Construction of Ideals for Citizenship and Citizenship Education in Turkey with a Gender-Based Perspective: "A Narrative of Political Parenting"

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Abstract

Although they are approached on an "equal" basis through laws, parents who are positioned as feminine and masculine in citizenship practices are one of the important elements in the gendered nature of citizenship and citizenship education. The purpose of this study is to reveal the narratives of mothers as parents about ideals of citizenship and citizenship education with a gender-based perspective. In the study conducted on the basis of narrative inquiry, both criterion and maximum variation sampling were used to determine the participants. First of all, in terms of gender-based citizenship perspective, considering that the gender of the child may be important in the citizenship ideals and child-rearing practices of the parents, the mothers who "had both a daughter and a son" were taken into consideration as participants, and on the grounds that expectations from citizenship education may differ based on gender, attention was paid to make sure that the children of the participants were at "primary school age". In addition, since the narratives of citizenship experienced in Turkey are emphasized, the fact that the mothers are Turkish citizens and live in Turkey has been accepted as a basic criterion. Within the scope of these criteria, the differences in terms of educational status, social environment, age and occupation of the mothers participating in the study were also taken into account by making use of maximum diversity sampling. Thus, it is aimed to reveal various common patterns in the narratives of citizenship and citizenship education ideals, taking into account different social and temporal contexts. Accordingly, the participants of the study consist of 15 mothers. A semi-structured interview form was used as data collection tool and individual interviews were conducted at least twice. The data obtained were analyzed by thematic narrative analysis method. As a result of the study, the narratives were evaluated on the axis of two main themes within the scope of the ideals of "citizenship" and "citizenship education". "Citizenship" narratives were examined based on the following sub-themes: barriers to becoming an ideal citizen: being a woman, and ideal citizenship conflict: public citizenship / domestic citizenship. On

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the other hand, the narratives of "citizenship education" were examined by considering the following sub-themes: "motherhood" as the subject of citizenship education and "fatherhood" as its complement, and citizenship education and patriarchal understanding as an area of conflict. It was seen that the participants expressed their gender as an important obstacle in the understanding of ideal citizenship that they experienced and constructed, and they revealed the conflicts between the two citizenship understandings, public and domestic. In addition, it has been found that motherhood assumes a primary responsibility and central role in citizenship education, while fatherhood has a more external and complementary nature. While the participants found the education given at school about citizenship to be egalitarian, they stated that the patriarchal understanding prevailing in social factors such as family and social environment did not support the education in question, and sometimes even built its opposite.

Introduction

Is a gender-free, universal understanding of citizenship and citizenship education possible? How likely is the existence of a model of citizenship where women and men walk the same steps, at the same speed, and on the same path? In this process, are the expectations from citizenship education as "egalitarian" as claimed? Especially when it is considered within the scope of citizenship/citizenship education, discussions about "existing" and "ideal" processes take center stage. Concepts of citizenship are not only analytical categories; they are also normative ones. They are shaped by the conceptualizations underlying the roles of the government and the individual, as well as human nature and desires (Meier & Lombardo, 2008). Although it is restrained by law, practices related to citizenship differ from citizenship on legal grounds (Joseph, 1996). The duality between what is idealized in the law and what is experienced in practice lays bare the formation of various inequalities. Many citizens face numerous disappointments in terms of democratic ideals and reality in all age, race and social class categories, almost at a global scale, including countries with high levels of democratic and economic prosperity (Inbaraj, Kumar, Sambili, & Scott-Baumann, 2003). While the laws draw a universal citizenship profile, it can be seen that most elements of citizenship in practice are far from the egalitarian understanding drawn within the framework of the law. According to the recent public debates and studies, social and cultural conditions characterized by concepts such as gender, ethnicity and social class must be understood and interpreted in order to grasp the true meaning of citizenship (Nielsen & Leighton, 2017). In this respect, it can be believed that one of the remarkable factors in the construction of the official citizenship discourse and, accordingly, citizenship education and its interpretation by individuals, is "gender". In this direction, the study focuses on citizenship, gender-based citizenship and citizenship education with a conceptual approach from general to specific.

Citizenship

Citizenship is generally seen as a controversial concept (Lister, 1997), which has various inconsistencies since its introduction (Kerber, 1997) and lacks a single consensus definition (Lister, Williams, Anttonen, Gerhard, & Bussemaker, 2007; Merrifield, 2001). Considering the scope, ambiguity and strong ideological bias of citizenship (Merrifield, 2001), which is a "messy" concept that challenges clear definition or classification by its nature, some difficulties arise in its functionalization (Benedicto & Luz Morán, 2007). Although there is a general consensus on the essential elements that constitute citizenship, there is no universal consensus about the exact meanings of each of these elements, which leads to diversity of views on the requirements of citizenship (Scott & Lawson, 2002). The origins of the concept of citizenship, which has a long history, dates back to the discussions between Aristotle and Plato about how an Athenian citizen should behave as a citizen, and has undergone several changes

from the past to the present in terms of semantics (Dalton, 2008). The aforementioned concept, which was initially associated with city-states, was later used to indicate belongingness to the nation-state (McCowan, 2011). Associating the concept of citizenship with the nation-state that emerged with the French Revolution has a much more comprehensive meaning than merely voting or carrying a passport (Yuval-Davis, 1999).

In citizenship discourses and theories, concepts such as various rights and responsibilities (Ichilov, 2013; Invernizzi & Williams, 2008; Jones & Gaventa, 2002; Kisby, 2007), belonging and membership (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Bauböck, 2006; Holston, 1999; Kisby, 2007; Kymlicka & Norman, 1994; McCowan, 2011) and identity (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Benedicto & Luz Morán, 2007; Enslin, 2005; Osler & Starkey, 2005) come to the fore. Various understandings of citizenship interpret, associate and prioritize these concepts differently. Although citizenship is a controversial concept open to many interpretations and definitions, it can be seen that citizenship approaches are generally divided into two as liberal and republican. While the liberal understanding focuses more on legal status and rights, the republican understanding emphasizes the obligations and duties of the citizen towards the community at large (Honohan, 2017; Munday, 2009). In its simplest form, citizenship has been defined as the membership of individuals to a state or a political community and the legal/moral rights and responsibilities arising from this membership (Kisby, 2007). Rights and responsibilities are elements at the heart of citizenship (Jones & Gaventa, 2002). In particular, it can be stated that the understanding of the nation-state reinforces the meaning of these concepts and uses it to strengthen citizenship attached to the nation-state. The concept of citizenship rather than subject, kinship or community defined the privileges and responsibilities of membership, and this scope was determined by the nation-state rather than any particular neighborhood, city or region (Holston, 1999). Considering citizenship as rights/responsibilities, belonging/membership or identity on a legal basis may cause this concept to be interpreted merely as something "given" and a legal status monopolized by the state. Understanding citizenship as a structure formed by status, rights and identity leaves it as a concept related to the state "in essence" (Joppke, 2007). However, citizenship is considered as something that is taken as well as something that is given (Honig, 2001). To understand citizenship as a contextual social practice is to reveal that it is not just a legal status or a gift from the state to the other party (Nyers, 2007). Therefore, citizenship has become an element that the individual "wins" through various processes, rather than an understanding that prioritizes the state in the state-individual balance.

It is seen that the understanding of citizenship based on rights/responsibilities, belonging/membership or identity, which is tried to be built on the axis of the nation-state, has changed over time with globalization processes and has become multi-layered. As citizens' opportunities to act in new international areas increase, it can be seen that citizenship also evolves (Osler & Starkey, 2005). With the increasing wave of immigration, the structural changes in the inequalities in the social sphere and the rise of new supranational structures similar to the European Union, it is seen that the classical perspective on the basis of the understanding of citizenship has been eroded (Benedicto & Luz Morán, 2007). Globalization has significantly affected the concept of citizenship, and individuals have come to a position where they can be identified with and become a member of various communities instead of being identified with one nation-state (Scott & Lawson, 2002). In a rapidly and unpredictably changing world, sociopolitical integration processes are becoming more complicated. This explains why citizenship is constantly redefined each time, and why its scope, boundaries and actors are discussed among various experts or politicians (Benedicto & Luz Morán, 2007). Current developments reveal the tensions between citizenship as an official status and citizenship as a normative element or target, and current conditions increase the emphasis on claims and demands that go beyond the official status of citizenship based on rights and responsibilities (Sassen, 2002). Rather than defining citizenship in a static framework of rights and responsibilities, it becomes more important to conceptualize it as a process (Turner, 1997). Therefore, considering the fact that citizenship increasingly represents a holistic, multi-component and multi-layered structure, it is seen that the conceptualizations of citizenship have also changed.

Officially, citizenship, as symbolized by the right to a passport, indicates the legal basis of membership of a nation-state, but includes much more than this approach in terms of material, legal, political and social aspects (Lister et al., 2007). The construction of citizenship includes intermediary elements such as pluralism and majority, internal and external, plural and social, self and other, and space and time (Nyers, 2007). It is stated that not only the official legal dimensions of citizenship status, but also its latent restrictions and conveniences within a society should be examined (Haste, 2010). Citizenship, which is both an inward-looking and outward-looking opinion or perspective (Bosniak, 2007), is seen as both an inclusive process that requires the redistribution of resources, and an exclusionary process for building identities on the basis of shared or imagined solidarity (Turner, 2001). In this direction, examining the factors such as gender, language, religion, migration and culture, which are believed to be effective in the inclusive and exclusionary processes of citizenship, gains importance.

Gender-Based Citizenship

The classification of people as masculine and feminine, with a variety of responsibilities, roles and rights, has been a fundamental feature of citizenship since its introduction (Cook Martín, 2006). For example, citizenship in Ancient Greek society was built to favor men (Akkoç, 2014; Erdem, 2012; Gülpınar, 2012; Güzel, 2015). Discrimination in Ancient Greek city-states, which had exclusionary and participatory features, resulted from the exclusion of the unfree (slaves), women and foreigners from the citizenship category. In other words, not every adult who lived in the Greek city-states, but only adult and free men were given citizenship status (Erdem, 2012). When the society at large, including women, foreigners and the have-nots, is evaluated in terms of the concept of citizenship in ancient Greece, it is seen that political rights were endowed to them with a limited perspective (Akkoç, 2014). In Athens, women were deprived of their political rights; they could not participate in parliamentary debates, take part in political office, or serve as jurors in courts (Peradotto, 1999). In the following processes, it is seen that women were excluded under the concept of nationalism in nation-state building and that militarized wars are conceptualized in terms of men, which led to the negligence of women (Omar, 2004). In the sense that historically often the nation-state itself or its construction was a male-led project (at least initially, in terms of men or certain groups of men), citizenship was characteristically gendered. This situation revealed the concept of motherland "protected" by men in the dominant symbolism of the nation-state, and built women's political participation on this basis in most, if not all, countries (Oleksy, Hearn, & Golańska, 2011). For most of ancient and modern history, women's official citizenship status and rights were denied (Lister, 2003), women were excluded from everything public, and as a result, they were forced by society to stay within the confines of the household (Seely, Diambogne Diouf, Malischewski, Vaikath, & Young-Burns, 2013). In contemporary societies, women are not included in the citizenship category, but only in a category that provides partial participation (Munday, 2009). The mainstream citizenship theories of the twentieth century, on the other hand, have tended to overlook the fact that women's gradual attainment of civil, political and social rights generally follows a different pattern than men (Lister, 2016). The concept of citizenship, which is historically linked to the idea of an abstract individual who can exercise universal rights, has been based on the hegemonic model of masculinity, in which case women had to enter a non-inclusive field (Gordon, 2006). Feminist theorists have stated that beyond expressing the historical exclusion of women from citizenship, they contain gendered assumptions in terms of both theoretical and practical requirements (Munday, 2009). In addition, feminist theorists have revealed that the long-standing exclusion of women in both liberal and republican outlook from citizenship theory and practices is far from accidental (Lister, 2003). Feminist theory's challenge to the false universality of citizenship and the 'woman' category underlined the need for 'an understanding of citizenship that would embrace all social divisions simultaneously' (Leca, 1992). From a historical perspective, gender has long been a basic criterion for classifying citizens; in other words, citizenship has a gender-based history.

It is seen that the meaning attributed to women within the scope of the construction of citizenship and citizenship education in Turkey has gained considerable importance especially since the proclamation of the republic despite periodic ideological changes. In the context of citizenship in Turkey, since the foundation of the republic, gender equality has been seen as an important priority for both the founding elements and Turkish women (Arat, 2000). Especially with the proclamation of the republic, it is seen that women were positioned in accordance with the nation-state building. In the process of building the acceptable citizen, the nation-state has gendered men and women by positioning them, and has tried to keep the core structure that makes up the nation under control by reframing the family (Aktaş, 2010). With the aim of raising the ideal citizen of the Republic, considerable importance was attached to the education of both women and children (Şirin, 2013). Revolutionary developments have been witnessed regarding family law, education and political rights in order to "accept women as population (citizen)" (Demir, 2008). First of all, the duty of motherhood of the republic women was brought to the fore and it was aimed that women should be educated people (Yalçın, 2019). Under the leadership of the founding elements, it is seen that women had several social and economic rights in the 1930s and gained some political rights since the 1930s (Yüceer, 2008). Equality of men and women in terms of citizenship, and the responsibility of the state for the realization of this equality are also guaranteed by constitutional processes.[2] Moreover, in 1985, Turkey ratified the "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)",[3] which obliges states to ensure both legal and de facto equality (Dinmezpınar, 2014). However, formal equality shows difference from real equality. In Turkey, as in other countries in the West or the Middle East, women experience citizenship very differently from what the official legal framework envisions (Arat, 2000).

Researchers have revealed the gendered nature of citizenship by pointing out that men and women have different access to full citizenship and claims (Gazso, 2009). There is an ever-expanding literature that claims that western notions of "citizenship" often frame women to exclude women in unobtrusive ways (Tormey & Gleeson, 2012). It seems that gender is not included in many citizenship discussions, and little attention is paid to the gendered nature of citizenship (Arnot, 2005; Walby, 1994). The apparent gender neutrality of the concept of citizenship obscures gender distinctions that have been constructed both historically and currently (Lister, 2003). Although women are no longer denied access to citizenship status around the world, the exclusion of women is a continuing reality (Seely et al., 2013). Despite all these negative situations, political debates on the concept of citizenship are expressed in terms independent of gender, or citizens are often seen as both "genderless" and "male" (Oleksy et al., 2011). Therefore, it can be stated that the understanding of "equality" based on gender, which is one of the important layers of citizenship, has become symbolic, and in this context, gender-based citizenship, which gains weight in favor of men, has been resisting change for a long time.

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[2] Article 10 – "Everyone is equal before the law without any discrimination based on language, race, color, gender, political opinion, philosophical belief, religion, sect and similar reasons. (Additional paragraph: 7/5/2004-article 5170/1.) Women and men have equal rights. The state is responsible for ensuring that this equality is realized. (Additional sentence: 7/5/2010- article 5982/1.) Measures to be taken for this purpose cannot be interpreted as contrary to the principle of equality (accessed from https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.2709.pdf).

[3] Article 5 - States Parties shall take all appropriate measures:

a- To modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women;

b- To ensure that family education includes a proper understanding of maternity as a social function and the recognition of the common responsibility of men and women in the upbringing and development of their children, it being understood that the interest of the children is the primordial consideration in all cases. (accessed at https://insanhaklarimerkezi.bilgi.edu.tr/media/uploads/2015/08/03/KadinlaraKarsiAyrimciliginOnlenmesiSozlesmesi.pdf).

Citizenship Education

Considering the gendered nature of citizenship and the changes in the understanding of "citizenship", it is seen that there are various changes in the purpose and scope of citizenship education. The definitions of the concept of citizenship reveal the proper environment for the development of the individual citizen, as well as the aims and constraints of any educational agenda (Haste, 2010). Conventional citizenship education, which focuses on the nation, is based on the assumption that learners are generally natural close to the nation state (Osler, 2011). Building a common identity and history, patriotism and loyalty to the nation were seen as the main purpose of citizenship education (Scott & Lawson, 2002). Banks (2015) advocated a transformative citizenship education by stating that mainstream citizenship education reinforces the status quo and dominant powers in society, and that schools cannot challenge class, race or gender inequalities that occur in society. The author pointed out that students should be equipped with social skills that can challenge race, class and gender inequality.

One of the items that come into prominence within the scope of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals decided at the United Nations Sustainable Development Summit is "to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls".[4] For a more comprehensive understanding of citizenship education, it is important to include both curricula and elements outside the curricula (Eurydice, 2017). In this sense, Galston (2001) emphasizes "noneducational institutions and processes—families, ethnic groups, voluntary associations, and concrete political events, among others—are crucial influences on civic formation" (p. 219). Veldhuis (1997) similarly points to organized elements such as school and family, or unorganized and unintentional elements such as mass media, environment and peer groups. In this context, especially the family is appears as a starting point where citizenship education sprouts (Quisumbing, 2002; Turner, 2008). In this process, certain familial characteristics and family history play an important role in citizenship development (Kerr, 2005; Niemi & Chapman, 1999). It is stated that families are responsible for citizenship education (Ereş, 2015; Keleş & Tonga, 2014), that they are important in providing students with citizenship awareness and citizenship skills (Ersoy, 2012; Genç & Çelik, 2018; Memişoğlu, 2014; Som & Karataş, 2015), that the students gain basic democratic values in the family (Doğanay & Sarı, 2004), and that the consistency between the citizenship education given in the family and the school should be taken into consideration (Kepenekçi, 2008).

Studies reveal that parenting is an inseparable whole with citizenship experiences and goals (Van Beurden & de Haan, 2020). The importance of political parenting becomes apparent when considering the deep familial origins of children's civic competences. Although family and parenting have been the focus and object of political attention for decades (Macvarish, 2014; Richter & Andresen, 2012), political parenting has been a rarely discussed concept (McDevitt & Kiousis, 2015). However, "parenting" is a political concept. With the transition to parenthood, long-term and distinct changes are experienced in the lives of adults. Along with processes such as getting married, raising children, joining the workforce and getting older, parenting becomes an important socialization process with the potential to shape political priorities, attitudes and behaviors (Elder & Greene, 2012). In this context, politically parenting can be seen as both a challenge and a process that offers various opportunities (Sawhill, Reeves, & Howard, 2013). In this process, motherhood plays a relatively more intense and important role. Parenting, especially motherhood, appears to be an important factor in the motivational processes of the formation of political attitudes and political behaviors (Greenlee, 2007). In general, motherhood has played a central role in the transmission of citizenship (López Rodríguez, 2018). Although family and motherhood are seen as unvaluable in terms of citizenship discussions and a "private field", it can be stated that they have important functionality especially in terms of citizenship rights and access to citizenship (Erel & Reynolds, 2018). Generally, maternalist movements and various 'political motherhood' approaches are mentioned within the scope of worldwide citizenship struggles in historical processes (Longman, De Graeve, & Brouckaert, 2013). The main reason for focusing more on women than parents is that they still play an important role in child-rearing processes in terms of

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[4] Goal 5 – to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls
(https://www.unesco.org.tr/Home/AnnouncementDetail/302)

child care, cultural construction, education, etc. (Gillies, 2007; Thomson, Kehily, Hadfield, & Sharpe, 2011). Considering the political status of motherhood within the scope of parenting, it is seen that they contribute to the reproduction of citizenship not only by giving birth to children, but also through the roles they play in the child's social and educational development.

From a sociological point of view, no matter how narrowly defined in legal and political terms, it is important to understand the social foundations and consequences of citizenship (Turner, 2008). Given the gendered nature of citizenship and its education, understanding these societal foundations and consequences is extremely important. Citizenship-related literature such as global citizenship and development education neglects gender, similar to the more comprehensive citizenship literature. (Tormey & Gleeson, 2012). Although gender equality is one of the most fundamental democratic principles, the democratic citizenship model on which education systems are built paradoxically excludes gender-related concerns (Arnot, 2005). Especially today, while citizenship and, accordingly, citizenship education are presented within the scope of the concepts of inclusiveness, equality, freedom and impartiality, it is seen that these concepts become blurred when "gender" is taken into consideration. In this direction, although approached on an "equal" basis through the laws, the families formed by the parents who are positioned as feminine and masculine in citizenship/citizenship education practices represent one of the important elements in the gendered nature of citizenship. In addition, according to Turner (2008) "the relationship between citizenship, marriage and family has often been overlooked in the social and political theory of citizenship" (p.45).

When the studies conducted in Turkey are evaluated, it is seen that the citizenship perceptions of the parents/families (Acar, 2018; Dere, Kızılay, & Alkaya, 2017; Ersoy, 2012), their views on citizenship education (Altay, 2021), and their citizenship preferences for their children (Kuş, Öztürk, & Elvan, 2014) have been examined. In addition, it is observed that the necessity of effective family cooperation is emphasized within the scope of citizenship education (Çelik, 2009; Hablemitoğlu & Özmete, 2012; Som & Karataş, 2015; Tonga, 2013; Uğurlu, 2011). It is necessary to know what the parents' attitudes towards the said areas in the curriculum are, what they find important, what they see as their own area, and what they accept as the role of the school (Holden, 2004). Little is known about the extent to which parents support citizenship teaching in general, although the influence of the home has more weight than elements of curriculum (Holden, 2004). In this respect, it is thought that it is important to examine the personal narratives of mothers with a holistic approach in order to reveal how mothers, as parents, construct their understanding of citizenship and citizenship education in the context of a gender-based perspective in Turkey. The ongoing tensions between a gender-neutral versus a gender-differentiated understanding of citizenship may reflect in different ways in mothers' citizenship education ideals or expectations. Moreover, considering that citizenship education is such a comprehensive and multivariate concept that it cannot be confined within the school walls, it can be argued that the expectations and ideals of mothers in this process are also important. In this context, within the scope of gender-based citizenship perspective in the study, it is aimed to reveal the narratives of mothers as parents about their citizenship experiences, expectations and ideals, and then their narratives about citizenship education by considering their children. For this purpose, answers to the following research questions were sought:

- From the perspective of gender-based citizenship, what are narratives of mothers about citizenship?

- From the perspective of gender-based citizenship, what are the narratives of mothers about citizenship education?

Method

This study was conducted on the basis of narrative inquiry, one of the qualitative research designs. Narrative studies offer various arguments regarding the sense people make about life events (Polkinghorne, 2007). In these studies, where stories are accepted as the primary data source, the structure, content, context and application process of narratives are examined with a holistic approach (Wells, 2011). Studying stories/narratives or descriptions of a series of events is a common element that narrative researchers emphasize (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). In this process, the meaning of the narrative becomes important. In order to comprehend narrative research, first of all, "narrative" should be understood (Thomas, 2012). In this direction, the narrative has been evaluated as a gateway through which world experiences are interpreted and made personally meaningful when a person steps into the world (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006). This study, on the other hand, is based on exploring the narratives of mothers about citizenship and citizenship education within the scope of gender-based citizenship perspective. Particularly citizenship experiences of mothers, the reflection of gender in this process and their expectations from citizenship education in this direction formed the basis of their narratives.

Narrative studies focus on what is experienced, as well as its meaning and importance, and how it is conveyed or shared (Thomas, 2012). It is an important aspect of narrative research that participants remember one or more special situations (manifestation/enlightenment moment) they have experienced in their lives. In this process, the researcher should comprehensively specify the context or environment in which this particular situation occurs (Fraenkel, Wallen, & Hyun). Narrative research requires a more careful analysis of data, including the researcher, the participants, and the extensive cultural processes in which these people are involved, beyond compiling, re-translating or re-presenting a particular story (Barrett & Stauffer, 2009). In this direction, it is aimed to reveal the experiences, expectations and ideals of mothers as parents regarding citizenship and citizenship education in different time and socio-cultural contexts. This situation also contributed to revealing the effects of the gendered perspective on citizenship and citizenship education as a context. The approach followed in this direction is as indicated in Figure 1:
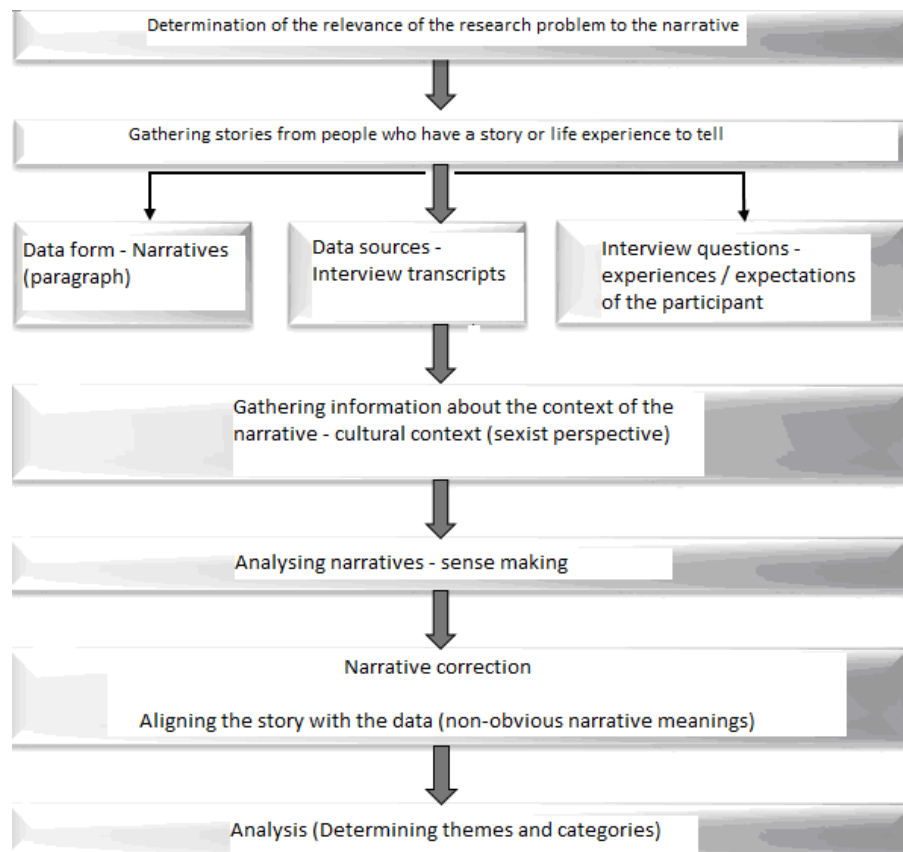
Figure 1. The approach adopted regarding the narrative research process (edited from Uğuz Arsu & Tekindal (2021)).

Identification of Participants

In this study, purposive sampling methods, both criterion and maximum variation sampling, were used gradually. Criterion sampling is based on the selection of situations that meet some predetermined criteria (Creswell & Poth, 2016). First of all, in terms of gender-based citizenship perspective, participants who had "both a daughter and a son" were taken into consideration, on the grounds that there may be differences in the citizenship ideals and child-rearing practices of mothers according to the gender of the child. In addition, care was taken to ensure that the children of the participants were at "primary school age" in order to reveal expectations from "citizenship education" as well as gender-based citizenship. However, since the citizenship narratives experienced in Turkey are emphasized, attention has been paid to choose mothers who are Turkish citizens living in Turkey. Maximum variation sampling was also used within the scope of the said criteria. With maximum variation sampling, a detailed and comprehensive description of each sample-specific situation to reveal the uniqueness is made, displaying the important common patterns emerging from heterogeneity and their value (Patton, 2002). Maximum variation sampling allows researchers to reveal the basic and variable characteristics of a phenomenon experienced by various stakeholders across different contexts to facilitate informed holistic decision making (Suri, 2011). In this context, the predetermined criteria were kept constant and the differences of the mothers participating in the study in terms of socioeconomic environment, educational status, age, marital status and occupation were taken into account. The main reason for considering these differences is to explore various common patterns regarding citizenship and citizenship education ideals within the narratives of the participants in different social and temporal contexts. Two of the participants were reached through personal contacts of the researcher. The other participants were contacted with the reference of the first participants, whom the researcher reached through personal contact, taking into account the criteria determined at the beginning of the research process. Sufficient data satisfaction was not reached from the interview with one participant, and the transcript of that interview was excluded from the research process; so, the interview process was based on data obtained from 14 participants.

Characteristics of Participants

Tuğba is 28 years old, married and a high school graduate. Tuğba, who has two children, has spent most of her life in the district. Tuğba, who graduated from high school at the age of 26, is a housewife and has never had a working life until today. She defines herself as a person who thinks carefully, always catches things that make her happy late, but does not give up on her goals.

Ayşe is 39 years old, married and has a bachelor's degree. Ayşe, who has three children, teaches at a public primary school. Ayşe, who spent most of her life in the provincial center, describes herself as a determined, hardworking and honest person.

Seda is 44 years old, married and has a bachelor's degree. Seda, who has two children, was born and raised in the district, and now lives in the provincial center. She took a break from her working life for a year because she recently had a child. She describes herself as a pessimistic, realistic, inquisitive person who attaches great importance to labor.

Sibel is a 37-year-old divorced woman with two children. Sibel, who has just completed her doctoral education, works in a private company. Born in the district center, Sibel has spent most of her life in the provincial center. She describes herself as an enthusiastic, communicative, cheerful person.

Hülya is a 41-year-old married executive with two children. Hülya, who has a master's degree, was born in the district and lived in the provincial center for a certain period of time for university education. Currently living in the district, Hülya describes herself as "a passenger trying to complete herself".

Zeliha is 35 years old, divorced and has a bachelor's degree. Zeliha, who works as a police officer, has three children. She has spent most of her life in the provincial centre. She describes herself as an overprotective person.

Elvin is a 40-year-old, married, high school graduate accounting professional. He started a new job after a long interval. She spent most of her life in the provincial center. She describes herself as a prescriptive, a little emotional person who wants everything to be perfect.

Aslı is 40 years old, married and has a bachelor's degree. Aslı, who teaches at a public secondary school, has three children. Aslı spent her childhood in the district and her adulthood in the provincial center. She describes herself as someone who is relaxed, not easily angered, constructive, calm, and has a positive outlook on life.

Fatma is a 34-year-old housewife with a bachelor's degree. Fatma, who was born in the district center and spent most of her life in the provincial center, has two children. She describes herself as a harmonious person who is open to development.

Sema is a 32-year-old divorced woman with two children. Sema, who worked as a research assistant in a higher education institution, spent most of her life in the provincial center. She describes herself as a hardworking, free-spirited and disciplined person.

Havva is a 36-year-old married housewife with a bachelor's degree. She had a working life for a short term of her life. She spent most of her life in the provincial center. She describes herself as a calm and reserved person.

Yeşim is 41 years old and has two children. Yeşim, who has just completed her doctorate, works in a private company. Yeşim, who was born and raised in the provincial center, describes her personal characteristics as an emotional, fragile and anxious person.

Arzu is a 33 years old, married housewife with an associate degree. Aslı, who spent most of her life in the provincial center, has never had a working life. She describes herself as a sincere, candid and meticulous person in some matters.

Gül is 35 years old, married and a high school graduate. Gül, who has two children and never had a working life, spent most of her life in the district. Now living in the provincial center, Gül describes herself as an emotional and punctual person.

Role of the Researcher

In narrative inquiry, narrative researchers have different ontological positions as constructionists and constructivists (Sparkes & Smith, 2008). In this study, the researcher has adopted a constructivist role in the construction of narratives. In the constructivist approach, narrative is emphasized as a form of social action, and the impact of socio-cultural factors, language and social discourse on human behavior is taken into account (Sparkes & Smith, 2008). In this context, gender-based perspective was evaluated as an important socio-cultural factor in structuring the understanding of citizenship of participant mothers. In narrative research, there is also a mutual construction of the research relationship between the participant and the researcher (Savin-Baden & Niekerk, 2007). Active collaboration with the participant is required throughout the narrative inquiry. The researcher should discuss the participant's story with the participant on a regular basis and evaluate it in terms of social-political and personal dimensions (Wang & Geale, 2015). In this context, cooperation was made with the participants before, during and after the study. Although narrative researchers start the process by telling stories of present or past experiences, they actually enter the process from the middle of a story (Clandinin, 2006). However, it is important to master the entire temporal, social and cultural context of the story. For this reason, before starting the interview process, the researcher gathered information about the place where the participants were born, the social environment where they spent a long part of their lives, the schools they graduated from, their profession, marital status, and the periods they had children. In addition, each participant was asked to create sentences describing their own personal characteristics. The raw data obtained from the interviews and the findings obtained after the data analysis process were shared with the participants, and effort was paid to obtain feedback on the narratives (Appendix 2). Accordingly, participants' listening to different/similar narratives from other participants in addition to their personal narratives was used as a validation mechanism. Thus, this relationship between the researcher and the narrator reinforced the construction of the "meaning" emerging from the narratives.

In the narrative inquiry literature, it is usual for researchers to describe their relationship to the phenomenon being examined (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). The concepts of "gender and citizenship", which are among the basic concepts of this study, are one of the researcher's fields of study. In this sense, she has authored articles and book chapters on the role of gender in terms of indicators in higher education in national and international literature, gender inequality in the context of textbooks, the historical development of citizenship and citizenship education in political terms, and the understanding of citizenship of immigrant women. In addition, the researcher has conducted a meta-synthesis on citizenship studies in Turkey. Another issue that should draw attention in narrative inquiry is the relationship of the researcher with the examined "situation". The role of the researcher in narrative inquiry is not only to ask questions that reveal narratives, but also to position herself so that narratives can be analyzed effectively (Savin-Baden & Niekerk, 2007). While analyzing the narratives of the participants, especially considering the gender of the researcher, cooperation was made with the participants in order to prevent both coding blindness and researcher bias, and thus a reflective process was adopted. The researcher's previous experience in case studies, phenomenology and action research has been effective in preventing researcher bias that could arise from the nature of qualitative research.

Data Collection

As a data collection tool, the semi-structured interview form in Appendix 1 was used. First of all, a draft interview form was prepared, and in this context, draft questions were created in line with the researches examined in the literature. The draft form, consisting of seven questions, was sent to an academic who conducts research on citizenship education in the field of social studies and another academic who teaches qualitative research techniques and applications in social sciences at the doctoral level. In line with the opinions of these experts, the two questions containing the conjunction "or" were revised and rearranged as probe questions linked to the main interview question, considering the possibility that the participants could not express their views fully. In addition, it was recommended to add two questions, from general to specific, regarding the citizenship education given in schools. With this arrangement, a semi-structured interview form consisting of nine questions was prepared.

Interviews were conducted repetitively with one participant, at least twice, in order to reveal the narratives comprehensively. Depending on the personal preferences of the participants, the interviews were conducted and recorded through online video calls due to the Covid 19 pandemic. The interviews were held at the date and time intervals determined by the participants, each of which lasted approximately 30-45 minutes. Before the interview, the participants were informed that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any stage without stating a reason, and that the confidentiality of the study process (confidentiality of information, data, identity) was ensured, and informed consent and ethics committee permission documents were obtained accordingly. While a more general approach to citizenship and citizenship education was followed in the first interview, the second interview focused more on individual narratives (experiences, expectations, ideals). These interviews focused on questions that could reveal the temporal and cultural context (gendered) in chronological terms. Sometimes, in order to reach a more in-depth and holistic narrative process, the same questions were reiterated in different ways.

Analysis of Data

In the process of narrative research, study data are classified under three main elements: short answer, numerical and narrative. Although all three types of data are used, the priority is to treat the data in the form of a narrative (Polkinghorne, 1995). Similarly, "narratives" were accepted as data type in this study. Different approaches are used in narrative analysis processes. Sometimes the focus can be on the "content" of the stories, sometimes on the "meaning", and sometimes on both (Etherington, 2011). Creswell (2016) emphasized three main elements in the analysis processes: thematic, structural and dialogic/performance. Riessman (2005), on the other hand, classified narrative analysis as "thematic, structural, interactional and performative". In this study, thematic narrative analysis was used. In this process, researchers tell the story and often identify themes or categories that originate from the story. Therefore, qualitative data analysis can be both explanations of the story and emerging themes (Ollerenshaw & Creswell, 2002). In this direction, first of all, the raw data obtained from the interviews were transferred to the computer environment. The raw data in question consists of 56 pages in total with Times New Roman font, 1.5 line spacing, 12 font size. The raw data were transferred to the MAXQDA 2020 program after being re-checked by the researcher. Pre-reading was carried out twice, and effort was paid to understand the interaction between the narratives and research questions and achieve data mastery. Afterwards, the analysis process was started, and codes and possible sub-themes and main themes were created in relation to the codes. In this process, thematic connections were tried to be established through the narratives of the participants regarding citizenship and citizenship education, and these connections were evaluated from the perspective of gender.

What makes the narrative "real" is its proximity to reality more than its verifiability (Bruner, 1991). Within the scope of narrative research, validity is not related to an observable and measurable truth, but to the personal meaning derived from stories (Thomas, 2012). Readers should be able to follow up enough to make their individual decisions regarding the validity of the evidence and claims made within the narrative. For this reason, narrative researchers should consider and predict the types of evidence and arguments in the study process for the credibility of the claims in terms of readers (Polkinghorne, 2007). In addition, according to Mertova and Webster (2020), reliability in narrative research is not a statistical measure, but it is about the accuracy and accessibility of data. This access can be achieved in two ways: First, the access of the readers of the study to participants, their cultural contexts, and the construction process of the knowledge between the researcher(s) and the participants. The second is the accessibility of the notes, transcripts, and data of the study on which the researcher's findings are based, and their presentation to the same target audience. In this direction, direct quotations from the narratives of the participants were presented to the reader, the wrong words, exclamatory expressions, and missing sentences were not corrected, and the emotional states of the participants were tried to be conveyed as they were. In addition, possible factors that may affect the participants' narratives, such as their socio-cultural environment, marital status, age, and the schools they graduated from, were presented to the reader. Cooperation with the participants was given importance in both data collection and data analysis processes. Moreover, active collaboration with participants is

important in narrative research (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Creswell, 2016; Etherington, 2011). Collaborative processes refer to the negotiation of relations between the researcher and the participant in order to reduce the potential distance between the told and the retold narratives (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). In this context, Etherington (2011) states that building meaning together by reducing the gap between the researcher and the participants makes the data collection and analysis processes an organic and harmonious process. Receiving feedback from the participants on how their stories are understood by the researcher is also a perspective that can be addressed in the validation processes (Thomas, 2012). Therefore, both raw data and findings were shared with the participants and participant confirmation was obtained. In the coding process, a collaborative approach based on consensus was adopted. According to Kuckartz (2014), coding based on unanimity/consensus will increase the quality of the study and the reliability of the coding. In the first stage of coding, the data were coded independently with the participation of an expert, and in the second stage, it was aimed to reach a consensus based on similarities and differences. In addition, coding processes were suspended for certain periods in order to prevent coding blindness.

Findings

Citizenship experiences of mothers, the reflection of gender in this process and their expectations from citizenship education in this direction formed the basis of their narratives. Based on the narratives of the participating mothers, two main themes were formed within the scope of "citizenship ideals"and "citizenship education ideals", and the narratives were evaluated in this context. As can be seen in Figure 2, "citizenship" narratives were analyzed in the context of the following sub-themes: (i) Barriers to becoming an ideal citizen: being a woman, (ii) ideal citizenship conflict: public citizenship / domestic citizenship. On the other hand, citizenship education narratives were examined in the context of the following sub-themes: (i) "motherhood" as the subject of citizenship education and "fatherhood" as its complement, (ii) citizenship education and patriarchal understanding as a field of conflict.
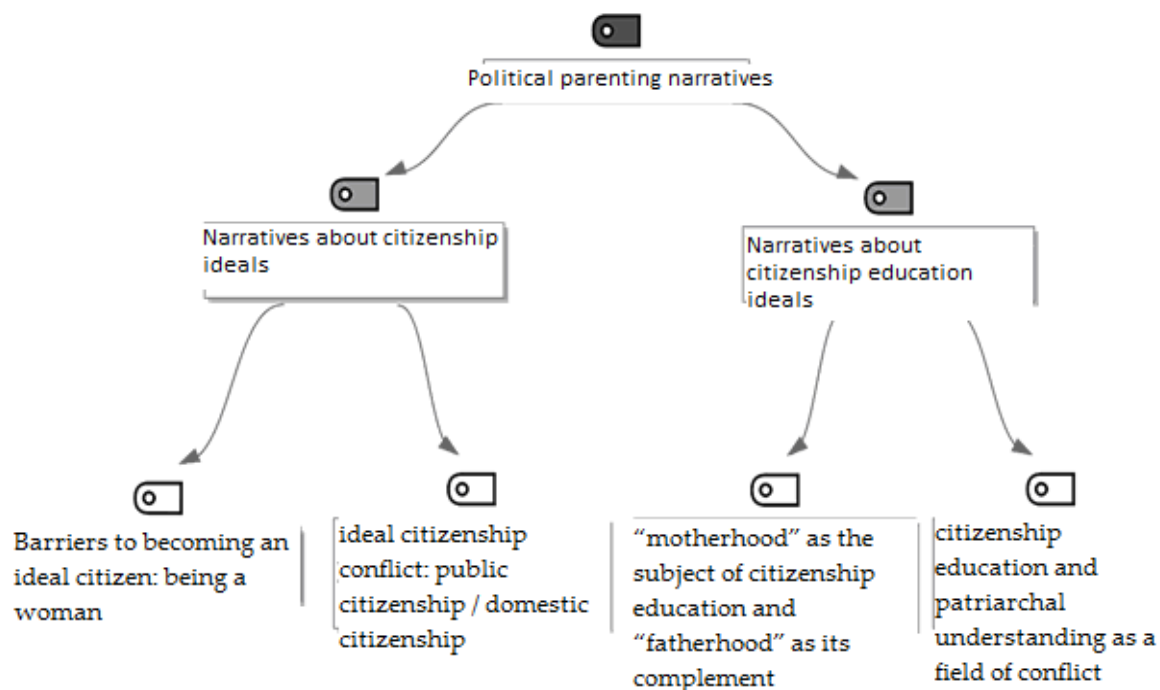

Figure 2. Main and Sub-Themes of Political Parenting Narratives of Participants

Barriers to Becoming an Ideal Citizen: Being a Woman

When the individual narratives of the participants are analyzed, it is seen that they expressed their gender as an important obstacle in the process of reaching the egalitarian ideal citizenship understanding they have constructed. Participants stated that because they are women, their citizenship rights were restricted in daily routine tasks such as going out late (Elvin, Fatma, Havva, Seda), driving (Tuğba, Havva, Elvin), and making an ordinary job application (Yeşim). Havva expressed her views on going out late using the following expressions: "*Of course, as a woman, we don't have much freedom to go out at night. I think this is troublesome. Because sometimes there is an illness, you have to go out, there is an emergency, but it is very difficult for us to go out at late hours.*" Elvin, on the other hand, expressed her views using the following expressions: "*In social life, for example, being able to go out alone, on your own. For example, it looks different when you go out alone after a certain hour. I think our rights have been taken away from us.*" In addition, Fatma explained her views by giving examples from her childhood: "*But my family has done something, you are always a girl, you cannot go out at this hour, you cannot talk to men a lot, you cannot meet. In childhood, of course, we have such a restrictive upbringing, not now. We've gone to something differential about that.*" Seda, on the other hand, expressed her thoughts as follows, referring to when she first started working: "(mentioning the region she works)… *Oops! Can you believe that women could never go to the market because it got dark early after four o'clock?*" In this respect, it is seen that the restrictions on citizenship rights occur in the public sphere, such as traffic, applying for a job or going out late, rather than in the private sphere. Moreover, this situation makes itself felt in situations such as career development, business life and career choice.

When the ideal citizenship narratives of the participants are examined, it is seen that they face some obstacles especially in their career development (Yeşim, Sibel) and working life (Hülya, Fatma, Zeliha) because they are women and mothers. Sibel, an administrator with a doctorate degree, explained the situation by giving examples from academic life as follows: "…*For example, we see it in academic things. In conferences, men are always predominant, women are always there just for the sake of conversation. It's like filling the quota with some women. So we see it everywhere. Women are always one step behind when it comes to defending their rights. So they are afraid…*" However, Zeliha, a police officer, explained her opinions as follows:

> "*For example, I am also a police officer. At the same time, because I am a woman, because I am a mother, I have to work under conditions suitable for that status, not necessarily under the conditions I want. Let me put it this way, for example, there are police officers who work one day and don't work the next. The majority of what is made up of men. Because why, when you work one day, you can't take care of the children during that time, when you stay for the evening. But they have a very comfortable side when they work one day and not work one day. You have to go to work every day…*"

Similarly, Yeşim, who conveyed her views on career development, expressed her opinions as follows:

> "…*when I want to apply for anything, even the society's point of view changes accordingly, as the responsibility of being a woman and a mother is larger. She left her children, here she is, or when she has children, this is what she thinks and does. Even about education, you sometimes restrict yourself too much. Because you have rights and responsibilities on your children… Since society puts more burdens on you, you inevitably restrain yourself, you limit yourself.*"

Another striking element in the ideal citizen narratives of the participants is the problems they experience in their education processes (Seda, Tuğba, Gül) and in their career choices (Fatma) just because they are women. For example, Fatma, who is a teacher and thinks that society has labeled teaching as a "female profession", explains how gendered point of view guided her while choosing her profession. She expressed her opinions in this direction as follows:

> "…for example, I thought of being a tradesman or something (laughs). I like trade jobs like this, but when the lady gets into those jobs, you have to stay in contact with men a lot. You feel more insecure. You know, sexism has a negative effect in this direction. Women are not very free and comfortable in our society. I mean, that's why it's very normal for gender to have an effect on the choice of profession in our country. Teaching is also labeled as a purely female profession. Working conditions are easy, you are with students, not with adults. So, if I had a different gender, I would probably prefer another profession."

In terms of access to education, Gül and Tuğba stated that the biggest discrimination they experience due to their gender in terms of citizenship rights is not being able to go to university. In this direction, Gül expressed her views with the following sentences: "…let me say I can't go to university… In terms of my family… Maybe that's why I think this way…" Tuğba, who graduated from high school at the age of 26 and started her university education this year, explained the process of not being able to complete her education as follows: "… Since the passive woman is always subject to male tyranny, she always proceeds in that way, proceeds under his dominance. Since I was growing under my father's dominance, I was able to say that I have dreams after I left his domination." Seda, who started university in the early 2000s, expressed her experiences during the education process as follows: "When I was at university, I was very careful. My mother was producing so many screenplays that I can't tell. This girl will go astray, that will happen to her. In any case, women were not so involved in social life. Is this citizenship now?"

As it is seen, the participants explain the problems they experience in their daily routine life, career choice, career development, and working life due to their gender, on the way to becoming an "ideal citizen" through being women and mothers. In this process, it is seen that they explain their views by creating their "opposite" (possible advantages of being a man) and making comparisons over that opposite fiction.

Ideal Citizenship Conflict: Public Citizenship / Domestic Citizenship

While the participating mothers explained their citizenship experiences and the egalitarian citizenship understanding they idealized accordingly, they basically revealed the conflicts between two citizenship understandings, public and domestic. Although they have egalitarian ideals for men and women, there is a conflict far from these ideals in the narratives they put forward as a result of their experiences. In their citizenship experiences, the intensity of women's duties, which are limited to the domestic rather than the public sphere, is remarkable compared to men. For example, participants Seda, Gül, Fatma, Sema stated with similar sentences that although an egalitarian perspective was tried to be adopted in the public sphere in terms of citizenship, it is tried to fit citizenship into a limited area by emphasizing domestic responsibilities. In this context, Seda's views are as follows:

> "…that is, I see some equality in the public sphere, but I certainly do not see any equality at home. Yes, in terms of citizenship, yes, I think we are equal before the law, but if you look at the social norm, I think about the women around me, no matter how educated they are. You know, the society has its own rules, in that sense, we are incredibly low. I mean, I live by myself, for example, I am a university graduate, but I cook every dinner, I do the cleaning, most simply you can take this as an example…"

Gül, on the other hand, explains her views in a similar way: *"…my husband is the same, but (laughs). Here's what I can tell you exactly… It's like a woman has a responsibility in the house. That's how I think. I think that way, maybe it's because I'm not working. I don't know, because I'm raising children…"* The mother's forming a reciprocal and compulsory bond with the children relatively more than the father, and accordingly, the explanation of care and labor at home through the mother is characterized as the result of a social "agreement" that has been socially implicit and has imposed its dominance for years. In this regard, Sema expresses her criticisms regarding domestic and foreign citizenship duties/responsibilities as follows:

> *"In our country, it is completely imposed on people that men only try to earn money and support their house, and that women only take care of the housework or their children. I think the new generation, the last generation, is trying to show a little more cooperation. But a little more sensitivity towards these laws has increased. No matter how much violence we see, it used to be much, much more. In this sense, some laws have been enacted to protect women. I can't comment on the implementation, but is there such a law? There is…"*

Similarly, Fatma explains her views on the health and care of the child in terms of domestic responsibility with the following statements:

> *"… such a detail will be an example, but for example, our child gets sick. Consider a male and female teacher working in the same school. This female teacher is forced to take a report. You know, at school… He has to get a report because his child is sick, but a male teacher doesn't have to. Because his wife gets it, his spouse gets it, if she works too…"*

On the other hand, unlike the others, Fatma finds her husband more visible in the public sphere and herself in the domestic sphere more common in terms of raising children. In this regard, she expressed her views as follows:

> *"…I mean, while I try to make children more loving, more understanding, more harmonious, and creative at work, my husband, for example, is doing something outside… You know, in our society, there are things, the work of the house and the work of the outside… I do those things myself at home. While it reflects it to the children in terms of relationship, my husband is more beneficial to the children in terms of, for example, external affairs, opening up, and handling external affairs."*

Unlike the other participants, this shows that Fatma positions herself as a member of the domestic space, but does not prioritize being an individual member of the public space.

"Motherhood" as the Subject of Citizenship Education and "Fatherhood" as its Complement

When the narratives of participants on citizenship education were examined, it was found that motherhood assumed the primary responsibility and central role in citizenship education, while fatherhood was more external and complementary. In this context, in the process of raising ideal citizens, mothers assume a more intense role in important issues such as the child's education (Ayşe, Sibel, Elvin, Yeşim), care (Elvin, Ayşe, Sema, Zeliha), nutrition (Ayşe, Yeşim), and health (Elvin), and it is seen that the main reason for this is related to the attribution of domestic roles to the mother. For example, regarding the roles they assume in the process of raising the child as a citizen and the negative situations encountered in this process, Ayşe recites her experiences as follows:

> *"…for example, if the child has not completed her homework, the mother becomes the culprit, or if the child is not well-educated, the family circle immediately blames the mother. You know, there is a perception in this as if the person responsible for the child is the mother. Plus, in the hygiene of the child, and there is an approach like "didn't you cook" if a child is underdeveloped…"*

It is seen that there is a "mother"-oriented gendered point of view stemming from the separation of public and private spheres in the citizenship education process, as well as in the personal egalitarian ideal citizenship experiences and expectations of participants. It is seen that mothers, who are relatively restrained to the indoor space and less visible in the public space, become the focus of responsibility in matters such as the basic care, feeding and cleaning of the child, which is also associated with the domestic space. Expressing her criticisms regarding this situation, Sibel explains her views with the following statements:

"…of course it puts more burdens on the mother. So, for example, when the child misbehaves, the mother is directly blamed. Rather than the father, when the childe misbehaves, because the mother seems to be raising the child. I think the mother's responsibility is more. But should it be so, no… Society says so, but it is not…"

Yeşim expresses her similar views with the following statements:

"… because the duties and responsibilities we assume in society are a little different, inevitably more things fall on the mother. That's why I think that the mother's duties are more, and the effect on the children is much greater, if I have to say more. Otherwise, of course, we take equal responsibilities, but the child spends more time with the mother. Maybe because the father is busier, or because he has more duties, maybe the mother takes more responsibility in diet, as well as in the education of the child, and so on."

In the narratives of the participating mothers, there are also opinions that the emphasis on equality, co-parenting, and task sharing in citizenship education given to the child stands out, but that "stereotyped" fatherhood and motherhood duties prevent this process. Hülya explains this situation as follows:

"…yes, when I look at our own house, I already have ninety percent responsibility both in terms of responsibility and in terms of upbringing, as in many families. Fathers generally only boast about their success, you know, who only bring money to the house, but don't make a lot of effort to earn it… This is unfortunately true for both my parents and many friends I see around me. As mothers, we take on both the duty of motherhood and the mission of fatherhood, with greater responsibility and a greater effort, unfortunately."

Ayşe, emphasizing the gender-free mother and father roles, expressed her views as follows: *"However, if that child is born together, he should be raised together by sharing duties in every aspect. There is a problem in such cases…"* Sema, who thinks that society and citizenship should not have a gender, expresses her views as follows:

"…society has no gender. Social rules, laws are equal. Citizens have no gender, citizenship is about individuality. It's about the individualism of the society… That is, the type of father who helps with the basic care of the child is very few in our society. It's actually parenting, co-parenting. But unfortunately, the child grows up completely dependent on the mother until he/she reaches a certain age".

In addition, it is seen that the participating mothers use metaphors to explain the complementary roles of fathers such as helper (Ayşe), playmate (Sema), reinforcement (Elvin), driver (Zeliha) while explaining the more external and secondary roles that fathers undertake in the citizenship education given to the child. For example, Elvin explained the complementary role of the father in citizenship education with these words: *"I am more concerned with his health, care and education. His father intervenes in some matters that I cannot afford… He is more like a reinforcement for me, let me tell you (laughs)".* Zeliha explains: *"I mean, for example, taking care of children is specific to women… I mean, most of the children will be taken care of by women… Most of them will take care of them… As if it is something that clings to the woman… You know, for example, I throw it away as if men are driving chauffeurs right now…"* Considering the gendered conceptualizations underlying the role of mothers as "subjects" in the process of raising the child as a citizen, although there is a desire for equality, it is seen that what is experienced in practice is resistant to change.

Citizenship Education and Patriarchal Understanding as a Field of Conflict

While the participants find the education given at school about citizenship egalitarian, they state that the patriarchal understanding prevailing in social factors such as family and social environment does not support the education in question, and sometimes even builds the opposite. For instance, Yeşim, who finds curricula to be egalitarian in terms of citizenship education, thinks that social patriarchy ignores this equality and is effective even in classroom practices. She explained her views in this direction as follows:

> "...according to the curriculum, it is egalitarian, but I also worked in different provinces. For example, if I calculate the percentage, for example, when choosing a class president, when certain children have to take on certain tasks, in some societies, men represent better, or this person should take charge. Even the teacher's approach can be different sometimes."

Similarly, Ayşe, who stated that there is an egalitarian understanding in citizenship education given in schools, stated that the social point of view inevitably affected this egalitarian process against women and explained her views as follows:

> "There seems to be, but I actually think that as Turkish society, we do not have full equality. That is to say, it is always different in terms of perception, that is, men are stronger in the family… Since we always fall into a misconception, it seems like this can happen no matter how careful we are at certain points. Sometimes we unintentionally shift in that direction or change our point of view in that direction."

On the other hand, Havva, who finds the citizenship education given in schools equal for girls and boys, thinks that the society does not support this education equally. She explained her opinions by using the following expressions: *"Frankly, I don't think it is very supported. I always think that male dominance and male defensiveness have always existed in society, and it always continues. It is supposedly thought to be in the background, but this is not done much in practice…"* Hülya, on the other hand, explained the impact of the environment with the following sentences:

> "Sometimes my son does this, he is influenced by his surroundings and says, "that girl cannot go out of the house after the evening prayer". In other words, he can be influenced by the environment and even his friends, no matter how much I raise him, but I always intervene. There is no such thing as a boy or girl."

The participants, who find the citizenship education given in schools egalitarian, state that the social environment as well as the family patriarchal understanding negatively affect this process. Therefore, citizenship education becomes an area of conflict, including schools and the social environment on the one hand, and the family on the other, and turns into a blurred area where the claims and demands of different layers clash. For example, Gül thinks that different practices can be encountered within the family, unlike the education given in schools, in processes such as fulfilling one's civic duty or choosing a profession. In this context, she expressed her views as follows: *"…I don't think so. For example, if she (she says her daughter's name) comes and says I want to be a soldier, I won't say no. If she says I want to be a policeman, I won't object, but I think her father will (laughs)"*. Stating that she does not observe any discrimination in the Human Rights and Democracy education course given to her children, Hülya draws attention to the superiority of the masculine perspective supported by domestic stereotypes in the education process. In this context, Hülya explains her views with the following expressions:

> "…here (laughs) I want to talk specifically about the region I live in. No way. I can clearly see the difference between boys and girls. I also see that families who settled in this city (she says the name of the city she lives in) from other cities value their daughters more. That they raised them more valuable and equal… But unfortunately, if you are a boy in this city, it is as if you gave birth to a prince, why does such a thing occur? Children have it too. For example, "he is male", even a parent called me and told me about it. "He," he said, "is the only male in the family, he doesn't have to study. Don't give much homework, then he cries," he said. I mean, it's so harsh… The child runs away from the class right after abusing it. When something happens as a behavior he can say "I call my guardian, I call my father, I am the only child of the family, I am male". Unfortunately, I don't think we raise them very well in that regard."

Yeşim, on the other hand, explained her views in this regard with the following expressions: *"…Children who were not raised with such sensitivity in the family, because of the procedure used by the teacher at school, that awareness does not arise in that child, when he gives something. In other words, it reflects the education he received in the family. Teachers have an effort in this regard, both as a school and as a classroom… There are such trainings, such as raising awareness, benevolence, equality, etc., but I still think it starts in the family…"*

It is seen that the participants (Aslı, Ayşe, Fatma, Sibel, Zeliha) who think that the citizenship education given in schools is not supported and fed by the society, therefore approach the education of girls more cautiously, carefully and constantly on alert. Ayşe expresses her views on this matter as follows:

"For myself, I would like her to receive more education, because otherwise people in Turkey have a slightly different view of women. Having to take money from someone is a tough situation. Plus, it's hard not to get what your child wants, or when she buys clothes for her own needs or buys something for the kitchen, you know, I don't want some things to be restricted. Plus, I would like her to express her opinions equally with her husband at the point of having a say in the house. That's why girls should definitely get an education."

Sharing similar views, Aslı explained her thoughts as follows:

"…So, as I said, there is something arising from that patriarchal structure. I want my daughter to be more successful, better. So let me say so. How can I say… I want my daughter to be able to stand on her own feet stronger. Of course my son is like that too, but we have a social thing, I think I might be thinking that way in order to make it something."

Zeliha, who wants girls to be more dominant, more self-protective and more self-confident, expresses her views on this subject as follows:

"… teacher, as far as I have observed, men are able to protect themselves somehow. Be it in terms of dominance, then in terms of coming to a certain place… So they have a more comfortable environment. For example (he says the name of her ex-husband)… Let me tell you from my point of view… Even while studying, they spend more time for themselves. It is… Sometimes more opportunities can be offered to them. I mean, women can't be a little bit more dominant. That's why I want her to be dominant. I want to give that confidence to my children."

Fatma also explains similar views in terms of being protective as follows:

"Again, I can act more protectively towards my daughter like this, instinctively, but not in a preventative way, only in a protective way, but I do this not because she is a girl, but just to warn her so that no harm will come to her. There is no difference between boys and girls, in fact, girls are more valuable to me (laughs)."

Mothers, who are concerned about creating a sterile citizenship understanding away from patriarchy in terms of citizenship education, still feel the strong effects of gendered social manifestations, although they find the claimed/targeted citizenship education in schools egalitarian. In addition, mothers see creating a more privileged and protected area for their daughters and being constantly alert as an antidote to this situation.

Discussion, Conclusion and Recommendations

In this study, it is aimed to reveal the narratives of mothers as parents about their experiences, expectations and ideals for citizenship and citizenship education within the scope of gender-based citizenship perspective. It is seen that the participating mothers define "being a woman" as an obstacle in the ideal citizenship process. These obstacles stand out in ordinary daily citizenship practices or in relatively more important citizenship rights and responsibilities such as receiving an education, choosing a profession, and working. Although the elements related to citizenship are framed from an egalitarian perspective in Turkish laws, the experiences of the participants are far from this framework. The concept of citizenship, like other political elements, is a human product (Nkiwane, 2000). What the laws provide in principle and what women experience in practice are generally quite different (Joseph, 1996). Moreover, gender-based citizenship does not only create inequalities in "certain" areas, but as seen in the narratives of the participants, it can show its manifestations in almost all areas of life, such as going out at night, driving, attending academic conferences, taking leave from the workplace, or seeking different professions. In fact, women's ability to fulfill their civic roles is limited in most areas. This is because citizenship itself is gender-based, reflecting certain traditional gender norms that have deep roots in many societies and continue to have an impact in today's modern societies (Seely et al., 2013). Therefore, it is seen that the stereotyped norms prevailing on the basis of gender prevent women from accessing egalitarian citizenship practices in most areas, and they hinder their access to citizenship rights. Due to reasons such as being pushed into the private sphere rather than the public sphere within the scope of child care/education/health and domestic labor, it is probable for women to experience problems such as participation in and working life, lack of social security, limited representation in the public sphere, increased care burden, and poverty. In this context, another point to be noted is the social context of the narratives. Although the educational background, social environment or occupation of the participants varies greatly, the barriers that gender creates on the way to being equal citizens are the common focal points of their narratives.

Another remarkable narrative of participating mothers about citizenship is the understanding of public citizenship and domestic citizenship, which they see as a conflict area. When the narratives of the participants are examined, it is seen that the understanding of citizenship based on gender creates private and public dualities, and these dualities impose more domestic roles on women in the construction of citizenship. The public-private distinction and the associated male-female qualities are at the center of the understanding of citizenship based on gender (Lister, 2016). From the distinction of private/public sphere, a series of discourses related to the valued masculine characteristics (intellect, impartiality, independence, being free from prejudice) and the undervalued female characteristics (emotion, interest, being a party, dependency) required for care-motherhood emerge (Preece, 2002). In other words, the "public" sphere is associated with reason, rationality, objectivity, argument, study, knowledge, and comprehension, and the "private" sphere is associated with personality, emotion, privacy, subjectivity, identity, consumption, aesthetics, popular culture and pleasure (Dahlgren, 2006). Expressed as a constantly changing political structure, reflecting the relative strength of different social groups as well as historical and cultural contexts, the public and private sphere mutually define and gain meaning from each other. For example, gendered entry patterns towards citizenship in the public sphere cannot be understood without taking into account the gender-based division of labor in the private sphere (Lister, 1997). The gendered understanding that still exists today is considered as women entering certain areas of both politics and public structures with "one hand tied behind their back" (Lister, 2008). Gender-based citizenship questions how the public is materially and the private is culturally related (Chari, 2009). Especially from a culturally entrenched point of view, the fact that domestic (private space) labor is mostly attributed to women and out-of-home elements (public space) to men, causes women to act dependently in a limited area, disconnected from social citizenship in terms of citizenship. The citizenship of women in the private sphere is largely invisible, therefore neglected or ignored on the grounds that it is unproblematic (Abraham, Chow, Maratou-Alipranti, & Tastsoglou, 2016). The invisible labor of women in the home, based on care and labor, is not perceived

within the boundaries of social citizenship (Yılmaz, 2013). This asymmetry between the public and private sphere, which has become an almost invisible contract resisting change, poses various obstacles on women in terms of active citizenship. Inequalities in the public sphere create problems in all of women's active, political and social citizenship (Bilir, 2019). In terms of feminist criticism, the private sphere causes the oppression of women, both because it is excluded from liberal principles and political responsibility, and because it is undervalued compared to the public sphere (Prokhovnik, 1998). However, although there is no distinction between public and private spheres within the framework of the law, ignoring women's so-called "private" domestic roles and positioning them vis-à-vis the public sphere may strengthen men's position as the essential public element of citizenship at every turn. According to Longman et al., (2013) "unpaid domestic labour, caregiving and childrearing (or carework) by women function as the necessary condition for male citizens to be selfsufficient and autonomous, and freely participate in the public sphere" (p.386). In terms of women, the intense weight given to the domestic space rather than the public sphere causes more responsibilities on women in the process of raising the child as a citizen. In other words, mothers who are ironically positioned outside the public sphere in terms of citizenship are expected to raise effective citizens in the public sphere. The role of gender in this process becomes important, especially when the overt or latent functions of the parents in the citizenship education transferred to the child are taken into account. Women and men may or may not act in different ways to transform or preserve society in general and gender relations in particular (Zdmvomyslova & Temkina, 2005). In this process, either an egalitarian discourse will be adopted by the parents based on gender, or inequalities will be legitimized.

While the participants find the education given at school about citizenship egalitarian, they state that the patriarchal understanding prevailing in social elements such as family and social environment does not support the education in question, and sometimes even builds the opposite. In this case, two main points are noteworthy. The first of these is that participants are not aware of gender-based inequalities in schools. Except for one participant who criticizes the approach of the classroom teacher, it is seen that the other participants find the education on citizenship egalitarian. When the studies carried out in Turkey are examined, inequalities in various fields come to the forefront, such as school enrollment (Ferreira & Gignoux, 2010; Education for All (EFA) Global Monitoring Report, 2013/4), educational achievement (Ferreira & Gignoux, 2010), school attendance rate (Haberli & Güvenç, 2012; Hoşgörür & Polat, 2015; Kula & Yıldız, 2014), dropout or absenteeism (Küçüker, 2018; Tunç, 2009), textbooks (Asan, 2010; Balcı & Sel, 2017; Çubukçu & Sivaslıgil, 2007; Demirel, 2010; Fidan, 2019), and opinions and attitudes of teachers/pre-service teachers (Şahin, Çoban, & Korkmaz, 2016; Ünal, Tarhan, & Köksal, 2017; Yurtsever, 2011). Another point to be noted is the conflict that is believed to exist between the citizenship education given at school and the social patriarchal understanding. The patriarchal understanding emphasizes a social structure that offers women a secondary position in all areas of life, and that hierarchically supports the elements related to men and masculinity at the top, and the elements related to women and femininity at the bottom (Kars, 2018). Patriarchal structures express the social order with strictly defined gender roles, in which women are subordinate to men (Moghadam, 1992). The conflict between the egalitarian citizenship education idealized by the participating mothers and the social patriarchal understanding causes a curtain to be placed between the citizenship education given in schools and the social life, and the concerns of mothers in this direction increase. Citizenship education, which is stuck between traditional social norms based on gender, is tried to be built on two different foundations: at school and in society. For example, the inconsistencies between egalitarian citizenship education in schools and social views may limit the citizenship actions of girls or boys by rejecting an inclusive citizenship understanding, and may foster or normalize a deeper level of exclusion in the future. Considering the importance of citizenship, it is important to carry out collaborative practices that include the responsibilities of all elements in education, including parents, teachers and society, and to develop a common perspective (Eurydice, 2005; Holden, 2004; Sarmento & Freire, 2012; Prior, 1999). In this sense, essential social reconciliation and cooperation can be an important premise to lay the groundwork for a more egalitarian, participatory and active citizenship for girls and boys, both in the public and private spheres.

The issue of gender is becoming one of the prominent political and social elements in the struggle for civil rights (Nkiwane, 2000). Especially within the scope of citizenship education, it can be seen that there is a need for social and educational policies that do not overlook the normative aspect of legal citizenship and transform stereotypical gender roles. In this context, it may be necessary to provide parent education that prioritizes "equality", which has parallels and consistency with the citizenship education given in schools, to differentiate the curriculum by considering the critical role of the social context in egalitarian citizenship education, and to take into account the diversity of stakeholders. In addition, in regions where patriarchal understanding prevails, various studies can be conducted on how the family and the local community affect citizenship education at school or on expectations. Also, the discussion of citizenship education needs to be broadened by considering the perspective of parenting and gendered citizenship. In this study, mothers' narratives about their ideals for citizenship and citizenship education were examined. In the perspective of gendered citizenship, the views of fathers on citizenship and citizenship education who are on the other end of the scale can be examined and various comparisons can be made. In addition, various research activities can be conducted on the expectations of teachers from parents and social elements within the scope of gendered citizenship perspective.

There are certain limitations in this study due to the nature of narrative inquiry. The first of these is that some participant mothers had difficulty remembering their experiences and tended to make some superficial descriptions. Another limitation is the absence of a primary/secondary school graduate mother among the participants. In the study, it was aimed to reveal common patterns in different social and temporal contexts in the narratives of the participating mothers taking into account their socioeconomic environment, educational status, age, marital status and occupational differences, but the primary school graduate level could not be taken into consideration.

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Appendix 1. Semi-Structured Interview Protocol

Participant Code Name:

My name is Burcu SEL. I would like to have an interview with you within the scope of the research titled " Construction of Ideals for Citizenship and Citizenship Education in Turkey with a Gender-Based Perspective: "A Narrative of Political Parenting". In this context, your opinions are very important for the research. I guess the interview will take about 20-30 minutes. Everything you say during the interview process will be kept confidential and your name will not be used in any way within the scope of the research. Is there anything you would like to say or ask before starting the interview? With your permission, I would like to record the conversation with a voice recorder. Do you allow? I would like to start the interview process with questions.

Your job:

When and where were you born:

Your education information:

If you had to describe yourself in a few words, what would they be?

How many children do you have and what are their ages?

Interview questions (1)

1. How would you describe the ideal citizen?

   • Who is the ideal citizen according to you?

   • What are the characteristics that an ideal citizen should possess in your opinion?

   • What do you think individuals should do as an ideal citizen?

   • What qualities do you think the ideal citizen should not possess?

   • What do you think individuals should not do as an ideal citizen?

2. Do you describe yourself as an ideal citizen? What is the event, story or process that is effective in the formation of these views in your life?

3. What are your thoughts on the ideal citizen when considering gender?

   • When you evaluate women and men separately, can you explain the characteristics they should have as ideal citizens?

   • When you evaluate women and men separately, what do you think they should do as an ideal citizen?

   • When you evaluate women and men separately, what do you think they should not do as an ideal citizen?

   • Do you think you are deprived of any citizenship rights because of your gender?

   • Do you think you have privileges in terms of citizenship because of your gender? What is the event, story or process that is effective in the formation of these views in your life?

4. As a citizen, does being a mother (female) and father (male) impose different duties and responsibilities on you in the process of raising your child as a good citizen?

   • Is your spouse's role as a good citizen in the process of raising your child the same as yours? Can you give examples from your own life or childhood?

5. Did your views about the ideal citizen change before and after becoming a mother? Can you share your views?

   • Has being a mother changed your thinking about ideal citizenship? Can you share your views?

   • Which event, story or situation in your life do you think is the source of this process? Can you explain?

6. What are your expectations from your child about being an ideal citizen?

   • What kind of citizen do you want your child to be?

   • Do you think your child's gender is important in your expectations regarding ideal citizenship?

   • When you consider your childhood or youth period, would you like your child to go through the same citizenship processes?

   If the answer is yes;

   • What kind of citizen do you want your child to be in terms of ideal citizenship, considering your son?

   • In your expectations regarding ideal citizenship, what kind of citizen do you want your child to be, considering your daughter?

7. What do you think about citizenship education given at school?

8. What are your expectations from citizenship education given in schools?

9. What are your thoughts on the role of a child's gender in citizenship education given in schools?

   • Do you think that the event, story or situation in your life that caused you to think like this was the source of this process? Can you explain?

Appendix 2. Participant Confirmation

Yeşim: Yeşim: I have a lot of low and long connected sentences, but I think you understand what I mean. I confirm. Good luck…

Aslı: All of them are completely correct (laughs), even written, from the dot to the comma, to my grammatical errors. I could only speak better, I can criticize myself in this way. I'm excited, I'd be happy if I could help. Good luck…

Tuğba: It's very nice, thank you...

Sema: read it. All ok. Good luck to you. Yes, these are all my opinions. There is no less or more… Good luck…

Ayşe: There is no deficiency in the data I have read. I always said "hani!". Maybe it can be edited. I also consent to the use of this information.

Seda: All right, no problem. Thank you. Good luck...

Fatma: I said "hani" too much. If I knew you were going to put it in writing like this, I would have spoken better. It doesn't really matter to me. Thank you. See you soon.

Hülya: It's very nice. You literally wrote down what I went through. I hope I have been helpful. I'm happy if I contributed...

Gül: The most natural state is beautiful. Good luck to you. I mean, well, I said too much, but I think it's okay. Thank you. It's great if I could help…

Sibel: Well done, thank you. I was born only in the district center, but I can say that I stayed there very little. Maybe it can be rearranged. Good luck…

Elvin: I read it, everything is fine…

Arzu: I read it, these are my thoughts. Thank you.

Havva: There is no mistake, you wrote it exactly as we talked, thank you. Good luck…

Zeliha: I read the document, there is nothing to fix. OK, so I think. Hopefully it will be helpful.