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RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY OF MIDDLE-CLASS PARENTS FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES

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To the Graduate School of Educational Sciences of Ankara University,

This study titled "Residential Mobility of Middle-Class Parents for Educational Purposes", prepared by Zeynep DOĞU, was unanimously accepted as a **Master's Thesis** by the members of the jury in the Department of Educational Sciences / the Program of Sociology of Education.

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APPROVAL

This thesis was accepted by the jury members on …/…/20... and by the Graduate School of Administrative Board on …/…/20... in accordance with the relevant articles of the Graduate Education Regulations of Ankara University.

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Prof. Dr. Yasemin KEPENEKCİ

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STATEMENT OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE ETHICAL PRINCIPLES

I hereby declare that I have reported all the information in the thesis in accordance with the academic writing rules and that I have obtained and presented them in accordance with ethical principles (including all cited works in the sources, accessing the information and documents used in the thesis through official means and using them without destroying the originals, etc.).

Zeynep Doğu

ÖZET

ORTA SINIF AİLELERİN EĞİTİM AMAÇLI YER DEĞİŞTİRME PRATİKLERİ

DOĞU, Zeynep
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Bu çalışma 25 katılımcı ile yarı yapılandırılmış detaylı mülakatlar yoluyla orta sınıf ailelerin eğitim amaçlı mekânsal hareketliliğini anlamak amacıyla yürütülmüştür. Katılımcılar, çocukları okul çağına gelene kadar şehir merkezlerinde oturmuş olan orta sınıf ailelerdir. Katılımcılar, şehrin uzak ve varlıklı bölgelerine doğru çocukları için okula yakınlık ve daha iyi bir çevre arayışıyla taşınmışlardır. Ancak, katılımcıların mekânsal değişiklik ihtiyaçlarını gerekçelendirme biçimleri orta sınıf ailelerinin eğitim anlayışlarının okulun epey ötesinde olduğunu göstermektedir. En önemlisi kendi orta sınıf statülerini korumak ve çocukları için yukarı yönlü bir sosyal hareketlilik sağlamaktır ki bu da kendileri gibi insanlarla bir arada olmak ve 'diğerini' dışarda tutarak homojen bir sosyal çevre sağlamak anlamına gelmektedir. Düşme korkusu ve statü kaygısı ailelerin önceki yerleşim yerlerinden ayrılmalarında ve sembolik değeri olan mekanlar seçmelerinde etkili olmuştur. Ek olarak, katılımcıların mekânsal hareketlilik pratikleri, onların okul seçimi örüntülerini de gözler önünde sermiştir. Ailelerin okul seçimi de statü kaygısına ve kültürel ve sosyal sermaye yoluyla tam anlamıyla bir orta sınıf birey yetiştirme hırsına işaret etmektedir. Aileler okul seçimlerinde tüketici tarzını benimsemiş ve çocuklarının orta sınıf kimliklerini en iyi şekilde destekleyen okullarda karar kılmışlardır. Kısaca, araştırmanın sonuçları gösteriyor ki orta sınıf ailelerin eğitim stratejileri kurumsallaşmış eğitim kadar, sosyal çevre ve yaşamsal alanlardaki kurum dışı örtük eğitimi de kapsamaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Orta sınıf, eğitim, mekânsal hareketlilik, okul seçimi, yeniden üretim

ABSTRACT

RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY OF MIDDLE-CLASS PARENTS FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES

DOĞU, Zeynep

Master's Degree, Department of Educational Sciences

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mustafa SEVER

June, 2021, xiii + 156 pages

The study was conducted with 25 participants through semi-structured in-dept interviews to understand residential mobility practices of middle-class parents for educational purposes. The participants were middle-class parents who used to reside in the central city until their children came to the school age. They exercised residential mobility towards affluent suburbs seeking for the proximity to the school and a better environment. However, the participants' way of rationalizing their mobility showed that the middle-class parents' educational concerns were beyond schooling. One of the most important one is to protect their middle-class status and ensure upward social mobility for their children by providing them a homogeneous social environment which means that they want to be close to the 'people like them' while getting away from the 'others'. Fear of falling and status anxiety were influential in fleeing from their previous neighbourhoods and choosing spaces that have symbolic value. Additionally, the participants' residential mobility practices showed their school choice patterns. The participants' school choice also indicated status anxiety and the ambition of making up a truly middle-class child through cultural and social capital. The study demonstrated that the participants shopped for schools in consumer style and decided on the schools that support middle-class identities of their children in the best way. To sum up, the results of this study demonstrate that middle-class parents' educational strategies include noninstitutionalized hidden education both in residential areas and social environments as well as institutionalized education.

Key Words: Middle-class, education, residential mobility, school choice, reproduction

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To all the children who cannot get equal education…

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

According to immigration theory, most moves and geographical changes take place in short distances. (Crowder & South, 2008). That is why, urban migration deserves attention as much as international migration if not more. In Ankara, which is the second largest city and capital of Turkey, residential mobility has been exercised so frequently that the population of neighbourhoods change and the total number of the citizens in the city keeps increasing rapidly. The metropolis also attracts households from other cities because of the educational and working prospects it offers. The changing demographic structure of the city draws attention because some neighbourhoods lose density while some others (mostly suburban neighbourhoods) get dense day by day. The reason why the population increase varies according to the neighbourhoods, but for the affluent suburban neighbourhoods, the reason seems to be the newly constructed gated communities which offer spacious houses for the middle class and proximity to the well-performing schools. When these are taken into consideration, it is not difficult to assume that households who move to these areas are socioeconomically advantaged households. Clearly, there is an apparent urban migration to the suburbs by the middle class and this flight of advantaged groups, their preference to live in suburban areas, specifically after they have children bring the question of 'why'. The driving force in residential mobility is prominent to understand if it is sourced from any polarization or segregation in the society and if it has any effects on educational attainments.

In this research, residential mobility of middle-class parents is investigated because 'the ability to manipulate geographical and social space… (is) a middle- class disposition. (Reay & Lucey, 2003:128) , their decision-making processes and perceptions regarding both neighbourhoods (the one they used to live and the one where they are currently dwelled in) and the schools they choose or avoid are analysed to broadly understand the way the middle-class parents make meaning of the relation between education and the residential area. School experiences differ qualitatively by social class. "Schools in complex industrial societies … make available different types of educational experience and curriculum knowledge to students in different social classes" (Anyon, 1980: 67) and it is known that social classes do not contact with each other very frequently, there has always been an

invisible boundary separating social agents in social fields including residential areas and schools. In this study, the middle-class parents who already crossed the boundaries by choosing suburban schools employed additional educational strategies by changing their residential environment. For parents enrolling their kids into these market-driven, well-performing suburban schools was not satisfying enough. Because of that they also exercised residential mobility as well. What is investigated in this research is the actual reasons of their residential mobility as an educational strategy. The educational purposes of the middle-class parents and their way of rationalizing their mobility give clues about how they make meaning of social spaces.

The research is shaped around the middle-class as they are capable of directing educational trends thanks to the capitals which provide them power and the right to shop for the schools. "School choice continues to be a middle-class privilege" (Lubienski & Yoon, 2017: 7), that's why educational studies should take a closer look into the advantaged groups to better understand issues in education in terms of equal distribution of education.

Statement of the Problem

Ankara, the capital city of Turkey, is one of the largest cities of the country and with the population of 5.639.076; it is the second fastest growing city following İstanbul. (TUIK, 2019) Accelerated growth in the city began with the foundation of the Turkish Republic and its being made the capital. Previously during the Ottoman Empire the capital was İstanbul and the shift in capital cities initiated an immigration trend from İstanbul, all the officials started to come to the city and an urgent need for space and housing appeared.(Batuman, 2013). The growth is still in progress as the city is the centre of governance, and home to numerous universities. Additionally, industry also effects the growth. As the city is getting enlarged day by day both on account of region and population, the surge in the rate of mobility becomes indispensable.

Ankara has 25 counties one of which is Çankaya. It collocates with Ankara very frequently as it is the core of the city, "all state offices and foreign embassies are located within the boundaries of this district, which historically represents both the elite and the modern identity of the Turkish Republic" (Erkip, 2010: 97). However, modern identity of the inner Çankaya does not attract middle-class anymore, it gives a loss every year. Although

Çankaya is the core of the city, it has suburban neighbourhoods as well that is why the population of Çankaya rises every year. One-year population growth between 2018 and 2019 is 2,6 % (MEB, 2019). The population growth has moved towards suburban neighbourhoods such as Beytepe, Alaccatlı and Ahlatlıbel because the inner city is already densely populated. To give an example, the number of people in Oran, Ayrancı and Dikmen (inner parts of Çankaya) has stayed steady over the years. As the corollary of the increasing population in suburban areas, the number of the schools in the mentioned areas draws an upright arrow, too. According to the data collected from the official website of Ministry of Education[1], total number of the primary schools in 2013 was 73, while it is 79 now, for the secondary schools the same increase is observed, and the number increased from 57 to 70. For high schools, the number shifted from 54 to 67 in Çankaya. Especially the number of the private secondary and private schools have increased seriously. In 2003, there were 849 state elementary schools in Ankara while there were only 52 private elementary schools. However, in 2019 this number was 584 for state schools whereas 251 for private schools. Upward shift in the number of private schools can be explained by the market economy of the schools in Turkey and when it is compared with the population density of suburban neighbourhoods, an oil-spill macroform of the city, mobility of the households who can send their children to the private schools draws attention. Families who can afford to shop for private schools also exercise residential mobility because they developed additional expectations both for residential environment they live in and for the education of their children even though they already made rational choices.

The sudden increase in the population of some suburban places has been very sharp starting from 2014 and is getting higher and higher every year. The problem discussed in this research centres the residential mobility of high-socio economic status households to suburbs and their reason to make this decision. It draws attention because Ankara as a city looks big and metropolitan but still its core regions offer many desirable facilities and opportunities to the dwellers. “Despite its heterogeneous character, this district (Çankaya, the core) is still popular among high-income citizens, businesspeople, and foreign visitors to the city. In this district, like all the others in the city, all services are provided publicly by local and central governments.” (Erkip, 2010: 98). Despite all the advantages, the middle-class do not want to continue their lives in the central city.

[1] https://sgb.meb.gov.tr/www/resmi-istatistikler/icerik/64, 2020

When all the data and personal observations are considered, the phenomenon of residential mobility of middle-class parents in addition to the changing rate and the density of both state and private schools constitute a problem in the sociological and educational domain. It leads to segregation, stratification, and polarization in the society. Residential mobility practices of the middle-class parents are quite visible but the problem or the question to be answered must be 'why'. The reasons, perceptions and expectations of middle-class parents while exercising residential mobility constitute the main problem of this research. As the participants of the research are all parents; their views on education, education-neighbourhood relation and educational attainment are also the questions of the research and stand as the sub problems of the study.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research 'Residential Mobility of Middle-Class Parents for Educational Purposes' is to analyse the housing practices of socioeconomically advantaged groups critically and to try to understand what triggers middle class parents to move to suburbs. In Turkey, "suburban neighbourhoods are rising as enclosed socio-spatial systems, and new gated communities sprawl on the erstwhile urban periphery with unprecedented speed." (Batuman, 2013: 589) This accelerated movement towards the suburbia is quite interesting as middle-class households already live in secure neighbourhoods, and they make their housing decisions in neighbourhoods which are close to the city centre which enable them to socialize easily, reduce the need for driving and make them feel part of the city or they prefer neighbourhoods that are close to their close-knit families when they first get married. However, after they have children, although they have quite spacious flats or houses, they flee to the suburbs which is almost 20 km from the city centre, far from the landmarks and most probably away from other attractive destinations. Middle-class parents' housing decisions draw attention and deserves to be investigated qualitatively. The reason why qualitative research design is employed is to deeply understand the reasons, rationale and motivation of the parents when moving to suburban areas. As the numbers already indicate the situation, which is the constant rush to suburbs, it requires specific study to see how and why power holders come to the decision of leaving the core regions of the town specifically when raising a child is concerned.

Apart from the mobility practices of the families, what is more important to understand is the educational attainment in different regions. How the parents relate education and localization to each other is important in terms of seeing if there is any avoidance, what disturbs middle-class parents, how education is shaped according to the neighbourhoods and residents' socioeconomic status. The study is aimed at finding answers to aforementioned questions and investigating in-city immigration to suburbs in educational domain thanks to semi-structured in-depth interviews.

Significance of the Study

Middle-class is a highly popular subject which has been studied thoroughly in social sciences from Politics to Sociology, from International Relations to Education and Training. As it is the reality of the society, 'class' cannot be ignored in any field which puts the social agent in the centre. In addition to class structures, their relation to education and how class differences create reproduction, conflict and inequalities should be deeply understood for the benefit of the societies. Education of a nation cannot be restored, supported, or improved without solving the issues related to equal distribution of knowledge. However, to solve 'class' related problems in education, it is needed to detect dynamics, practices, perceptions, dispositions, and ideas creating inequalities. According to Holsinger & Jacob (2009), every day more and more people can reach education, however; it is not a relief on behalf of distribution of education. What creates inequalities is the educational advances which belong to a specific group and its being reproduced constantly. It is already very well-known and has been studied for years that distribution of education is unfair; deprived members of the society cannot have good educational attainment and they resist school culture; what is needed to be investigated is the opposite group creating inequalities not the ones getting affected by the segregation. What makes this research significant is that it focuses on the power holders and their practices which is studied very rarely.

Although, the academy already has a special interest in social classes, the middle class sits in the centre of this interest as much as the working class. However, middle-class in educational domain is quite ignored and that's why I chose to study this social group in my research. The existing social distinction in the society is increasing day by day and the mobility practices are deepening it by drawing invisible boundaries. Social agents in the society change their social spaces for different reasons, but the power holders prefer isolated,

unreachable areas. It indicates segregation and a clear flight. That is why it requires deep analysis to see how mobility practices of the advantaged groups affect social agents. The study takes a critical position and I examine the issue of changing neighbourhoods for educational purposes through the lens of critical theory. What is significant with this research is that although middle class has been studied in Turkey in the context of social studies such as Business Administration, Sociology, Literature, or Education (Aslan, 2011; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010; Yıldız, 2018; Balıkçıoğlu & Dalgıç, 2015; Yıldız & Baş, 2017). However, for a 'class' determining the common, shared interests of the society, the body of research is not adequate. Middle class is counted as "culture builders" (Frykman & Löfgren, 1942), so it needs deeper analysis.

In Turkey there are not many studies regarding middle class and education; education is mostly dealt with pedagogically, in terms of systems, teachers, administrators or teaching patterns but unfortunately its sociological aspect has not been studied well. Even though there are some studies exploring education by including class issues, they are not theorized on critical theory which is another underrated field of study in Turkey. (https://tez.yok.gov.tr/, 2020). That is to say, my research deserves attention as it explores middles class behaviours in educational context and uses critical lenses.

Middle class and spatial domain have also found a good place in academy especially in Urban Studies, there are many studies regarding spatial choices, housing practices, neighbourhood relationships of middle class (Alemdaroğlu, 2017; Akpinar, 2008, 2009; Erkip, 2010; Bayhan & Gök, 2017) Also, there are sample studies focusing on middle -class in urban- suburban context (Baris et al., 2010; Erkip,2010; Alkan,2015; Erişen, 2003). The research 'Residential Mobility of Middle-Class Parents' takes an interdisciplinary position combining Sociology of Education with Urban Studies. Because of all these reasons, this study will contribute to the literature and bring a different point of view on educational studies, unequal distribution of education while investigating middle-class parental expectations in schooling, and marketization of the schools in Turkey deeply.

Assumptions

The participants are assumed to answer the questions sincerely and share their opinions honestly and sincerely during the interviews.

Limitations

The research is limited to the city of Ankara with middle-class couples who exercised residential mobility after being parents and moved their houses from inner suburbs or central regions to suburbia of the city. The participants are limited to the parents who are educated (minimum bachelor's degree) and work in skilled or managerial jobs. There is a strict limitation with the age of the children as well. The participants were chosen from the parents who moved after their kids come to school age (minimum 5 years of age). It is because in the semi-structured interviews, participants were asked about social relations of their kids and how their friends changed after they changed neighbourhoods. As a result, the study was held by applying strict limitations as it is crucial to collect data from a very specific, homogeneous group to eliminate personal differences and to hinder any irrelevant information or specific situation when evaluating results.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Conceptual and theoretical background of the research is explained in this chapter. The conceptualization of the research is mainly based on 'White Flight' that appeared in the U.S.A as a reaction to desegregation policies of the country. Afterwards the phenomenon has been observed in many other countries which are densely populated by immigrants. In addition, residential mobility and school choice practices are also visited in conceptual framework to make meaning of the mobility practices in social and educational domain. On the other hand, the theoretical framework is based on critical theory to see how the privilege of mobility and school choice create inequalities in the society. To better see how these privileges are gained and reproduced, Bourdieusian concepts specifically habitus, field and forms of capitals have been employed.

Conceptual Framework

My research is based on the phenomenon 'White Flight' which appeared in the U.S.A after the desegregation policies and supreme court cases which gave rights to minorities and made them integrated with the White Americans. White people started to leave their environments and moved to suburbs to be away from the public, and they created spatial segregation.

In Turkey, there is no ground to study 'white flight', but I will employ the phenomenon to conceptualize how and why middle-class parents 'flee' from the central city for educational purposes and reside in suburban areas by choosing suburban schools.

White Flight

White Flight is basically a demographic term borrowed from Geography. It has been studied within the scope of Education, Geography of Education and Sociology of Education. The phenomenon that appeared in the U.S.A as a 'reaction' to desegregation policies means

the relocation of 'White' households from inner cities to suburbs to seek for better quality education and to prevent their children from being in contact with minorities. 'White' refers to white middle-class Americans, but in the last decades it has started to be used to refer to the middle-class in different countries as well. On the other hand, "flight is a characterization of the movement. Previous studies of residential mobility indicate that there is a variety of factors responsible for precipitating a local move, and further, that these factors tend to coincide with major life-cycle stages of the household" (Frey, 1979: 429). White Flight is primarily regarded as the result of racial segregation. The main reason behind fleeing from inner cities to suburbs is seen as being reluctant to be in contact with the minorities especially African Americans. 'Black' people have been suffering from being segregated and left behind for centuries and this situation creates new phenomena in social sciences. Numerous studies on white flight were conducted in different countries and they gave consistent results. (Schneider, 2008; Lee, 2007; Galgster, 1990; Zhang, 2011; Renzulli & Evans, 2005; McDonald, 1997; Kye & Halpern-Manners, 2019; Farnsworth, 2011; Carr & Zeigler, 1990; Crowder, 2000).

One of the studies was held in South Carolina in the U.S.A. by Zhang (2009). When he compared the data regarding school enrolment in different locales (urban, suburban, and rural), he observed dramatic decline in white enrolment in urban areas (inner city), while there is increase in enrolment of blacks in the same areas. See Table 1.

Table 1

'Racial Compositions of Public Elementary School Enrolments in South Carolina,1987 and 2003'

Locales	Number of Schools	1987 (%)			2003 (%)		
		White	Blacks	Other	White	Blacks	Other
Urban	88	46.3	52.4	1.3	35	60.1	4.9
Suburban	347	66.2	31.5	2.3	60.6	33.5	5.9
Rural	172	44.9	54.6	0.5	43.4	51.5	5.1
Total	607	57.4	40.9	1.7	52.6	41.9	5.5

As it is clearly seen in the figure, white households leave urban areas when black people come in. Zhang (2009) states that "the differences of enrollment changes between whites and minorities further suggest that white families are more likely to move their

children from inner-city schools to suburban schools or elsewhere" (p. 239) and proves his claim with the statistics. (See Figure 1). The chart illustrates how White American students' enrolment in suburban schools increase over the years while it decreases in urban schools. They prefer suburban neighbourhoods where they will not have any kind of friction with minorities mostly African Americans.

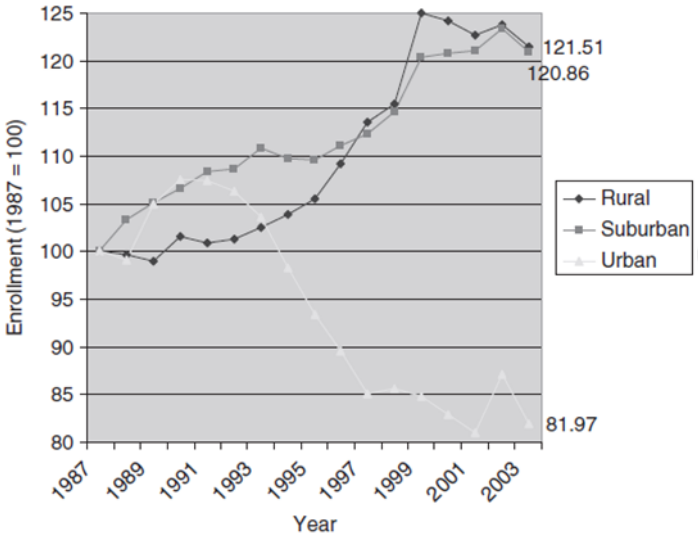

Figure 1. 'White Student Enrolments at Different Locales, 1987–2003'

Zhang (2009: 239)

The white flight researches are not limited with one region or state in the U.S.A, they covered various cities such as Los Angeles (Schneider,2008), Cleveland (Galgster,1990), Boston (Mcdonald,1997), Nebraska (Farnsworth, 2011) Norfolk (Carr and Zeigler, 1990) and results are all indicating one certain phenomenon: Whites leave the neighbourhood when the rate of non-whites starts to increase. In addition to city specific researches, some other wide-ranging studies (Zhang, 2011; Renzulli and Evans, 2005) have also contributed to the existing studies on white flight and social segregation. These two studies are large scale and collected data is based on thousands of schools and students, that is to say, white flight is occurring not in small groups but in mass. According to the findings in the studies, the number of people who left their places to flee from non-whites reaches millions and it is nothing but an indicative of ongoing racism which also causes other social issues such as unequal education, further segregation and injustice. Studies mentioned above vary in terms of the years they were conducted as well as regions and cities and it shows that the situation

that White Americans not wanting to share the same neighbourhood with African-Americans is not something new and will not end in the near future. The earliest study on white flight dates back 1966 by James Coleman. He prepared a report which was a result of meticulous and full-scale study involving 4000 schools, 66.000 teachers and almost 600.000 students. (Cited from Coleman, 1966 in Hill, 2017). Studies on white flight went on after 1960's and it was confirmed by many following studies and further studies are still coming up. That is why, it is not wrong to predict that this regional, racial, and social segregation in cities and schools will not disappear in coming years.

Until Crowder (2000) adopted a different perspective and included individual-level assessment, the data of the previous studies was collected in aggregate-level mostly by evaluating census data. What makes Crowder's study different from former studies is that "it provides an assessment of net impact of neighbourhood racial conditions on White mobility" (Crowder, 2000). He used census tract data provided by Panel Study of Income Dynamics as it offers detailed information on both individual and family-level characteristics influencing mobility. In the study, Crowder included a variety of social, economic, and demographic characteristics of individuals and also neighbourhoods to detect how moving out decisions are affected. Age, marital status, number of children, current employment, change in employment status, family income are some of the factors he examined in his study (Crowder, 2000). Crowder concludes the study by stating: "Using multilevel data, the results of this analysis provide, for the first time, evidence that the mobility decisions of White metropolitan householders are directly influenced by the racial conditions of the neighbourhoods in which they live". (2000: 251)

In addition to the approaches (aggregate-level and individual level data collection) which were used to reveal white flight, a new approach was suggested by Kye and Halpern-Manners (2019). They went beyond and brought a more covering and reliable approach. The approach developed is named as "multicomponent approach" and "it detects higher level of WF than recognized in previous studies, raising important questions about the formation and long-term stability of racially diverse neighbourhoods in the United States". (Kye and Halpern-Manners, 2019:1). They do not only focus on white presence in the region based on absolute and relative measures but also consider in and out movement of the whites in a certain period of time. In other words, the research takes a much more sensitive position and evaluate 'white loss' finically. What the researchers criticize is that the studies so far only have focused on either individual-level data or used aggregate approach and they do not

directly observe mobility decisions of the individuals. This situation creates imperfect results and weakens validity and reliability. To make the research results significant, they investigate data in "four distinct dimensions: absolute loss over time, relative loss over time, the magnitude of absolute loss, and the magnitude of relative loss" (2019:24) and concludes their research as "White Flight may actually be more common than recent neighbourhood-level studies suggest. This brings our results into closer agreement that relies on individual-level mobility data". (Kye and Halpern-Manners, 2019:23).

Although all minorities are segregated by White Americans, the most important concern is 'colour'. Clotfelter (2004) mentions a study observing an interesting development in multi-ethnic metropolitan areas: Black-White segregation tended to fall more in areas where the Asian American or Hispanic population grew rapidly, suggesting that these other minority groups might be acting as a 'buffer' between blacks and whites. (Clotfelter, 2004). 'Buffering Hypothesis' was first constructed by Frey and Farley (1996). They concluded that 'Blacks continue to be more residentially segregated than either Latinos or Asians'. 'The potential for … 'buffering' and existence of multi-ethnic neighbourhoods is great where the combined Latino and Asian population outnumbers blacks.' (1996: 49) The findings were also confirmed by Clotfelter (2004), Zhang & Logan (2010), and (Zhang & Logan, 2016). This situation may be advantageous for society because it enables integration in multi-ethnic metropolitans. "A larger Hispanic/Asian presence in the neighbourhood or in adjacent areas can facilitate black entry into neighbourhoods where whites remain, as anticipated by the buffering hypothesis" (Logan & Zhang, 2010). This social buffer makes White Americans more tolerant to minorities and Blacks also find it easy to enter a region when there are other minorities.

Apart from racial segregation, Andrews (2002) draws attention to working class segregation as well. He states that "a variation on competition theory argues that white resistance does not target all African Americans (or the proportion within a population). Rather, (middle-and working-class) white resistance targets poor and working-class African Americans". (Andrews, 2002: 915) That is to say, white people may flee from working-class, poor households as much as minorities. Byrne (2009) discuses white privilege, middle class school choice practices, white avoidance, school, and residential segregation in her article and points out that race is ignored in class and education studies. Although she does not specifically focus on white flight or mobility, she demonstrates white people's attitude towards school choice as follows: 'Much of the learning which middle classes most care

about is from fellow pupils as much as teachers. There is a desire to find a school filled with enough "people like us" who will teach children "how to be" (Byrne, 2009: 427).

Studies carried out to understand White Flight is not limited with residential mobility. Andrews also draws attention to the fact that private schools arise due to desegregation policies. Desegregation policies to stop discrimination against minorities and working class do not work (Andrews, 2002). In contrast, they give rise to emergence of new institutions where whites enrol to escape from blacks. The increase in the number of private schools prove that market economy also reinforces the segregation in education and schools use the advantage of being far from the urban as a way of advertisement to attract middle-class parents.

In his article, Andrews (2002) explains white resistance against desegregation policies. New institutions started to grow after the desegregation policy, and it may be interpreted as White Flight not being only about literally moving from urban to suburban but leaving a community to be in a homogenously white social environment. Even if parents go on living in their own areas, they withdraw their children from public schools and enrol them in private institutions. Here, they can control who their children are in touch with. In this research, the participants are not the ones who find choosing a school satisfactory enough to provide a 'desired' environment for their kids, but the ones who exercise residential mobility to ensure the 'right' environment to raise their kids.

White Flight Studies in Europe

White Flight phenomenon has been studied both by qualitative and quantitative research methods since the time people began to talk about 'residential segregation', 'integration' and 'equal education'. Quantitative studies were mostly early studies, this is because first researchers, policy makers and scholars needed to be sure whether fleeing was really occurring or not. The phenomenon has not only been studied in the U.S.A, Europe has been interested in the matter as well, but it has not been very well researched in Europe (Andersen, 2017), but some studies held in Central Europe and Nordic countries show the evidence of white flight or avoidance. However, outcomes do not always refer to racism or segregation, neo-liberal economy, private schools, and life conditions may be affecting moving behaviours as well.

White Flight is a globally discussed and researched issue, and the findings may not match with the theory all the time. For example, in the study carried out in Finland, Turku where foreigner population is 8% which is quite high for Finland, there were two main outcomes: One 'immigration had little impact on school choices for primary school aged children'. Another finding was that "immigration had little absolute impact on Finnish families' housing choices." (Komulainen, 2012). Families had an awareness of the many reasons for immigration to Finland; however, diversity and immigration were primarily associated with 'difference' (Komulainen, 2012). Defining minorities as 'different' is rather acceptable when compared to many other racist discourse examples from all over the world. On the other hand, one other research done in another Nordic country Denmark by Andersen showed a strong moving pattern among Danish people. "White flight, a propensity among natives more often to move away, was found in the statistical analyses". (Andersen, 2017). However, it was not as severe as it is in the U.S.A. "The probability for Danes to move out increased with proportion of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood, but not as much as white flight". (Andersen, 2017).

In contrast to Denmark and Finland, Netherlands shows relatively more conservative racism in terms of schooling and education. According to Paul Veder "Many national parents believe that immigrant children de-grade the quality of their children's academic experience and career; they prefer schools with no or low levels of ethnic mixing (the phenomenon of 'white flight')". (Vedder, 2006:40). As the article does not directly investigate moving behaviour of the whites, it is still assertive to comment on it and take 'white flight' for granted. Nonetheless, low performance of immigrants, desegregation in schools, faulty integration policies and separating black and white schools are some of the critical concerns of the country.

The examples given till now are not completely in line with the studies held in the U.S.A, but when it comes to Central Europe and White Flight emerges as in the strictest sense of the word. The studies show that there is a serious separatism and native or non-minority parents do not want their children to be educated in colour-rich schools. White Flight is also the case of a study in Portugal which is regarding Gypsies who are most segregated minorities for centuries. "the Roma have been targeted by a considerable amount of legislation since the sixteenth century." (Araújo, 2014) The findings recorded by Araújo proved that "following a demonstration by non-Gypsy parents against the presence of the Gypsies, the former removed their children from Aguda". The withdrawal is clear enough,

but it is also imperative to share the findings recorded in the article: The Portuguese marked the Roma as culturally inadequate for schooling. It is so harsh that "Separate but Equal" is pale when compared to that kind of perception against minorities.

In addition to these European originated studies whose outcomes are shaped around the race, the study held in Milan/ Italy should also be taken into consideration. Its essentiality derives from the fact that, the reasons for fleeing from certain neighbourhoods is not just related to the race but also socio-economic class. Cordini, Parma & Costanzo (2019) state that "We have identified a large 'white flight' of Italians from peripheral areas in which households with very low socio- economic status predominate". In addition to this, the writers reinforce the findings by stating:

> "More generally, what emerges clearly from the case of Milan is that the distribution of school attendance reflects both the spatial distribution of the population and school choice driven by socio-economic inequality and increasing ethnic differentiation. The composition of the school population thus constitutes a significant indicator of the divide between social classes in a city characterised by low-to-medium levels of spatial segregation". (Cordini, Parma & Costanzo, 2019: 3229)

Geography of Education

Education takes an interdisciplinary stance in social science and as it centralizes human, it collaborates with other sciences closely. Geography is one of these sciences that contribute to the educational studies, but its history is relatively new when compared to other disciplines. How geography and education are intertwined is shown by Taylor (2009:654) as in the diagram.

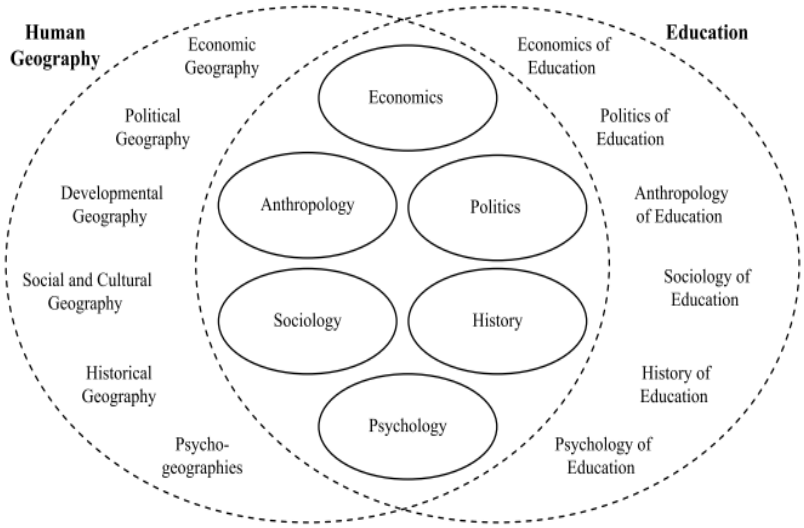

Figure 2. 'The Multi-Disciplinary Foundations of Geography and Education'

(Taylor, 2009: 654)

They started to interface in 1960's (Taylor,2009) and this interface has taken its place in literature as 'Geography of Education'. Geographical approaches have been integrated to education in time. At first, it was not deeply related to educational dynamics but limited with being included lexically. "This is to fetishize space, leaving a particular medium of power, projects and politics—space—to go un-noticed". (Robertson, 2009: 2). That is to say, space should not merely relate to education in physical context. According to Hooloway and friends, "we need to expand our interpretation of what count as spaces of education". (2010: 595). 'Space' is beyond school and classroom, neighbourhood spaces and home must in the agenda of geographies of education. They also state that "rather than focusing on education within specific sites, we need to trace the webs of connections between, for example, home and school, showing how sociospatial practices in each shape children, youth and families". (Holloway *et al*, 2010: 595).

Geographies of education analyses are divided in two as inward- and outward-looking by Thiem (2009). The scholar explains inward-looking approach as: "education constituted the ultimate ends of investigation, with spatial variations in the provision, consumption, and outcomes of schooling considered to be phenomena in need of exploration". (Thiem, 2009: 156). However, in outward-looking approach these patterns are investigated socially, politically, and economically on 'external' basis.

Research topics of geographies of education have mostly been aggregated around residential geographies and scores (Hamnett et al., 2007; Webber & Butler, 2007; Harris & Mercier, 2000). Other frequently visited research topics has been "the spatialities of school choice schemes by mapping local educational offerings". (Thiem, 2009: 156) and "the political construction of uneven educational provision". Teachers' perception on students and schools according to different neighbourhoods was also clearly understood in the field. They were all inward-looking approaches to the geographies of education and to discuss it in more social and political domain, it is crucial to have a broader perspective. Expatiating previously studied subjects are no good for the development of the field. By contrast, outward-looking analyses in the geographies of education sense previously mentioned connections as the core problematic. What they are dealing with is how education "makes space" (Thiem, 2009: 157). To exemplify, social exclusion and polarization through schooling, the relationship between community and provision of education, senses of belonging and place are main themes to adopt in the context of the geographies of education.

In addition to these two approaches Roberstson (2009) draws attention to the importance of the critical spatial lens and how crucial it is to broadly understand social reproduction and subjectivity. "Geographical analysis necessarily includes critical social analysis: race, class and gender are not fixed identities but ongoing social productions; the multi-scalar spaces in which such social production takes place are vitally important to understanding how our societies work". (McCreary, Basu, & Godlewska, 2013: 255). More precisely, 'human' geography of education should be the main focus of this sub-discipline in order that it could serve to educational studies in a better way. Shareholders such as teachers, parents and must be studied, not just buildings and sites.

"Variations in educational provision in attainment are complex social phenomena which, like housing and health problems and provision, are located at the intersection of space, social structure and social processes."(Butler & Hamnett, 2007: 1164). This makes 'space' the core driver of educational processes of a country. Butler and Hamnet (2007) mentions that educational attainment is closely connected to class, but still geographical and spatial variations also effect educational attainment in terms of social justice and equality. This happens through polarization, segregation, and alienation. "In this respect, geography matters to social outcomes in a major way." (Butler & Hamnett, 2007: 1164). If parents are seeking for the best performing schools to enrol their children in, school performance is not same in every school and well performing schools are accumulated in affluent

neighbourhoods; it clearly shows that 'social' is logically dependent on 'spatial'. As education is nothing but the most important element to shape society and feed cultural and economic reproduction (Holloway et al., 2010), it cannot be regarded as separate from 'space'. To continue 'social reproduction' is middle-class families' main concern and they want to ensure that their kids are getting the best education which provides them social mobility.

This is linked to a set of concerns about exposure of privileged groups to children from class or racial groups who may be seen to exert a detrimental effect on their own performance. This can be termed the fear of social or educational 'contamination' and it has been associated with evidence of attempts to ensure social and educational segregation in the US this was achieved by a process of suburbanization and withdrawal from the inner cities. (Butler & Hamnett, 2007: 1165)

In short, Geographies of Education focuses on educational attainment on spatial basis, but to evaluate it critically it is significant to investigate unequal distribution of educational provision on a spatial basis. "Inherited geographies of education focus primarily on immobile students and localized consumption fields, thus neglecting the potential effects of education-based migrations." (Thiem, 2009:158). That's to say, there is no use keeping looking at how disadvantaged groups are stuck in certain areas but how advantaged population changes the game and what practices they have as they have necessary sources and mobility. Residential geography is potentially highly influenced by schooling and education. School quality continues to be "the main determinant of property values". (Thiem, 2009) and it leads to suburbanization. She believes that "scholars need to revisit education's role in regional housing markets in the context of school choice and open enrolment policies". (Thiem, 2009: 159) and education should definitely be implemented in the analyses of residential patterns.

Residential Mobility

"Residential mobility is often conceptualized as a response to residential stress caused by a mismatch between a household residential needs and preferences and characteristics of its current housing situation". (Feijten & van Ham, 2009). It is commonly theorized with disequilibrium theory in which "a decision to move occurs when the current living arrangements become suboptimal. What is optimal relates to the housing unit's

characteristics, its location, and the neighbourhood surroundings relative to the household's needs and preferences". (Coulton, Theodos, & Turner, 2012: 57). The theory accepts residential mobility as one of the associated aspects of 'human development'. However, feeling discomfort or desire to live in a neighbourhood offering better facilities or opportunities is mostly possible for the people who have power, money, and status. Studies show that households who have capacity to move to a more affluent region, district or neighbourhood belong to the middle-class which means they are socioeconomically powerful. (Pinkster, 2014; Savage et al., 2010) Although low income families also move to another place, this shift happens in short distance. (Coulton, Theodos, & Turner, 2012; de Groot, Mulder, & Manting, 2011). For low-income families, neighbourhood social ties matter much more than high income families. Having 'local based social capital' is prominent for the working class, because of that they quite strong neighbourhood attachment. This insecurity decreases mobility rate and makes families more loyal to their existing neighbourhoods. Remarkably, social ties have a strong effect on mobility decision for low income families. (Dawkins, 2006; Oh, 2003). A study confirming the importance of community capital for lower classes was made by Tucker and his colleagues (1998) . They found that school age children who were exposed to residential mobility lost their human and social capital to some extent, and these children are more likely to have low school performance and have higher school dropout rate. (Tucker, Marx, & Long, 1998). This situation settles the idea that neighbourhood means a lot in a different way for the disadvantaged. For middle class, Coleman has a similar comment.

> "Similarly, the decision to move from a community so that the father, for example, can take a better job may be entirely correct from the point of view of that family. But, because social capital consists of relations among persons, other persons may experience extensive losses by the severance of those relations, a severance over which they had no control". (Coleman, 1988: 116)

However, he adds when parents move to a better area, they reach security, clean streets and affluence and the benefits may outweigh the costs of residential mobility. That's to say, he draws attention to the trade-off the families make when they decide to change their neighbourhood and finds it logical. On the other hand, when human relations are observed closely, bonding with neighbours and befriending with the people in the same neighbourhood is almost out of question for middle class. It is because of gated communities, alienation and getting more individualize. The children may not develop social ties in their

neighbourhood as much as previous generations did in the past even if they are born and raised in the same district. Social and human capital is mostly set through schooling or after school activities like courses, clubs, or sports. “Participation in after-school activities indicates that children have the opportunity to interact and develop relationships with other adults and other children in the community”. (Pettit & Mclanahan, 2003: 637). Loss of social capital for middle class children is opposed by Jencks and Mayer “middle-class neighbourhoods often include a stock of social, educational, and economic resources that parents, and their children can access”. (cited from Jencks & Mayer, 1990 in Pettit & Mclanahan, 2003: 635)

According to Feijten & van Ham (2009) there are four main reasons to leave which are “change in socioeconomic status, change in ethnic composition, population turnover and known factors influencing moving wishes”. It is clear that middle-class households make decisions to leave a particular neighbourhood to avoid ‘others. Those may be minorities, criminals, low-income people or the unemployed. Feijten and van Ham (2009: 2118) states that “people who perceive a decline in their neighbourhood are more likely to have a wish to leave…. people who live in a neighbourhood with an increase in the percentage of ethnic minorities and a high population turnover are more likely to have a wish to leave”. In addition to social environment, other reasons also drive household to move. Especially after they have children, middle-class households prioritize environmental and housing conditions. “Larger and better housing associated with the birth of children and the desire for good schools and neighbourhoods and other amenities underlie many decisions to change residences”. (Cited from Rossi, 1955 in Tucker, Marx, & Long, 1998: 112).

Suburbanization

The term ‘suburb’ has been used to define a part of city. Although it is been used widely to define far neighbourhoods of a city, there is no agreement on what suburbs look like exactly and it persists to be ambiguous, complex and controversial (Vaughan, Griffiths, & Haklay, 2015; Forsyth, 2012). Controversies on defining suburbs is still on air and the literature in not even ‘close’ to find a fixed definition (Lineberry, 1975) and to Harris (2010) it is a must to establish a minimum definition for the term. However, “consensus (on the definition of suburbs) seems unlikely to emerge at any time soon” (Wiese & Nicolaides, 2006: 7). Forsyth (2012) reviews prominent definitions of suburbs and groups them

according to the topical issues and their structure. The definitions focus on "physical, functional, social, and process dimensions as well as others taking a more analytical or critical view". (2012: 270). The definitions vary according to the area in which the author works, and each author employs a different point of view based on the aspect of the field that they are examining. However, the term should be definitely enlightened in order to conduct empirical studies in any field involving suburbs. It matters both in theory and practice.

No matter how the definition is controversial, still it is documented that almost half or even more of the developed cities both in America and Europe are suburban. "According to Vaughan et al. (2009), around two-thirds of London's population and over 80 per cent of the UK's population live in suburbs" (Jeevendrampillai, 2019: 178) and according to the United Nations "2010 to 2050 the world's urban population will increase from 3.5 billion to 6.3 billion, that is by 80 percent" (Forsyth, 2012: 270). These rates confirm Klausen and Røe: 'The world is increasingly urban, and the urban world is increasingly suburban.' (2012: 1).

Forsyth (2012), groups most discussed and commented features of suburbs in different dimensions as: location, physical characteristic, transportation, activities, political places, socio-cultural, styles of the buildings, time, critical assessments and indices. Drawing on the literature shaped around these dimensions, suburban areas are "sprawling developments" (Lucy & Phillips, 2003) in the "edge of the cities" (Wiese & Nicolaides, 2006) and lie immediately outside the city. To differentiate suburbs and compare them more concretely, it has been divided in three as inner, middle and outer ring suburbs. (Johnson, 2006) according to their distance from the core. Location works in tandem with transportation, suburbs are not pedestrian-friendly but car dependent areas (Flint, 2006). Suburban residents do not look very uncomfortable with living in car-oriented neighbourhoods. Klausen and Røe (2012), mentions a study which found that residents in suburbs oppose to the development of transportation system to prevent low-income household to reside in the area and it caused tension between social groups. In terms of building and environmental characteristic, suburbs look alike and homogeneous. First, suburbs were associated with detached housing only, but now with the rise of gated communities and change in planning strategies, it is possible to face different kinds of housing styles. However, it does not disturb the 'alikeness' of suburbia. Houses are told to be relatively new in these areas as a sign of wealth. In addition to, housing characteristic,

"physical upgrading of residential buildings, parks, and walkways, as well as public institutions such as schools and kindergartens, is often seen as a key pre- requisite for improving living standards". (Klausen & Røe, 2012: 3)

Defining suburbs barely on physical characteristics or distance is misleading especially in sociological discourse. They are not absolute result of urban growth and population increase. "Suburbs,…cannot be adequately treated as the natural outcome of urban development. It is therefore important to analyse the factors and the social forces that have produced this kind of residential living". (Corcoran, Gray, & Peillion, 2010: 5). "Suburbs have been used as a metaphor for the alienated condition associated with modern, industrial, mass-consumer society". (Corcoran et al., 2010: 5) and they are assumed to be white communities (Wiese & Nicolaides, 2006). Today, lower-income squatter settlements in Asian countries, for example, are regarded as decentralized, outer locations and rarely mention as 'suburbs' (Harris,2010). In Europe and Australia these peripheral locations if they are low in status are seen to have "locational disadvantage" but not accepted as suburban (Forsyth,2012). To sum, "the existence of working-class, ethnic, and black suburbs was understood (from time to time) but largely ignored". (Bernadette, 2010: 14) Elite and high-class connotation of suburbs is a monopoly of affluent neighbourhoods. Although, early suburbia rose as a 'flight' of high to middle class from city centre, it must be revisited now, and other types of suburbs must be taken into consideration as well.

Bernadette (2010) categorizes suburbanization process in American context as four main stages: "suburban elitism, suburban homogeneity, suburban diversity, and suburban dichotomy" (p. 13). However, this pattern looks applicable to many countries when other examples are considered. In the United States, suburbanization first started as an elite movement, it had an "image of the ideal environment for healthy, wholesome, family living…. Tremendous tension between social classes, overcrowding, and difficult living conditions caused many affluent city dwellers to escape to the suburban fringe". (p. 13) After World War II, "suburbia took on a new cultural form with further decentralization of housing and employment…. small, standardized, single- family houses were mass produced" (p.14). It is the stage where lower-income groups are known to live there but ignored. As the third stage, Bernadette (2010) discusses suburban diversity. "In more recent times, diversity among suburbs has become more and more pronounced, and America's suburbs are evermore peppered by issues of class and race." (p. 15) As the last step, suburban dichotomy comes to the stage and is referred as "suburban decline" (Lucy & Phillips, 2003). More and

more households move to outer suburbs from inner suburbs and the core, it causes more diversity and disrupts white identity of suburbs. “Outer suburbs stand in opposition to inner-ring suburbs. Suburbia has ruptured, and the inner-ring suburbs have emerged as new places of socioeconomic distress and decline” (Bernadette, 2010: 16). To conclude, in addition to arguments on distance, planning and housing, social diversity is added to the existing controversies regarding what makes up suburbs. The stages of suburbanization process correlates with the findings of Lucy and Phillips (2003), who suggest that population in inner suburbs which are immediately adjacent to or near to the core has tendency to decline whereas outer suburbs are more likely to increase in the number of households. It shows that “suburbanization is a process, rather than a fixed state’ (Vaughan et al., 2015: 13) it involves adaptation to changing socio-economic conditions.

How suburbanization is examined, defined, and accepted vary, but no matter how it is defined, there are reasons driving dwellers to choose these residential sites. Suburbs of Ankara which are set as the research area of the study can be counted as in the second stage of the suburbanization as they are mostly mentioned as ‘homogeneous’ areas. Because of that motivation behind moving to suburban areas will be contextualized according to this homogeneity. Suburbs are known to be desirable places to live. However, this desirability has not appeared on its own. “Rather, they gained value and meaning through conscious effort, planning and design, in ways that allowed the middle and upper classes to define and differentiate themselves from the rest of the society”. (Wiese & Nicolaides, 2006: 13). In later forms of this differentiation, it constitutes ‘status symbol’ and serves as ‘social climbing’ (Corcoran et al., 2010). In terms of social relations, suburb is ‘the last word in privacy’ and withdrawal from social interactions with other people. Residents of suburbs seek for privatized lifestyle (Luymes, 1997, Cocoran et al., 2010) and it becomes one of the most leasing reasons bringing them to suburbs after the flight from overcrowding, pollution, tension, traffic and noise (Jeevendrampillai, 2019). In short people move to suburb in search of ‘good life’. (Hesse & Siedentop, 2018)

In conclusion, although suburb is not a term that scholars can agree on and causes disagreements, it can be summarized as owner-occupied, car-oriented, spacious, privatised, peripheral, attractive, secluded, homogenous areas that has definite building and environmental characteristic, middle-to high class residents and well-provided governmental services. The reason why ‘suburbanization’ is employed in this way is that the research area of this study is aligned with the existing literature to great extent, at least currently.

Social Class and School Choice

Families desire sending their children to the best school, but unfortunately this is not possible for every household in the society and most of the citizens do not have an option to shop for schools. School choice is a certain way to create inequality through schooling and reinforce social reproduction in the society because of that it should be main focus of sociology of education (Lingard, 2020). For school choice parents have different motivations and it is clear that 'choice' is an indicator of economic privilege (Reay & Lucey, 2003). According to a cross national study which reviewed 26 different studies from 14 different countries (Rohde et al., 2019), while middle- and upper-class parents mostly care about school quality, environment, safety or extracurricular opportunities, lower class parents' decision-making process is highly dominated by logistics. Especially in low-income countries parents' logistic reasons while deciding on a school comes to prominence. This tendency to choose schools which are near the houses is rooted from limited opportunities for mobility of working-class families. It is also related to the concern "that children would spend more time at school while parents need to work." (Rohde et al., 2019: 289). On the other hand, advantaged groups do not have to send their kids to the nearest school in the catchment area. According to a study held in England, 10% to 15% of the students are from outside of the catchment area (Herbert & Thomas, 1998). Middle-class parents want to and could make sure that kids are safe which is a serious concern of the parents especially if they live in inner city or outskirts. In contrast, working class parents cannot send their children to the schools far from their homes because the cost of transport is difficult to cope with and this financial reason is an important factor on school choice. (Waslander, Pater, & Weide, 2010). "Choosers and non-choosers differ most in terms of demographics." (Waslander, Pater, & Weide, 2010: 32), so demographic factors are not limited with working class. It concerns every member of the society. Well educated and affluent parents who have higher status tend to exercise school choice where similar cultural, social, and economic background students are found. Candipan (2019) found that in the U.S.A, there is a mismatch between schools and neighbourhoods. The regions where mostly white Americans live have more African American students in the schools. This is because even if the family does not want to change their neighbourhood, as they have many options, send their kids to another desired, well performing school. This situation supports school segregation while enforcing social reproduction. Rather than seeking for 'people like us', middle class parents are very

well aware of the fact that how school and education is a key for social mobility, they have a tendency to send their children to the schools in the neighbourhoods that have a higher social status than they have. (Yoon, 2020). On the other hand, although power holders have access to better schools and have no limitations regarding transportation, they still prefer to change neighbourhood if they can in most cases. (Feijten & van Ham, 2009 ; Meegan & Mitchell, 2001) Parents' willingness to reach 'higher' constitutes a driving force to change neighbourhoods and moving to suburbs. That is to say, school choice is class-based and it is exercised mostly by middle class parents. (Lingard, 2020).

In addition to school choice, selecting students is a matter of fact in student-school match as well. "When the number of applicants exceeds the number of places, schools are in a position to select students. Students who are white, perform well, have well-educated parents and come from affluent backgrounds were repeatedly found to be the most desirable students". (Waslander, Pater, & Weide, 2010: 49). Similarly, in Turkey some high-ranking private schools are known to select students as a result of 'interviews' and parents who can pass these tests feel proud.

High ranking schools accept high socio-economic status students and, affluent middle-class parents make their school choice in well performing schools. Disadvantaged groups heap around deprived schools and neighbourhoods. It is not just a matter of economic capital; disadvantaged groups cannot enrol in a desired school even if it is not a private school because desired and popular schools are all located in suburbs and inner city is lack of well performing schools. (Goodman, 2005; Gamsu, 2016 ; Reay&Lucey, 2003; Wilson, 1987).

Theoretical Framework

Exercising residential mobility for educational purposes is not a simple act of middle-class parents, it is applied purposefully. Households make certain choices deliberately to reach the better, be more comfortable and live in better conditions. Thousands of people in cities leave their neighbourhoods and 'flee' to suburbs and it does not occur as of a coincidence. Changing neighbourhood (mostly to suburbs) is beyond a trend because there are both hidden and clear reasons behind the mobility practice. This research is looking insight the motivations and expectations of the middle-class parents while choosing to move out of the central city. The theoretical framework of this research is set on the critical theory

as it shows the world from questioning perspective. “The very logic of critical theory demands that one learn to excavate assumptions and reveal contradictions”. (King & Zanetti, 2014: 50). That is to say, while a case is examined through critical lenses, concepts, actions, households, reactions, or behaviours are not simply taken for granted. “A main point of critical theory is to challenge taken-for-granted notions about social class questions, something mainstream public administration rarely does”. (Oldfield, 2010:466). In this research as well, the mobility practices of middle-class parents for educational purposes is not evaluated as a rationale choice but, examined through critical lens to reveal hidden reasons of manipulating social spaces. Critical theorists suggests that injustice and subjugation shape the world. (Steinberg & Kincheloe, 2010: 442). In this study, research topic: mobility is sourced from inequalities. While the households who have opportunities, capitals and sources change neighbourhoods and reach better education standards, quality schools and teachers, ‘others’ are indulged in the schools or teachers they have. Powerholders can reach these powers thanks to the capitals they hold and would like to act in aligned with their middle-class habitus. Their class habitus can only be enacted in certain spaces which are referred as ‘fields’ by Bourdieu. To sum, middle-class parents have rights and resources to make residential and educational choices to reach better life standards while others are left out. This situation is the result of inequalities created by class positionings in the society which are reinforced by the accumulation or lack of certain capitals.

Critical Theory

‘Critical Theory’ is defined by Horkheimer as “It is an essential element in the historical effort to create a world which satisfies the needs and powers of men… it has a liberating and stimulating influence… Its goal is man’s emancipation from slavery”. (Horkheimer, 1972: 246). The main function of critical theory is focusing on unjust societal systems, inequalities in societies and evaluating cases from a critical point of view. The theory is rooted by the thoughts of Marx and got its current shape with the establishment of Frankfurt School. It is school of thought which criticizes traditional approaches to philosophy and conventional school of thought. (Held, 1980). Frankfurt School thinkers’ priority is transformation of the society and practicality. They are opposed to scientism and utopianism. (Geuss, 1999). Unless a theory transforms a society and has a functioning goal, it is nothing but useless information. Critical theory is distinguished from the traditional

theory considerably and conveyed social sciences to a different direction. To Geuss (1999) critical theory should provide a "transition from the present state of the society to some proposed final state is objectively or theoretically possible and this 'transition from the present state to the proposed final state' should be practically necessary". Finally, the transition "can come about only if the agents adopt the critical theory as their 'self-consciousness' and act on it". (1999: 76). What hinders transition in the society must be revealed thanks to the critical theory "contemporary critical theory argues that so-called democratic societies are not as democratic as generally believed. Democratic citizens are regulated by the forces of power operating in a general climate of deceit". (Steinberg & Kincheloe, 2010: 140).

Critical theory considers every possibility in social word and "neither the subject nor the object of the theory" can be taken for granted. (Buchanan, 2018). In this course, the research is inquiring the residential mobility practices of the middle-class parents and examines the rationale behind the parents' school choices. It is not regarded as simply the desire to live in a different place or to send the children to better school. This research is aimed at the 'how' the decisions are taken on behalf of region and school; more importantly the question is who the middle class does not want to be in the same district. If the moving is taken for granted, nobody finds it worth investigation and the suburbanization takes shape unknowingly and without understanding the factors causing spatial segregation. In addition, sociological theories and critique are inseparable and must deal with production, reproduction, consumption, and distribution closely (Held, 1980). Unless they are critically evaluated, social order is set only on behalf on the advantaged.

According to Buchanan (2018) "In general, critical theory explores the connection, overlaps, intersections and interference between the three spheres of economic development, psychic life and culture". In this premise, critical theory is supported by Bourdieusian concepts because Bourdieu defines social structures according to their social, educational, and cultural goods as well as financial situations. For this study, the research subject has things to with all the spheres mentioned by Buchanan. The mobility is powered by the economic capitals the respondents have, but their environmental, social, and educational expectations are shaped by their class habitus, and they seek for an appropriate field to exercise class dispositions. That is why, theoretical framework of the study requires putting the critical theory in the centre and supporting it with socio-spatial concepts of Bourdieu.

Bourdieu and Sociological Concepts: Habitus, Field, Capitals

Pierre Bourdieu who graduated as a philosopher form collage but became one of the most leading sociologists of 20th and 21st century has been frequently compared with "founding fathers of sociology": Karl Marx, Marx Weber, and Emile Durkheim. However, Bourdieu defines himself as 'against' as much as 'with' them. (Grenfell, 2007). Bourdieu used existing key concepts of these thinkers and developed them by adding more and detailed concepts which have been lightening the field of sociology in many different domains from art to education, from media to economy. As the world got more and more industrialized, new kinds of jobs and positions appeared and people became more interdependent. The world is now much more different than the times when Marx prioritized economic capital to define 'classes' and rationalized human practices through the economic conditions of people. When it comes to new social order, there have been more to include to understand society and reveal how it operates because of this Bourdieu went further and developed a new point of view to understand society. He employed certain sociological concepts: habitus, field, and capital to show how social order is set and discussed them in detail in different domains. However, "Bourdieu does not offer a theory of fields, a theory of capital, or a theory of habitus, as stand-alone conceptual perspectives" (Swartz, 2008: 42). They are all intertwined and do not perform without one another. In this research as well, all of these concepts appear as the drivers of many practices of the middle-class. They seek for appropriate 'spaces' namely fields which enable them to perform suitable for their 'lifestyles' namely habitus and they can achieve all these thinks thanks to the capitals they have which also gives them the freedom of the choice.

Habitus

Bourdieu asks a highly crucial question regarding how people behave in certain ways and perform particular manners without being dictated by an authority. He states that "all of my thinking started from this point: how can behaviour be regulated with-out being the product of obedience to rules?" (Bourdieu, 1990: 65) and the concept of habitus comes to prominence in this way. Habitus, Bourdieu discusses, "is a product of history which produces individual and collective practices. It ensures the active presence of past experiences which tend to guarantee the 'correctness' of practices, and their constancy over

time, more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms". (Harker & May, 2012: 174). "The modes of behaviour created by the habitus do not have the fine regularity of the modes of behaviour deduced from a legislative principle the habitus goes hand in glove with vagueness and indeterminacy" (Bourdieu, 1990: 77) . "Habitus sets the boundaries within which agents are 'free' to adopt strategic practices. These practices, based on the intuitions of the practical sense, orient rather than strictly determine action". (Harker & May, 2012: 174).

"Habitus in Bourdieu's work refers to a system of embodied dispositions which generate practice in accordance with the structural principles of the social world". (Nash, 1990: 432). "It is "structured" by one's past and present circumstances, such as family upbringing and educational experiences. It is "structuring" in that one's habitus helps to shape one's present and future practices. It is a "structure" in that it is systematically ordered rather than random or unpatterned". (Maton, 2014: 49). Although habitus is not set with strict boundaries or lines, it is created by structures which social agents acquired or exposed to throughout their lives. Culture itself does not define human behaviours because people may act as opposed to their culture "the habitus mediates between structural principles as a property of the culture and structural principles as a property of practice". (Nash, 1990: 434). The habitus is thus a system of durable dispositions inculcated by objective structural conditions, but since it is embodied, "the habitus gains a history and generates its practices for some time even when the objective conditions which gave rise to it have disappeared". (Nash, 1990: 433). What people call as 'culture' or 'class culture' is nothing but set of dispositions, structures, practices, and perceptions generated through family, social network, and schooling. However, the practices people perform are not solely the result of their durable dispositions or habitus, their present situation also effects their behaviours as agents have their own interests.

The concept of habitus is quite complex as it involves many variables in itself. Malton (2014) summarizes this complexity as follows: "Habitus is the link not only between past, present and future, but also between the social and the individual, the objective and the subjective, and structure and agency". (Page 52). No matter how specific experiences people have in their lives, they share common structures "with others of the same social class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, occupation, nationality, region and so forth". (2014: 52).

The concept of habitus "is essentially a cultural grammar specialized by class positions and fields of practice". (Bernstein, 1990: 3 cited in Harker & May, 2012: 173) and

be separated from habitus as field and habitus "constitutes a dialectic through which specific practices produce and reproduce the social world that at the same time is making them". (Thomson, 2014: 73).

Field

A field "can be defined as a series of institutions, rules, rituals, conventions, categories, designations, appointments and titles which constitute an objective hierarchy, and which produce and authorize certain discourses and activities". (Webb, Schirato, & Danaher, 2002: 21). They "are networks of social relations, structured systems of social positions within which struggles take place over resources, stakes, and access. They overlap and are often in flux". (Harvey, Yang, Mueller, & Maclean, 2020: 3).

Although the concept of field looks easy to understand, it is conceptualized in a wrong way most of the time, but Thomson (2014) clarifies the concept by explaining it etymologically:

In English, the word "field" may well conjure up an image of a meadow. Perhaps it is early summer and the meadow is a profusion of wildflowers and grasses surrounded by a dark mass of trees. In French, the word for this kind of field is le pré. However, Bourdieu did not write about pretty and benign les prés, but rather le champ, which is used to describe, inter alia, an area of land, a battle field, and a field of knowledge. (p.66).

Social world is a field where agents need to hold powers, differentiate themselves from the others and get more capital than their peers. Bourdieu uses some analogies to depict the concept of field one of which is a football field. To him, in a football field there are boundaries as in the social life and the players need to have some basic skills to be successful in the game and what they do or do not depends on their position in the game. What footballers need to do is performing at their best to maximize their popularity and be distinguished from the other players or at least protecting their positions can be a motivation to play hard and develop 'strategies' Bourdieu often uses the analogy of a game and the notion of "strategy" to emphasize the active, creative nature of practices. Each social field of practice (including society as a whole) can be understood as a competitive game or "field of struggles" (Maton, 2014: 53). "Habitus essentially involve the development of 'a feel for

the game", an illusio, by reference to a field. Illusio is how the world/field is read by the individual: as it is perceived and in the ways in which it is invested. The rules in the game are decided in accordance with the field, it requires some capabilities and skills.

Another metaphor employed by Bourdieu is that social fields are similar to science fiction- forced fields. They "are constructed through the erection of a barrier between what goes on inside and what happens outside. Designed to protect insiders, they constitute little self-contained worlds". (Thomson, 2014: 68). As in the science-fiction movies, there is hierarchy in the social fields, although everybody looks equal, some are power holders and decision-makers, but still social order is set, and people follow the rules. This field which is constructed by humans involve practices, beliefs, and dispositions in itself.

Last analogy of field is "a field of force in physics" Thomson (2014) says that Bourdieu posited that cultural and economic capital operated as two hierarchized poles in a social field. Both capitals pull and they find a balance. This balance represents social field. As long as people have enough cultural and economic capital, they can survive in their social fields in align with their habitus. "A capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field. It confers a power over the field, over the materialized or embodied instruments of production or reproduction". (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 101).

Capital

Capitals appear in three main forms as economic, cultural, and social. They have an important role in the construction of social spaces as they constitute active properties in different fields. "The kinds of capital, like trumps in a game of cards, are powers which define the chances of profit in a given field (in fact, to every field or subfield there corresponds a particular kind of capital which is current as a power or stake, in that field". (Bourdieu; 1991:230). Which means that the more capitals agents have, the more successful they become in the game of the field. They need to accumulate capitals that give chances to be able to fit in the game and enable them to hold power. An agent's position in a social space is only "defined by the position he occupies in the different fields, that is, in the distribution of the powers that are active in aeach of them". (Bourdieu; 1991:230). These are economic capital which is the dominant kind (Bourdieu, 1990) , cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital which is called 'prestige'.

Economic capital still serves as the most dominant form of the capitals in class positionings of the agents as it enables them to reach other forms of capitals. “In Bourdieu’s (1986) model economic capital refers to monetary income and other financial resources and assets, finding its institutional expression in property rights”. (Butler & Robson, 2001: 2146). However, economic capital cannot act alone and go hand in hand with cultural capital. Cultural capital “encompasses a broad array of linguistic competencies, manners, preferences and orientations”. (Reay, 2004: 74) and appear in three forms, “embodied as a disposition of the mind and body; objectified as cultural goods, and in its institutionalised state as, for example, educational qualifications”. (Nash, 1990: 432). Institutionalized state of cultural capital is named as “academic capital which is obtained and maintained by holding a position enabling domination of other positions and their holders”. (Bourdieu; 1988:84). In this way, every social and cultural activity (including sports, concerts, theathre or exhibition) that the agents are involved contribute to their cultural capital and helps them to exercise social mobility.

In addition to cultural capital, Bourdieu also defines social capital as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Nash,1990:248). “These actual and potential resources… can be mobilised through membership in social networks of actors and organisations.” (Reay, 2004: 74) That is to say social capital, is clearly recognised as a “distinctive resource together with financial capital and cultural capital”. (Nash, 1990: 432)

To sum up, For Bourdieu “field conditions vary over time and each individual’s history is ongoing. The resulting accumulation of symbolic and economic capital which constitute habitus is also continuous, so that habitus itself is in a state of constant flux”. (Hardy, 2014: 126). “The capacity of individuals or groups to manage their field situations in dependent on the amount of capital at their disposal”. (Robbins, 2019: 176) and it can increase or decrease over time. That is why agents have to accumulate their capitals to maintain their class habitus in the related field.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

Qualitative case study was employed to conduct the research as it enables the researcher to take a deep look at the perceptions and meaning making process of the participants while asking 'how' and 'why' questions. In addition, qualitative case studies reveal how the participants interpret their past experiences. Because of these reasons, case study was appropriate to understand why middle-class parents changed their neighbourhoods and had tendency to exchange their inner-city neighbourhoods with suburbs, what is the relationship between their mobility practice and educational expectations.

Research Design

In this research, qualitative case study was employed to explore residential mobility practices of middle-class parents for educational purposes. "The overall purposes of qualitative research are to achieve an understanding of how people make sense out of their lives, delineate the process (rather than the outcome or product) of meaning making and describe how people interpret what they experience". (Merriam, 2009: 14). In this study, how middle-class parents make meaning of their mobility practices is examined; the questions in the semi-structured form revealed the process of decision making to shift their residential places to suburbs. Qualitative researchers are interested in how social experience is made up and given meaning (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008) their concern is to find out how people make meaning and understand their worlds (Merriam, 2009). During data collection and analysis thanks to semi –structure interviews, I have tried to understand how the participants make meaning of their social actions and decisions (moving to suburbs for educational purposes). In qualitative researches, the process is inductive rather than deductive which means that all starts from specific, and the researchers reach conclusions thorough data which have been richly described by the participants (Merriam 2009; Lapan, Quartaroli & Riemer, 2012; Creswell, 2014).

The reason why case study is employed for this research is that "a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-

life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin, 2009: 18). For this research, the contemporary phenomenon is suburbanization and residential mobility of middle-class parents towards suburbs namely 'white flight'. The situation that middle-class parents move to suburbs for educational purposes is a trendy action in the capital of Turkey, but it may be easily confronted with the claim that the families in question may have changed their neighbourhood just because they simply wanted to live in suburbs of as a natural outcome of urbanization. Therefore, it makes sense to use case study as the research method. Yin (2009:27) states that "the case study method is most likely to be appropriate for 'how' and 'why' questions". The purpose of this research is to reveal 'why' they exercised residential mobility and chose suburbs to continue their lives and 'how' they took the decisions of moving to suburbs. "For a research community, case study optimizes understanding by pursuing scholarly questions. It gains credibility by thoroughly triangulating the descriptions and interpretations, not just in a single step but continuously throughout the period of study". (Stake, 2008: 120). Because of this, to be able to understand the participants' ways of reasoning, interpreting their experiences and choices and meaning making of their actions, I made use of questions during the interviews with the participants and changed the questions through the interviews when it was needed to turn the questions more revealing and to the point.

Case studies should be intrinsically bounded systems as well as being unique and specific. (Merriam, 2009; Stake, 2008). Otherwise, the research cannot go beyond a qualitative research. Making in-depth investigation and understanding details are only possible by keeping the research the unit of analysis specific enough. Case study is a "qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information…and reports a case description and case-based themes". (Creswell et al, 2007: 245).

Participants

In researches, mostly a common sampling method is adopted, "this sampling logic requires an operational enumeration of the entire universe or pool of potential respondents and then a statistical procedure for selecting a specific subset of respondents to be surveyed" (Yin, 2009: 56). However, for case studies this sampling logic would not be appropriate for

two main reasons. “First, case studies are not the best method for assessing the prevalence of phenomena. Second, a case study would have to cover both the phenomenon of interest and its context, yielding a large number of potentially relevant variables”. (Yin, 2009: 56). Because of these reasons, in qualitative case studies the researcher selects individuals purposefully. “Purposeful sampling in qualitative research means that researchers intentionally select (or recruit) participants who have experienced the central phenomenon, or the key concept being explored in this study”. (Creswell & Clark, 2011: 173). Under the light of this information, I employed purposive sampling in my research, as it is important to interview with the individuals who have directly experienced the phenomenon. The participants should meet the criteria which was set to support the research. The participants are middle class parents who have exercised residential mobility after their children came to the school age for educational purposes. I interviewed with 25 parents who live in suburban neighbourhood of the city. I tried to learn details regarding their experience, attitude, and perceptions. In educational domain I tried to understand how they perceive education, how they relate education with neighbourhood and why they move to suburban areas from inner cities. These highly specific aspects of the research can only be highlighted thanks to certain participants who meet the narrow but high criteria and only could be found through purposive sampling. “Typically, when cases are studied, a small number is used, such as 4 to 10”. (Creswell & Clark, 2011: 174). Nevertheless, in my study this number is 25, this is because I would like to “employ maximum variations as a sampling strategy to represent diverse cases and to fully describe multiple perspectives about the cases”. (Creswell, 2007: 129). The participants were reached through snowball sampling as the participants should be carrying defined, specific features.

The research recruited a sample of 25 well-educated, high status professionals. There were 11 male and 14 female participants. The mean age of the participants is 41, youngest participant was 32 years old and the eldest one was 60. 3 participants identified themselves upper, 2 of them told that they were upper middle, only one participant identified herself lower-middle class and the rest of the participants, 19 of them found themselves middle-class. The purposive sampling of the research made up economically advantaged people. Only 4 participants’ children are enrolled in a state school one of whom is going to change school to a private one next year; 2 participants chose an international school for their children and 19 other participants used their right to choose a school on a private one which is popular among white collar professional parents and provide identity to the students.

These schools are all well-known private collages and follow their own curriculum in addition to the national one. In a similar vein, the housing situation of the participants corresponds with their school choice. “Whereas the rental sector dominates the city proper, suburban housing tends to be owner-occupied”. (Amersfoort & Cortie, 2009: 181). 22 of the participants are homeowners while only 3 of them are tenants. The table demonstrating demographic information of the participants is as follows:

Table 2

Demographic Information of the Participants

Participants	*Gender*	*Age*	*Job*	*Spouse's Job*
P1	Female	43	Instructor	Engineer
P2	Male	36	Engineer	Teacher
P3	Male	60	Professor	Teacher
P4	Female	37	Judge	Judge
P5	Male	40	Businessman	Instructor
P6	Male	36	Doctor	Doctor
P7	Female	32	Supervisor	Private Sector
P8	Male	36	Industrial Designer	Engineer with PhD
P9	Male	40	Attorney	Attorney
P10	Male	51	Attorney	Attorney
P11	Female	36	Interior Designer	Engineer
P12	Female	38	Pharmacist	Civil Engineer
P13	Female	36	Gym instructor	Businessman
P14	Female	48	Senior Civil Servant	Physiotherapist
P15	Female	48	Senior Civil Servant	Soldier
P16	Female	39	Finance Expert	Financial Advisor
P17	Male	45	Petrol Engineer	Instructor
P18	Female	38	Chemical Engineer with PhD	Mechanical Engineer
P19	Female	48	Instructor	Private Sector
P20	Female	44	Journalist	Businessman
P21	Male	37	Biologist with PhD	Engineer
P22	Male	33	Teacher	Textbook writer
P23	Male	44	Chef	Teacher
P24	Female	46	Yoga Instructor	Engineer
P25	Female	48	Teacher	Businessman

Setting the Scene

The study 'Residential Mobility of Middle-Class Parent for Educational Purposes' is limited with Ankara, the capital city of Turkey. All the participants are residents of suburbs now. Mobility direction is limited with the suburban areas of the city, however; the previous places where the participants used to live varies. The initial residential choices have not been set as a limitation and almost every part of the city is included in the study. It is because social geography of Ankara has a mixed structure, and it is difficult to differentiate the quarters, neighbourhoods, and districts from one another in sociocultural and socioeconomic domains. Although some parts of the city have some clear features and give some clues about the social structure in general term, classifying the neighbourhoods in the centre or outer rings is not easy. The neighbourhoods of the same districts can show differences in social domain.

The study researches mobility practice of the middle-class parents in and investigates the households' practices, desires, and residential and educational expectations. As there is a lot of comparison of the neighbourhoods involved in the mobility, the study takes a dualistic position. The neighbourhoods found place for themselves in the research belong to just 5 districts of the city which are Çankaya, Yenimahalle, Keçiören, Gölbaşı and Etimesgut. These districts are densely populated and relatively close to the centre. They are no further than 20 km to Kızılay. There are 25 districts in the city, 18 of them are 'central districts' and 9 of them are adjoined to the Greater Municipality of Ankara directly which means they are governed centrally in addition to their local administration. Although, districts are crowded and have the status of 'central district', it does not mean that the densities of the districts are all similar. Table 2 shows the population of 9 most crowded districts.

Table 3

Population of 9 Most Crowded Districts in Ankara[2]

Year	*District*	*Population*	*Percentage of Population*
2020	Keçiören	938568	16,57%
2020	Çankaya	925828	16,35%
2020	Yenimahalle	695395	12,28%
2020	Mamak	669465	11,82%
2020	Etimesgut	595305	10,51%
2020	Sincan	549108	9,70%
2020	Altındağ	396165	7,00%
2020	Pursaklar	157082	2,77%
2020	Gölbaşı	140649	2,48%

Although Çankaya and Gölbaşı are both central districts, population of Çankaya is nearly 7 times more than Gölbaşı. The mobilities of the participants take place among these 5 districts, 25 participants' residential mobilities are investigated and it gives 50 locations (neighbourhoods as smaller units) when the participants' previous and current places are included. However, except for 3 mobilities, the rest 22 mobilities included Çankaya either as previous or current place of residence. On the other hand, Yenimahalle and Keçiören took place in the research only with 2 locations each; Etimesgut had 5 locations and Gölbaşı had 7 locations in the study. In this regard, Çankaya deserves to be explained distinctively and in a detailed way as it constitutes both the core and suburbia of the city with its population, square measure and history. The table sowing mobility directions is as follows:

[2] The table was prepared by the researcher according to data from https://www.nufusu.com/il/ankara-nufusu

Participants	From		To
P1	Maltepe	→	Çayyolu
P2	Etimesgut (B)	→	Alacaatlı
P3	Esat	→	Çayyolu
P4	Serhat	→	İncek
P5	Birlik	→	İncek
P6	Etlik	→	Çayyolu
P7	Bahçeli	→	Çayyolu
P8	Öveçler	→	Bilkent
P9	Birlik	→	Çayyolu
P10	Yıldız	→	Çayyolu
P11	Eryaman	→	Bağlıca
P12	Çukurambar	→	İncek
P13	Dikmen	→	İncek
P14	Keçiören	→	Ümitköy
P15	Yıldız	→	Çayyolu
P16	Batıkent	→	Çayyolu
P17	Ayrancı	→	Yaşamkent
P18	Balgat	→	Yaşamkent
P19	Bahçeli	→	İncek
P20	Eryaman	→	Çayyolu
P21	Eryaman	→	Bağlıca
P22	GOP	→	İncek
P23	GOP	→	Çayyolu
P24	Ayrancı	→	Çayyolu
P25	Yıldız	→	İncek

ÇANKAYA YENİMAHALE ETİMESGUT
KEÇİÖREN GÖLBAŞI

Figure 3. Mobility Directions of The Participants

To better understand the mobility pattern in the city it is needed to look at population change in the neighbourhoods rather than districts. Focusing on merely the population change in the districts may be misleading in terms of this research because neighbourhoods' demographic structure differs in great extent according to neighbourhoods. In the base of districts' population there is neither constant and dramatic fall in the previous districts nor constant and dramatic increase in the current districts. Still, population shifts give some clues regarding urban migration. According to the data collected from TUIK (2013) Ankara has been a destination for intercity and internal migration for many years. The migration speed in Ankara for 2011-2012 is ‰32,27 and final migration speed is ‰ 4,5'dir (TÜİK, 2013).

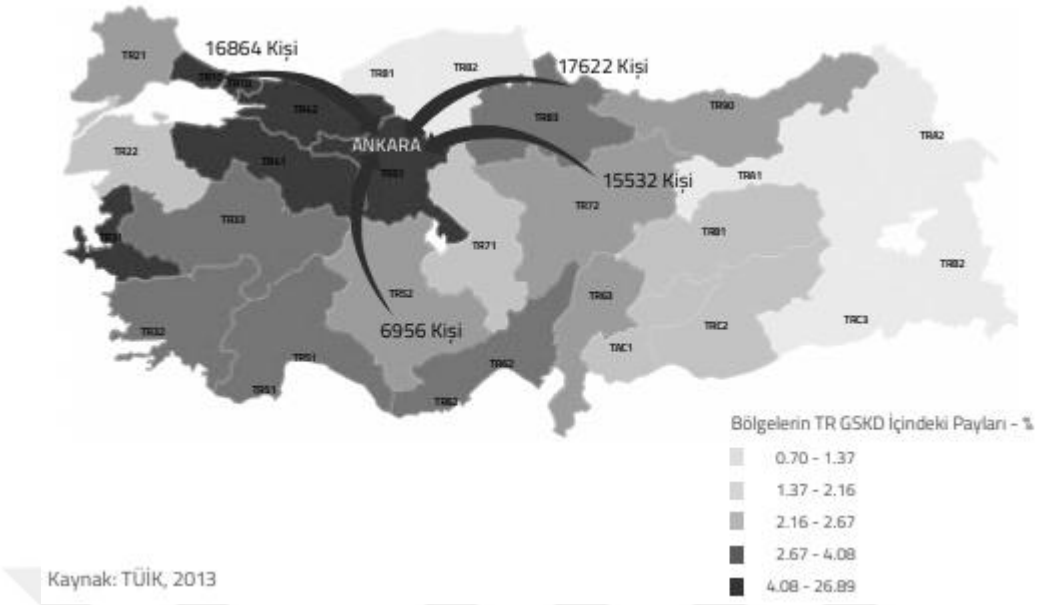

Figure 4. Intercity Migration to Ankara

(Ankara Development Agency, 2013)

As the city is a popular destination for intercity migration, population shifts may not be helpful enough to visualize the mobility practices of middle-class parents in Ankara. It is crucial to get to know the neighbourhoods' social and demographic features as well to understand the participants' residential choices better. Before introducing the districts and neighbourhood which the middle-class parents left or never approached and the ones they flew to, the growth pattern of the city must be visited. Within the scope of Ankara Master Plan 1990, city was planned to enlarge in a structured form to decentralize the city, but instead it took an 'oil-spill' form.

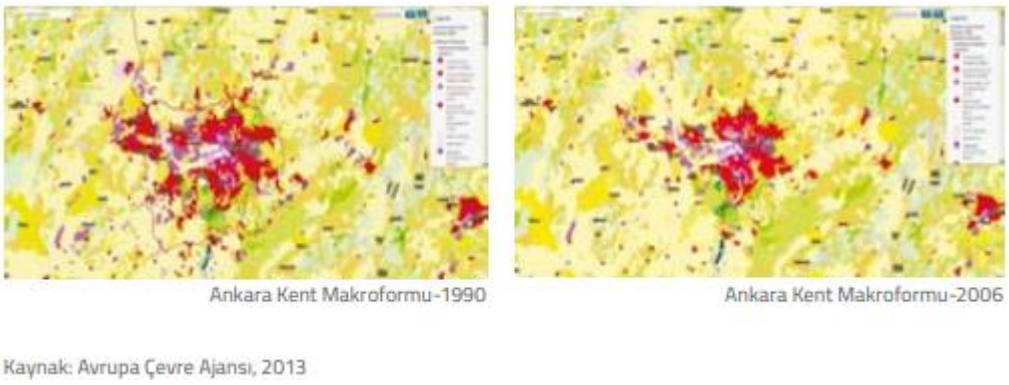

Figure 5. Oil-spill Macroform in Ankara

The oil-spill macroform is also visible in the research area of the study. The current and previous locations of the participants and their mobility patterns are shown in Figure 6.

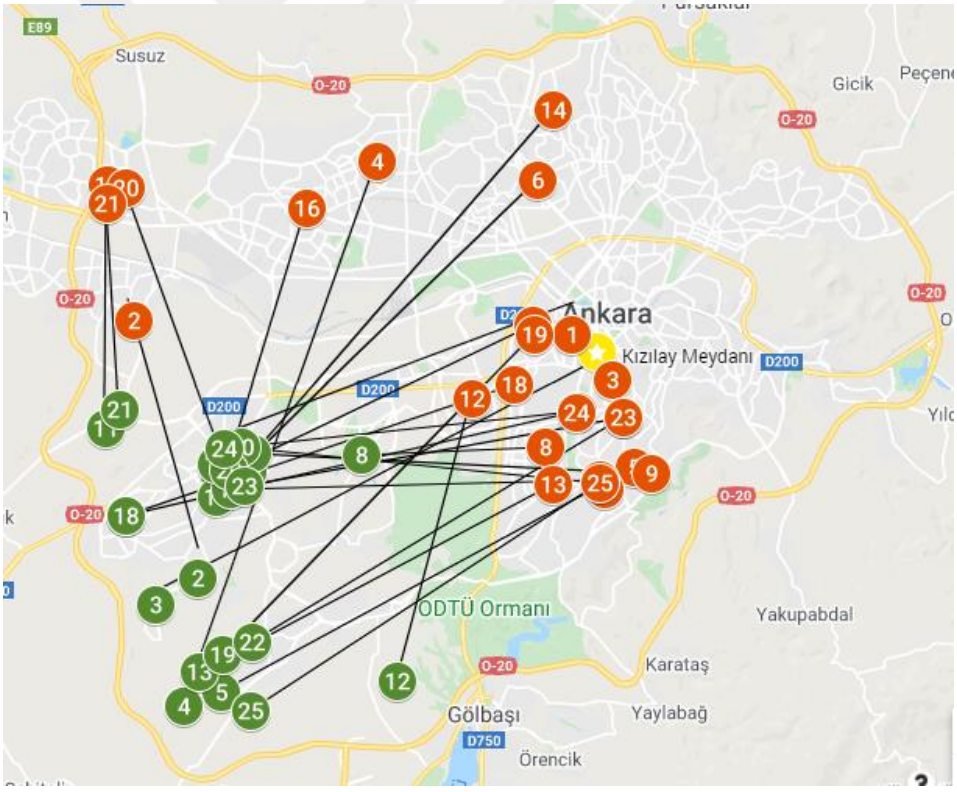

Figure 6. The research area of the study and mobility directions[3]

[3] The map has been prepared by the researcher on Google Maps.

As it is seen in Figure 5, Ankara has an oil-spill form towards the periphery of the city. The city enlarges towards the West and South-West; middle to high income people prefer these areas because other side of the city is dwelled by the low socioeconomic groups. The locations shown in orange colour are the previous residential areas and the ones in green are the current places of the participants.

Previous Places of Residence

The participants' previous residential choices and their criteria while exercising these initial choices vary. While some of them used to live in the core of the city, while some preferred to live inner or outer transit-oriented suburbs. In this chapter, neighbourhoods are described with the district they are adjoined.

Çankaya

The previous neighbourhoods of the participants and which districts the neighbourhoods are administratively adjoined to are demonstrated in Figure 3. As stated earlier, Çankaya deserves special interest both for its importance for the country and its being the major scene in the study. Çankaya is the first district of Ankara which was established after 10 years of the foundation of Turkish republic. (Özçağlar, 2014). During those 10 years Ankara was not separated administratively which means that Çankaya was Ankara itself. Its historic image and being home to the oldtown, state buildings, embassies and municipalities make Çankaya the face of Ankara. There was rapid growth in population of both Ankara and Çankaya after the first years of the Republic, but as it is very old and reached its full capacity in central neighbourhoods very early, there is no remarkable change in the growth of population. See Figure 7.

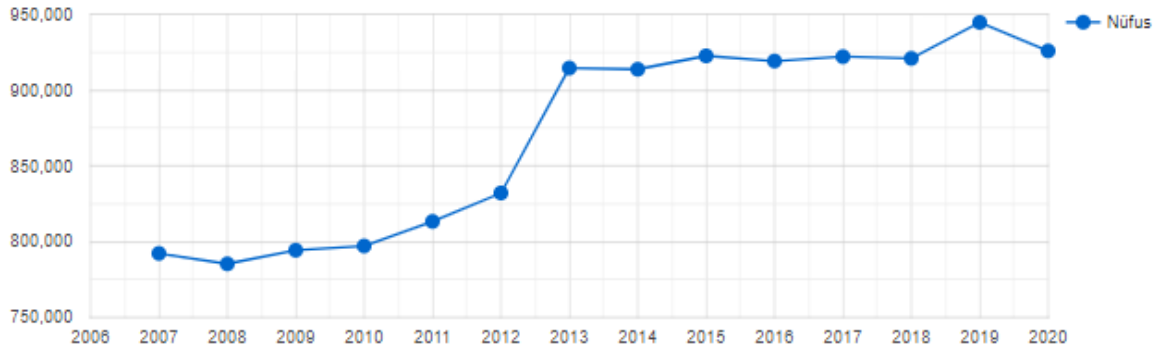

Figure 7. Population Shift in Çankaya[4]

The reason why there is an instant peak in population in 2013 is that "in November 2012, some amendments were made in governing of the districts of Yenimahalle, Etimesgut, Çankaya. Dodurga, some part of Alacaatlı, Çayyolu, Ahmet Taner Kışlalı, Ümit, Koru, Konutkent and Yaşamkent were separated from Yenimahalle and adjoined to the district of Çankaya". (Özçağlar, 2014: 187) In this way, Çankaya got bigger in size and population in a single day. Moreover, although the population in inner neighbourhoods of Çankaya is decreasing day by day, population in periphery increases and the overall population stays almost stable in this way. The neighbourhoods which were administratively adjoined to Çankaya in 2013 are regarded as suburbs of the city because of this in the research it looks like almost all mobilities happened within the boundaries of one single district substantially. Despite these legislative changes in the boundaries of the neighbourhoods and districts, Çankaya still sustains its reputation of being home to elite and upper-class citizens (Erkip, 2010) as the neighbourhoods added later are suburbs which are full of gated communities and preferred by high socio-economic status people.

The neighbourhoods in the district of Çankaya as previous places of residence in the research are: Maltepe, Esat, Birlik (2), Bahçelievler (2), Öveçler, Yıldız (3), Çukurambar, Dikmen, Ayrancı, Balgat and Gaziosmanpaşa. The population change between 2007-2019 in these neighbourhoods are shown in Figure 8.

[4] https://www.nufusu.com/ilce/cankaya_ankara-nufusu

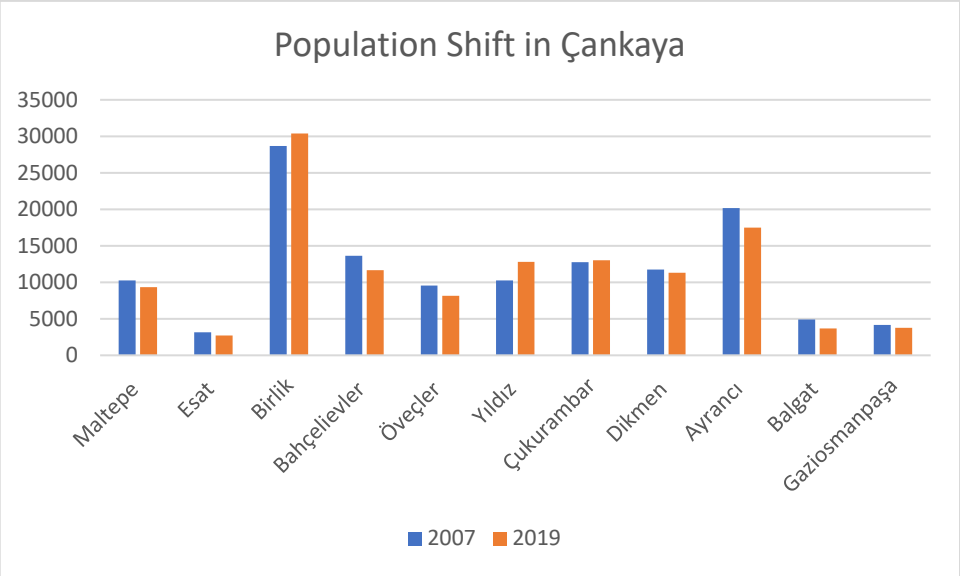

Figure 8. Population Shift in the Participants' Previous Neighbourhoods[5]

The neighbourhoods are no farther than 6 km to Kızılay the centre of the city. Although all the neighbourhoods are very close to Kızılay and each other as well, their socio-economic profile, range of rents and housing conditions differ considerably. Çankaya is the oldest district in Ankara, "with a spatial mix of high- and middle-income neighbourhoods and squatter settlements". (Erkip, 2010:97) Although squatter settlements have been gentrified to some extent, still in some neighbourhoods such as Gaziosmanpaşa, Dikmen, Balgat, Birlik and Yıldız there are squatter houses. It is interesting enough that most of the citizens who live in Ankara, even in these neighbourhoods do not have any ideas that there are squatter settlements in these neighbourhoods. It looks like these areas are professionally ignored and hidden by the city planners and private sector investors. "Despite its heterogeneous character, this district is still popular among high-income citizens, businesspeople, and foreign visitors to the city […] despite being a high-income neighbourhood, it also suffers from the low quality of such services (governmental services)". (Erkip, 2010:98). To exemplify, the heterogeneity of the district, while in Küçükesat, Ayrancı and Bahçelievler the residents make up the elderly or college students,

[5] The chart was prepared by the researcher based on the data retrieved from https://www.nufusune.com/ which collects data from TUIK.

in Balgat, Çukurambar, Yıldızevler and Gaziosmanpaşa people are young or medium-aged and white-collar professionals. The range of rent is half of minimum wage or a little bit higher in Küçükesat, Bahçelievler whereas It is almost the same with or higher than the minimum wage in Çukurambar and Gaziosmanpaşa. In the former neighbourhoods, houses are more than 50 years old, but in the latter houses are quite newer and more quality thanks to their architecture, size and other housing facilities. Especially in Çukurambar after gentrification started, super luxur, spacious and expensive buildings covered the neighbourhood and it let economically powerful people in. Dikmen and Öveçler which became neighbourhoods of Çankaya in 1960 (Municipality of Çankaya, 2020) are other popular and central quarters of Çankaya. These neighbourhoods are as crowded as the others and home to lower to middle income people.

Another important feature of Çankaya is that it has been into gentrification process from time to time over years. As some of the neighbourhoods of Çankaya are nearly as old as the district itself, private sector did a lot of investment in these areas and the squatter houses turned into high rent districts. Transformation of the city centre had some effects on socioeconomic and sociocultural structure, as well. According to Günay (2012) the new dweller of these neighbourhood belonged to middle or high classes although it varies according to the location where transformation took place. This comment matters in this research as it shows that the people in the neighbourhoods that the participants left for the sake of suburbs do not have way lower social status than they do. At least the people who lived near them and they contacted have similar social and educational backgrounds with them.

Yenimahalle

In the study, only two participants used to live in the district of neighbourhood. One of whom lived in Batıkent and the other one lived in Serhat. Yenimahalle was approved as a district by the Council of Ministers on 27 June 1957, decision number 7033. The region was planned to make low-income civil servants and workers homeowners and it has improved fast since then. (Municipality of Yenimahalle). Its border are the districts of Keçiören, Kazan, Sincan and Etimesgut which are home to mostly disadvantaged, low-income groups people. The core of the district was Yenimahalle neighbourhood first, but

urban sprawl made it spread through the West and Batıkent quarters appeared to be popular after 1990's. As the district grows fast census data draws an upward direction.

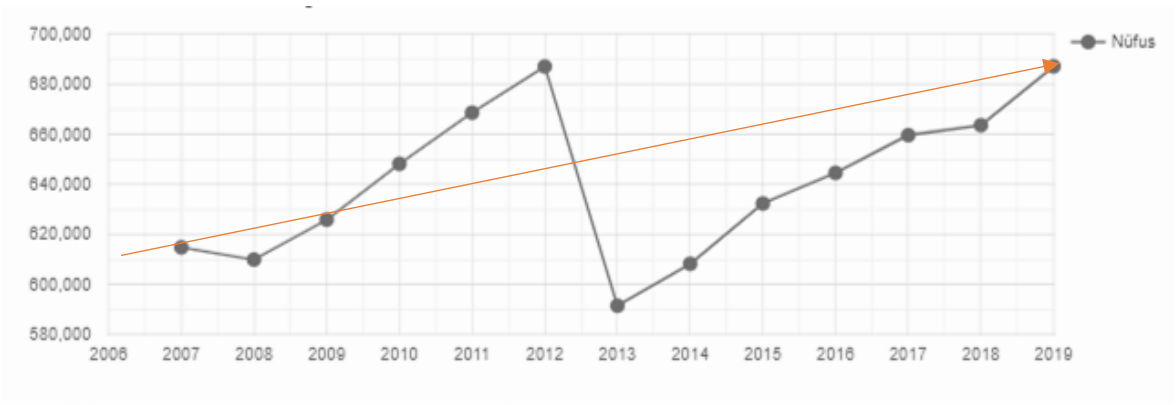

Figure 9. Population Shift in Yenimahalle[6]

As stated earlier and showed in Figure 7, the sharp decrease in 2013 is sourced from legal amendments regarding municipalities of the districts. Çayyolu and other near neighbourhoods were separated from Yenimahalle and attached Çankaya with all the its boundries. Despite this administrative change in government of the neighbourhoods, Yenimahalle keeps growing. Another reason of the growth is gentrification which has seen in other parts of Ankara for decades. Within the Master Plan dated 1990, west side of the city Yenimahalle, Batıkent and Eryaman were put in a gentrification process. (Doğan & Bostan , 2019). In Batıkent new, modern, and contemporary dwellings have been built. Majority of the dwellers work as civil servant, worker, or craftsmen. (Municipality of Yenimahalle; Doğan & Bostan, 2019). These people who live in the core of the district are counted as medium income, on the other hand, dwellers who live in the outer rings of the district are lower income group. (Municipality of Yenimahalle). The development of Batıkent was the result of the desire to open more space for medium and lower income households and creating further industrial areas. It was the "suburbanization of the working classes in Turkey" (Alemdaroğlu, 2017: 612). It was more like an urban sprawl and the city developed through the West corridor of the city and it succeeded. (Günay, 2012). Quarters of Batıkent and its neighbourhoods are almost 20-25 km to the core of the city like the suburban areas Çayyolu and İncek has done. Batıkent can be named as the early suburbs of

[6] https://www.nufusu.com/ilce/yenimahalle_ankara-nufusu

the city, but it is transit-oriented and has been planned for low to medium income groups. The growth of the city accelerated after subway system was put it action in 1997. However, in İncek the population increases fast despite poor transportation system because these areas are automobile-oriented and designed for medium to high income people.

The population in the old neighbourhoods of Batıkent drops, people leave these areas in contrast to many other developing and gentrified neighbourhoods of Yenimahalle. Figure 10 shows that in İnönü which is one of the first dwellings in the quarter of Batıkent, the population drops constantly. However, in Turgut Özal, another neighbourhood of Batıkent, where new sites of buildings like gated communities in suburbs started to be built in last 10 years that is why the population increases every year. In this sense, some parts of Batıkent shows similarity to other outer suburbs. Nonetheless, in terms of range of rent and socioeconomic level of the households, they are not in the same level with İncek or Çayyolu.

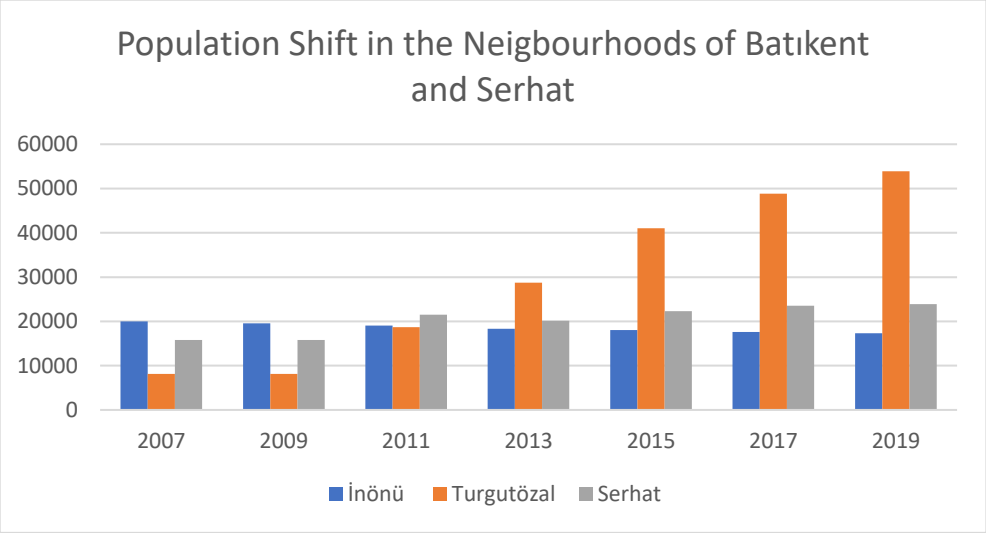

Figure 10. Population Shift in the Neigbourhoods of Batıkent and Serhat[7]

The reason of increase in population is gentrification. This neighbourhood was far from the core of the district, but after subway system reached this area, it started to develop and attracted both investors and households. One of the participants used to live in this neighbourhood which offers modern and contemporary flats behind gates. before she fled to Çayyolu. Another gentrified and appealing neighbourhood to people who are looking for spacious and new houses is Serhat. Serhat is one of the last neighbourhoods which was

[7] The chart was prepared by the researcher based on the data retrieved from https://www.nufusune.com/ which demonstrates data based on TUIK.

projected to be gentrified. As it is very close to industrial areas, the dwellers are either manual workers or craftsmen who are rich but uneducated. The population growth continues in Serhat in contrast to the previously described neighbourhoods in the research. It is because it is very close to the industrial zone and attracts various people from different income levels. Still, the socioeconomic profile is not very high in the neighbourhood.

Etimesgut

Etimesgut was approved as a district in 1990 (etimesgut.bel.tr, but it developed from a village to a district in years. After the foundation of the sugar beet factory, it developed faster and after 1990 it completely turned into a central district. (Demirkol & U. Özdemir, 2014) After its village status shifted to district, government institutions started to build dwelling-houses for their employees. Many ministries, semi-private factories and institutions built sites for their staff and it shaped today's demographic structure of the district. The district continues to grow as demonstrated in Figure 11.

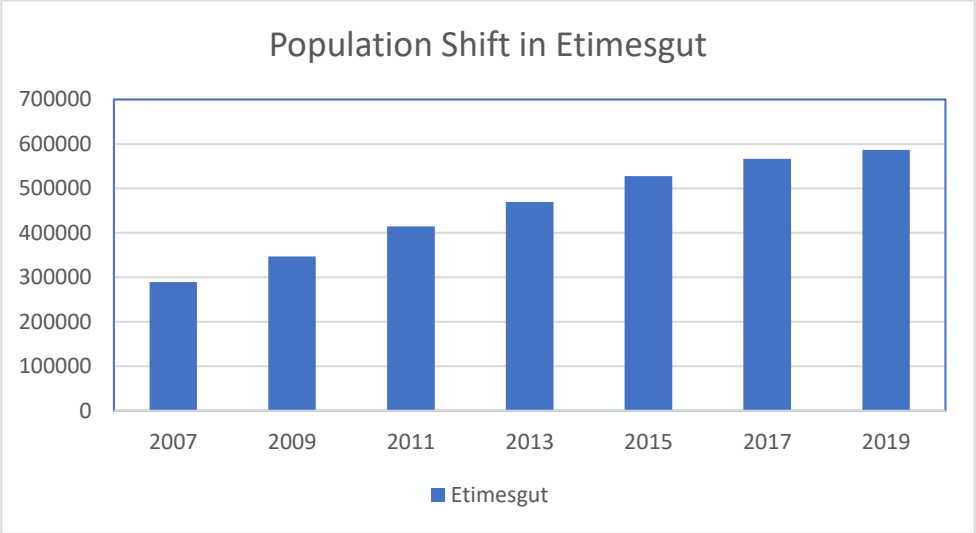

Figure 11. Population Shift in Etimesgut[8]

Being central city is coincident with the development of Eryaman in Etimesgut which is highly similar to Batıkent in terms of social, architectural, and economic conditions. After

[8] The chart was prepared by the researcher based on the data retrieved from https://www.nufusune.com/ which demonstrates data based on TUIK.

governmental dwelling houses, private sector also invested in the neighbourhood because Eryaman was part of Ankara Master Plan 1990 and it was aimed that medium and low-income households would be homeowners. Today, demographic structure of Eryaman consists of civil servants, workers and craftsmen which means that the residents of the district are not socioeconomically powerful. Population growth has almost stopped in Eryaman in contrast to the neighbourhood Ahi Mesut which serves for the lower income groups of people. One of the participants used to live in Eryaman which is relatively more stable and homogeneous in contrast to other neighbourhoods and quarters of the district. The similarity between Batıkent and Eryaman makes both in the category of 'suburbanization of working class'. They are both transit-oriented, relatively old, densely populated areas and do not meet very basic criteria of 'suburbs stated earlier. They are just relatively homogeneous, decentralized neighbourhoods.

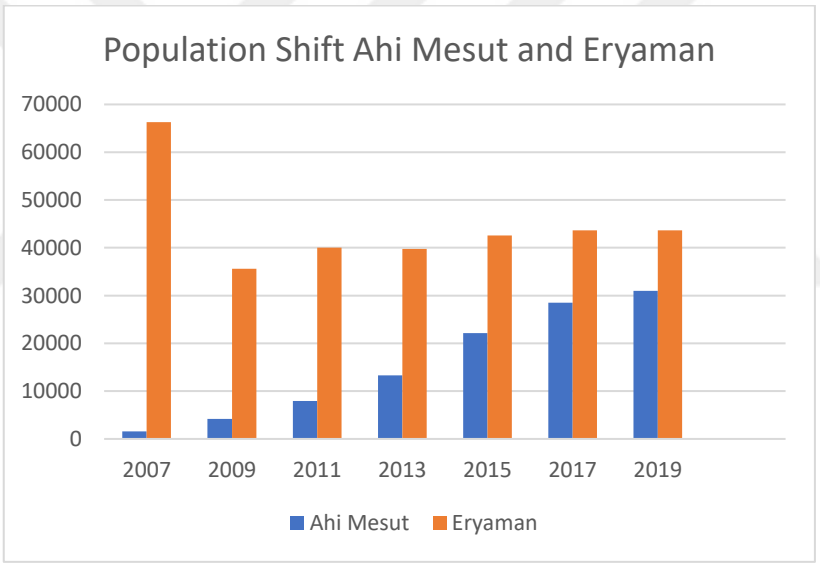

Figure 12. Population Shift in Ahi Mesut and Eryaman[9]

Keçiören

Keçiören is the second crowded district after Çankaya; it joined in the Municipality of Greater Ankara in 1984 by being separated from the district of Altındağ. (Erişen, 2003). Keçiören consists of low-income people (Yıldız, 2017). People who exercise urban or intercity migration generally prefer the low-income districts such as Keçiören, Sincan and

[9] The chart was prepared by the researcher based on the data retrieved from https://www.nufusune.com/ which demonstrates data based on TUIK.

Mamak. (2023 Ankara Plan Report, 2015). These are the districts that the participants gave examples while comparing the social environments and schools. Because of the overpopulation, governmental services cannot be provided properly in these areas. Especially in educational domain Keçiören keeps a low profile with Etimesgut and Sincan when compared to Çankaya. The table below shows the number of students per class in the districts. It is obvious that the district of Çankaya has a great advantage of the other districts as it outnumbers in schools and number of students per class. Although, a country's one of the most basic services is national education, it cannot be delivered equally no matter how close the areas to each other.

Table 4

Number of the Students Per Class in the Districts

Stage	2019-2020 School National Education Statistics	Districts			
		Çankaya	Keçiören	Etimesgut	Sincan
Elementary School	Number of schools	149	119	67	92
	Number of students per class	22	39	35	38
Primary School	Number of schools	67	41	28	34
	Number of students per class	20	28	26	27

(Ministry of National Education, 2021)

As Keçiören has been attractive to low-income groups and has always been open to migration, squatter settlements spread all the districts. Because of this local and national governments take precautions and start new urban plans in order to transform these areas and open more space for the household. According to the statistics of TUIK (2013), Keçiören had the most gentrified areas in Ankara, and it had the highest number of new dwellings in 2013.

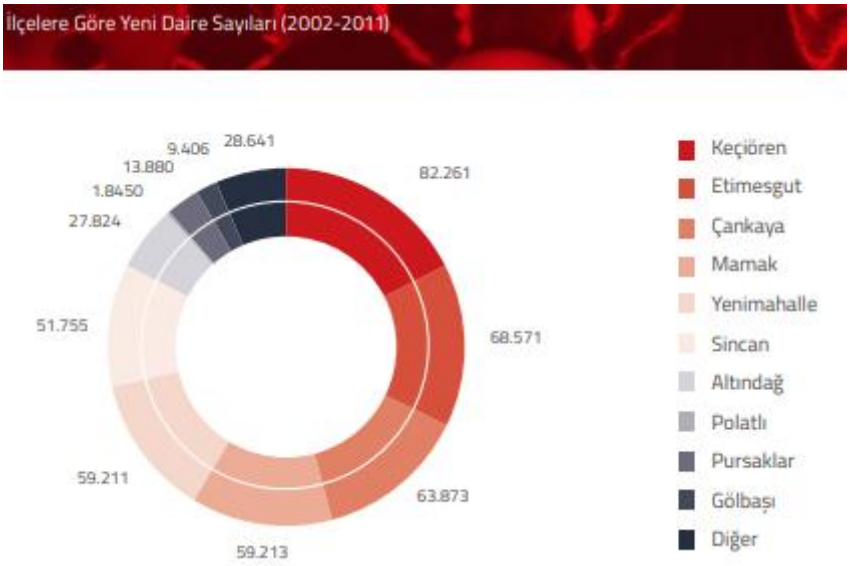

Figure 13. The Number of New Houses According to The Districts

(Ankara Development Agency, 2013)

In parallel with the urban and intercity migration, the population in Keçiören increases day by day. However, the neighbourhood Etlik where one of the participants used to live shows an opposite profile; the population in Etlik drops whereas in other quarters and in Keçiören overall the numbers go high. Etlik stands as the most preferred by medium income people because of its location and consisting of one state university and one shopping mall within the boundaries. Demographic profile is much higher than other deprived neighbourhoods of the neighbourhoods. Despite its distinctive characteristic, population decreases and constitutes contrast with the overall growth pattern in the district. It shows a similar patter to case of Eryaman. In these districts, medium income neighbourhoods tend to be left, on the other hand poorer and disadvantaged places are high in demand. (See Figure 13)

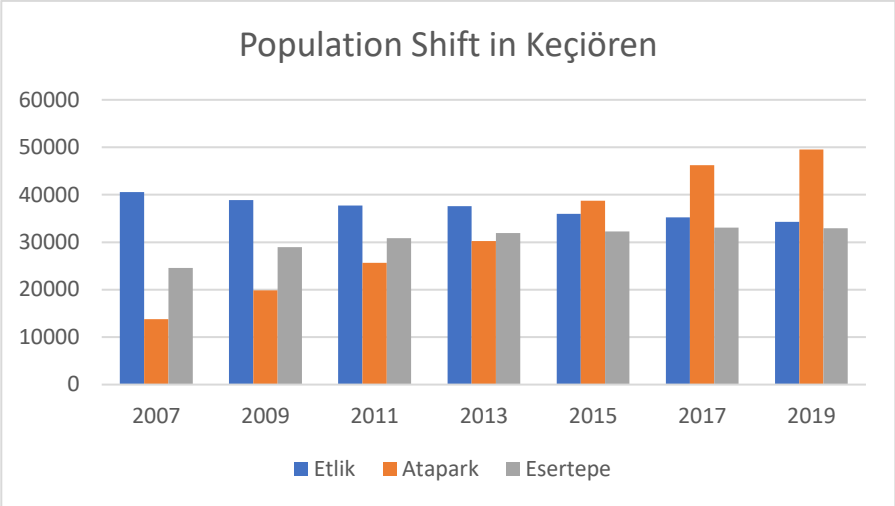

Figure 14. Population Shift in Keçiören[10]

Current Places of Residence: Suburbs

Current places of the participants are all suburban areas of the city. The neighbourhoods constituting the research are parts of three districts: Çankaya, Gölbaşı, Etimesgut. The neighbourhoods Çayyolu, Alacaatlı, Bilkent, Ümitköy and Yaşamkent are in the district of Çankaya; İncek is in the district of Gölbaşı and Bağlıca is in the district of Etimesgut. (See Figure 3). The significance of Çankaya and its heterogeneous structure was depicted in pervious chapter. As stated earlier, the district is home to the core of the city and suburban areas, as well. Nevertheless, the decentralized neighbourhoods of Çankaya is not as unpredictable and confusing as the inner parts of the district. They are homogenous, affluent, and low-density areas.

Çankaya: Çayyolu, Ümitköy, Bilkent, Yaşamkent and Alacaatlı

The neighbourhoods in the district of Çankaya as current places of residence in the research are Çayyolu (11), Ümitköy, Bilkent, Yaşamkent (2) and Alacaatlı. Çayyolu, Ümitköy and Bilkent are early suburban areas inhabited by the middle to higher-class households; the dweller came here before 1990's. They are in the medium (second) ring of the suburbs and closer to the shopping centres, universities, and central popular streets in

[10] The chart was prepared by the researcher based on the data retrieved from https://www.nufusune.com/ which demonstrates data based on TUIK.

Ankara. “As a result of decentralization policies and planning works since the end of 1980s, this area has gained high population increase due to urban sprawl and increasing commercial and club facilities for the new elites”. (Güzey, 2014: 96)



Figure 15. Inner Ring Suburban Areas of Ankara[11]

On the other hand, Yaşamkent and Alacaatlı are relatively new developments and separated from the others as being in outer ring of the city. The population change in these four neighbourhoods also confirms their position in the rings of the city. The population in inner and older suburbs increases very slow or stays stable over years while in Yaşamkent and Alacaatlı which are covered by detached houses and gated communities shows a faster growth in population. It is better to keep in mind that, population changes in Ankara are affected by development plans, private sector, politics, and amendments in urban planning so frequently that, the districts qualitative data may not very useful in terms of analysing sociodemographic structure.

[11] The map has been prepared by the researcher on Google Maps.

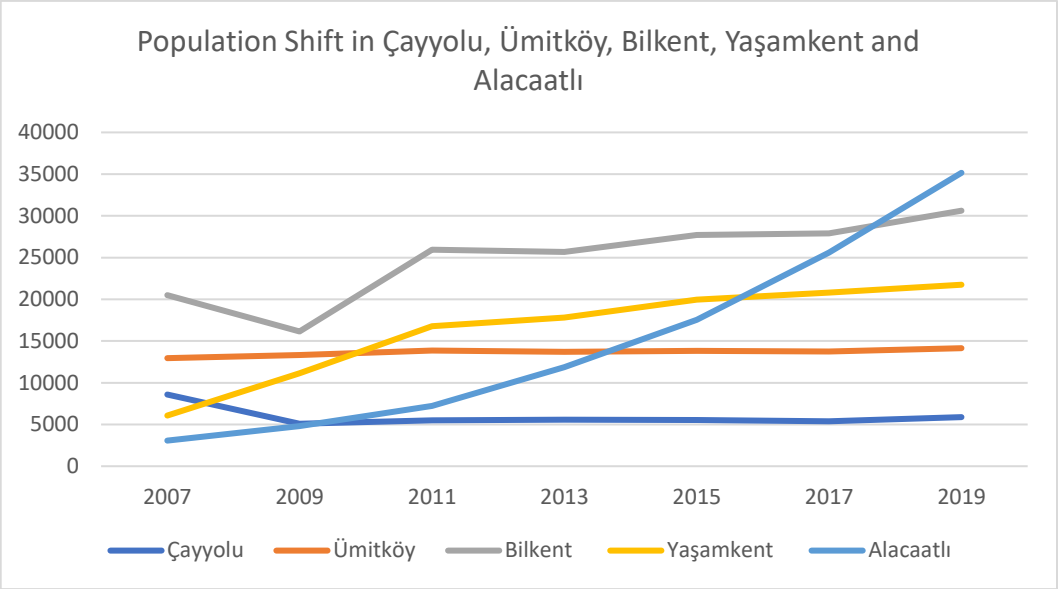

Figure 16. Population Shift in the Suburban Çankaya[12]

"The first stage of Cayyolu settlement has been established in accordance with the so-called 1990 Ankara Master Plan. This plan foresaw decentralization along western axis, which in time… lost its linear form and spread out in an oil-spill pattern". (Balta & Eke, 2011: 1827). Although the development and growth accelerated in 1990's, the neighbourhood was already zoned for housing and planned for the high statues dwelling units such as Angora Evleri and Koru Sitesi. (Gültekin, 2015) These dwellings have been signs of the neighbourhood and connotates with wealth, status and prestige. As the neighbourhood is not new, the population is not very low when compared to other suburban neighbourhoods.

The housing stock in Ümitköy and Çayyolu is relatively newer when compared to the inner regions of the district. "Çayyolu is a suburban residential area of Ankara that was affected by the rapid growth in high-rise apartment buildings". (Alkan, 2015: 25). "Çayyolu gated communities are…composed of life-style communities […] homogeneous on the ground of income, occupation, family structure, and demographic characteristics. All of them are either fenced or walled and arranged either in villa or block types…". (Erişen, 2003: 131) The region was not pedestrian friendly until subway was built in 2014. In this way, Çayyolu and nearer neighbourhoods were car-oriented until public transportation became

[12] The chart was prepared by the researcher based on the data retrieved from https://www.nufusune.com/ which demonstrates data based on TUIK.

available. Although after subway system started to work, non-car owners could live here comfortably, the neighbourhood had already reached a value and it was not very easy to reach for the those who cannot afford a car. Nevertheless, According to Gültekin (2015) following the opening of the metro station, new cafes and restaurants were opened. These attracted the people who do not live there but can reach by metro thanks to its being transit oriented. When more legal restrictions regarding alcohol and noise legislated in 2014, Park Street which used to be prestigious lost popularity and the local residents flew to another street which is closer to İncek.

That is to say, although Çayyolu and Ümitköy are not very low-density or far from the city centre, they keep 'suburban status' by being affluent, expensive, relatively secluded, safe and receiving governmental services in the best way, facilities, shopping centres and well-performing private schools. The socio-economic status of Çayyolu and Ümitköy are much higher than many others neighbourhood in the inner and outer city. Moreover, the qualitative study conducted by Gültekin (2015:175) shows the reasons why the residents prefer to live in Çayyolu and it correlates with the literature on suburbanization.

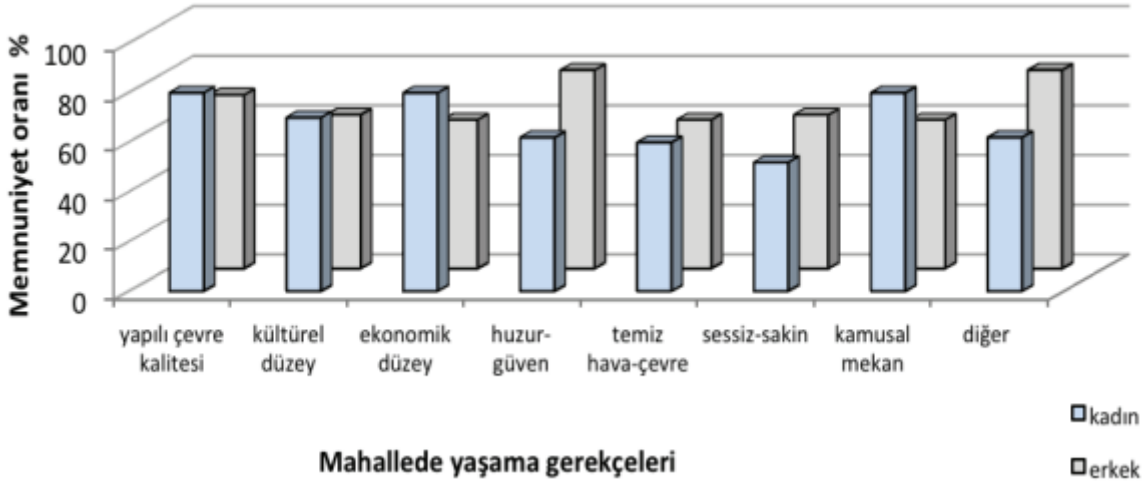

Figure 17. Residents' Reasons to Live in the Neighbourhood of Çayyolu[13]

[13] Reasons in order: quality of environment, cultural level, economic level, peace and thrust, clean air, silence, public place, other.

Quarter of Bilkent which is addressed as ‘Üniversiteler Mahallesi’ in neighbouring means is the closest neighbourhood to the centre of the study. It is only 10 km to Kızılay and became transit-oriented after the opening of the subway station which is the same line with Çayyolu. Although it is the nearest neighbourhood, it may be most segregated one because of the private university in the area. It was the early suburbs of Ankara and paved the way for middle-class ‘flight’ during the busy gentrification periods. “The re-demarcation of boundaries became possible as the upwardly mobile middle classes escaped to suburbs and gated communities such as Bilkent on the urban front”. (Alemdaroğlu, 2017: 612). Because of these reasons, despite its history, closeness to the centre and density, Bilkent is classified as ‘inner suburb’ of Ankara in this study.

As a result, the district of Çankaya offers suburban neighbourhoods to the city as much as central neighbourhoods. The neighbourhoods’ distance from the core, being car-dependent, homogeneity and similar housing pattern make them called suburbs. (Wiese & Nicolaides, 2006; Flint 2006)

Etimesgut: Bağlıca

The neighbourhood draws attention with its detached, villa type of buildings and its speed of being constructed. (Demirkol & U. Özdemir, 2014). The speed in construction has echoes on population as well. The population of the neighbourhood increases fast. The neighbourhood is in the boundaries of Etimesgut which is not affluent but decentralized district of Ankara. However, its closeness to the affluent neighbourhoods such as Ümitköy, Konutkent, Çayyolu makes it attractive to middle-class households. 2 participants are dwellers of Bağlıca, but their previous residential choices were Eryaman which was established much earlier than Bağlıca and has a low-profile when compared to current residents of the participants. Although both previous and current places are in the same districts, participants had a lot of things to say while comparing these close but apart neighbourhood. In addition, as the neighbourhood is relatively more affordable than old suburban areas and distinctively outer suburbs such as İncek specifically preferred by the citizens who wants to be homeowners and it corresponds with the suburban characteristic of homeownership dominance. As the neighbourhood shows resemblance to other outer suburbs in the study, it has been included as a reach area.

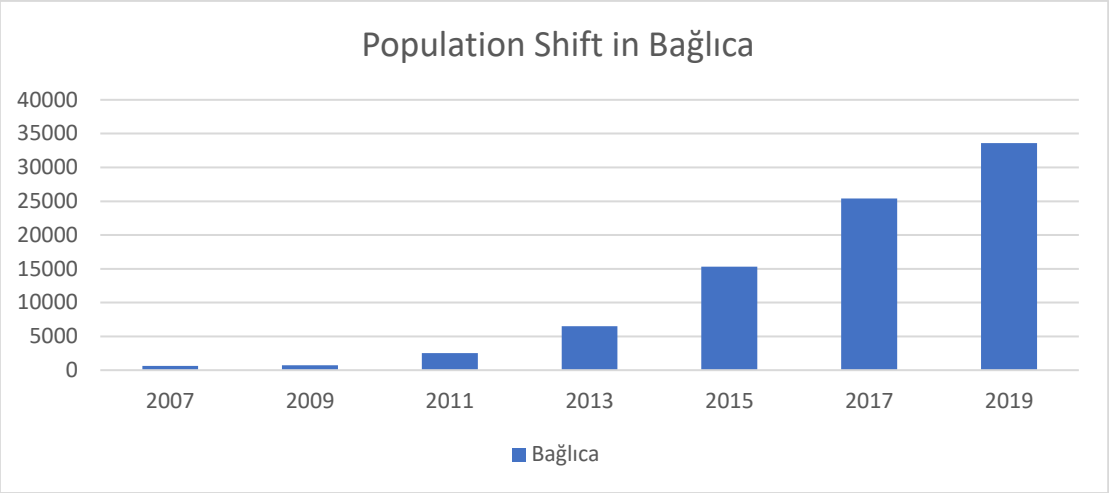

Figure 18. The population Shift in Bağlıca[14]

Gölbaşı: İncek

Gölbaşı used to be in the district of Çankaya until 1983 when it separated and became a dependent municipality. As the district is old enough, dwelling had already begun before it was named as a municipality. The centre of Gölbaşı has a low-socio economic demographic structure, however, recent settlements one of which is İncek draws an absolute opposite picture and known by gated communities, luxurious detached houses and expensive private schools. "It offers its inhabitants cleaner, safer environment in a luxurious individual lot, ranging from 0.2 to 1.0 hectares of land, and in a widely settled pattern". (Erişen, 2003: 115). 7 of the participants live in İncek and they all moved from the core of the city. (See figure 3). In the study, İncek is the only neighbourhood that does not offer metro transportation, which makes it car-dependent and automatically attracts households who have a car for each parent. This situation goes hand in hand with the socioeconomic profile of the neighbourhood. Popularity of İncek started to increase after popular private schools started to open here. Ankara Üniversitesi Geliştime Vakfı Özel Okulları (ANKÜ) opened in Ahlatlıbel near İncek in 1996 and following ANKÜ, TED Ankara Koleji which is one of the oldest and most prestigious private school of Turkey moved to İncek in 2003. After two prestigious and popular private schools inhabited in the area a kind of 'flight' of private schools started and the neighbourhood started to be known as the land of private schools.

[14] The chart was prepared by the researcher based on the data retrieved from https://www.nufusune.com/ which demonstrates data based on TUIK.

Today, İncek, Gölbaşı does not have the highest number of the private schools, but for sure it is home to most expensive, popular, and prestigious ones. It is because of the regulations making easier to start private schools and the fact that in every part of the city there are small scale, low performing private schools. In this way, numbers and statistics may be misleading to understand the distribution of the private schools in Ankara.

The population change in İncek, Gölbaşı supports its being outer suburb and confirms the flight from the inner city. As the neighbourhood is new, dwelling unit projects are still in progress and the number of the houses is increasing constantly. Its effect on population is visible on demographic chart. The chart shows population shift in İncek and 2 other popular neighbourhoods that are close to İncek. İncek refers to a large area because the residents have tendency to call their neighbourhoods 'İncek' even if they reside in another one. It is because of the neighbourhood's popularity and being one of the first neighbourhoods in the area. In other words, other neighbourhoods are also known as İncek colloquially.

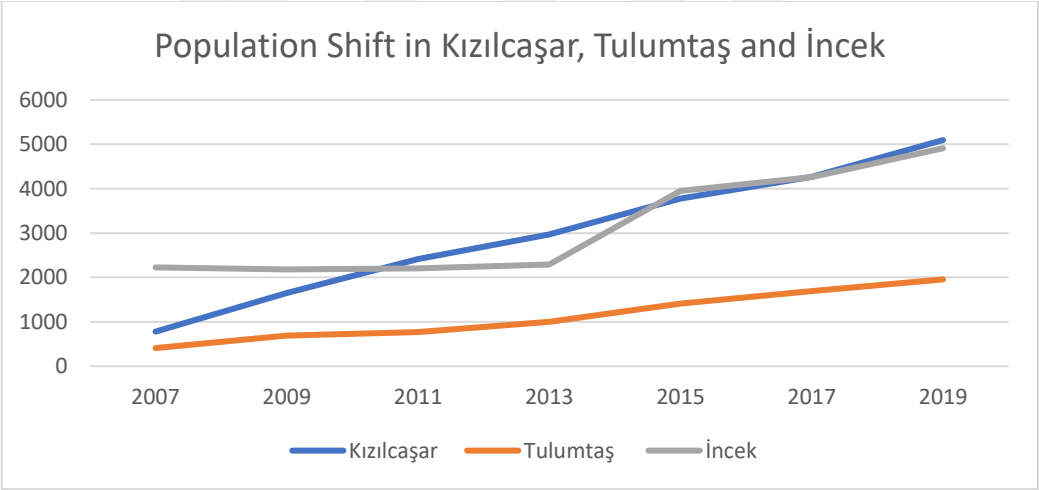

Figure 19. Population Shift in Kızılcaşar, Tulumtaş and İncek[15]

Data Collection Methods

Yin divides data collection methods in 6 main categories as: "documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant-observation and physical

[15] The chart was prepared by the researcher based on the data retrieved from https://www.nufusune.com/ which demonstrates data based on TUIK.

artifacts". (2012, p 432). In my study, I conducted interviews by using semi-structured forms. When interviews are semi structured,

> The interview guide will probably contain several specific questions that you want to ask everyone, some more open-ended questions that could be followed up with probes, and perhaps a list of some areas topics and issues that you want to know more about but do not have enough information about at the outset of your study to perform specific questions. (Merriam, 2009: 103)

For case studies, it is crucial to gain rich and thick description from the participants; however, rich description does not always guarantee its usefulness. Because of that, interview questions were guiding but not limiting. To ask additional questions when needed, semi-structured forms are very appropriate. "During the interviews, the content of the subject theory is reconstructed. The interview guide mentions several topical areas. Each of these is introduced by an open question and ended by a confrontational question". (Flick, 2006: 156). First, topic introducing, open ended and general questions were asked 'What parts of Ankara do you like most? Where do you socialize at the weekend? Next, theory-driven, and hypotheses-directed (Flick, 2006) questions followed. To exemplify, "How do you relate neighbourhood with education? What are the regional factors to affect education? What kind of differences have you observed about your kids and their learning environment after changing neighbourhood?". As Stake (2010) states: "If there is expectation that one or several interviewees will produce quotable materials, then the interview should be tailored to what is special about that person". (2010:95) Because of this, the questions for each interview got a unique shape as they were individuals who had different stages of life, experiences, and stories.

To sum up, As the nature of case study requires 'in-depth' inquiry of the case, detailed questions in semi-structured forms were my main data collection tool. In this way, thanks to in-depth interviews, I understood their personal experiences better (Klassen, Creswell, Clark, Smith, & Meissner, 2012) and see why and how they made the decisions of moving to suburbs for educational purposes.

The interviews were conducted on online platform via video chat not to intimidate the participants because of pandemic and to make them more answer more comfortably in their comfort zone. The interviews are all recorded by getting permission from the participants.

Data Analysis

The research data was analysed through thematic approach. Braun and Clarke (2006) think that thematic analysis as provides core skills for conducting many other forms of qualitative analysis, so it should be seen as foundational. Although there is lack of substantial literature on thematic analysis (Nowell, Norris, White & Moules, 2017), it enables researchers to conduct their research systematically and rigorously. This is because the stages of qualitative data analysis are clearly defined by leading scholars. (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Stake, 1995; Boyatzis, 1998; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Stake,1995).

First, every video-recorded interview was fully transcribed immediately after the interview was completed to get more familiar with the collected data. The transcription was done following the suggestion as Dresing and Pehl (2015) suggests. The words of the respondents were not summarized but transferred directly, clear, and long pauses were shown in the text, vocal utterances and non-verbal actions were also noted. According to Stake, "keeping the record of an interview is part of the artistry within a few hours of the interview the researcher should prepare a written facsimile with key ideas and episodes captured". (Stake, 1995: 66). In this way, retrieving in the interviews was possible during the analysis process. In addition to transcriptions, as they were video chats, every time the interview was revisited, facial expressions, mimics and gestures of the interviewees could be analysed.

Immediately after transcription, the texts were coded withing the scope of First Cycle coding (Saldaña, 2013). The first stage of coding was initial coding which is known as open coding in grounded theory. The raw data was coded line-by-line by using colours to prepare the data for further exploration and detailed coding and categorizing. Following First Cycle coding, the data was examined and re-coded within the scope of Second Cycle Coding via the qualitative data analysis program MAXQDA. 'Coding is assigning some sort of shorthand designation to various aspects of your data so that you can easily retrieve specific pieces of the data'. (Merriam, 2009: 173). Coding and data collection were conducted simultaneously as Stake (1995) and Merriam (1998) advises. (Cited in Yazan, 2015). For codes Saldana (2015) criticizes the use of 'codes' and 'categories' interchangeably and states that "I advocate that qualitative codes are essence-capturing and essential elements of the research story that, when clustered together according to similarity and regularity (a pattern), they actively facilitate the development of categories and thus analysis of their connections".

(p.9). According to Braun and Clarke (2006) before all data have been initially coded and collated next phase which is categorizing does not start. The codes may be based on facts or themes. In this research both was included. “A good thematic code is one that captures the qualitative richness of the phenomenon. it is usable in the analysis, interpretation and presentation of the research”. (Boyatzis, 1998: 31).

Following coding, establishing the category system was the next phase of the research. The researcher has ‘a long list of the different codes’ in this stage. The codes were organized in a network-like structure to form categories which was reached inductively, namely “data-driven”. (Braun and Clarke; 2006). The generated codes were not sent to the categories that defined beforehand, instead codes developed their own categories. Inductive codes show that “researcher is open to what the site has to say rather than determined to force-fit the data into pre-existing codes”. (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana , 2018:74). Categories reached by the codes and their relationships to each other are “constructed to develop higher level of analytic meaning”. (2018: 66). “This phase, which re-focuses the analysis at the broader level of themes, rather than codes, involves sorting the different codes into potential themes, and collating all the relevant coded data extracts within the identified themes”. (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Braun and Clarke advise reviewing themes to reach concrete conclusions before ‘defining and naming’ them. During creating themes, some may overlap, some may collapse or turn out to be useless. Because of this, reviewing over and over makes analysis healthier. To make sure the themes collaborate with the objective of the research and depend on the literature, the data was revisited 3 times after completion. Data analysis continued until one or more of the situations of exhaustion of sources, saturation of categories, emergence of regularities or overextension occurred as Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggests. After all these stages, the analysed data that were interpreted and concluded with the chapter of findings. 4 main themes that showed status anxiety and fear of falling of the middle-class, parental expectations, marketization in schooling and suburban effects on children appeared in findings.

Validity and Reliability

In qualitative studies, the researcher and the researched are both humans and it is their nature to be open to changes. As qualitative studies are not based on concrete items, numbers, or things; it looks difficult to prove the validity and reliability. However, it is crucial to prove that the study is trustworthy. Trustworthiness is crucial because "the procedures of qualitative research, or its methodology, are characterized as inductive, emerging, and shaped by the researcher's experience in collecting and analysing the data". (Creswell, 2015: 19) which means that the way the research findings are evaluated must be proven. Validity and reliability are prominent in terms of evaluating the study in scientific domain and they prevent producing rhetoric and turning the research into story telling. However, validity does not work in qualitative studies as it does in quantitative studies. Lincoln and Guba (2001) employs 'credibility' as parallel to 'internal validity' and 'transferability' as parallel to 'external validity'. Credibility is established in some ways such as by "prolonged engagement at the site, persistent observation, peer debriefing (a kind of external critic)". (Guba & Lincoln, 2001:6). These were also used in this research to increase the credibility. The data analysis has been checked by external evaluators who are knowledgeable in the field in addition to the research consultant. Transferability is not established by the researcher but the readers themselves. It is provided by the related literature added on findings and analysis. The readers make generalization drawing on their own observation, experience, and knowledge. The research findings do not generalize the phenomenon but makes the findings meaningful through the existing literature. Readers 'make personal judgments of the degree to which findings are sufficiently similar to their own situations (judged from the thick description) to warrant testing for the viability of local application (testing for localization rather than the more usual generalization). (Guba & Lincoln, 2001:6). To sum, validity deals with how the results are reached.

Another important feature of a good qualitative study is reliability. It "can be enhanced if the researcher obtains detailed fieldnotes by employing a good-quality tape for recording and by transcribing the tape". (Creswell, 2015: 209). Also, the record is transcribed fully to show the trivial, pauses and overlaps. In this research as all the interviews were held via video conferencing and recorded before being transcribed, the data is proven to be totally reliable. Reliability is found to be parallel with dependability in qualitative research by Lincoln and Guba (2001). According to the authors, dependability can be established

thorough an external auditor who examines the transcription and records. In this study, inquiry of the data has been done by peer researchers. After transcription, the texts were sent to the respondents to be verified, additionally; the transcribed text was translated into English and checked by a bilingual (English-Turkish) translator to make sure that every cultural aspect of the language and every detail meant by the respondents is translated and transferred accurately.

Finally, in the study, the schools' names, participants' and their children' names were censured within the scope of consent form.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this part of the research, the data that were collected through interviews to understand why middle-class parents exercise residential mobility towards suburban areas and how their mobility serve their educational purposes is interpreted under the light of literature that explains the findings. The data set of the research involves 25 semi-structured interviews. As result of the detailed analysis of the data, the codes and categories were created and gathered in accordance with relevance under 4 main themes. (See Table 4). The themes are discussed and interpreted by referring to previous studies and relevant literature in this chapter. The themes that appeared after interpretation of the codes and categories are 'housing practices and environmental expectations of the middle-class parents', 'social expectations of middle-class parents', 'schooling practices and educational expectations of the middle class-parents' and 'suburban effects on children'.

Table 5

Themes and Categories

Themes and Categories
Housing Practices and Environmental Expectation Middle-Class Parents
Suburbs as Land of Gated Communities
Gated communities and security: "My kids can go out alone"
Gated Communities and Privacy: Silent, Secluded, and Isolated
Suburbs are Green Places
Social Expectations of Middle-Class Parents
Social Determinants in Residential Choice
Avoiding Others
Schooling Practices and Parental Expectations of the Middle-Class
Well-performing Suburban Schools
Proximity to the School
Schooling Expectations of Middle-Class Parents
Market Economy and Suburban Schools
Parents' Perceptions on School-Neighbourhood Relationship
Suburban Effects on Children
Suburban People Set Good Examples
Suburbs Offer Social and Cultural Capital
Suburban Effects on the Characteristics of the Kids

Housing Practices and Environmental Expectations of Middle-Class Parents

The participants who selected suburban areas to reside in have many environmental expectations most of which are met as a result of their mobility decisions. These expectations appeared mostly because the participants lacked them in their previous neighbourhoods. For example, privacy and security were something they wanted but could not reach earlier. The participants' expectations which were created by middle-class dispositions were mostly met by the gated communities that were driven by neoliberal housing market. The reasons behind the mobility practices are still ambiguous, but middle-class parents in this study clearly set some residential and environmental standards while choosing their residential areas and they used their capitals to meet these standards. Environmental expectations stated by the participants are the ways how middle-class parents reasoned their mobility which they decided on after their children came to the school age. The theme that reflects the middle-class parents' residential expectations subsumes the categories of suburbs as land of gated communities, gated communities and security, gated communities and privacy and suburbs as green places.

Suburbs as Land of Gated Communities

Although some of the interviewees used to live in gated communities in the inner city or inner suburbs, now they all reside in gated communities and they express their pleasure with living in spacious building complexes surrounded with walls, protected by securities, and preferred by 'people like them'. "The residents of gated communities have varying expectations and motivations. They want safety and security, and many seek privacy or status". (Snyder & Blakely, 1997: 31). The residents of gated communities in this study emphasise security, privacy, and landscape in the context of residential choice both for themselves and their children.

Gated communities and Security: "My kids can go out alone"

Seeking for security is a very basic need of human beings, however it "has become a major concern in the last years, especially in large metropolises, leading people to move to gated communities which are thought to protect residents from urban problems". (Tanulku,

2018: 151). The research field of this study is the suburbia of Ankara, Turkey which is surrounded by gated communities namely 'sites' which are protected by walls, fences, cameras and private security companies. "Gated communities are residential areas or a development that is fenced or walled-off from its surroundings, either prohibiting or controlling access to these areas by means of gates or booms". (Atkinson & Flint, 2004: 877). They "provide a force for exclusion in new and different ways to earlier forms of residential patterning". (Atkinson & Flint, 2004: 876). According to Atkinson and Flint (2004) "security and exclusivity" are attributed as the two most prominent reasons of increasing demand for these gated communities.

All participants having been interviewed live in building complexes which are gated communities and have highlighted the importance of security both for themselves and their children during the interviews. While expressing their thoughts on 'security' and defining being secure, middle-class parents did not specifically mention any criminal issues they encountered in their previous neighbourhoods, as they already lived in relatively expensive and affluent neighbourhoods such as Birlik, Bahçelievler or Öveçler. According to Bint-e-Waheed & Nadeem (2019), middle-class parents as the members of gated community simply want to feel secure to walk alone around their community and to be able to stay home alone regardless of the time. "The open spaces, parks, public and commercial areas are secured".(Bint-e-Waheed & Nadeem, 2019: 906). What they stress while talking about living in sites and having security measures within the place they live is that their kids are free to play, walk or go around inside the site. What middle-class associate danger or threat with varies: Some of the examples from the interviews are as follow:

> P7: I would not raise my second kid in Bahçelievler, now we are way happier we have a big park, there is landscape. My kids can go out themselves, it is fully secure, we have security here.
> P1: I used to be with the kid all the time in Maltepe (previous neighbourhood) and it was going to be a need after some time, we were almost there. In this sense I believe that moving the house was a right decision for D**** because now she can go down in the garden in the site and play. If we had stayed in Maltepe I mean… Yes, I mean… being able to go out is an advantage…I am happy with it.
> P2: Another thing is like. here it has its own security thing, I mean security is high level, so we feel more comfortable about letting her go out alone. In the other place these were limited. To tell the truth, she could not go out without us.
> P6: The most important of all is that it is a site, it is safe, and these areas have a lot of green spaces… The child can go out and play safely in Yaşamkent… It was not possible in Etlik while we were living in the apartment.

Security is naturally associated with crime in some interviews. Parents want to keep their children away from criminals and think that gated communities are perfect places to keep an eye on their kids.

> P3: It is just you want to keep your kid secure. You want to protect them from the strangers. You check the environment against the crime rate. Let's say, is it a region that has a relationship with narcotics or is it a region where fugitives are concentrated? I don't know you just avoid your kids away from these kinds of things.

However, being on the safe side is not always directly related to crime. Most of the time what middle-class parents find 'safe and sound' is the similarity of people to them in terms of manner, daily practice and morality and it is easy to find when their housing is shaped around gated communities. What they relate not being secure to is not crime but 'others'. The common elements of gated communities are "boundary walls or fences, gates and security arrangements with a layout avoiding through roads and entry of 'irrelevant people". (Bint-e-Waheed & Nadeem, 2019: 899). Atkinson and Flint (2004: 880) also draw attention to the fact that security in gated communities is not only aimed at keeping serious crimes away, "but also it meets an apparent desire to avoid day-to-day incivilities and random social contact". Middle-class parents' sense of threat is not the same with working class households', they do not mention kidnapping, rape, murder, or theft. Their sense of security is related to being alienated from the people they do not know, those they are not familiar with or people coming from different backgrounds. This way of thinking was confirmed by Tanulku (2018), in her study, she found out that when gated- community developers made a commercial, they closed the street market in order to prevent strangers from nearby neighbourhoods to enter the area. The motive behind this practice was the concern that their commercial would not work because people may think that the site is not secure because there are 'strangers'. So, "the residents coming from other gated communities to do shopping in the street market or visiting for different purposes, as well as the locals (who were working in their homes), were seen as threats" (Tanulku, 2018: 167). In a similar vein, in this research participants' sense of security was associated with other people:

> P8: There (the previous neighbourhood) was also clean, pleasant place but when you have kids you change it for a more pleasant, isolated place. Your house must have a garden, when you go out, there won't be crowds, when you take your kid to a park, the people you see must be decent.

> P7: People from all different status could live (there), there are students, for example, students were living in the flat below me, I was a homeowner with kids, but Cayyolu doesn't have such a system.
> P2: So, when we went for a walk in the evenings or while walking in the park with our daughter, we heard things that we shouldn't hear, especially from teenagers of different age groups, slang words, swears, and loud music. Sneakily, of course, I started to have second thoughts […] Here, my daughter says "Daddy, take me to the park"… We go to the park in the site, it's safe anyway. Not only me, but at least 10-15 families like me take their children out.

To sum up, they do not want to be with people who have 'different' backgrounds. When parents talk about their moving practices, they mention that inner city is chaotic and open to different threats, outsiders, and strangers. Even if the region they used to live did not have a high crime rate, they may relate different things to danger. According to Wilson-Doenges "Safety is a two-pronged concept: There is the actual crime rate and then there are the residents' perceptions of safety, usually referred to as fear of crime". (2000:599). He also says that in recent years crime rate draws a downward line while fear of crime goes up. One of the other factors causing concerns regarding security is dogs. P5 stated that "To be honest, they (my wife and kids) would never go out in Birlik, it was because of the stray dogs. And it is an important criterion".

Apart from sites, parents automatically find the neighbourhood they live safe just because it is isolated. Even if the kids walk out of the site, the parents do not worry because they find the neighbourhood safe.

> P4: I think, when you compare, I would say İncek is a nice place. Why? Because if there was not a pandemic, the kid would go out and play in the park maybe she can ride a bike, it is more comfortable when compared to Serhat. In Serhat she could only go around inside the site, but it was going to be a problem when she walked off.

Gated Communities and Privacy: Silent, Secluded, and Isolated

During the interviews, participants expressed their desire for privacy while narrating their experiences in inner cities and their pleasure with having privacy while describing their current life in suburbs. The first thing they thought was being secluded and peaceful in segregated neighbourhoods because middle and upper middle families look for "a more segregated social environment both for themselves and their families". (Fuentes, Andreotti, & Le Galès, 2013: 578). "However, the desire for privacy (or at least private property) is not new; it has long been a motivating factor in the flight of the middle-class to the suburbs".

(Luymes, 1997: 190) and it has been confirmed in this study which investigates the flight to suburbs in Ankara, Turkey. Some of the responds from participants are as follows:

> P18: It should be like a building complex, like more greenery, like okay it is very far away from the city, but it is more peaceful, quieter, and more organised here... For example, we would go out of the apartment on to the street immediately, there wasn't such an environment, I think it is much more advantageous for the kids.
> P17: Yaşamkent I guess I like the thing… More peaceful, secluded, calm places… Here the atmosphere is more spacious. I mean in Ayrancı, the apartments were too close to each other. We could not sit on the balcony; the neighbour was so close that you could shake hands.
> P8: You just prefer isolated places… I mean it is like clean, pleasant. Nobody can interfere with her (daughter) here. Maybe here nobody ever will in her lifetime.
> P6: How to define briefly…, Etlik was more crowded… I don't know how to say… more difficult conditions… traffic density was too much, the apartment population was too high… Yaşamkent is a calmer place, the crowd is much less.

"The concept [of a gated community] is based on a lifestyle that does not seek to establish an organic relationship with its environs. On the contrary, it is a lifestyle that wants to turn inside, isolate". (Geniş, 2007: 777). To turn inside, according to the middle-class parents is being invisible, not to be available all the time and having their own private space. "People who build and live in GCs (gated communities) use the exclusivity of space and clear physical boundaries to privatize space for their own purposes". (Vesselinov, Cazessus, & Falk, 2007: 110). Because of these reasons, they prefer detached houses which are mostly located in suburbs. P11 tells their desire for freedom by saying "We like it there too, I mean it was also a good district for us, but after our kid grew up, freedom was more tempting to us (because we live in a detached house)" and P12 thinks that having less neighbours is an advantage to live life in a freer way. "We have our own garden, even if there is curfew, they can play inside the site and as we have a few neighbours, nobody complains".

"Suburbs are planned in response to social change by taking on forms that increase both privacy and separation from the larger community". (Luymes, 1997:191). Although larger community does not directly disturb the residents, middle-class households feel themselves more comfortable in secluded places. As stated earlier, being in silent and private areas is not something new for the middle-class families, but "the new suburban reality of the fear of crime that provide the impetus for the growth of this phenomenon". (Luymes, 1997: 190). In other words, walled enclave communities meet two main criteria of the middle-class: security and privacy. Old desire for a private life is combined with the desire for a safe residential environment determines residential strategies and preferences of the

middle-class parents. Atkinson and Flint (2004) evaluate this phenomenon as a defensive intention. It is not solely defence against crime, but they are "applied to transportation, workplaces and neighbourhoods". (2004: 890). Also, they draw attention to the social changes: "These changes are not only related to the risk of crime but also to the high value ascribed to privacy, quiet and an absence of social contact, themselves seen as badges of status". (Atkinson & Flint, 2004: 890). P10 states that: "No, to be honest, I do not know the neighbours so much. Of course, we live in a much bigger site here, we are a lot more isolated when compared to the other place". P3: "Here it has become so important that it cannot be compared and also you are isolated from the crowds". He also reiterates that they do not see their neighbours, to describe this isolation he uses a metaphor of seeing their shoes in front of their doors: "The second thing is, the houses are independent, you have no chance to see your neighbours' shoes". Seeing shoes of the neighbours means that you are very close to them and live in the same apartment. He was unhappy with this close relationship in the inner city.

It is not directly stated by the participants that they see themselves socially upgraded just because they moved to suburbs, but their children regard "living in suburban neighbourhoods" as a badge of status. P3 whose children are teenagers states that "I can easily tell that the kid got confident, they started to regard themselves as a higher level…Not me or my wife but the kids thought that they moved to a higher class when we moved here". P8 mentions the same tendency by saying "The kid thinks that she is in the centre of London here".

On the other hand, the interviewees express the absence of privacy in their previous neighbourhoods by emphasizing architectural design. P13 used to live in another gated community which met many mainstream housing criteria of the middle-class, however, it was not enough to satisfy their sense of privacy:

> P13: More than the house being spacious, like when you look out the window, I should be able to see the sky. We didn't want to face another building. There are building complexes everywhere like in Cukurambar, there are many building complexes. Kids can go out, there is security but when you open a window there, you face another building, it is right in front of your nose. There is no such thing here. Here, our view is an endless open space. It is spacious, not to be away from people but to be honest, we wanted some isolation.

Other participants also brought up the same issue in the same context with traffic, noise and crowds which are highly influential in residential choices of middle-class households. They contrasted living like "cheek by the jowl" (Butler & Robson, 2003) with peace, space, and calmness. P14: "So, in Keçiören, the houses are next to each other, the traffic is dense, there are crowds of people everywhere. Here, it is a much calmer place". Two other participants giving top billing to privacy while making residential choices mention that it is related to crowds. The more a neighbourhood is crowded, the less privacy it provides. Because of that, middle-class parents leave their previous neighbourhoods and find spacious, privacy providing, peaceful neighbourhoods. P4: "As I said earlier, here there is less population, the density is low, there it was more crowded and it was a cramped environment, it was quiet overwhelming and there was noise as well". P6 defined 'traffic and crowds' in his previous neighbourhood as 'difficult conditions'. P6: "Etlik was more crowded… more difficult conditions… traffic density was too much, the apartment population was too high… Yaşamkent is a calmer place, the crowd is much less".

As a result, security was a prominent driver of residential choices of middle class and choosing suburbs to settle down, but still in addition to feeling safe and being with fellow professionals, "the desire for privacy amongst residents of gated communities was as important as a fear of crime in informing residential choice". (Atkinson & Flint, 2004: 880). "Many of those who move to far suburbs are fleeing from crime, crowding, poverty and other dangers and irritants of the city". (Wolfe, 1976: 58).

Suburbs are Green Places

Middle-class parents' foremost reason to choose suburbs to live in apart form (schooling reasons) is the desire for calmness, peace, staying away crowds and traffic which bring landscape and nature with them. They reach landscape both thanks to the environment they reside in and selective weekend activities. The participants in the study attribute importance to be in nature:

> P13: Here there is clean air, when we look down from the window, we can clearly see the air pollution… When you go out here, it is certainly air of nature because there are many cars here… Yes, we also wanted our kids to be in this area. I already preferred her school in that way. The school is also very close to us. It is in Gölbaşı, too. There are not many cars and there is clean fresh air. It has turned out to be a criterion.

In addition to setting landscape as a criterion on residential decisions, they want to be in nature when socializing. When the participants were asked which part of the city they liked or where they socialized with their friends and family, the answer was crystal clean: they like green areas. Big parks, lakes, university campuses and landscape attract middle-class parents remarkably, they seek for more oxygen, nature, greenery, and isolation both for themselves and their children. “Given a people, consisting of a certain number of individuals arranged in a certain way, there results a determinate set of collective ideas and practices… the nature of collective life necessarily varies and, in consequence, so do its ways thinking and acting”. (Durkheim, 1951 cited in Lukes, 1973: 231). In suburban context, parks and green areas around the sites as a leisure activity stand as a cultural practice as it is not simply making middle-class pass time, but keeps them away from the chaos, traffic and crowds of the inner city which ‘can also be interpreted as visible signs of low status and social problems (Andersen, 2003 cited in Andersen, 2008: 4). P19 stated that: “there was traffic problem, it was fairly crowded, we moved because of this and there are green playgrounds here as well”. P12: “Let me give an example, when I first came here, I could not sleep at night for a few days. I thought there was too much oxygen, the air is so clean that we don't even need to go to the park”.

The parents adopt parks and green areas as a strategy. The process of decision-making for parks is conscious and reflective (Weck, 2019), the households choose an area over another for some reasons. They do not simply visit the nearest park or choose random green areas to pass their weekends. The participants said that they already preferred the places in suburbs when they used to live in the inner city, but now they are closer to the areas which offer secluded, private, and calm weekends. P7: “We spend the weekend out all the time, so we are a very sociable family, we go to Alacaatlı, Haymana or somewhere like that, I don’t know, now we moved closer to these places, it was a good decision, we were already coming here by car”.

These deliberate choices indicate that they seek for something else in the parks apart from oxygen. They also look for security and homogeneity. Some of the parents said that sometimes they preferred university campuses for the weekends because it is green, there are less people compared to other parks and people here are all educated. P18 and P8 prefer university campuses for the weekends: P18: “We all graduated from METU; we spend a lot

of time here". P8: "You just prefer isolated places, we go to METU [16] and spend time in the campus". P24 likes spending time in Hacettepe University as they do not let anyone in the campus, and they feel more secure here.

Apart from causing segregation and enabling middle-class to be isolated, parks, university campuses and green areas as a social space may also be regarded as a symbol among higher educated people. Their tastes are shaped according to mainstream trends and influenced by their peers. The participants have similar educational background, housing practices and cultural tastes. According to Bourdieu (1987)

The more people are closer, the more common interests and dispositions they develop. 'The agents who occupy neighbouring positions…are placed in similar conditions and are therefore subject to similar conditioning factors: consequently they have every chance of having similar dispositions and interests, and thus of producing practices and representations of a similar kind .(Bourdieu, 1987).

Their desire to be in nature should be discussed beyond rational choice because it shows a similar pattern with their residential choice: middle-class parents make spatial choices depending on their values, interests and dispositions and these selective choices enable them to act according to their middle-class habitus. Habitus can only be maintained in specific fields and if suburbs are considered as "the field", there is no doubt that parks and green areas are the subfields of 'the game' where households feel higher class, socializing with people like them and staying away from chaotic, unpredictable, and densely populated city centres.

Accessing to green areas is one of the most imperative factors driving participants to move to suburban areas in environmental context. It not only separates them form 'others' but also, makes them reach symbolic capital and enable them to act in a way that their middle-class habitus requires. As given a lot of importance, and attributed meaning by the households, parks and green areas go beyond the landscape of a city but stand as a reproduction centre drawing a thick line between excluders and the excluded.

[16] The campuses of METU, Bilkent University and Hacettepe University are big, isolated, car-oriented places. Only the members of the university can enter the campuses. Also, the university campuses provide certain facilities such as restaurants, social and sports activities as well as landscape. They are different from public parks and represent university identity.

Social Expectations of Middle-Class Parents

While making choices, the participants had social and relational expectations to meet both in residential and educational context. Their parental expectations and meaning making processes are analysed in a detailed way under another theme. In this chapter, middle-class parents' social reasons to leave their previous residential areas and their relationship with other social agents are demonstrated. Certain practices they hope to see or avoid while encountering with these people are visited. As well as their random social contacts, their primary social contacts are also included because clearly, they had roles in residential choices. The participants' social needs change in time and their desired social contacts are differentiated. "No spaces are simply neutral and equally open to everyone; people's presence in any space is always coded". (Lawson & Elwood, 2014: 212). That is why, the middle-class parents want to act in accordance with their codes and keep their habitus homogeneous as much as possible. Social expectations of the middle-class were analysed under 2 main themes which consist of 9 different codes. The categories social determinants in residential choice and avoiding others were shaped according to the social agents that the participants wanted to be close some time in their lives and the groups that the participants find different from themselves.

Social Determinants in Residential Choice

The participants' residential choices are driven by two main factors. Family and kinship were determining in their first residential choice, but their friends were effective in their decision-making process to move to suburbs. That is to say, being close to the close-knit family lost its importance in time and other secondary contacts became more important. It can be interpreted as the middle-class parents can have power on their social relations and decide who to contact or not. However, for their children it is not the same and they want to ensure that their children have social environment in alignment with their habitus. The middle-class parents seek for 'like-with-like' contact while avoiding from the lower and the higher as well. The participants highlighted the importance of similar background in schooling and residential environment. Apparently, the middle-class families do not want any kind of disturbance in social spaces. As social agents get social positioning in relation to others, to protect their middle-class status, they do not want to be near the groups that

make them feel in lower positioning. The social homogeneity is one of the key factors in social space choice for the middle-class.

"Our Family was There". The participants' initial residential choices in the early years of their marriages were determined by two main factors: by being close to the central city which offers cafes, bars and night life and being close to their close-knit family. Kinship had effects on their residential choices either because the participants did not pay rent but lived in their parents' houses until they became homeowners, or their parents looked after the kids until the kids came to the school age. In both scenario, kinship is the first thing they gave up after certain life events. "Increasing mobility, industrialization, the separation of home from work, and the rise of mass culture were seen as attenuating kinship, undermining social solidarity". (Snyder & Blakely, 1997: 32). The parents did not need to be by their parents anymore and changed their neighbourhood it because secondary social contacts, those based on economic and contractual ties, had become more important than primary social contacts based on kinship, culture, and community. (Snyder & Blakely, 1997: 32). 10 parents in the research explained their motivation in choosing their first residential areas by the reasons stated above. Some of the examples are as follows: P11 trades off freedom with kinship: "Let me explain, until our kid grew up, we needed to be closer to our family, there was also close to out works. Honestly, it was a comfort zone for us". P23 also left their immediate family when their child started an art school and the advantages of being with close-knit family is told by these words: "I was born and raised in GOP, my family, my mother, father and brother were there, they used to take care of Y*****, they used to take her to the school". P13 stated that they had to live there although they had concerns because their parents bought the house: "When we had a child, we always wanted to move because of my own concerns, I mean it was in our minds all the time, that house was bought by our parents, and we always wanted to leave". P13 and her husband could only rationalize not living in this house by the proximity to the school and their school choice enabled them to flee from the inner city. To sum, until it turned out to be necessity to move to a house near the school, reasoning 'residential mobility' was not easy and other reasons were nonacceptable to the family members. Nonetheless, choosing a school which would not require exercise residential mobility was not an option for the participants, their educational expectations could not be met there.

"Our Friends were Here". The participants neither brought their peers forward while reasoning the residential choices, nor stated directly that they exercised their residential and school choices because their social environment required. However, some of them they were influenced by their family and friends not while choosing schools but while choosing suburbs to reside in. They frequently mentioned that their friends were already 'here' in suburbs, their kids' friends were also near these areas because of the localization of the school. For example, P12 mentioned their friends' effect: "One of our friends was influential in our decision, he was a family friend, and had a boy who was at the same age with mine. They moved here one year earlier". P17 also referred their colleagues: 'The number of my colleagues also stated to increase in this district' In a similar vein, P20 said that 'Here turned out to be attractive to us, our social environment was here as well and we needed to come here frequently, being close to our friends was really appealing'.

To the households, being in the right place is associated with other social agents they are sharing their social environment with. They look for 'common folk' while trying to 'keep their distance' with the others. People adjust their dispositions in accordance with the positions they occupy, residential areas in this study are indicators of what class positioning the participants have and how they decide on 'their places'. "This sense of one's place is at the same time a sense of the place of others, and, together with the affinities of habitus experienced in the form of personal attraction or revulsion, is at the root of all processes of co-optation, friendship, love, association, etc.". (Bourdieu, 1987: 5). Majority of the participants said that their social environment effected their decisions on residential mobility, so they moved 'here' which makes it more probable for the middle-class parents to act in similar ways. P12: "My husband's brother used to live here, and we also liked it so much. P25: First, our friends moved here, we adored the environment, we were already together all the time (before coming here)".

In addition to their own social environment, the parents prioritized sharing the same social environments with their kids' friends in choosing neighbourhoods. P7: "The kid's all friends are around Cayyolu and Ümitköy. We needed to drive here for them at the weekends P25: "D***'s friends were here (İncek), it was a problem when we used to live in the previous place. They could not see each other". P10: "Not by boy's but my girl's friends were here in this district because of the school, my wife also wanted to move for this reason. Here is quiet far, my office is still there but my daughter and wife are happy (laughing)".

Not direct but indirect effect of 'peers' can be explained by the concept of habitus and Bourdieu's question: éhow can behaviour be regulated with-out being the product of obedience to rules?" (Bourdieu, 1990: 65). Choosing residents is clearly not a rule to obey but may be interpreted a class disposition in this research. Habitus 'is "structured" by one's past and present circumstances, such as family upbringing and educational experiences' (Maton, 2014: 49) both of which are observed in this research. Social agents act in accordance with class dispositions which can only be exercised in certain fields. In this context, residential mobility can be interpreted as a class disposition that is adopted to maintain middle-class habitus and suburbs can be sensed as the related field which permits certain structured practices. Although some of the participants moved within up to 25 kilometres, 7 participants' mobility was limited within 5 to 10 kilometres and without exception all of them expressed their pleasure in spite of being remote to their families, city centre and their works. Increasing the proximity of the school, living in a safe environment, and having modern houses are frequently visited reasons, but ensuring a certain social environment also determines residential choice in this research.

"People Like Us". "The people we are closest to tend to come from a very similar social location to our own, and it appears that our choices are governed both by contiguity and by the social comfort that comes from associating with 'people like us'" (Bottero, 2004: 995). The desire for being among 'people like us' is closely linked to safety in the sense of place. The phenomenon studied by Butler and Robson (2003) summarizes any form of segregation in the society in the best way because regardless of social background of the people, everyone feels safe and sound with the people they share similar interests and concerns with. 'Studies into housing trends show that an increasing number of city dwellers seek to escape the complexity of the modern urban landscape in favour of communities comprised of individuals whose social characteristics match their own". (Vesselinov et al., 2007:111). It can be explained by Bourdieu's concept of habitus. "…the generative formula of the habitus which retranslates the necessities and facilities characteristic of that class of (relatively) homogeneous conditions of existence into a particular life-style". (Bourdieu, 1984: 208). To exercise a lifestyle (for middle-class in this research) people look for homogenous conditions and these conditions vary as space, occupation, culture, and any other fields in life characterizing and categorizing people. Drawing on Bourdieu, class locations in the society makes up some expectations reflecting the destiny of "people like

us." (Nash, 1990). In short, people who are subscribed to a social group, living in a class habitus exercise some 'accepted' practices and expect other people to act in the same way. They want to be with people who have similar cultural tastes and practices in their social space, and they are influenced by one another. Although individuals act differently, it is collective to make up a social group and homogeneity is a prerequisite for the class habitus. However, "Not merely cultural tastes, but most intimate and important social relationships are strongly influenced hierarchical position. Kinship, friendship and partnership all exhibit a patterning by social class and status". (Bottero, 2004: 995). Foucault defines people who are in upper location in hierarchy as power holders. "Power is exercised by people (including community opinion leaders) and groups who seek similar ends around common points of interest. And while these interests do not always share a common value base, they can share interest in securing specific social outcome".(Foucault, 1988 cited in Cleary & Hogan, 2016).

The participants' residential choices made them end up in homogenous neighbourhoods, close to people like them occupationally, economically, and culturally. It is not an interesting outcome as "The people (households) who are close in the physical space are supposed to have higher probabilities of association (membership of the same class positions)". (Akpinar, 2008: 46). What is crucial is not their reaching homogeneity, but their meaning making through being with people like themselves. The participants associate being in a socially homogenous environment with security that is why they are pleased and satisfied with the social composition.

The participants' understanding of 'people like us' comes up in three main ways which are occupation, everyday practices and cultural attitudes. When they are asked if they have observed any change in people around them after moving to suburbs, they respond without thinking and say their neighbours' occupations by adding the detail 'they are like them'. According to Akpınar (2008) employment status and occupation are effective indicators of one's position in social life and the participants also use these clues to decide if the people they are in contact are similar to them or not. Middle-class parents' search for 'people like them' is not limited with one single social environment, they seek for similarity with their neighbours as much as with other parents in their kids' schools. For their neighbours, they mention the similarity as follows:

> P4: In general, there were now two types of people in Serhat. There were civil servants working like us in the site where we used to live, or, let's say, there were

other civil servants' children for example, the child of the head of the Department in National Education.
P24: Here... of course, gradually people at our ages started to settle down here. People with children, people whose children at my child's age started to be in these areas.
P2: Especially in the site we live in, the ages of the neighbours are very close, we have also similar occupations, I mean there are a lot of people doing the same job with me. I have a lot of colleagues here and we can find common grounds.
P19: It is a social environment that is close to our social profile… We both husband and wife, we have an average income and I assume that we are open-minded.
P13: Here people are polite I mean I do not say in the other place they were not kind… Maybe we can only get closer to the people like us.
P12: Generally, here there are collage educated, working people, they have children, and my kids have their peers here. We did not care too much when we moved here, I talked to a few people, that is it… Of course, the people around you must have a similar point of with you.

To express their content with the homogeneity in schools the participants refer to the similarity between themselves and other parents with following words:

P3: My daughter studied in Beytepe. Parents in Beytepe were scholars or admirative staff in Hacettepe University, so they were like us.
P12: In general term, my kids' friends have similar families like us. Their parents are working people who make sacrifices for their kids. There are doctors, teachers, dentists, and engineers among them. They do not live in extremes; it also matters to me.

They homogeneity which makes the participants pleased with their new environment in gated communities was also confirmed in another study held in the U.S.A. by Vesselinov and his colleagues (2007: 116): "we observe that gated households, both homeowners and renters, are comprised of a higher percentage of college-educated members and a higher percentage of upper class members". However, the fact that suburbs and gated communities are homogeneous environments is not the reason why it is discussed in this study. What makes it attention deserving is the way middle-class parents prioritize it. They reckon that being among people like themselves who have similar educational and occupational backgrounds is one of the best benefits of their residential mobility. They believe that they have found the 'right' place for their family, which makes their previous neighbourhood 'inappropriate or wrong' in terms of social structures. P18 states that some neighbourhoods are perfectly suitable to raise children: "The reason why moving continued as basic steps was because of my mother". She said that they had moved for us. They wanted us to grow up with decent people and I adopted this point of view too. That is why I think in the same

way with my mother. P8 and P9 also support the idea that some neighbourhoods they ended up with are the right place for the kids by saying these: P8: when you take your kid to a park, the people you see must be decent. P9: “At that moment (when the child comes to the school age), you look for a right place to raise your kid, we found here”.

Appreciated Middle-Class Practices. When the participants were asked to evaluate suburbs or suburban people, they mentioned the homogeneity in the region emphasizing that they are pleased with being close to ‘the people like them’. The participants most of whom situate themselves in middle or higher classes draw attention to some basic but crucial practices. “At the micro level, where all of us live, are the day-to-day practices through which classes define and reproduce themselves”. (Ronald & Agarwala, 2006: 325). “Class determines what people must do, what they have the freedom to do, what they cannot do. It structures the realm of choice. Defining that choice matrix reveals a structure of freedoms, capacities, and compulsions: i.e., the class structures” (Ronald & Agarwala, 2006: 325). The class structures in day-to-day level can be observed at least through the importance attributed by the middle-class participants. They mention ‘greetings’ as a prominent indicator of being decent, cultured, respectful and kind. They mention the greetings either as deficit in their previous neighbourhoods or as a value in their current neighbourhoods.

> P3: If you live in the apartment, you expect the tenants who come to the building afterwards to be aligned with you. There are many determinants including not making noise and greetings. If greeting is over in a place, you just do not want to say there anymore, even if you are a homeowner, you want to change your place. It may be simple but important criterion.

P24 who adores not the neighbourhood but the building site she lives in also emphasizes greeting and adds there are neighbourly relations there. However, clearly the understanding of neighbourly relations is more different than it is in the inner city for suburban people limited interactions are enough to be called relations P24: “Here is very sincere, you just step out of your house and people say good morning to each other, they are aware of each other, there are neighbourly relations here”. On the contrary to P24, P14 separates neighbourly relations from greeting and appreciates the practice: “Here as well, I do not have neighbours that I visit frequently but people know to greet when they see each other. They say ‘good morning’ in the mornings and ‘good evening’ or ‘hello’ in the evenings”.

Basic middle-class practices are not limited with greetings. Suburban people seek for the limited social contact in public places although they avoid getting in closer relations with other people. They value some behaviours in supermarket and parks, classify people according to their way of speaking and their attitudes towards other people. While classifying other people, the participants refer to some key behaviours:

> P22: So, let me give you a concrete example. There is a struggle to get in front of you when you queue at a checkout in a shopping centre in Kecioren, when you do the same shopping in Gordion (a shopping centre in Çayyolu), people say 'please, after you' It used to be like that in GOP (a neighbourhood in the city centre) in the early 2000s, but now it is not, it started to be like in Keçiören.
> P20: I find it more organized here; children's way of speaking is different. I can feel that they have particular cultural level thanks to their families.
> P2: First of all, we are independent here. Next, people are more understanding and value each other. The first person you see in the morning says 'good morning' to you. Similarly, they say good evening in the evenings. Regardless of gender or age, experiencing these things are important. Let me give you a small example, yesterday my daughter was trying to learn to ride, and an elderly looked at my daughter and told her 'come on you can do it'. People show good will here and it is very common.
> P10: It is a good place not to work but to live, it is place where people are more respectful to each other, wait in the queue and say 'good morning'.
> P20: Here I notice something, there way of problem-solving approach is really different. They are more constructive and decent. It can even be understood in traffic. The more you get closer to the city centre, the more swear you hear. Even the way people drive change.

To sum up, the participants defined their social environment as 'people like us' and explained why they are happy with being in this social environment with these key signs. These signs, namely daily middle-class practices, are the reasons why the participants find suburban neighbourhoods worth living in social context. "The need for safety and security and the imperative of like-with-like social contact in residential environments are important drivers of spatial segregation but also the patterns of daily movement to which people commit themselves". (Atkinson & Flint, 2004: 890).

Not in Contact with the Higher Class Either. Middle-class parents' desire for 'like-with-like contact' does not barely target working class, they do not want to be together with the people who have much higher status than themselves. They employ this distinction both for their residential environment and their children's social environment. According to Zizek (2000), middle-class avoid extremes, they want neither the poor nor the rich, they place their identity away from polarization and ground it by excluding the extremes. The

'middle' connotes security, respect, and a deep sense of rightness. There is pleasure to be found in being centred between extremes.(Dickey, 2012: 597). Some of the participants express their anxiety regarding high class people in these words:

> P2: When we moved here, I used to have second thoughts, let me put it this way. I thought average income and cultural level would be higher here and the people would be separated from each other with thick borders.
> P24: What I like about here (the site they live in) is that the people are not economically powerful, very high-level people. They have more different concerns such as enjoying their lives or the feeling of freedom. Normally, I would not call Cayyolu socially or economically homogenous community.
> P15: To be honest, as we used to live in dwelling houses for the soldiers before coming here, we were quite worried. There people were like us, everyone was soldier and we felt comfortable among them. Here we had concerns about our neighbours, we were afraid if there were super rich people here.

Avoiding Others

Middle-class subjects have anxiety towards the unknown. (Reay,2008). They specifically avoid the people who have different features and background from themselves. This anxiety has some outcomes in the society. "The provocation of anxiety at both individual and collective levels can result in a splitting between 'good' and 'bad', 'us' and 'them' at the levels of schools, students and communities". (Reay, 2008: 1084). The respondents used the word 'everybody' to define the people they avoid. P9: (In the centre) there is 'everyone', what I mean is, here there is 'less' everyone. 'Everybody' refers to the diversity and the unknown. Middle-class households do not take 'risk' by having contact with the people who they may not share common interests, skills, and social background. P7 explains her reason why it not a good idea to live in the core of the city as: "Bahçelievler is too complicated because it central, it is meeting point for everyone from different neighbourhoods… Recently, you can clearly see that there are people from every background". P5 told his memories in his college days by referring the students who came from 'everywhere' and how they were clearly distinguished from them culturally, socially, and economically:

> P5: I studied in a well performing popular state school, honestly, all kinds of people were there. I used to have a friend who lived in Mamak, his life conditions and social life was different from ours. We used to live in Çankaya, our social life was different.
> P23: Definitely… there is stuff like… GOP is a complex place when compared to here. There are both the rich and the poor. There are old habitants and newcomers. In short, everyone is there, and it turns out to be unpredictable in this way.

Additionally, the middle-class see parks and university campuses as another good way to cross boundaries both socially and physically. The green areas and parks which were mentioned by the interviewees and analysed under the first theme are all difficult to reach without a personal car (around 20 km from the city), and the campuses they visit at the weekends do not let people in if they are subscribed to the university. They automatically draw a line between the working-class and middle-class. Following the literature on "social and spatial disassociation" by Butler (2003) and Atkinson (2006), parks can be regarded as specifically selected areas based on not being in contact with others because of their being gated and distant. P15: "I cannot say that there are not any parks in the garden, there are! For example, Seğmenler Park is there, but everyone is there because transportation is easy". P8 also states that they go to Bilkent University to be in green places and highlights its advantages for the kid as follows: "She (his daughter) sees the collage people in Bilkent, there are all over the campus, everyone is properly dressed, decent people, and there are no labourers because transportation is difficult". P7 also agrees with them and believes that lack of transportation keeps some people away. They make their social environment choices accordingly P7: "There is metro station near those places, and everybody goes there, I know Ankara really well and these things are important to me". To sum up, transit-oriented social places are specifically avoided by the middle-class to keep lower groups away.

It is Another Culture. Middle-class subjects do not express any hatred towards 'others' while referring their previous neighbourhoods, but distinctly differentiate them by the discourse they produced. They define them as 'diverse' or call them 'everybody'. They mention no crime or social problems. However, still they define the people living in inner ring of the city as 'they have another culture'. As they do not point any direct behaviour against them, they target low-middle class values. They do not want any socio-economic and socio-cultural diversity neither in their neighbourhood nor in schools. "The existence of nuanced but serious differences in values-based views of and attitudes toward social mix are related to lifestyle differences, consumption decisions and class performativities [cars, clothes, housing etc.]". (Ball *et al.* 2004: 492). Some of the participants name their avoidance as 'it is another culture' P13: "There can be a difference of culture, I mean, I do not know it is about the way people dress, it shows the difference in income. I have never been treated badly by those people, but still, it is another culture, apparently". P16 also named the people in her previous neighbourhood as 'different': 'Of course there is a cultural change. Even

people in traffic are different'. P3 reasons the situation why they do not have any social contact with other parents in their child's previous school as: "No we have never contacted with them; I think it is because they have another culture".

Avoided Working-Class Practices. "People limit their social interactions with each other we can argue that hierarchy (or 'class') is 'recognized' and acts as an important cultural force in people's lives.'[…] this must affect how we view 'class conflict' and 'exclusion". (Bottero, 2004: 995). In this research, conflict and exclusion are not visited because others are avoided thanks to residential mobility or they were not even in question because the previous neighbourhoods were not deprived, working class areas. Participants left their previous neighbourhoods because of environmental and social reasons seeking for the best space both for themselves to live and their children to be raised. While seeking for the right place to sustain their middle-class habitus, they appreciate some practices while avoiding certain ones.

> The division into classes performed by sociology leads to the common root of the classifiable practices which agents produce and of the classificatory judgements they make of other agents' practices and their own. The habitus is both the generative principle of objectively classifiable judgements and the system of classification (principium divisionis) of these practices. It is in the relationship between the two capacities which define the habitus, the capacity to produce classifiable practices and works, and the capacity to differentiate and appreciate these practices and products (taste), that the represented social world, i.e., the space of life-styles, is constituted. (Bourdieu, 1984: 170)

When the middle-class face working class practices, they feel disturbed and insulted. It is because they cannot fully ensure their social positions, they find it risky to share the same social environment with the working class. Some of the working-class practices that the participant find disturbing are making noise, swearing, and honking: P8: "In the place I live in, nobody makes noise or honk, there are no such things here, my kid grows up in a calm and peaceful place". P7: 'I tell my husband not to honk like vandals, you rarely hear honking here. As stated earlier, 'greeting' is sensed as an indicator of class-based practices. P7: "Everyone wants to be greeted, I think it is a culture, my kid also sees them. In Bahçelievler nobody would say 'good morning'". Some other working-class practices that irritate middle-class participants are the ones that are clearly prohibited in suburban areas. On the other hand, the practices irritating the respondents are exercised naturally and accepted in low socio-economic status neighbourhoods:

> P14: I do not want to sound like segregating people, but for example, some things that happen in Keçiören are forbidden here, hanging laundry is forbidden here, there are no shoes left in front of the doors. It is also forbidden.
> P3: The profile of the people who lived in the same apartment changed and the number of people who have urban culture decreased. Let me give an example, you saw your next-door neighbours' shoes left in front of the door. Clearly it is a habit they brought from the countryside. It is not so bad and determinative. It means that you cannot talk to those people. Leaving shoes out the door is something like that.

P22 reiterates behaviours in public places by an example form supermarkets: 'So let me give you a concrete example. There is a struggle to get in front of you when you queue at a checkout in a shopping centre in Keçiören, when you do the same shopping in Gordion (a shopping centre in Cayyolu), people say 'please, after you'.

These practices are associated with 'security' or 'respect'. Additionally, in the context of 'privacy' working class attitudes and practices have also been found infuriating. P22 thinks that they have comfortable lives because his neighbours do not care about their private lives in his current neighbourhood. The behaviour of 'watching' is sensed as something exercised in low-level areas by working class people. "This place is very spacious. We are very good at that. In other words, who came to your house? who left your house? What time did you come and go? These were certain things that were recorded by the neighbours in Keçiören, even in the last years of the GOP… but (here) nobody cares about each other, nobody interferes with each other". Another respondent draws attention to the same practice in a more polite way naming them curious and over friendly: P2: "There are more populations than here, and it is place where bilateral relations are experienced a little bit more. Let me say people are a bit more friendly. You know, there is a desire to socialize more. They are a little bit curious, frankly. They can even care about the time you enter and exit. I can call them curious". P17 and P14 refer to the same issue by rationalizing the behaviour with the architectural design, however; no matter what the reason is, being very close to other people and being watched continuously limit their daily social practices: P17: "Here is more spacious. I mean in Ayrancı, the apartments were cramped up together. We could not sit in in the balcony; the neighbour was so close that you could shake hands". P14: "When I go out to the balcony, there is an apartment right under your nose. You cannot move freely, they are looking. This place is more comfortable and calmer in that respect. I mean, I don't have an apartment right under my nose, nobody sees you, even if they see you, they don't care".

The feeling of being watched and the gaze of the working-class is not only related with the moments of going out or coming in the house, P13 mentions that neither her daughter nor herself can wear the same clothes that they wear in suburbs in the inner city. She states that:

> For example, here in Incek I can wear my shorts and short-sleeved t-shirt and go to the market comfortably in summer in my own style. People don't look at me but in Dikmen, If I walked into a market, I could be perceived differently. There is a difference in culture. If I went there, I would have to wear something to cover my shoulders. The ways of people look get different here. But here, nobody looks at you, I know it. I can wear my shorts here. In the same way, I want my daughter to feel comfortable, I want nobody to bother her with glances.

When middle-class households encounter with people who belong to lower classes, they start observing them and counter with middle-class values and dispositions. They regard the working-class behaviours as disruptive, threatening and disapproving. (Elwood, Lawson, & Nowak, 2015). The practices interpreted as low level by the middle-class residents make people feel that they deserve places which they fit in and to reach the places they deserve; they exercise residential mobility. In this research, although the participants prioritized the proximity to the well-performing schools while excising residential mobility, they all justified their action by being with people like them and running away from chaos, crowds, traffic, pollution and certain behaviours and practices.

Who are others? Results of Urban Migration. Although mobility looks like it occurred between two different poles, most of the previous neighbourhoods that the respondents used to live were already relatively affluent, middle-class neighbourhoods. As the participants all have economic, cultural, and social capital they did not used to live in poor areas and their initial residential choices were already in alignment with their educational and cultural attainment. Nevertheless, participants drew attention to the changing demographic composition of the previous districts while reasoning their mobility practice. Shift in demographic composition and its being the trigger of the middle-class mobility namely ‘white flight’ constitutes theoretical background of the research. Although the phenomenon was commonly and frequently studied in racial context, latest studies one of which is by Kye (20018) show that although race still matters in residential segregation and white flight in America, class difference plays an important role in polarization. Middle-class neighbourhoods are left when more disadvantaged and poor groups regardless of their

race enter into the neighbourhoods. “Non-racial factors are related to neighbourhood quality and desirability” (Kye, 2018: 38). The people who start to reside in the neighbourhoods that are not ‘reserved’ for them are named ‘space invaders’ by Puwa (2004:8).

In this research, participants said that the city centre changed a lot and some other citizens started to live there which disrupted them and played a role in their decision- making process. Although one of the participants who is a lawyer mentioned changing racial composition:

> P9: People did not change (in the previous neighbourhood), there started to be too many foreigners. Foreigners made us overwhelmed there I won’t say Syrians, there are not many Syrians there. For example, you walk into the supermarket and face many African Americans, I do not know what country they belong to. It is not looking down on them, it is just about the culture.

Other participants drew attention to the socio-economic shift in the neighbourhoods. They also emphasized ‘the flight’ occurring in other neighbourhoods except for theirs.

> P22: Incredible corruption began… In Gaziosmanpaşa, except for some protected streets where there are embassies, corruption, crime rate and burglaries increased. People from other neighbourhoods started to live there and that’s why this corruption became inevitable.
> P3: In the 50’s and 60’s urbanization took place around Esat, Emek, Bahçeli, Ulus, Kızılay (core of the city). Real urban people used to live there, but the people who came later dwelled in Keçiören, Mamak, Batıkent and Gölbaşı, the city spread towards there. And in recent years, the people who first settled down in Keçiören and Mamak started to come here (his previous neighbourhood Esat).

P22 summarizes the mobility pattern of the middle-class with the following words and he believes that urban migration confounds middle-class neighbourhoods and they do not want to share the social environments with these urban migrants anymore:

> P22: Old neighborhoods of Ankara used to be good in the past… When I was a kid we were born and raised in Keçiören. Çankaya was a luxurious, elite place. Its educational attainment was high. When I was in High School and in the early years of college, these elite people started to move to Ümitköy-Çayyolu. We used to live in Keçiören but later moved to Çayyolu. Same kinds of people started to come there. Now, we came here (suburbs) because these places’ (Çankaya) demographic profile started to get lower as they got urban migration from the east part of Ankara such as Etimesgut and Keçiören.

The same mobility pattern was described by P24: “I was born and raised there, I know Ayrancı, Çankaya, Tunalı (central city) really well. These places were really moving. Later we moved to 100. Yıl and Çiğdem (outer ring of the city) and finally ended up here (in

suburbs)". P18 expressed the same experience in her childhood by saying: "We used to live in Siteler, later came to Kızılay and after that to Koru (suburban neighbourhood). The reason why moving continued as basic steps was because of my mother. She said that they had moved for us. They wanted us to grow up with decent people and I adopted this point of view too. That's why I think in the same way with my mother". The attitude of P18's mother confirms the common understanding towards changing demographic structure. The reason they move constantly and coming closer to the periphery is that they no longer became happy with their neighbours.

P3 voices his concerns regarding urban migrants that he saw in public places and relates this situation with his child, he expressed his concerns about the people who migrated to the district. On the other hand, he appreciated people who live in suburbs for a long time and did not involve in a migration process:

The idea to move came to our mind when our daughter came to the school age, and we started to have some concerns… because I saw them in the supermarket … I mean, it is different urban migration in Etimesgut-Bağlıca has just started to take place. Generation Y and followingly generation Z were in migration process. But here in suburbs, Generation X is so densely populated that you can see it even in the market. They are all old people who have lived here for a very long time.

'Others' as a "social wallpaper". Middle-class parents in this research frequently mentioned 'people like us' and 'children like their own kids' and express how they are happy with sharing their social environments with people 'who have similar concerns' with them. Being safe behind the walls of gated communities, going to homogenous schools and being friends with children like them look highly advantageous for the middle-class children. These areas also "offer high-quality private schools and countless activities for children" and it "means that they have little chance to step out and participate in the life outside the enclave". (Geniş, 2007: 790) Parents are also aware of this situation and they have some concerns regarding raising kids totally unaware of the world they live in and keeping their kids in the bubble. They express their concerns regarding making their children live in a bubble and causing them to be fragile against 'different people' in the society. P24 who lived in Ayrancı which is one of the oldest and highest-level neighbourhoods of Ankara says that "I do not know here is really nice, it is not like other building sites, but I do not know if it is really good idea to raise the kid in a such a closed place which is far from other people or

not". Similary P1 who used live in Maltepe which is very close to Kızılay and Ulus (oldtown) of Ankara states her concern:

> P24: There is well organized architecture, trees and even statues here. She cannot see them in other parts of the city. She grows up in an aesthetic environment, but she loses something as well. If she grew up in Kurtuluş Parkı (an old park in the central city), she would grow up by seeing some cultural landscape full of people. She does not see them here. … I mean she does not see the woman selling birdseed or the man who sells simit (Turkish bagel). They are the reality of this country. They are not here in Çayyolu.

In the study conducted by Geniş investigating gated communities in Istanbul, similar concerns were stated: "Some of the residents expressed their worry about the consequences of this total isolation from the outside world for their children in the future". (2007: 790). However, worrying about the results of keeping their children distant from diversity, different cultures and other people in the society looks a minor issue in their agenda and they prefer not contacting with them. Different cultures and people are "valued as a kind of social wall paper but no more". (Butler, 2003: 2484). Middle-class parents making use of every capital they have to guarantee their kids' position in life and making them as qualified as possible are also in demand of 'multicultural capital'(Vincent & Ball, 2007). Seeing and knowing people from different background prepare their children for the future life. P18 who is PhD graduate and lived in different parts of Ankara all her life thinks that her kid lives in a very homogenous environment and sees very similar people both in the school and the environment every day. However, she worries that it may have some consequences in the future:

> Interviewer: Are you happy with your child's social relations?
> P18: Yes, I am because it was different in our times, and they are more different now. People we face on holiday are certain people, even the people see in the building site are certain people. That is why you choose the school diligently. When the people she contacts with are certain people, I am getting aware of something". There are many different people in Ankara because it is very big city. I think, the sooner she gets to know these different people, the more comfortable she feels in her professional life later.

Other people or the people who are not like them is nothing but an educational tool to middle class, they value presence of others but do not want to interact with them (Butler, 2003). They want to keep their children isolated from the others but still feel a little bit sorry for making them lacking knowledge and experience about 'the others'. They believe that their children could be "streetwise, globally knowledgeable, tolerant, inclusive young white

middle-class individuals". (Reay et al., 2007: 1052). In conclusion, working class continue serving for middle-class by 'colouring' their social environment and providing their kids 'multicultural capital'.

Schooling Practices and Parental Expectations of the Middle-Class

The participants' desire to change their neighbourhoods appeared after their children came to the school age and they had to choose a school that serves best their educational expectations. The reason why they changed their neighbourhoods was primarily their kids and to provide them the most suitable educational and social environment. Middle class parents' educational expectations and their views on schooling including curriculum and social composition are discussed under 5 different categories that create the theme of 'Schooling Practices and Parental Expectations of the Middle-Class'. The categories focus on parental expectations which were shaped by the marketization of the schooling and increased by the status anxiety.

Well-performing Suburban Schools

Existing literature on suburban schools (Rosenbaum, 1995; Musterd, Ostendorf, & De Vos, 2003; Gordon & Monastiriotis, 2006) shows that pupils getting education in suburban, aflluent and advantaged neighborhood have more chane to access higher education; they have better test scores in exams and are more likey to exercise social upward mobility. It is because suburban areas are home to various well-performing schools and there are many school choice options. In the research by Holme *et al*. (2013) majority of parents in suburbs reported that they had more "choice options for their children". (Page 114). Similarly, it was reported by Watt (2009: 2887) that "one of the motivating factors prompting parents to move to Essex (suburbs) was to secure a `better' education for their children by escaping inner-city schools". In a similar vein, Bernadette's (2003: 24) research also concluded that "Schools in outer suburbs often outperform those in inner-ring suburbs…. Consistently, outer suburban students in the Baltimore region outperformed students in the inner- ring schools". Corresponding with the existing findings, in this research middle-class parents reported that they had no school choice in their previous neighbourhoods which were mostly inner city or inner suburbs. They said that all well-performing schools from pre-

school to high school were in suburban areas, so to ensure that they chose the best school for their kids that meet their educational expectations, they preferred suburban public and private schools.

P23 and P17 do not think that the neighbourhood is a driving force in education but still admit that these areas more different than their counterparts by saying P23: "it is a special area for schooling".; P17: 'Here, there are a lot of private schools, We could easily find a school for Ç****, Actually you can find it almost everywhere in Ankara,, but well-performing schools are a bit more here. P9 who moved Çayyolu 2 years after his child stated the school stated that they had hard times in their previous neighbourhood because they could not find a decent kindergarten for his child: "I wish we were here (in suburbs) when my son was 3 years old. If we had lived in Çayyolu- Beytepe… There were really qualified schools which could reveal his abilities".

Similarly, P22 emphasizes the variety of preschools in İncek by saying: "There are a lot of options here which are all equivalent to each other. It also effects children, even the options for kindergarten are in great number". P21 said that they had 3 alternatives for the school choice and all of them were in the same area: 'We made research, we looked into school and teacher quality. It was the most appropriate one among 3 options… As a district they were all in Çankaya. One was in Beysukent, the other one was in Konutkent'. A similar opinion came from P2 "Good schools are generally around Beysukent, Çayyolu-Ümitköy, at least we went to those schools one by one on recommendations." P16 who values cultural activities a lot sets a relationship between schools and neighbourhoods within the scope of the space.

> P16: Because there was no settlement at all previously in this area, for the school it was easy to find a suitable place here because of its physical structure. Of course, when there is a lot of space, facilities and activities become accordingly. No just because they are in Çayyolu but having spacious areas makes the school outstanding.

Moreover, in last decades, in addition to the private schools whose number increases day by day, existing ones have started to flee to suburbs as many middle-class households did. Gamsu (2016) reports that location carries a symbolic importance for schools, and they choose their sites accordingly. To make sure that the schools look prestigious and attract middle- and upper-class parents while competing with other schools, they are localized in suburban areas. The private suburban schools are the components of market economy and foster social reproduction (Butler, Hamnett, Mir, & Ramsden, 2011)

It is clear that the participants could not find an 'appropriate' school in their neighbourhoods and changed their residential area to be near the suburban school they chose. Now that they had high criteria to meet and it is challenging to ensure parental satisfaction, it is necessary to examine the respondents' parental expectations and how they are produced.

Proximity to the School

Proximity to the school is not a surprising, but a rational expectation. Every parent wants their kids to be closer to home and prevent them to take long journeys to the school. However, school choice and proximity do not always go hand in hand. Fifty percent of parents who choose public school set "proximity" as a criterion (Bosetti, 2004), However, for private school shoppers, although 'proximity' is desired, it is not determinant of the school choice. All participants in this research, chose schools that are considerably far from their homes in the first place and exercised residential mobility to provide proximity, however; "only a creamed segment tends to be mobilized to access the school market in a strategic fashion" (Gabay-Egozi, 2016: 21). Moreover, the rationale behind trying to be near the school also differs, while working class people mind transportation cost and security, middle-class parents had different concerns (Rohde et al., 2019) : Except for 2 participants whose children are older than 10 years old, 22 of them prioritized proximity. P7 and P18 drew attention to the traffic and its effects on their children when they are not close to the school:

> P7: My child used to spend I hour in the school bus, to make her sleep one 1 hour more and enable her to get prepared more comfortably I moved to a very close place. It does not matter if I am homeowner or not, proximity to the school is important.
> P18: He does not take school bus here. Getting on the school bus a real torture. It picks him up very early if you live in a distant place. If we take him to the school, it is another problem…It turns into a real chaos. When we live in a near place, he does not get tired and has more time for himself.

Additionally, P23, P19 and P9 drew attention to the social and cultural benefits when their children do not lose time while commuting.

> P23: She can spend more time at home, she can create time for herself. She needs to practice as it is a challenging school (conservatory), she has no time to waste. She can spend er time on her instrument. At least she is not deprived of the warmth of home.
> P9: It was not a tough decision. There are a lot of pros. My son studies here in Çayyolu. She used to commute by the school bus, or we used to take him to the school

when we lived there. It used to take around two hours. Most of time that the kid had was spent on the way.
P19: As the school is very close, she arrives home in 10 minutes. She plays with her friends and gets to know people. We did not have this chance in Bahçelievler. She did not have a place to play in, if there was a place, there was no time to play and If there was time, there were no friends to play with. Here, everyone goes to the same school and the kids play together all the time.

It is clearly seen that parents really mind proximity, but for differentiated reasons. Their meaning making of proximity show that they have no issue with the security or transportation cost, they value and prioritize their kids to be more active in socially and culturally while creating a comfortable life for them.

Schooling Expectations of Middle-Class Parents

In recent years, schooling is discussed through market theory. The market metaphor to examine schooling has been used so frequently that, schooling has been "understood in the same way that economists understand the provision of all other social goods and services". (Robenstine, 2001:56). As the schools have turned into social goods that have been served to the parents namely consumers who shop for schools, it is important to examine what criteria they set while shopping for schools.

None of the participants in this research simply chose the nearest public or private school in their previous neighbourhoods but chose the 'best' school for their kids and then moved to the area where the school is. In other words, they exercised a 'choice' which 'is a marker of economic privilege and encouraged by neoliberal market policies. The more distant subjects are from economic necessity, the more 'choice' becomes a possibility. "Choice' is guaranteed to those who can afford to choose". (Reay & Lucey, 2003: 138) and related to market economy which increases the possibility of school choice and provides more options in education both to the students and teachers (Waslander et al., 2010; Yoon et al., 2018). As the ability or non-ability to choose is the determinant of education, what people seek for when they choose must be examined thoroughly in terms of understanding middle-class concerns in education and current fashion in schooling.

Homogeneity in Schools. The middle-class seek for homogeneity in their residential environment and want to be in like-with like contact. It was discussed under the themes of social expectations of the middle-class parents. The very same concern appears in school choice as well. It can even be more aggressive than it is in residential choices because schools are the driver of the identity. The parents shop for schools that offer the most homogeneity and have the students come from similar cultural and social background. In this way, "a school-of-choice is largely socially constructed". (Rowe & Lubienski, 2017: 342). In America, the middle-class parents have tendency to choose schools which are preferred by high SES, affluent and educated parents. (Roda & Wells, 2013; Rowe & Lubienski, 2017). In this research as well, the parents express their pleasure with socio-economic demographics of the school where their children study. They say that all the other parents are well educated, respectful and interested professionals. P3 states that they were very happy with socio-cultural composition of the school which was in a university campus and heavily dominated by the academicians' kids: "My daughter studied in Beytepe. Parents in Beytepe were scholars or admirative staff in Hacettepe University, so they were like us". A similar opinion arises from another parent who send her kid to another well-performing university college.

> P16: It is a school where the kids of university members dominantly go. Its mission is to educate university members' children and %60-%70 percent of the pupils are the professors' kids. It is a big advantage. It is a good university as well. My kid is friends with the professors' kids. We are really happy with this situation. We are happy with the school is terms of quality and it's being refined really.

Other comments on homogeneity in schools and how parents feel that other parents are like them were stated by the following words:

> P22: There are no people we call ignorant here. Everyone knows something, there are conscious and cultured.
> P21: Other parents are close to us, at least in terms of education level we are close. I think it is a very important thing.
> P19: There just like us, mother is teacher, father is lieutenant for example. They are like us.
> P16: I mean they are understanding, cultured, respectful and they know how to raise a kid.

On the other hand, middle-class parents' concerns about the social composition of the neighbourhoods show itself in school context as well. The parents have worries about the higher-class parents' children in school and they look for full homogeneity because

they do not want their children to be social outsiders or bullied at school. (Lobato, Bernelius, & Kosunen, 2018).

> P17: We know other kids' parents as well, they are like us, working and well educated. Some are working in institutions, there are parents who work in universities. They are engineers, teachers, or lecturers. They are suitable to our stuff. For example, there are no super rich people among them. In our school there are no extremely high-class people.
> P12: In general term, my kids' friends have similar families like us. Their parents are working people who make sacrifices for their kids. There are doctors, teachers, dentists, and engineers among them. They do not live in extremes; it also matters to me. It is about raising a child. I never want my kids to be spoilt or insatiable I think they should know restriction and the word 'No'. Otherwise, they cannot be happy. To illustrate, there some parents who organize birthday parties that cost 3000-5000 Turkish Lira. I heard this and honestly did not like it at all.

Although it looks like a working-class concern, middle-class parents who 'have to' ensure their class positioning share it in school choice. In this research, although a few of the parents mentioned this issue briefly, majority of the respondents had tendency to differentiate other parents in other governmental and non-governmental schools as Vincent *et al* suggest. They say that parents differentiate other parents in public schools and find themselves socially and culturally distinct "People deploy within class groups as well as between them in order to identify 'people like us'". (Vincent, Ball, & Kemp, 2004: 239)

Spacious Schools. Suburbs have been closely associated with larger space not only environmentally but socially. Spacious places are implied to be providing privacy and more freedom of the movement which are key concerns of middle- and higher-class people while making decision on their housing. In the same way, being spacious constitute a criterion for middle-class parents while exercising school choice. When the participants are asked why they chose the school their kids attend, or how they understand the school in question is appropriate for their kids, they talk about the size of the school, how it is grounded on a large area and enables students to be active. P24 and P13 whose kids are enrolled in a very prestigious school say that "school campus is the best thing about the school" (P24) and 'among other alternatives this school really attracted me with all these green open areas. (P13). P9 draws attention to the criticism against the cost of the private schools and advocates it by saying 'there are bad comments about the school's price but… it is impossible not to like the physical structure of the school for them. It is enormous. People say, 'just like school', It is like that' P7 who has experienced two districted private schools

in Ankara so far also emphasizes the size of the school and notes that ‘physical features of the school is important to me, others may not mind it but they are stuff that determines the quality of the school’. P6 also emphasizes that the size of the school is the second most important factor in school choice, additionally he relates the size with the belonging ‘If the school is big, the kid feels that she is at school, as a result, when there is playground when she steps out the school building… I mean it is important that the kid feels belonged to the school, it is important in respect that she could say I graduated from this school’ In the same way, P5 makes connection between belonging and space by noting ‘Big school is an advantage in this way, I mean of course the kids should feel that they go to school no matter what their age is. When they go to the school, they should say that it is my school. In recent times, it has come to a point that just a big apartment can be turned into a school. They are not like school. I studied in schools like school both when I was in high school and at university. P4 who is not happy at all with her kids school cannot deny the space offered by the school and she defines with these words: ‘I do not know, the physical appearance of the school is really good, very big and spacious, it is perfect for the kids’.

In the study conducted by Gamsu (2016) which examines school relocations in the UK between 1860s and 1970s, it has been found that popular and well performing schools moved to suburbs to attract parents more and compete with other schools. Getting suburbanized was a symbol of middle classness and thought to have brough institutional prestige to the school. Gamsu thinks that it a “symbolic importance of site and location for elite and middle-class schools and their ability and need to respond to urban change in order to ensure their position within a changing field of upper and middle-class social reproduction”. (2016: 2923). In this way, larger space is associated with cultural activities and sports that provide cultural capital which is a requirement of middle-class. Space related facilities such as sports and cultural activities reinforce some class dispositions and larger space of the suburban school guarantees them. (Fernandez, 2009). To Gamsu ‘(The schools’) geographical sites and buildings have become, “site[s] of capital”. (2016:2924) and in this study, middle class parents are (consciously or unconsciously) after these capitals by enrolling their kids in a suburban, spacious school.

Academic Quality. Existing literature has demonstrated that academic success in parental satisfaction and school choice plays an important role (Smyth, 2020; Crozier et al., 2008; Goldring & Phillips, 2008; Erickson,2017). No matter what type of school parents choose, they seek for quality instruction delivered by successful teachers. However, in this research, the respondents did not set academic success of the school as the main criteria, but just mentioned it as 'good, quality education'. P25 whose child is getting education in one of the oldest private schools in Ankara states that "the school's education is good of course but we did not choose it just because of that, we had some other concern". P6 also takes education for granted and says that:

> P6: Education is important of course but today the thing named education can be gotten anywhere in anyway. We are both doctors. We studied in governmental schools, and nothing happened, and we became doctors. But still, we will enrol our kid in a private school, it not just for education, I can assure that. As I said previously, it is for belonging and sociality.

Erickson notes that "academic quality can include specific academic features such as curriculum, better academics than previous schools, test scores, class size and individual attention/better learning environment". (2017:500) Although they mentioned teachers and administration of the schools they chose, they did not express any serious concerns regarding test scores. Adversely, they found test score fetishizing repulsive. P8 who used to live in England before states that "It is crucial that her English must not get broken because her English was really good before (we returned from England), apart from this school, no matter what school she would be enrolled in, she would be in a marathon for high stake exams, and I do not know if it is really necessary". P13 expresses her contend with the school they chose because 'the education system here is not oppressive at all, they never claim that we make your child to go to really good universities. It is not a school that uses that kind of discourse. Similarly, P1 also likes the way the school does not prioritize high stake exams. "Another thing is the school does not have such an ambition. I mean there are some schools marketizing themselves in that way. There are ones that say I can make your child get top marks in all exams. This school does not say that". P24 supports the view that good schooling is not related with the scores in high-stake tests with the words:

> P24: I could have enrolled my child in a state school, I was indecisive about that. But there, inevitably he would have been pulled into an exam marathon both because of the school and his friends. And it would tire the kid. I did not want that, and I do not

> believe that it is a real success or something. Quality education is not that… am I clear? So, I preferred a suitable school that offers good education.

"Perceptions of a high degree of competition among students can have a negative influence on the desirability of the school because parents tend to view excessive competition as a risk to their children's school well-being". (Tikkanen, 2019: 173). Additionally, P1 explained the reason why 'people like them' do not look for academic success but value extracurricular activities, art, sport, and ethics while working class parents have to prioritize academic success:

> Another thing is the school does not have such an ambition. I mean there are some schools marketizing themselves in that way. There are ones that say I can make your child get top marks in all exams. This school does not say that. It says that I will make your child come and go to school in a happy way. It is what matter to me… I mean For example, this school couldn't have a place in Mamak (a deprived neighbourhood) when it says that they have no claim in high stake exams and mention ecology and wellbeing instead; or, when it describes itself in a social democratic manner, those people in Mamak will say rightfully so 'What do you mean, I just want my kid to succeed, otherwise he/she cannot get out of this life

The participants drew attention to social positioning of the schools, teacher quality and individual care and support that their kids received as much as quality education if not more. Test scores are more of an issue of working-class parents to provide social mobility to their kids. On the other hand, the middle-class parents who can already provide academic success by employing additional strategies such as private tutoring, are not after academic achievement in high scale tests but expect well-structured, meticulously designed curriculum that can assure cultural capital as well as educational attainment. Their other priorities may be interpreted as the middle-class parents take academic success for granted as and it "constitutes less of an issue" (Crozier et al., 2008:268) for them; they already choose affluent schools that are preferred by their counterparts which guarantees a certain level of academic performance. Rather "Parents value academic quality along with school conveniences and extracurricular activities". (Erickson, 2017:500)

Getting Individual Help. Rather than overall academic success of the schools, what is more attractive to middle-class parents is that their children can get help with their individual needs, teachers have special attention in their kids and the kids' academic works are tracked closely. (Rhinesmith & Catt, 2016; Scafidi & Kelly , 2013; Erickson, 2017). In a study conducted in Canada on school choice Bosetti has found that "private school

parents are seeking a school that addresses the individual needs of their child. They focus on the class size, shared values, and beliefs, teaching style, and that their child will receive more individual help". (2004: 397). Similarly, the participants who chose private schools emphasized how their kids are cared individually: P9 praises the school because always there two teachers in the classroom "There are always two teachers in the classroom. One of them is an English teacher and the other one is a Turkish teacher. The students are not aware of the fact that the English teacher is Turkish and knows Turkish. They still don't know, and he is 10 years old now. I don' know if there is another school in Ankara which has two full-time teachers in the classroom simultaneously". P20 mentions the same schools and states that:

> Let me put it this way, I will recommend the school without a doubt. It really is a different school, they are very hands on with the children, they never stop following up on them. My son is a difficult student but regardless of that, they give him a lot of attention. I see the teachers' and the team's efforts. They seriously give a big effort. They try to get my son to enjoy (learning) and give him attention individually.

P20 also adds her experiences in another school and says that "The school (previous one) was also good, but they do not put pressure on. I mean they just continue with the ones who can, they are not very insistent with the children. They do not chase after the kids or take care of them individually". P19's words explaining why her child need close attention as follows: "My child is a boy, and he is very active, I thought he would get lost in those 30 pupil classes (in state schools). I do not think that it is going to be much better just because it is a private school, but really, they give close attention"". On the other hand, P4 who thinks that her child is unattended expect closer attention by saying:

> They (teacher) are way less attentive than the teachers in France. She (her daughter) was abroad for two years and she is new here. The teacher treated her as if she had been here from the beginning and had expectations accordingly. The teacher told us that our kid was unhappy and had a frown all the time and asked the reason. And I said, the kid had just moved and that this was normal. We came from a different country, and on top of that we moved to a new house. The teacher treated this as normal, but I don't know, I think she should have given her more attention.

Extracurricular Activities. "School-based extracurricular activities […] is associated with higher academic achievement" (Voight, Giraldo-García, & Shinn, 2020: 575). The respondents in the research are also aware of this fact that they prioritize cultural and sports activities while shopping for schools. As noted by Yoon:

> Socially advantaged parents tend to select schools that provide curricular and/or extracurricular enrichment in language, music, arts, sports, and/or giftedness. Those parents do so to ensure their children accumulate the type of cultural capital that will enable the attainment of higher academic positions as well as upper- or upper-middle-class careers and lifestyles. (2020: 197).

The participants mentioned that they chose the schools because they enriched their education program with additional extracurricular activities. According to Ravitch (1981) Coleman also found that the students in private schools participate in extracurricular activities more actively than the students in public schools. The respondents' remarks on these activities and words telling their happiness with the participation of their kids in extracurricular activities as follows: P1 states that extracurricular activities are the most important factor choosing a school: "Workshop hours enabled kids to spend a lot more time with art, music and sports. The workshop hours in this school are more than other schools, we like this about the school". P6 keeps social activities above education: "Of course I give importance to education, but the kid's social development is much more important for me. That is why we chose this school". P13 tells the reason why they eliminated a very prestigious popular school in these words: "And then we live very close to the school (the one they didn't choose), it is walking distance. It gives good education, but they say it is very crowded for this school. We were reluctant because we felt the kid couldn't show his abilities there". P12, in the same way, tells her happiness with extracurricular activities and how her kid is socially developed as well: "Before pandemic, there were really good facilities, there was a swimming pool. There used to be activities on Saturdays. They could participate in them free of charge. Their social development was also supported". As stated earlier, middle class does not mind proximity at all but prioritizes social and cultural development which protects class positioning. P17 draws attention to sports activities and believes that having interest in sports will have positive effects on his family and professional life:

> The kid shows interest here, he played the piano as well. I believe that ever person should be interested in sports including me and you. I mean it for the humanity not just my kid. Definitely, there must be sport in his life. A sport that he likes, it is better if he plays well. It provides him with advantages in his professional and family life in the future.

When the participants rationalize their school choice, they appreciate extracurricular activities before academic quality. Most probably it is because as stated by Reay "educational success comes easily to the middle-class: they have the money, confidence, social connections and resources to make it happen without a great deal of effort (2017:134) "Independent choosers may place less importance on the academic preparation needed in elementary school, or they emphasize other kinds of learning, such as social skills and empathy".(Nelson, 2020: 544) Similarly, in terms of marketing, "in schools associated with higher social classes, there is less emphasis on academic school work and a much greater focus on students acquiring the kinds of cultural capital that is available beyond strictures of the classroom". (McCandless, 2015: 809)

Good Reputation of the School. Middle-class parents judge the quality of school based on many varieties such as quality education and extracurricullar activities that guarantee a middle-class identity by providing cultural capital. They look for 'a good reputation' as well because it is another way to develop cultural and symbolic capital and ensure class positioning. In the study of Reay and Lucey (2003) some of the middle-class parents 'were invariably settling for the only acceptable option; the only school with 'a good reputation' where they could be certain of gaining a place'. In the same way, some of the participants explained their reason to choose the school with the reputation of the school and the degree of being recommended and some of them did not even add anything P10 answers the question why they preferred that school he just said, "Because it is X and Y, the names of the schools are enough not to question them". Similarly, P25 whose kid is enrolled in the same school which lead private school sector in the whole country says that "If you want give a future to your child and if your means are adequate of course you just pick the most well-known school" P19 answered that question in a similar way and she said that they chose the school just because it was run by a very popular, disciplined school. P7 says that not her but other parents choose the school her kid goes to because of its good reputation, and brand value. According to her, parents send their children there in order to involve their kids in the 'system'.

The reputation of the school provides symbolic power to the students, and they can take the advantage throughout their lives. P6 who sends his kid to a private school which is a foundation of a state university states that 'I changed many schools when I was in primary and secondary school, I do not want my kid to encounter with the same issue.

Changing school is terrible. My kid should feel belonging and must say "I graduated from this school". The same concern was also stated in the work of Vincent *et al* (2004) that examined what choices an preferences middle-class parents exercise to make ensure their children's class positions.

The parents opinions on quality and good reutation are shaped by other parents, their friends and co-worker in their social networks (Goldring & Phillips, 2008). "The reputations of "good" schools ... (are) not simply passed through the social networks of high-status parents, but …(are) actually constructed through such networks".(Jennifer J. Holme, 2002: 178)

Discipline. Discipline is a component in school choice and deterministic in parental satisfaction (Tikkanen, 2009; McCandless, 2015; Bosetti & Pyryt, 2007) and it is not a specificity of the middle-class, every parent seeks for discipline but in different ways with various motivations (McCandless, 2015). "It is possible … for different social classes to say they want discipline from education and yet not actually be speaking of the same thing". (2015:812). For working class parents, disciplines work to keep their children stable in terms of manner and behaviour, it is more explicit and authority-driven, it is a kind of resilience preventing actor; on the other hand, for ruling-class parents it is more associated with making pupils to acquire self-discipline. In working class dominated schools, discipline is interchangeable with control, but in non-governmental schools it is a way of keeping students on track on behalf of their academic works, habits, and extracurricular activities. In the study of Vincent *et al.* (2004), parents mentioned discipline in the context of producing middle-class manners and ensuring students to have certain attitudes towards education. In this study as well, parents draw attention to the discipline, but not in a way of keeping them 'under control' or 'watching' constantly. To P12 regards discipline as a physical order "Here is neat, disciplined and organized, you can understand it the moment you step it. Everything looked in an order". On the other hand, P8, P16 and P24 draw attention to the academic discipline. For example, P8 says that "Now this is a foreign school, here projects and homework are not given at the end of the term during exams, the kid is constantly developing. She is learning to do things in an order when the time comes. In this way, she will be comfortable all her life". Apart from academic discipline, P13 mentions a different aspect of discipline and emphasizes discipline in extracurricular activities:

> It has high goals; it doesn't just give education. They enable students to get a hobby in arts or sports. We explained this to them when we went to the school, we said we want to choose you but that is the reason why we don't want you. They comforted us by saying that they give education in a disciplined manner and that they would make sure the kids don't stray from their hobbies. We are very disciplined.

Well-being of the Kids. Middle-class parents exercise school choice depending on many factors but they also prioritize their kids' happiness and well-being (Jónsdóttir & Björnsdóttir, 2012; Crozier et al., 2008) "Expressive well-being, instrumental success and intellectual development are the key components of 'the best' that parents aspire to". (Raveaud & Zanten, 2007: 112). The findings in this research correspond with the existing literature. The middle-class participants expressed how they valued well- being with these words P11 states that "For us her happiness is important, and she is happy with her teachers and her friends". The participant who exercised residential mobility to a detached house to create more space for her kid's activities and hobbies also prioritize the kid's well-being at school. It seems that when certain needs are ensured, the families start to care about psychological situations of their children. The parents emphasized the happiness and well-being of their children while mentioning academic quality of the schools. They highlighted that academic performance does not determine their school choice; they have deeper concerns. Their words showing how much they take of their children's happiness are as follow:

> P17: It was a school like... It was a boutique school, and it wasn't crowded and noisy. And there, the kids going there were happy. My son is also happy, it is important for us to have him go to school happy. So, the quality of education does not need to be like... for us.
> P13: But yes we want her to get education, but we want her to be happy. She can be an average kid, her being very successful, something like an incredible scientist is not our goal, we want her to be happy. If she is an average kid, we feel she can spend time on her hobbies, actually we chose these things.
> P1: There are ones (schools) that say I can make your child get top marks in all exams. This school does not say that. It says that I will make your child come and go to school in a happy way.
> P23: Are we happy? I don't care what my daughter does, she can be an artist, a shoe polisher, a stonemason, or a hairdresser, it doesn't matter to me. She is my child, if she is happy with what she does, that is what is important for me.

As it is clearly seen, the participants keep well-being of their children above academic success. The reason why they can mind happiness and shape their educational practices accordingly may be related to the privileges they have. As they already send their

kids to well-performing popular schools and have no concerns regarding the education delivered in schools, they have comfort zone to keep well-being above ‘academic success’.

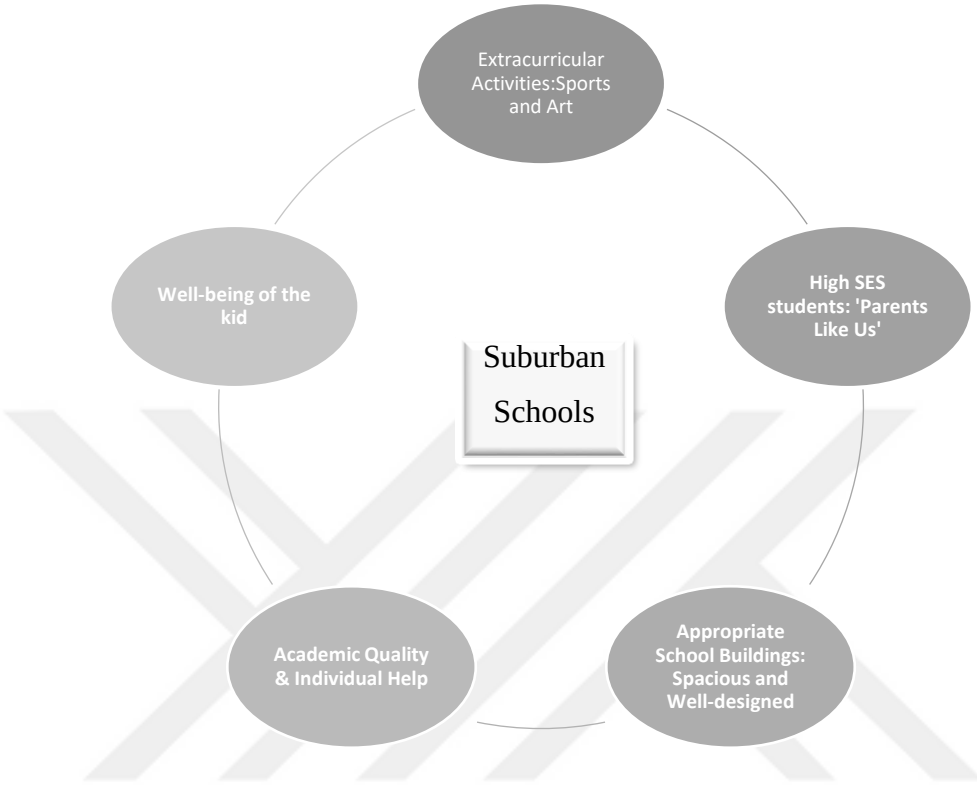

Figure 20. Features of Suburban Schools

Market Economy and Suburban Schools

In this category, the schools chosen by the participants are valuated from the aspect of the market economy in education. The features of the schools (Figure 20) that make the respondents satisfied and made them to choose the schools in question (Figure 16). Schools especially private ones carry out marketing processes in various ways by advertising to attract the middle-class (Lingard, 2020) it also means that the working-class is affected negatively while the advantaged groups make use of it. Middle-class parents do not merely choose schools, but shop for them, they “navigate a schooling market in similar ways that they navigate other complicated and expensive markets such as houses, doctors and hospital, and automobiles" (Holmes Erickson, 2017: 495). The marketization of education affects their other social spaces as well since the schools sell status thanks to their location. This is how the participants chose the schools and made a detailed investigation beforehand:

> P11: We looked into the program of the school, visited the school and went around it in the school. We checked its facilities, even controlled structural features of the building to see if they are adequate. My daughter's views were also important to us. We visited the schools together. For example, she did not like some schools.
> P1: I did not search for the neighbourhood. I only considered Ümitköy. We visited a few schools, I used to have a notebook, I noted some certain questions that I found crucial in the notebook. I liked the school of X and Y. Finally, we decided on the school of Y.

The way they choose schools, their perceptions on the performance of the schools and their sense of 'quality' are also indicators of marketization of education. Additionally, P13 told how and why they eliminated many desirable schools and turned into pedant people in this process her words can be summarized as they visited the schools one by one, had a looked at physical conditions, talked to the administrator, collected information about the sports activities. The participants who preferred a state school also conducted a detailed research. P2 and P21 told that they divided into possible schools which are all located in suburban areas when looking for a good school. As their wives worked in the field of education, they were knowledgeable about the schools which helped them to find the 'best' one. As the state schools follow the curriculum defined by the Ministry of Education, their research was shaped with the social composition of the schools and their state of recommendable.

Suburban schools "have been and still are often viewed as havens from problem-plagued urban districts" (Goyette, 2008: 118) and it is neither a country-specific localization nor a coincidence. Goyette draws on white flight studies that examine how white middle class households' schooling practices and conclude that privileged parents take their kids to affluent suburban neighbourhoods and enrol in non-diverse, homogeneous, white, well performing schools. The rationale behind the accumulation of well performing schools in suburbs can be explained by the market-driven educational policies and marketization in education. The parents' meaning making of school market and marketization in education also deserve attention.

Middle-Class Parents Pay for the 'Service'. Parents and schools are consuming and producing agents and parents are encouraged to be "active choosers". Being an active chooser is closely associated with "responsible parenting" namely "ideal consumers" (Bowe, 1994) and serve for the ideology of market economy. Bowe draws "a linear relationship from production to consumption through which individual consumers (via the impact of their aggregated choice) and individual producers (via 'presentation', advertising, design, etc.) seek to gain advantage in the marketplace". (Bowe, 1994:41). Education is one of the main social markets which is creating new consumption class division. (Reay & Ball, 1997) That is to say, the households are divided according to the way they consume 'services' in addition to 'goods. P18 whose child is enrolled in the relatively new but popular private school which is appreciated because of intensive, close attention by other parents before, interpret 'getting individual help' as buying 'service' other 5 parents whose kids are educated in the same school named explained it as 'real care' and 'close attention'. However, all of these parents mention their lack of time in different contexts as well.

> P18: So, as I worked hard, honestly; I could not take care of it. Governmental schools… of curse there are very good governmental schools, but you need to take care of it. You need to track your kid. In this school, this tracking is offered as service, I believe. It is somehow provided readily. I mean it is a kid of buying service. The school's this feature is a great advantage to me.

Moreover, although the participants have economic privileges, they still have financial concerns and while shopping for the schools they consider 'value-cost ratio' as they buy 'service'. Because of this P1, P2, P5, P6, P12 mentioned that they choose the most affordable school among their options and paying more would not be worth for primary education level. Additionally, P23 whose kid is getting art education in the conservatory told that 'that amount of money could have been afforded somehow, but it would not have contributed anything to my daughter. I would not enrol my kid into a private school even if I had a lot of money. I do not believe that it is worth the service bought in those schools'.

Teachers are Expected to Deliver Quality Service. The way the respondents evaluate, criticize or praise teachers in the schools seem related to the marketization of the schools, the teachers and administrators are regarded as the any other white-collar employees and expected to provide parental satisfaction. However, it is not a situation created by the parents themselves but the way the educators are reflected in school market causes it. As teachers are one of the most important factors to gauge parental satisfaction (Meier &

Lemmer, 2019), they also play an important role in the marketing of the school. The teachers are employed and trained in the same way any private sector company does for its employees because marketization in schooling has fostered the idea that schools are organized like 'workplace' and issues in schools are and can only be solved in the same way private sector does. (Sever, 2015). Some of the respondents' views on teachers, their performances, teaching practices and teacher choice also show that teachers are regarded as service employees rather than educators. While praising or criticizing, the language used by the parents reveal the contemporary discourse and their ways of understanding.

'Quality Teacher'. Participants use the vocabulary borrowed from the economics for the schools and they do the same for the teacher. 'Quality' which used to be a corporate term until 1980's now depicts 'teachers' as well:

> P3: Rather than the neighbourhood where the school is, the instruction delivered by the school is much more important… I mean, is it an old school? How quality is the teacher?... Schools are different, policies are the same, curriculum is the same… quality of the teachers define it. The curriculum of the schools is the same to great extent, what matters is the quality of the teacher who is delivering the program.
> P14: I think (good education) has nothing to do with the school, it is related to the teacher. If the teacher is quality, anything is possible.
> P11: We made research, we looked into the school and teacher quality.

P14 tells that investigating teacher is such a normal thing that 'every' parent does it 'In general, you are asking people you know… all mothers do it while their children start school. they make school and teacher research… especially in primary school. I mean, the parents whose children start school ask me if the school is good or if I am satisfied with it, how the teacher are'. Another participant who chose a private school although they initially looked for a state school explained their reason to change their minds as 'The most important point that made us change our mind about state schools is that… definitely, the teachers in state schools are given reference as well…and when we asked if we could choose the teacher, they said that they do not create positions for specific teachers'. As they could not choose teachers, they preferred a private school, but choosing a private school brings another problem regarding 'teacher quality'.

> P2: The most important reason why we chose this school is that, in private schools, there is too much circulation in teachers. Teachers go every year and new ones replace them. At this school, especially elementary level teachers have been here for minimum 15 years. At this very school, we got recommendation for our teacher.

Teachers are evaluated according to their seniority in the same school. The longer time they are employed in a school, the more quality they look. It also shows that schools do not work no different than any other private sector.

P7 makes a connection between 'quality education' and the way the teachers are employed and rationalized why they can never send their kids to a state school. She thinks that not every teacher can teach in these schools because they choose suitable teachers carefully.

> P7: As I had concerns about the system and criticize it, the teacher that this system trained…. (Choosing her words). Actually, the teachers in private schools are also the ones who this system trained but, private schools at least have a filter. When they choose the teachers, you know they carry out job interviews with them. They are not civil servants, they are contracted teachers and hence, they (the schools) choose teachers that are appropriate for the school.

All of these comments show that the educational policies of the schools exacerbate marketization of education while increasing parental expectation. Investigating teachers looks a corollary of the market economy of the schools, parents 'buy service' and they 'demand' it to be delivered by the 'quality' agents.

Schools Drive Housing Market in suburbs, and It Keeps Parental Profile 'at a Certain Level'. In a study carried out in China by Wu (2013) parents moved to an affluent neighbourhood which is in the catchment area of well-performing schools and traded-off their big houses with tiny apartments to achieve to send their kids a 'good' school. They bought a flat in the mentioned area and regarded it as an investment as the housing prices were soaring upwards. (Wu, 2013). Increasing prices are in tandem with the suburban schools especially private ones, households that can send their children to private, well-performing suburban schools can also afford to live near the schools (Yoon et al., 2018) and 'others' are always kept out of play both in educational and residential context as the result of marketization in schooling.

> P24: It may be about supply and demand of course. I mean If there is a group of potential somewhere, people want to make use of it and the people who regard this potential as a target group settle down in these places. The schools here make the neighbourhood spread. The cost of housing has also rocketed. I think it is like… there are a lot of pharmacies around the hospitals.

Parents' Perceptions on School-Neighbourhood Relationship

When the participants are asked why they did not consider the schools in their previous residential areas as an option, they said that all well-performing schools were located in this (suburban) area, and they had no alternatives. It is clear that schools perform differently according to the regions; the more affluent the neighbourhood is, the better education is delivered by the school (Anyon, 1980; Rosenbaum, 1995; Gordon & Monastiriotis, 2006) however, it is not only discussed by the scholars but also recognized by the consumers namely parents. The way the middle-class express the phenomenon exhibits increasing residential and educational segregation and show that it is not vague but sits in the middle of educational policies. In this category, how the participants relate schools to the neighbourhoods is analysed. The middle-class parents express that neighbourhood matters in education. P19 who previously said that they had no options for school in the inner city and her kid would get lost in a state school said that: 'In some neighbourhoods there are really good state schools. It depends on the neighbourhood. To me, the profile of the parents is directly linked to the neighbourhood'. She also explained the reason of their school choice as "the school has a good reputation" and "it was in Cayyolu". Likewise, P2 also differentiated state schools from private schools in terms of locational differences and stated that:

> P2: I think this interaction is more in state schools as they are designated neighbourhood schools, but you do not see much difference in private schools. Frankly, only the parents who have money can send their kids (to private schools) regardless of the location. But if my kid was enrolled in a state school, it would %100 effect (my child's development).

P2 believes that in state schools there is more diversity, and it could have affected his child's development. Clearly, he does not assume that diversity and more interaction are positive things. As his child is enrolled in a private school where only economically advantaged kids are enrolled in, he thinks that there is no influence on the neighbourhood on the development on the child because the boundaries are all drawn by the economical capital and the school's location automatically shape the schools demographics. P5 refers to his old school days and draws attention to the diversity in public schools and says that 'neighbourhood matters because otherwise every kind of person can come'.

> P5: If you ask me, what matters for the improvement of the child is the neighbourhood because the schools take position in accordance with the

> neighbourhood. I experienced it in my high school. I studied in A****** High School (a state school in the city centre), every kind of people were there, it was not difficult to understand their background.

All of these comments targeting public schools show that the parents believe that 'quality' of the public schools vary depending on the catchment area they are in; for the private schools, neighbourhood does not matter as much as it does for public schools because as P2 mentioned and others implied, only economically privileged students can enrol in these private schools, and it ensures some kind of better performance.

In addition, P7 who finds private school teachers more competent because they are employed at the end of serious interviews and 'picked' only if they are 'appropriate' for the school, explains the school-neighbourhood relationship referring teachers and finds that low performance in public schools is the corollary of the system and the teachers.

> P7: Schools depend on the neighbourhood. I see that now. Even for state schools, it is same. For example, good schools and good teacher are all in Çankaya. A teacher who cannot nominated to Çankaya, can easily be nominated to Altındağ, Mamak, Keçiören.

This point of view can be interpreted as the participants find a close relationship between performance of the school and the neighbourhood for public schools. When it comes to private schools, they do not share the same opinion because the socio-economic composition of other students and parents is the indicator of quality and performance. However, although they did not target private schools while discussing school location, they did not send their kids to another private school which was in the inner city or their previous neighbourhood, they preferred a specific catchment area to send their children. During the interviews, the relationship between school and neighbourhood for private schools was asked separately that's why it is discussed under the upcoming headings.

Supply-demand. Neoliberal policies enable private schools to act differently from the national education policy and shape their curriculum as a response to the parental expectations. These policies have also transferred terms in economics to the field of education (Gewirtz, Ball, & Bowe, 1995) motivation, innovation, performance, and quality are only some of these terms (Sever, 2015). Free market in schooling results in supply in accordance with the demand and change educational policies. It brings another economics term on the table: 'supply and demand' "schools are more conscious of the market and aware

of parents' potential power" (Crozier, 2006: 190) and their status as "consumers" (Wilkins, 2010). As stated earlier, the parents are also very well aware of their potential and believe that they lead educational policies and schooling practices. The schools are organized in correspondence with the parents' desires, expectations and demands. The vocabulary the parents employed to narrate and describe their opinions and experiences on schools and education also symbolize the fact that marketization in education is fully internalized and went beyond being just a part of scholar debates. Rather, it has turned into a reality of society being sensed by each 'stakeholder'. When the parents were asked why they picked suburban schools or why they find suburban schools more desirable, they responded with a term in economics: 'supply and demand'. P17 directly used the term 'supply and demand' and said that parents demanded because they were more concerned with the education of their kids. Although the right to demand a good or service is linked to economic privilege, he related it to being concerned with education.

> P17: Because people who live around here (suburbs) are well off… you know when it is demanded, private sector responds it all the time and the number of schools in this neighbourhood is high. Generally, as far as I am concerned, people prefer private schools here if it is possible… About schooling, people are more concerned with the education of their children.

In a similar vein, P6 draws attention to the economic conditions of the parents and relates it with the school fees. Although he does not use the term 'supply and demand' his words and way of explaining how affluent people exercise school choice reminds market economy sales policies and business competition. He states that:

> P6: If school fee in an area is more different than the schools in other areas, you naturally have an expectation, you question the reason why these schools' fees are higher, you think if it is more better performing. Of course, the people who reside in these areas have good economic conditions and as a natural outcome of this situation, they may be demanding schools in accordance with it.

P21 also reasons the school-neighbourhood relationship with supply and demand but he adds that 'quality' residents demand these schools. It inculcates the notion that regardless of the schools' being private or state, they do not provide the same educational attainment everywhere.

> P21: Probably, it is about the quality of the schools. There is a situation like this, most of the families (in suburbs) send their children to private school, they may not be choosing a public school, it is usually related to the quality of the residents… demand… supply-demand relationship.

P22 explains supply-demand relationship with the spacious areas of the schools and thinks that when schools can meet demand when they have large areas, and the school can have these areas only out of the city centre.

> P22: They are spread over a very large area, but because the number of people and the students are too high, and the schools offer a supply and naturally there is a pile up there and the width of the land is very effective of course... the schools in the city centre cannot have the lands that those (suburban schools) have.

'Demanding Electors'. Some of the parents explained the reason why the schools are well-performing with the parental behaviours. Because they are questioning and tracking parents, schools cannot make random decisions and they have to reason every single thing they do. Some participants said that they know, see, understand, and demand. These parents are referred as "demanding electors" (Bernal, 2005: 787). "Educational market constructs the working-class child and her parents as less valuable assets to schools than their middle-class counterparts". (Reay & Ball, 1997: 98) because of this, schools have different manners and actions according to the 'consumers' they 'serve'. "Once their children are enrolled, middle-class parents monitor the work of teachers and intervene when deemed necessary". (Posey-Maddox, Kimelberg, & Cucchiara, 2016: 907). Positive or negative intervention of elite and middle-class parents in school practices vary in accordance with class consciousness and dispositions (Sever, 2015: 66) in this research as well, the participants state that as they are well-educated, conscious and responsible parents that's why they have to be taken into account by the administration and the teachers.

> P22: The profile of the parents has come to a certain refinement level. It has been affected by the situation that people have started to interact more in social activities and on social media as well. There aren't ignorant people anymore, everyone knows certain things but the parents who think in long term for their kids and decide in what extent the school can intervene kids are differentiated.
> P20: In this school I always see questioning parents. We have a chat group, they criticize everything, they intervene in teachers and administrations all the time. And, the school definitely responds them, they take the criticisms seriously and make choices in accordance with them. I think, it has benefits on the structure of the school.

Intervention can be mistaken by taking care of the child easily and as stated above it can be regarded as a desired and positive behaviour. P19 also thinks that suburban schools perform better because parent are modern and take care of their children P19: "School-neighbourhood relationship… I think, the profile of the parents is certainly related to the neighbourhood. I think that most of them are modern people and take care of their children

(they make research and question the school)". Likewise, P17 implies the same thing and find correlation between education and parental support, he refers to the poor-performing neighbourhood and stated that: "The classes there (in low-performing neighbourhoods) are crowded; parents cannot take care of their children. I think, these kinds of things disturb education in these schools". Nonetheless, P23 describes the very same situation negatively and finds 'questioning' intruding as opposed the other parents who sense 'intervention' as the driver of good education: "Most of the parents (in private school) think that because they pay for the school, everything has to be as they wish, and their children are the best. They are these kinds of parents".

Schools Serve in Accordance with the Consumer Profile. "There are systematic differences in how schools choose to market themselves, and that this depends on the social class the schools are understood – by the recipients of their marketing materials – to be servicing". (McCandless, 2015: 809). Not every school appeal to everyone regardless of their social positioning. For private schools "a higher school SES is connected to higher levels of parental satisfaction". (Tikkanen, 2019: 174) and it starts a vicious circle. Higher SES brings expectation together and the schools make great efforts to meet these high parental expectations and provide parental satisfaction which in turn contributes to the reputation of the school and increases school attractiveness (Oplatka & Nupar, 2012) The higher expectation is, the more successful the school has to be to survive in school market. P11 make an analogy of 'marketplace' and thinks that it is very natural that the schools have different attitudes in different regions:

> P11: I think neighbourhood is determinant (in schools), even supermarkets and marketplaces are determinant. I mean, I work in Kazan (a non-central, rural district of Ankara), the profiles of the people who work in Kazan and in the city are different. Although they are the same people, they act differently. It is in this way in marketplace, supermarket and yes at schools as well. I mean neighbourhood affects school success.

P1 also thinks that the schools that meet middle-class expectations cannot survive in the working-class neighbourhoods because the residents of these places mind dissimilar educational concerns. Suburban schools serve in accordance with the parental expectations and middle-class parents choose these schools because they are satisfied with the service, and it turns into a vicious circle that supports social reproduction.

> I mean For example, this school couldn't have a place in Mamak (a deprived neighbourhood) when it says that they have no claim in high stake exams and mention ecology and wellbeing instead; or, when it describes itself in a social democratic manner, those people in Mamak will say rightfully so 'What do you mean, I just want my kid to succeed, otherwise he/she cannot get out of this life. That's why, it seems to me that neighbourhoods and schools are parallel to each other.

P16 who sends her child to a school founded by a leading university and express her pleasure with her kids' friends (because they are the children of the scholars) also finds a close relation between parents and education quality, she thinks that the school is well-performing because of the people it serves.

> P16: It is a school where the kids of university members dominantly go. Its mission is to educate university members' children and %60-%70 percent of the pupils are the professors' kids. It is a big advantage. It is a good university as well. My kid is friends with the professors' kids. We are really happy with this situation. We are happy with the school is terms of quality and it's being refined really.

Parental Satisfaction. Expect for one participant who is unhappy with little individual care in an International French School, all the participants stated their happiness with their choice of the school as they are choosers. Goldring and Phillips (2008) states that "parents may be more satisfied simply as a result of having the choice option. In other words, people may feel good about having the freedom to make choices". (Page 210). The situation that choosers are more satisfied with the schools their kids are going is also valid in the U.S.A. "Parents who choose their children's schools are consistently more satisfied than those who enrol their children in the schools the state chooses for them". (Plank, 2021). In the study conducted by Bosetti and Pyryt "Ninety-four percent of private school parents said they would keep their child at their current school". (2007:104) In this research, although the participants have access to public schools as they live in affluent neighbourhoods where public schools are also well performing, state schools are not in question as they choose school first and move by the school after spending some time in the previous neighbourhood. Some of the parents told that they were happy overall, but there are minor things to consider as well, but these parents expressed their full contend with the schools with these words: "Yes, I am pleased, if my child started school today, we would choose this school"(P9), "Yes, we are very satisfied"(P21), "We are happy with the school is terms of quality and it's

being refined really"(P16), "We are very happy with the school, it satisfies us academically" (P11), "I will recommend the school without a doubt. It really is a different school" (P20).

In a nutshell, middle class parents in this study made real choices and traded off kinship, proximity to the centre and work with secondary social contacts, security, privacy, social space landscape and proximity to the school (See Figure 21). What outweighs in their choices bring them some benefits that are beyond physically measurable profits such as short distance or security. Dealing with social spaces, middle class parents have deeper concerns. Middle class households are believed to choose certain neighbourhoods because of their 'symbolic value' which means that they provide them social status. They simply want to reach some public spaces that enable them to reproduce and maintain their class positioning; they make connections between their family, work and leisure life (Pinkster, 2014: 811) while preparing a desirable educational attainment for their kids. Shopping for schools and meeting standards required by the schools and inculcated by other parents give the participants some cards that keep them in the game. The most valuable source namely capital that middle class parents hold is not economic privilege. What protects them and promises more for their kids is the knowledge. As it is stated in "No Child Left Behind Act" "Parents, armed with data, are the best forces of accountability in education. And parents, armed with options and choice, can assure that their children get the best, most effective education possible". (Bush,2001)

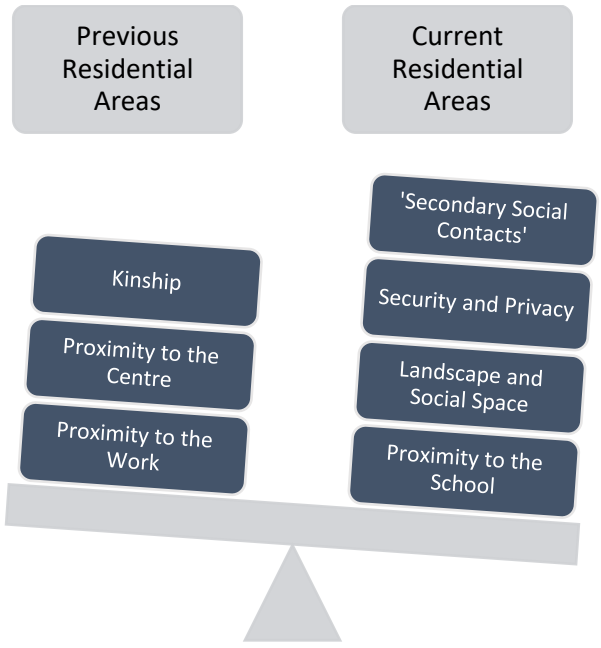

Figure 21. What Middle-Class Parents Trade off by Residential Mobility.

Suburban Effects on Children

The participants told their residential and educational decision-making processes and motivation in a detailed way. They discussed their expectation form the neighbourhoods and schools by adding they were all happy with the results of their choices. In this part, participants' reasons why they are pleased with their choices and what kind of suburban effects they observed on their children after their residential mobility are discussed. The theme subsumed 3 categories as suburban people set good examples, suburbs offer social and cultural capital, suburban effects on the characteristics of the kids. The categories showed that the middle-class parents think that their mobility practices paid off and the new residential environment influenced their children positively.

Suburban People Set Good Examples

Galstern and Killen (2015) argue that the neighbourhoods can have positive effects on the improvement of the individuals because better environments offer 'good examples', this situation is termed as "geography of opportunities". Drawing on the authors Musterd *et al*. (2003) states that "Values, aspirations and preferences are all seen as influenced by the neighbourhood".(Page: 880). Likewise, Bernstein *et al* also mention the positive effects of "stable, stimulating and socially supportive' neighbourhoods on the development of the children". (Galster & Killen, 1995: 29). The respondents' observations on their kids also support these views; they believe that the suburban neighbourhoods effected their children's development and set good examples for them. Most importantly, the children learn greetings and how to make a small talk, they can socialize easier and the people they socialize with set good examples with their appearance.

> P11: There are more educated people around and it will set good examples, I mean for example If we had lived in Mamak (a deprived neighbourhood) and moved here, It would have been much bigger difference, but still there is a visible difference here as well.
> P7: Until a certain age, children learn at home but after they are 3- or 4-years old parents and grandparents are not enough. The more examples they see, the more beneficial it is. In Bahçelievler nobody would say 'good morning'. My child did not know how to greet people now here she sees and learns. I mean she socializes with the neighbourhoods and her friends.
> P8: She (his daughter) sees the collage people in Bilkent, there are all over the campus, everyone is properly dressed, decent people, and there are no labourers because transportation is difficult.

Suburbs Offer Social and Cultural Capital

In addition to setting good examples, suburban neighbourhoods are also found effective in building social networks and acquiring cultural capital. School choice which enacts as the driving force of the residential mobility in this research, leads segregation within neighbourhoods; socioeconomically powerful families build more different social-networks than lower-income families and children. (Nelson, 2020). This difference is found positive by the parents. They think that their children are encouraged to participate in social and cultural activities, learn useful things from their friends and have good networks thanks to the friendships they build in suburbs. In addition to the schools (Dickey, 2012), the neighbourhoods are also great sources of social capital and social network which has an important role in the process of social reproduction (Holme, 2002). That's to say, the parents in this research find suburban areas perfect fields for their kids to build social and cultural capitals. Culturally, they think that their children are influenced by the other children who have cultural tastes and high culture hobbies and want to take up one as their friends do. Also, as the suburban communities encourage cultural development, there are many courses and institutions that the participants can enrol their children in. In their initial neighbourhoods, reaching cultural activities was a matter as it was not cared among the residents. Socially, the parents already stated their happiness with their children's social ties and friends. They believe that the children can make friends who they will keep in touch with in their future lives in suburbs. As the participants find their neighbours in social good positions, they believe that their children will also have a good social status thanks to the social relations and the network.

> P14: When she talks to her friends who go to the courses for example, she thinks of new things and says should I go as well. It comes to her mind. Now, I don't think that it happens in Keçiören. I mean she interacts with her social environment and us. When her friends are interested in those things, it draws her attention, too. If she were in Keçiören, she would not have these kinds of fads. They are not found important there.
> P20: They really helped (her to improve). Her friends in the apartment there and current ones in the building complex are really different. It is different because of their way of speaking, their families, their families' education. Automatically, it reflects on the kids. As their ways of speaking, playing, and addressing are different. I believe that it was a good decision for my kids.
> P2: My kids' friends here are all in different courses. They try to improve themselves at one thing. When they say I go to the piano course, or I go to the swimming course, my kid starts to have fad for them naturally because there is an

example there. She asks me why she does not know how to swim. She would not have this comparison there.
P16: Let me put it in this way, she builds up a network here. The people who live here belong to a certain class obviously. In the future, her current network will continue in her private and professional life. I think it will contribute to her in any way. Socially, they interact with each other all the time. The better relationships she builds, the better it is for her. There are many things they learn from each other. I can on-observe this. And I think that it affects her improvement a lot.

Suburban Effects on the Characteristics of the Kids

Security which was frequently discussed in the contexts of the schools and residential areas constitutes one of the most important reasons to prefer suburban areas surrounded by gated communities. These fenced and walled-off surroundings (Atkinson & Flint, 2004) offer the possibility of leaving the kids alone within the walls of the residential sites. Secured open spaces and parks in the gated communities (Bint-e-Waheed & Nadeem, 2019) do not only protect kids from possible crimes and dangers but also build upon their characters by making them freer, more confident and independent. When the participants were asked if they observed any improvement or change on their children after they moved to the suburbs, they refereed the characteristics of their children and mentioned positive results such as self-confidence, intellectuality, social skills, autonomy, independence.

P12: They have a few good friends here. I mean their self-confidence improves here. For example, they just go and invite them to play. They get to know their friends and their families better.
P16: She could be freer, more understanding and intellectual here.
P16: The school is very important but the neighbourhood she lives in is also important. The school has effects on her academic success and social skills, but the neighbourhood has a more important influence on her socially. I think is has more contribution oh her in psychological term. She can do things on her own and she knows that she can make decisions. She can protect herself.
P18: Instead of exaggerating the problems, she learns to act in a solution-oriented way (because she sees it here) I believe that the neighbourhood has this kind of contribution to her.
P2: She feels free here she liked it more. She felt the thigs here, she felt that she was valued. That the biggest difference. I believe that here in this neighbourhood, people are valued more.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter, the conclusions which have been derived from the findings of the study are illustrated based on the relevant literature in the field. The conclusions were in alignment with the results, purpose, and research questions. In the part of 'recommendations', further directions regarding the study are given the basis of research questions and purpose of the study.

Conclusion

This study that examines residential mobility of the middle-class parents was designed to find out the educational purposes of the parents while exercising residential mobility. It is clear that the main reason for leaving their previous neighbourhood and residing in a new neighbourhood is the proximity to the school that they found as a result of meticulous research. The participants' socioeconomic status enables them to afford a safe commute; however, they all chose to move their houses for various reasons. The way they rationalize their residential and school choices deserve great attention as it is far beyond rational choice. The participants' residential and schooling expectations give clues about current educational trends, middle-class values, middle-class parents social positioning in the society, and spatial inequalities in Ankara.

The "flight" from mainly central city is triggered after the child comes to the school age. As stated in Chapter 2, conceptual background is set on the phenomenon 'White Flight' which is simply defined as the situation in which white (middle or upper class) households leave their neighbourhood not to share the same place with minorities, working class or disadvantaged people. This study and white flight coincide in terms of spatial segregation in society. In both circumstances, the individuals who have certain advantages (referred as middle class) 'flee' from the others and the flight reinforces segregation. This study positions education in centre and deals with 'flight' in educational domain. Until the children come to school age, the previous neighbourhood was not seen as a disturbing factor to raise a child; however, it is not limited with the child and education relationship. The participants' way of

rationalizing their decisions and concerns indicate that they have further social and environmental reasons in addition to schooling.

In contrast to the common study area of the 'White flight' that appeared in the United States as a result of the mobility practices of the White Americans who had close contact with the minorities in their initial residential areas; in this study the participants who moved to a suburban neighborhood neither had contact with the working class or minorities nor experienced any disturbing incidence. The migration in this study occurs withing the short distances and takes places as urban mobility that can be explained with "place-attachment" which is associated with "belonging" (Savage *et al*., 2005; Cohen, 1982). "What is clear is that mobility, as a fundamental social special practice and experience, is an essential means of constituting place, and that sensorial perceptions and experiences through movement do not occur in social or political vacuums." (Komarova & Maruška, 2018, s. 18). The participants' responds to the questions regarding the schools and their social environments and in the previous and current neighbourhoods are conceptualized practices and dispositions that are the results of meaning making process of the middle-class parents.

The participants just had concerns, expectations, and criteria to meet and looked for a physical and social space to guarantee them a certain social status. Their motivation to send their children to a 'proper', well-performing school led them to suburban areas and they found the school they desired and 'suitable' for their kids in distant, car-oriented, secluded neighborhoods of the chaotic, crowded, diverse capital city. "School choice continues to be a middle-class privilege". (Lubienski & Yoon, 2017: 7) and can only be exercised by certain households. The parents' educational expectations are the driver of their residential mobility which is a quite important decision and can be accepted as a life-event in most cases.

What makes the parents feel that they have no alternatives other than suburban schools is that middle-class parents seek for the continuity of the home comfort. Spacious schools are highly desirable because having more space is coded with more facilities, extracurricular activities, sports, and reputation. As having those big areas is not possible for the central schools, suburban schools attract the parents who seek for comfort everywhere. They also mentioned the necessity of having bigger houses because they had another child, or their children needed more space because they grew up. The tendency to look for larger social spaces in daily life, schools and homes indicate that households need spacious areas to perform middle-class dispositions in alignment with their middle-class habitus. In this respect; home and school support each other; inside and outside of the school are intertwined

which means that they are components of each other. Because of that the child has no difficulty in getting involved in the schooling process. Parents do not find other central, diverse schools suitable for their kids because their cultures are not in harmony with theirs and do not complement each other. Other features of suburban schools that attract middle class parents look various; however, they merge in a common point that is helping students to develop social capital through like-with-like contact and homogeneity; cultural capital through extracurricular activities and symbolic capital through good reputation, academic success, and individual help. As Bourdieu (1996: 121) states that "the educational system directly contributes to the reproduction of social classification". In this sense, the suburban schools that offer all the needed capitals and prerequisites of having privilege over the others are preferred by the middle-class who aims to guarantee an upward social mobility for their children. Education is already dominated by the middle-class culture and privatization of the schooling reinforces the situation while causing more and more social segregation. Teachers and administrators also play important roles in preserving certain class privileges at schools (Dougles, 2019). "The ideology of the new middle class was first institutionalized in the private pre-schools then private/ public secondary schools, and finally into the state system, at the level of the infant school". (Bernstein B. , 2003: 111). That is why, in this study the respondents' school choice process and meaning making of the schooling and suburban schools indicate that the children are exposed to middle-class culture at school and involved in social reproduction process both in family and at school. They grow up in an environment that is aligned with their class-culture, and it is hoped to be acquired more through academic success and cultural capital through activities in and out of the schools. "Children of the new middle class attending schools in which there is a clear alignment between the values of the school, the parents and the peer network often indicate a commitment to their education that enables them to display personalised education identities". (Power & Whitty, 2002:603). These identities make sure that they will have at least same social positions in their later life. It is clearly seen that to produce middle-class culture and ensure a distinct way of life, family alone is not enough, the parents try hard to support the social positioning by social capitals, school reputation and residential environment which they regard as 'safe' side to bring up a child. This tendency of the participants reminds "concerted cultivation" (Lareau, 2011) which "pushes their children to acquire the cultural and linguistic capital necessary to excel in the middle-class-inflected culture of schools" (Dougles, 2019: 220). In this study as well, the participants shop for schools that culturally and socially feed their kids while preparing

a homogeneous middle-class social environment. The children who already have educated parents are sent to expensive, well-performing suburban schools and kept in socially non-diverse, middle-class building complexes. “Empirical evidence consistently demonstrates a positive relationship between parents’ education and the likelihood that they would send their children to a private school” (Goldring & Phillips, 2008: 211). The kids’ education is not left under the control of institutionalized education through schooling but guaranteed by noninstitutionalized hidden education both in the social spaces and residential environments.

Additionally, participants also care for their children’s characteristic traits and expect schools to be influential on them. The schools are expected to make the children gain self-discipline and feel themselves pleased, cared, and accepted as individuals. In this respect, teacher and school expectations of the parents take a different form because parents feel that they need to track the teacher and the school to see that their kids are treated as they deserve. The participants’ ways of narrating their school choice process shows that they made “consumer-style choice of schools”. (Lubienski & Yoon, 2017: 3). What gives the identity of “consumer” is the marketization of the schools that “will occur when the possibility of choice arises”. (Bernal, 2005: 779). The schools especially private ones sell reputation, symbolic power and cultural capitals through advertising and serving for the ‘demand’ which is made by the ones who have certain educational background and economic capital. By shopping for the schools the middle-class parents make or “real” choices not “illusory” ones (Reay & Lucey, 2003) that force the parents to enrol their children in one of the nearest private or state schools in the catchment area.

The parents who are involved in school choice process and make real choices demand, track, question and calculate profit and loss account. While narrating the possible schools for their kids and why they eliminated them, the participants frequently visited shopping discourse like service, supply, and demand. It is because education and schools are regarded and treated as commodity. (Longhurst, 2006; Gottdiener, 2000;Yang, 2006; Karpov, 2013). Commodification of education is explored in three diffrent social fields as “relation to childhood and parenting, relation to social relationships (in education) and , in relation to knowledge” by (Ball, 2014: 6) and described as being student-consumer satisfaction focused phenomenon (Kauppinen, 2014). In this study, the commodification is observed from parental aspects. The participants educational acts are shaped according to the profitibality of the schools and in this regard they expect maximum benefit from the schools because they chose them for the offerings the institutions promised in the beginning

of the process. "It is the profit motive that exhibited in the concern for the 'rate of return' to the money spent on education that is the main factor, behind one's investment decisions in education". (Yang, 2006: 3). The parents profit seeking attitude change their way of seeing the teachers as well. The participants evaluate, rate, criticize and praise the teachers in a way that they rate services they buy and it effects the relationship between the children and the schools. The marketization and commodification of education is heavily visible in this study. It results in further techtonic changes in society and schooling practices by excarbating working-class segregation.

The participants said that they track the school and observe their kids closely and intervene when it is needed. The motive behind being in intervention in school, school administration and teachers is that the parents see themselves as consumers rather than solely parents. They do not see the school as strict authority, rather it is an organic structure which can be adapted in accordance with their expectations. However, it is not an illusion the parents created, this way of understanding has been produced by the competition in school market and being strengthen by the marketization.

All these criteria are far beyond the effort of making kids have a good job. They plan to make up a middle-class child and invest in it through private schooling or setting a suitable environment. Drawing on Butler, Hamnett, & Ramsden (2013) and Holme (2002), Maddox *et al.* (2016: 907) states that "Middle-class parents strive to shape their children's academic experiences and outcomes by seeking out the 'best' schools and working to secure access to them, often making calculated decisions about where to live based upon schooling preferences". All these meticulously calculated academic life, residential choices, and certain preferences on schools are put together by the parents in order to provide upward social mobility to the kids because it is not possible to stay in the game only thanks to parents. "The middle classes have lost confidence in their ability to transmit their cultural capital in spite of the schooling system. Whilst they apparently choose on grounds of performance, in reality they increasingly appear to choose on grounds of popularity which is not always the same thing and tends to equate with social homogeneity". (Butler & Hamnett, 2011: 46). The participants are all very well aware that surviving in certain fields such as academic, professional, or even social fields require much more than holding economic capital and having a good job. Today, middle-class habitus requires a lot more than it did previously and parents try to ensure that their children can stay in the game by having the requiring cards namely capitals. "The social agents are not particles that are mechanically pushed and pulled

about by external forces. They are rather bearer of capitals and, depending on their trajectory and on the position, they occupy in the field by virtue of their endowment". (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 108). That is why middle-class parents are after getting differentiated from the others by some investments including creating the needed spaces through mobility.

'Status anxiety' of the middle-class is not a contemporary phenomenon; it appeared in 1800's when industrial economy started to lead the market and professional jobs gained importance over rural works. Children were not involved in apprentice works or they were not helpers in unskilled jobs. Traditional craftwork was not helpful to ensure a good social positioning in the society and people especially mothers who were pulled from the workforce after industrialization had to educate their children in the best way to make them occupy a place in new industrial world and rear them in accordance with the new social order. (Gottdiener, 2000). In this way, educating a kid and making them acquire new skills for the professional, mid-management works started to shape education in the West. After hundreds of years, the status anxiety still persists and exacerbates day by day. The middle-class parents in this study who are all professionals and have certain social status in addition to economic capital feel anxiety for their kids. None of the participants attended to well-performing private schools, had distinct art tastes which they developed in their adolescent age or interested in sports or cultural hobbies. However, for their kids they try to ensure all of these capitals through schooling and social spaces because "credential society" (Collins, 1979) leaves households incapable despite their education and demands more skills, education, and experience. In this study, the participants' "fear of falling" (Bosetti & Pyryt, 2007b) is sourced from this phenomenon they make a real effort to guarantee middle-classness for their kids, however; their way of ensuring middle-classness creates inequality in the society because they get differentiated form the others. Power holders do not try to improve the circumstances that they encounter and go for better conditions. They simply flee from poor and unsatisfactory conditions and leave them for the ones who will not even attempt to change. Being able to reach the better also provides them no social or physical contacts with the others. When all these are accumulated, it is certain that the chance for choice and mobility creates and exacerbates unequal distribution of education. Clearly, social spaces, people and institutions are completely avoided for complex reasons but can be summarized as "when members of high-ranking occupational groups reproduce their advantage across time by securing access to similarly high-ranking occupations for their children, effectively narrowing access for children from "lower backgrounds". (Thomson, 2014: 93). The purity

they are trying to provide shows that middle-class parents' way of bringing up a child is not limited with choosing a school but ensuring all social spaces to be homogeneous and secure; the whole process is run in the same way managing a project that is planned to advance in the future.

By keeping themselves isolated in schooling as well as in residential areas and involving in 'like-with-like contact' the middle-class parents ascertain a "middle-class identity' both for themselves and their children. 'Residential choice brings together social and spatial identities" (Benson, 2014: 3099). In this research, middle-class parents identify themselves through the residential features and the people who live near them and are found similar in many ways. For them it is a way of ensuring their middle classness. "Residential space is a key arena in which people define their social position. [O]ne's residence is a crucial, possibly the crucial, identifier of who you are". (Savage, Bagnall, & Longhurst, 2005: 207 cited in Benson, 2014: 3100). By exercising residential choices, the parents not only provide proximity, but also find a certain way to identify their social identity. While building or supporting their social identity, middle-class parents were concerned with one other thing which was being socially and physically away from the others. "Middle-class identities are often produced through fear of, or distance from, poor and threatening others". (Lawson & Elwood, 2014: 224). The production of middle-class identity is supported by the schooling and social contacts. In this research, the production of class identity is made through escaping from the others and working-class practices as much as choosing certain, suburban residential areas. The escape which drew boundaries between middle class families and the other lead the families to car-oriented, suburban, 'clean', 'homogenous' suburban neighbourhoods with which almost all of the participants felt pleased. Their pleasure is rooted in not only schools but the community they are part of. They praised their neighbours for being refined, educated, professionals, respectful and having values and certain behaviours. They mentioned belonging as well by drawing attention to their choice and how good the idea of coming to suburbs was. Their way of describing their neighbours and neighbourhoods demonstrated that the participants have a sense of community although they always refrain from developing strong social bonds with the other social agents around them' For the building complexes where there are no "neighbourhood vibes" they mentioned a kind of belonging and sense of community which is only set through greetings. However, "sense of community is not a primary social value within gated communities and that the sense of community that residents in walled communities feel is ephemeral, based on

common interests and income level and not on an actual bond with their community". (Wilson-Doenges, 2000: 599). The feelings named as the sense of community and belonging are nothing but "elective belonging" which is described by Savage et al. (2010:116) by referring their studies as "the way that middle class people claimed moral rights over place through their capacity to move to, and put down roots in, a specific place which was not just functionally important to them, but which also mattered symbolically". Elective belonging appear in two main ways: one of which is by preferring neighbourhoods that have active street lives, offer spacious homes displaying cultural capital and have "functional and aesthetic attributes". (Stillerman, 2017: 74). The other way that gives rise to elective belonging is choosing suburban areas permitting contact with nature. In this study, the participants' roots have never been in suburbs. They are all the ones left the places they were born and raised and move to this totally new and different neighbourhoods. However, they all recommend their neighbourhoods, praise them in any chance and although they complain about the distance and the neighbourhoods being far away from their close-knit families and city-centre, justify these downsides with the nature, clean air, and low population. The belonging that they developed later on is called 'elective belonging' and confirms Savage et al. because the participants highly valued living in Cayyolu and İncek because residing in these neighbourhoods is the symbol of being middle-class, it is almost a must as their children's and their own social environment started to be in these areas, all well-performing schools are in suburban neighbourhoods. Also, another reason that they felt belonged is their neighbours who are found to be refined, well-educated and professionals namely 'people like them'. When all of these reasons to feel place attachment and love a place are evaluated, it can be concluded that middle class parents make their residential choices to find a field in alignment with their class habitus and it gives them a kind of content and sense of belonging which is not natural but based on investment and 'price-performance'. The middle-class parents sustain social reproduction by having homes in affluent suburban neighbourhoods because their previous neighbourhood did not feed their class habitus and enable them to perform certain dispositions and practices. That is to say, as Bridge (2006) says, particular neighbourhoods are certain fields to reproduce and maintain class positioning of the middle-class parents thanks to the services, institutions and their "symbolic values" (Savage et al., 2005). Not only for maintenance of middle-classness but also for upward social mobility of their kids more affluent and non-diverse middle-class residential environments were needed.

The very same kind of can be seen in the desire for being in nature. Getting back to the nature, clean air obsession and greenery are all prioritized by the participants. Middle-class people find themselves in nature as if they did not put urban life in front of everything throughout their lives. Involving in nature-based activities, spending time in green areas are highly trendy among middle-class and they want same things for their kids as well. Almost all participants mentioned the necessity of green areas while rejecting crowded central places and looking down on shopping centres. "Tastes (i.e., manifested preferences) are the practical affirmation of an inevitable difference. It is no accident that, when they have to be justified, they are asserted purely negatively, by the refusal of other tastes". (Bourdieu, 1984: 56). They highlighted that they never spend time in shopping malls, that is why it does not matter to be away from these places just because of living in suburbs. Accepting shopping malls as a free time activity and raising kids as mall-centred are working-class attitudes and practices in new social order. The refusal of shopping centres and desire to be in nature can be counted as another reflection of white flight. Middle-class households, who mostly associate rural with the working class and prefer setting boundaries between themselves and others, now enjoy the rural and go back to the nature. Socializing in green areas, involving in nature sports, and raising kids who love nature matter to middle-class parents, and they associate suburban areas with the landscape. It is another reason why they feel electively belonged to these neighbourhoods. Landscape and nature have turned out to be new status symbol for not only the people but also the places. Natural areas are attributed much more importance and value than the past because of the desire for privacy and isolation. While they were poor and rural in the past, they are indispensable for middle-class social life. There is a change not in nature but in trends of places. "Repeated discursive practices enact and reinforce particular understandings of place; it is therefore through the practice of everyday life that space is remade and place reinscribed on the individual (Benson & Jackson, 2013: 798)". In this study, participants' meaning making of the nature and prioritizing being in green show that nature is effective in their residential choices and has a symbolic value that contributes to their existing middle-class status.

Spacious green suburbs that give chance to children to grow up in nature and make the kids have the freedom of movement are highly apricated by the parents. They mentioned how suburban areas are secure thanks to the gated communities and other neighbours who are 'like them'. The parents in this study expressed their pleasure with the situation that their kids can play outside without any guardiancy of the parent because it enables their children

to excel in some social skills and adopt some characteristics such as self-esteem, self-confidence, and independency. Suburban effects on children are quite visible and the benefits are provided thanks to the security. The safety that attracts many parents gives the chance of being responsive and child-oriented and enables the parents to exercise authoritative parenting which is one of three main ways of parental authority according to Baumrind (1991). "Authoritative parents are responsive affectively in the sense of being loving, supportive and committed […] They are protective but not intrusive". (Baumrind, 1991: 128). Parenting styles are the focus of psychology; however, it has been shaped by genetics, ethnicity, social environment, and status as well. Authoritative parenting results in highly positive outcomes especially among middle-class parents (Smetana, 2016). "Baumrind's primary sample was almost exclusively high-functioning two-parent middle-class European American families, which leaves open the possibility that the authoritative model is applicable only to such families".(Sorkhabi & Mandara, 2013: 113). To be authoritative, the parents "must not be restrictive and suppressive" (Baumrind & Yahraes, 1979: 292) as a rule of thumb. In this study, the parents who are seemingly autorotative had a chance to leave some space for their kids and let them free while playing outside or choosing their hobbies. This is because they do not have to restrict their kids for safety reasons, or they have no difficulty in responding their kids desires to take up hobbies and be sociable as they are economically powerful. Authoritative parents also encourage individuality and independence. (Smetana, 2016). The parents in this study also care for individuality and independence and try to make sure that the school offers them as well. In this way, the children get involved in a reproduction process which starts in the family and continues at school. As it is seen evidently, social reproduction does not happen just by passing on economic capital, letting some groups of people to guarantee certain social positions because of their parents' jobs but it is sourced from how the kids are treated in the family. Clearly, "the powerful inverse relations that exist between socioeconomic status and positive dimensions of parenting suggest that the challenge of parenting may be magnified in the context of sociodemographic risk". (Bluestone & Tamis-LeMonda, 1999: 882). Families who have opportunities to provide their kids social and economic comfort become responsive, supportive, and unrestrictive while the others have to restrict kids because of their social environments and economical concerns.

In conclusion, the middle-class parents in this study have exercised residential mobility for educational purposes, but they had deeper motivations to make these decisions.

They traded off kinship, central city, and proximity to the work with other social contacts, suburbs with green environment and proximity to the school. The parents' biggest concern was the children, their education, social environment, and well-being. The parents most of whom had economic power before they had kids did not prefer to move to suburbs because their own parents were in the neighbourhood in question, and it was an important factor in residential choice. This because the grandparents had the responsibility over the kids, and they looked after them until the kids arrived at the school age. However, after the children reached adolescent age and their formal educations started, the school started to be responsible for the children. In other words, parent transferred the responsibility. "Kinship ties' matter more for working class households and they try to cultivate them in their residential areas". (Stillerman, 2017: 68). On the other hand, as secondary contacts become more important for class positioning (Snyder & Blakely, 1997: 32) and middle-class habitus, the parents chose affluent suburbs close to well-performing schools and populated by advantaged middle-class. As it is evidently portrayed by the participants, school choice process ignites the process of the middle-class flight. It has already been known that school choice policies and "the new market economy in education". (Reay & Ball, 1997: 96) exacerbates social segregation especially "within suburban schools". (Holme et al. 2013: 135). This study also confirms that not every child gets equal education as the same education is not delivered regardless of the neighbourhoods; suburban schools no matter how they are managed are preferred by the advantageous groups because they are well-performing. Another apparent conclusion of the study is that housing and education markets "permit a range of strategies of class reproduction". (Byrne, 2009: 1976). The most critical move to 'make up a middle-class child' (Vincent & Ball, 2007) is creating appropriate space for the kids. "the ability to manipulate geographical and social space… (is) a middle- class disposition". (Reay & Lucey, 2003:128) and the participants in this study use their middle-classness to be able to put their children into a higher class. Exercising residential mobility and choosing isolated, well-performing, demographically nondiverse schools are two main strategies they employ while they are trying to protect their existing social statues and invest in the social and cultural capital with the economic capital, other are kept away as much as possible and it finds a place in the list of the strategies of protecting middle-class positioning.

Recommendations

The reason why the-middle class behaviours and attitudes are explored in this study is that lower- and working-class parents do not have the right and the opportunity to make strategic choices for their children. They are not decision makers but the ones getting affected from the circumstances all the time. Because of this, I believe that to keep investigating disadvantaged groups will not offer different outcomes. To broadly understand the sociological realities in educational domain, the researchers need to have a closer gaze at all different social structures of the society, not the groups that are open to be investigated but the hidden and unknown must be more of a concern of academicians. The power relation between the researcher and the researched limits the scope of the field and the constant research on disadvantaged groups fail to cover all subjects in the sociology of education. Therefore, the research targets the members of the society who have access to better conditions, determine educational trends and are likely to create segregation and discrimination in society thanks to their capability of mobility. For further studies, middle- and higher-class students and parents must be investigated qualitatively with a larger sampling. As this study is limited to 25 participants, a larger sampling can be more enlightening. Additionally, as studies that focus on space indicate any kind of flight or mobility, it could be important to focus on 'stayers' as well. The parents who choose suburban schools and make the kids commute everyday should be another research topic. If other families think that being married with children require a suburban life, why other parents who are in the same condition continue living in the centre despite their economic privilege.

Different neighborhoods in the city represent differences within class positions that are embodied in certain characteristics of the areas. In this study it was seen that parents shopped for private suburban schools because of their own reasons, but clearly these schools attracted the families thanks to reputation or advertisement. As the commodification of education is severely felt in Turkey, different schools' ways of advisements, their strategies in accordance with the neighborhoods or potential customers must be analyzed qualitatively to see how suburban schools define their strategies and become way more popular than other schools.

Finally, the participants use a particular discourse to narrate their experiences in their previous neighborhood and differentiate themselves from others by referring daily practices,

dispositions, and attitudes. In a similar vein, they employ another specific way of speaking to describe their current, suburban neighborhoods which is praising and differentiating in a positive way. That is why discourse analysis studies are needed to see sociological realities.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Approval of Human Subjects Ethics Committee

ANKARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ALT ETİK KURULU
KARAR ÖRNEĞİ

Karar Tarihi : **12/02/2021**
Toplantı Sayısı : **3**
Karar Sayısı : **47**

47-Üniversitemiz Eğitim Bilimleri Enstitüsü Eğitimin Felsefi, Sosyal ve Tarihi Temelleri Anabilim Dalı yüksek lisans öğrencisi **Zeynep Doğu**'nun "Orta Sınıf Ailelerin Eğitim Amaçlı Yer Değiştirmeleri ve Taşınma Pratikleri" başlıklı tezi ile ilgili "İnsan Üzerinde Yapılan Klinik Dışı Araştırmalar Başvuru Formu" Etik Kurulumuzca incelendi.

Üniversitemiz Eğitim Bilimleri Enstitüsü Eğitimin Felsefi, Sosyal ve Tarihi Temelleri Anabilim Dalı yüksek lisans öğrencisi **Zeynep Doğu**'nun "Orta Sınıf Ailelerin Eğitim Amaçlı Yer Değiştirmeleri ve Taşınma Pratikleri" başlıklı tezinin araştırma protokolüne uyulması ve etik onay tarihinden itibaren geçerli olması koşuluyla uygulanmasının etik açıdan uygun olduğuna oybirliği ile karar verildi.

APPENDIX 2: Interview Questions

Interview Form

Criteria for participation:

1) Being a member of middle-class,
2) Being a parent,
3) To have exercised residential mobility and preferred suburbs.

Section 1: Personal Information

1) Can you talk about yourself briefly? How old are you? What is your marital status? In what do you define yourself? Low, lower-middle, middle, higher-middle, high?

- Can you talk about your educational background? What schools did you graduate from? Do you have a master's or PhD degree?
- What is your job? How long have you been doing your job?
- Can you talk about your spouse's educational background?
- Do you own a car? How many cars do you have in your house?
- Are you a renter or homeowner? Is it an important criterion to choose your residential area?

2) How well do you know Ankara? What parts of the city are your favourite? Where do you like socializing in the city? What kinds of activities do you do?

- How long have you lived in Ankara?
- Which neighbourhood do you live in?
- Where did you use to live before? How long did you stay there?

Section 2: The Moving Process and Districts

3) When and how did you decide to move your house?

- Did you move as soon as you decided? How long did you wait before moving?
- While you were making decisions about moving, what was the most difficult thing for you?

- What kind of effects did your family and friends have during the decision-making process?

4) What kinds of benefits did you expect for your child while moving? Did they happen?
- What kind of advantages and disadvantages was the previous neighbourhood providing your child?

5) Why did you choose the previous neighbourhood in the first place?
- What changed your idea afterwards?
- Can you tell advantages and disadvantages of being close to the city centre?
- What about being away from the centre?

6) How do you define your current and previous neighbourhoods?
- What features of the neighbourhoods affected your decision for mobility?
- Where would you consider living if you did not live here?

7) Can you compare the residents here and in the previous neighbourhood?

- Have you observed any changes in people around you after moving? How do you define this change?

8) Have you started interacting with other people in your new neighbourhood?

- Have you started socializing with people? How do you meet people? Is your child involved in this process?

9) Did you use to have any social environment in your previous neighbourhood? What were your relationships like? Did you use to contact with your neighbours?

10) Do you feel aligned with the neighbourhood? If so, how do you feel it? Are you happy here? Do you feel that you belong here?

Section 3: Questions Related to Residential Mobility and the Child

11) Is your child happy because he/she has moved here? Have you observed any changes in your child?

12) Has your child's social environment change after moving? Can you compare it to the previous neighbourhood?

- Do you believe that the people in a neighbourhood effect the child's development?

13) Which school does your child attend to? Where is the school?
- What are your likes and dislikes with the school?
- How do you come to decision that a school is appropriate for you and your child? What are your criteria for choosing a school?
- Have you considered the neighbourhood of the school while making school choice? Why?
- Have you considered the schools in your previous neighbourhood as an option?

14) What kind of relationship do you think there is between the school and neighbourhood?

- Do you think that the school's being away from the central city is advantage or disadvantage? Why?

15) When you compare your current and previous neighbourhood, what kind of differences do you think there are between these neighbourhoods for your child?

16) Do you think that your residential area affects your child's improvement and educational progress?

17) Does your child socialize except for school? How did he/she use to socialize in your previous neighbourhood?

- Does your child go to courses?

18) Have you observed any changes in the profile of other parents? Is it a positive or negative change?

19) How do you communicate with other parents in the school? Are you happy with communicating or not communicating with other parents? Would you like to change the situation? Why?

- Did you observe anything having affected your child negatively in the previous school?

20) What is more influential on your child's development? School or neighbourhood? How do you relate these two?

APPENDIX 3: Originality Report

The main part of my thesis titled “Residential Mobility of Middle-Class Parents for Educational Purposes” (excluding cover, preface, abstract, table of contents, abbreviations/symbols, index of tables, index of figures, footnotes, appendices, curriculum vitae) through “Turnitin Plagiarism Prevention Program” examined and the relevant report was also checked by my supervisor. During the control (1) “Similarities of less than seven words” (2) “References” (3) “Direct Citations” were excluded. The results obtained from the report on similarity control are presented below.

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Page Count	: 132
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I hereby declare that I have submitted the original report of the Turnitin Plagiarism Prevention Program, which shows the above-mentioned results, to the Graduate School without making any changes in the results, as an appendix to this statement, and that I accept the legal responsibility that may arise if it is determined that my thesis contains more than 10% similarity rate, I present my respects.

Name and Surname: Zeynep Doğu
Date: 17.06.2021
Signature: ……

RESUME

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Diploma Program	DELTA Module 2	Cambridge University	2016-2017
Master of Arts	Sociology of Education	Ankara University	2018-2021

Publications: