actors in this order of neo-liberal governmentality. It is neo-liberal in different ways: During the Education of Mothers classes, there was an emphasis on the "individual responsibility" of mother on the issues of home and husband management, as well as of child-rearing. This

responsibility discourse assumes that the required pleasurable and 'ideal' family environment depends on the 'success' or the 'failure' of the mother. According to this point of view, everything is seen as a part of an individual responsibility, and the woman, apart from her economic, political and social structural conditions, is evaluated as the solely responsible actor who has to improve the capacity of her family. As a result, it becomes possible to blame the individual-woman for the deviances from the ideal form by implying that it is because of her own 'deficiency'.

The discursive field of the "Education of Mothers" also promotes "self-governance" signifying self-controlling, self-criticizing and self-disciplining approaches that require a self-correction of any deviance from the norm. It requires a constant self-policing. As a complementary of this process, new techniques of governmentality are also operative in this field, such as the existence of a variety of experts and the promotion of expert knowledge, voluntarily confession, participation to the decision-making processes, accountability of the group members and the use of psychology and psychotherapeutic methods in education. To this regard, I discussed the ways that the women become not only subjects but also objects of the sciences applied and advised by the experts through the technologies of training, surveillance and confession. Here, the analyses of the discursive themes, the content of the lectures, were complemented with the analysis of such technologies.

My last two chapters were about subjectivities of the women participating in the Education of Mothers Program in the Gazi Community Center. In order to frame the arguments in these chapters I used the words of the women by referring mainly to my interviews. In these two chapters I tried to understand their positioning within the household vis-à-vis the dominant family members, and within the neighborhood interacting with the 'other' women.

Therefore, I tried to analyze the ‘mothers’ association with their children, mothers-in-law, and husbands in the household. I claimed that pedagogic language of the educations provides a tool for the women which can be used against the patriarchal power of the mother-in-law in the domestic sphere. The ‘educated’ women label the senior women in the family for not being able to ‘comprehend’ the ways of modern education. In this way, by taking the whole responsibility of child-rearing and household management ‘modern’, ‘educated’ women open up new areas to maneuver across the patriarchal authority. However, they cannot talk about patriarchy because the fantasy of modern, middle-class motherhood in a conjugal family impedes the possibility of questioning patriarchy and the patriarchal authority of the husband. In this context, husbands are seen as ‘innocent’ actors of the power relations within the web of kinship networks; they are seen just as the ‘effects’ of other kinship relations while the fundamental reason of the women’s ‘suffering’ is seen as the mother-in-law dominating the extended family structure. In other words, the women maneuver around different subject positions to apply ‘hit and run tactics’ in their daily encounters with the powerful actors in the kinship networks: they can easily shift between an obedient bride, an educated mother, a manager housewife, an adventurous individual, an independent young women, an expert of pedagogical child-rearing, and all of those to escape from the obedience of the patriarchal authorities. However, they cannot decipher the patriarchal authority of the husband as he is seen as an indispensable part of the fantasized middle-class conjugal family, which is first desired by the middle-class experts of the state and civil society.

I also tried to examine the women’s relationships in their neighborhood as a public space of everyday interaction. But, by examining the outdoor activities of the program such as concerts, conferences, theatre plays, and museum visits I also

questioned the women's interaction with the bourgeois public space which were not only economically and socially but also physically far from the Gazi neighborhood. In that sense, I tried to understand how new selfhoods and new types of belongings among the women who experienced same cultural consumption practices in the middle-class urban areas of the city were constructed. In other words, walking at the edges of the bourgeois public spaces, and imagining 'full' citizenship by consuming a kind of bourgeois culture women constructed new types of relations among each other. However, different than the previous ones, these female interactions were quite formal and professional just like the encountering of two individuals. They talked to each other only if they have common interests and hobbies, such as 'proper' child-rearing. Therefore, the constitution process of these new types of relations also caused new forms of differentiations and exclusions among the women. For instance, when they talk about wealthy women, the women constituted themselves and the other mothers living in Gazi as 'self-sacrificing', 'devoted', hard-working, 'suffering' but struggling mothers equipped with the features of good-morality. However, this bonding was broken up when they defined themselves relative to other women living in the neighborhood who were labeled as 'illiterate', 'uneducated', 'uncivilized' and 'lazy'. In this bi-polarity, participant women of the "Education of Mothers" positioned themselves always on the side of 'difficult mothering' while evaluating all the other mothers as 'easy'.

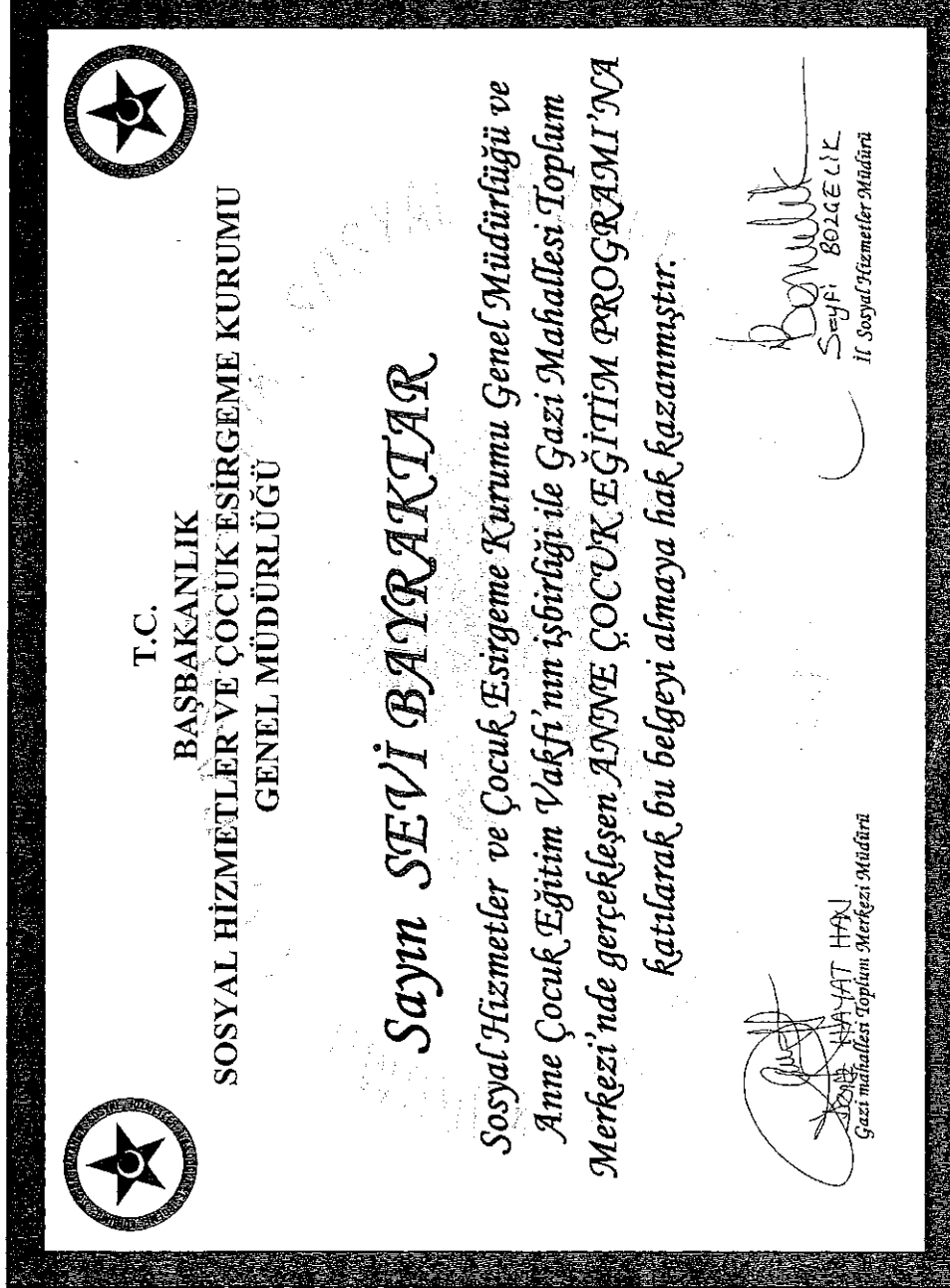
In these processes, I also tried to question the subjectivity formations of these women who were in constant positioning in their everyday encounters with the experts in the community center, the neighbor women in the neighborhood, and the family members in the household and the other actors playing dominant roles in their kinship relations. In other words, I tried to understand the impacts of education on

everyday life of the women both in their households and in the neighborhood regarding their networks constructed with the 'other' women. In this context, instead of placing themselves in a female network constructed by the sisters and the close relatives they aimed to take individual positions in their encountering with the other women –by becoming against gossiping, gathering around the similar kinds of personal interests, and taking predominant position as 'educated' mothers among the other women by using the hierarchy of knowledge. In this way, while they were individualized and dissociated in their relations with the other women they not only retreated from their ethnic and political identities and groups but also were alienated to their working-class and gender conditions. Thus, instead of questioning the structural reasons of their 'suffering' stemming from patriarchy, poverty and marginalization of their ethnic and political identities in the nation-state structure the women blamed the extended family structure, where the mothers-in-law were seen as the most powerful actors, for all kinds of 'suffering' that they experienced.

Therefore, the women aim to dissolve this 'suffering' within the fantasy of a middle-class individual family in which they realize themselves as the 'expert' mothers and the 'manager' housewives. However, this fantasy does not fit with their everyday life practices and material conditions. Thus, while they endeavor to be 'proper' mothers, by trying to approach the modern and educated 'ideal' mother, this ideal model of motherhood remains far from the women living in the Gazi neighborhood as 'properness' of modernity requires middle-class social and economical background. Hence, in the 'gap' where their reality does not fit with the ideal desired by the women power become applicable upon the women, and the families, by promising them the tips of an impossible modern 'properness'.

APPENDIX A

Author's Certificate of the Mother-Child Education Program



APPENDIX B

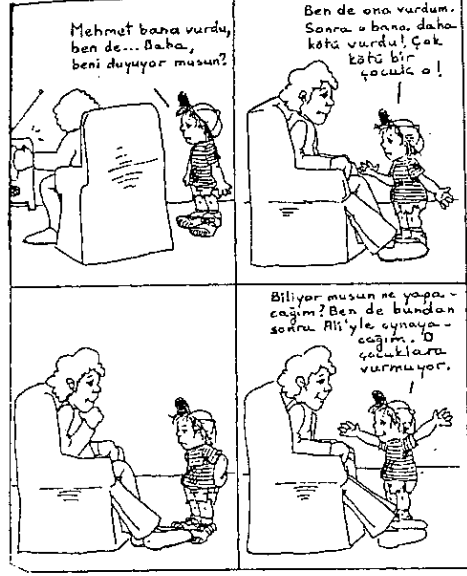
An Illustration from the Program Booklet

EK . II 1. YARIM YAMALAK DİNLEYECEĞİNİZE,



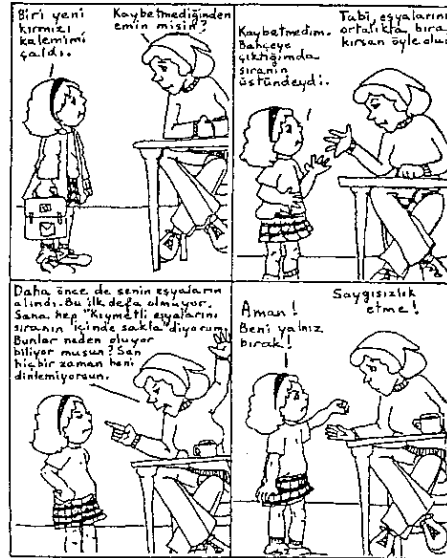
Yarım yamalak dinleyen birine birşeyler anlatmaya çalışmak çok zordur.

2. BÜTÜN DİKKATİNİZİ VEREREK DİNLEYİN



Bütün dikkatini vererek dinleyen bir ana-babaya dertini anlatmak çok daha kolaydır. Onun bir şey söylemesi dahi gerekmez. Çoğu zaman, çocuğun tek ihtiyacı birtinin susup onu anlayışlı bir şekilde dinlemesidir.

3. SORULAR SORUP NASHAT EDECEĞİNİZE,



Biri kendisini sorgularken, suçlarken veya nasihat ederken, çocuğun doğru ve yapıcı bir şekilde düşünmesi zordur.

4. DİNLEDİĞİNİZİ BELİRTEN BİR ŞEYLER SÖYLEYİN . "Ya öyle mi? .. Hiii... Evet"



"Hiii... Ya... öyle mi?" gibi basit sözlerin büyük faydası olur. Şefkatli bir tutumla birlikte bu gibi sözler çocuğu, kendi düşüncelerini ve duygularını araştırmaya doğru teşvik eder ve büyük bir ihtimalle de çareyi kendi kendine bulur.

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