



**CAN MOTHERS DEVELOP AN ALTERNATIVE TO
DOMINANT MARKET CULTURE? MONTESSORI
PRODUCTS AND MATERNITY CONSUMPTION**

İR FAN Ç İ N A R

Thesis for the Master's Program in Master of Business Administration

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ETHICAL DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have conducted my work in accordance with academic rules and ethical behaviour at every stage from the planning of the thesis to its defence. I confirm that I have cited all ideas, information and findings that are not specific to my study, as required by the code of ethical behaviour, and that all statements not cited are my own.

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21.06.2023

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ABSTRACT

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Çinar, İrfan

Master's Program in Business Administration

Advisor: Prof. Dr. Y. Gökçen Karanfil

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The study focuses on mothers and aims to reach deep insights into their world. Therefore, the research is designed to give a point of view with an in-depth look at how they responded to the dominant market culture in their daily lives. Michel de Certeau's strategy and tactic approach choose as the theoretical framework. In this study, the historical background of the Montessori education approach in Turkey drew from the newspapers with archival research by using three central newspaper archives, and public opinion emerged through in-depth reading. Afterward, in-depth interviews were conducted with ten mothers from İzmir under three topics (education system, Montessori products' marketing, and daily consumer resistance) with the Montessori approach and its products. Findings were obtained on where mothers position in the dominant market culture and how they exhibit consumer resistance. Accordingly, they produce their products or have them made by their close relatives or local producers to these products at the point indicated by the Montessori approach and display anti-consumption against consumption culture imposes. Regarding our research question,

the study shows that mothers can create their own space by using daily consumer resistance practices in opposition to market culture.

Keywords: Consumer Resistance, Montessori Education Method, Strategy, Tactic, Maternity Consumption, Market Culture



ÖZET

ANNELER BASKIN PİYASA KÜLTÜRÜNE KARŞI ALTERNATİF GELİŞTİREBİLİRLER Mİ?: MONTESSORİ ÜRÜNLERİ VE ANNELİK TÜKETİMİ

Çinar, İrfan

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Bu çalışma annelere odaklanır ve onların dünyalarına dair derin içgörülere ulaşmayı amaçlar. Bu nedenle araştırma, onların günlük yaşamlarında hâkim piyasa kültürüne nasıl tepki verdiklerini derinlemesine inceleyen bir bakış açısı sunmak üzere tasarlanmıştır. Kuramsal çerçeve olarak Michel de Certeau'nun strateji ve taktik yaklaşımı seçilmiştir. Bu çalışmada, Türkiye'deki Montessori eğitim yaklaşımının tarihsel arka planı, üç büyük gazete arşivinden yararlanılarak arşiv araştırması ile gazetelerden çıkarılmış ve derinlemesine okuma yoluyla kamuoyu görüşüne ulaşılmıştır. Ardından Montessori yaklaşımı ve ürünleri ile üç başlık altında (eğitim sistemi, Montessori ürünlerinin pazarlanması ve günlük tüketici direnci) İzmirli on anne ile derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Annelerin baskın pazar kültürü içerisinde nerede konumlandığı ve Montessori ürünlerinin yarattığı alanda tüketici direnci uygulamalarını nasıl sergiledikleri hakkında bulgular elde edilmiştir. Buna göre Montessori yaklaşımının işaret ettiği noktada anneler kendi ürünlerini üretirler

veya bu ürünleri yakın akrabalarına veya yerel üreticilere yaptırırlar ve tüketim kültürünün dayattığı şeylere karşı tüketim karşıtlığı sergilerler. Araştırma sorumuz açısından çalışma, pazar kültürüne karşı annelerin kendi alanlarını gündelik tüketici direnişii pratikleri vasıtasıyla yaratabildiklerini göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Tüketici Direnişii, Montessori Eğitim Yaklaşımı, Strateji, Taktik, Annelik Tüketimi, Piyasa Kültürü.





To my wife, Pınar ÇİNAR, who supported me with deep patience.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Motherhood offers a valuable perspective as a field of research. It provides a deeper perspective on the relationships between dominant structures and mothers. From this point of view, it is only possible to present a portrait by examining the structure of mothers in depth. Thus, understanding the consumption practices of mothers should be evaluated with a broad reading.

According to Maria Montessori (1949), historical actors such as Hitler and Mussolini focused on children rather than youth. This is because the actors discovered the possibility of completely changing a generation by focusing on children rather than youths. From an intersectional perspective, we can consider that women and mothers be affected by the radical change desire.

Foucault (1995) argues that the system's violence on individuals turns into a disciplinary technology. Since individuals and communities keep under control with the surveillance mechanism, that is why the states, or, in Gramsci's (1971) concept, the hegemonic power, try to keep the women and mothers who have the birth power under surveillance because they are vital factors affecting issues such as population.

The role of marketing in shaping society is also crucial. In modern societies, the traditional marketplace has transformed into a market, and with the institutionalization of the market (Slater and Tonkiss 2001; Venkatesh, Penalosa and Firat 2006). Accordingly, the market has a particularly crucial role in reorganizing social life, emerging new class structures, and replacing old values with new ones.

However, looking at the consumption practices of mothers in an utterly submissive framework renders this wealth of valuable insight meaningful. Many studies of consumer resistance by individuals or communities show us how market structures are transforming. The relation of these resistances of consumers in a relational context with the dominant market culture is principal. In this sense, considering mothers and maternal consumption as a consumer resistance will provide valuable insights to all market actors.

The study shows the historical background of the Montessori education approach, providing an advantage for disadvantaged groups. In terms of the environment of Montessori's first years, the method allows them to open a space within the dominant

culture. Therefore, whatever the relationship of the Montessori educational approach with the market, creating a space that can offer mothers an opportunity against the dominant market culture is possible regarding consumer resistance.

In the context of motherhood and daily motherhood practices that suppresses and tries to be shaped by the dominant market culture, there is an issue that should be analyzed whether maternal consumption has the power to open its field and transform and change this strategic structure (dominant force) with mothers' tactics.

The disruptions in Turkey's education system may consider that make mothers more vulnerable due to marketing professionals. The mothers may have options such as educational institutions, private schools, private kindergartens, and preschool education oriented towards alternative trends. Consumption practices of mothers might diversify and differentiate significantly under the umbrella of educational policies and marketing practices. Naturally, how mothers make personal decisions freely made or not might be crucial.

While searching for the answer to this question, establishing a historical background for the marketing practices of the Montessori educational approach is necessary. Thus, found reports from newspaper archives with an in-depth reading. In the first part, a bridge was built from Europe to Turkey for the historical background. Therefore, public opinion emerged with a thematic basis from a broad perspective about Montessori in Turkey and the educational approach.

The study's author explained the "strategy and tactic" approach under four main headings in the second section, and the theory of de Certeau elucidated with examples connected within the consumer resistance concept through a literature review.

The third section covers all aspects of research design. Since the fundamental purpose of the research is to reach insight, this research is designed with qualitative methods (archival research and in-depth interview).

The research built on sharing the findings in detail and in-depth, examining the mothers' situation in all aspects, and giving a holistic order of the mothers' sharing at all stages of the research.

As a result, this research tries to make a meaningful contribution to the gap in the literature in terms of maternal consumption strategy and tactics theory within the scope of consumer resistance.

1.1. Literature Review

The dictionary definition of the word Resist comes from the Latin re-sistere and consists of the meaning combination re (against) + sistere (make a stand, stand firm, to intervene) (Glare, 1968). According to the Longman Dictionary, resistance means refusing to accept changes and/or ideas, fighting against an attacker, and preventing diseases and harsh conditions from harming them as a natural ability (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, 1995)

The concept of resistance in social sciences expresses the negative feelings it produces in the subject as the end of the opposition that causes various reactions against an unacceptable power originating from dissonant representations (Roux, 2007)

Penaloza and Price (1993) used the concept of consumer resistance for the first time in an article. According to the authors, this debate started thanks to Mark Poster's (1992) presentation of consumer representation and resistance. Poster (1992), describing de Certeau's approach, defined resistance as withstanding the force or effect of, noting that cultural studies have focused on how individuals practice an ownership strategy against structures of domination. Thus, we can frame the interaction of resisters' actions and superstructures of power with definition. Accordingly, the consumer is the subject who brings a repertoire of applications into a space designed for someone else (Poster, 1992). As an individual resistance, the person who buys a \$10 t-shirt on a cycling vacation experience it as an adventure experienced alone, and consumers transform mass-produced products by giving meaning to them (Price and Arnould, 1992).

Michel de Certeau used the strategy and tactics approach in his article in 1974 (de Certeau, 1999). The author emphasizes the concept of surveillance by making frequent references to Foucault's *The Birth of the Prison*. Accordingly, he determines that the violence applied by the order to those under the rule has turned into a disciplinary

technology. He advocates examining the tactical-based everyday practices of individuals and groups caught on surveillance (de Certeau, 1984).

For the relational interactions, Izberk-Bilgin (2010) conceptualizes consumers as passive deceived within the discourse of manipulation and enslavement or as active users to express themselves within the address of representation and empowerment within the context of the relationship between market power and consumer resistance.

There are four dimensions of consumer resistance (Penaloza and Price, 1992):

2. Organizational dimension: Ranges from collective to individual actions.
3. Goals dimension: Ranges from reformist to radical.
4. Tactics of resistance dimension: Ranges from altering the marketing mix to activities that change the meaning of the product.
5. Relational dimension: Consumers can appropriate marketing institutions and agents and opt out of these marketing practices.

In its issue devoted to anti-consumerism, the Journal of Business shows five types of resistance and resistance under the titles of consumer resistance and consumer resistance.

1. Boycotting (Kozinets and Hendelman, 1998, 2004; Herman, 1993)
2. Counter-cultural movements (Zavestoski, 2002; Victoria, 2002)
3. Ethical consumption (Shaw and Newholm, 2002)
4. Non-consumption (Stammerjohan and Webster, 2002)
5. Emancipated Consumption (Holt, 2002)

For example, collective consumer boycotts can change the marketing practices in the more radical part of the marketing mix, while less researched individual consumer resistances are complaining and negative word-of-mouth (Friedman, 1991; Hirschman, 1970). According to Cherrier et al. (2011), anti-consumption and consumer resistance intersect, affecting non-consumption.

Although the current literature focuses on individual resistance, it is possible to evaluate that collective actions still have a momentous place in the existing literature. Studies on individuals mostly preferred the psychology-marketing side. Cherier (2009) argues that resistant identities construct by discourses against exploitative consumption, that is, consumer culture. The author presents us with two different

identities. Accordingly, hero and project identities choose not to consume or to consume creatively against the consumption culture for external and internal reasons. While adopting the attitude of boycotting, not consuming certain products specifically, on the other side of the medallion, they internalize controlling consumption secretly and as a part of their daily lives.

Valor et al. (2017) considers consumer resistance within the framework of power domination and reveal how resistance transforms materialist culture.

The Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) deals with consumer research from different dimensions and identifies four aspects of consumption sociocultural, experiential, symbolic, and ideological (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). The research within the scope of consumer resistance is mainly conducted under the ideological aspect.

Among the most important of these, the research of Kozinets (2002) on the Burning Man Festival stands out. Kozinets (2002) discussed the Burning Man festival in the context of consumer resistance. The claim of the Burning Man festival includes many practices in a meta-free environment, from respecting differences to picking up your garbage. However, the findings regarding this festival attended by many celebrities are that there is a dialectical relationship between the festival and capitalist ideology. Thus, it is where the concept of consumer resistance meets with the Consumer Culture Theory, interactional relations exist between the dominant market dynamics and the consumers.

On the other hand, Heath, Cluley, and O'Malley (2017) examine the often-unnoticed forms of consumer resistance in three dimensions. These are hegemonic, autonomous, and relational dimensions. In the hegemonic approach, power is essential, and resistance comes later. In a way, it mentioned that the resistance accepts domination. But the conceptualization of the relationship between market power and consumer resistance considers consumers as passively deceived in the discourse of 'manipulation and enslavement' or as active users to express themselves in the 'representation and empowerment discourse' in marketing (İzberk-Bilgin, 2010). In the autonomous dimension, domination and resistance create each other. It states that marketing can never minimize the power of resistance, but it is resistance that gives power to domination. Finally, in the relational dimension, domination and resistance create each

other. Accordingly, there is no consumer resistance without marketing or marketing without consumer resistance.

In the relationship between the strong and the weak, the strong determines the rules. Although the weak are dependent on these rules. They seek opportunities for themselves to obtain from the resources of the strong or to create clarity in the field of the strong and survive in this way (Brownlie and Heyer, 2011).

Also, Karababa and Ger (2011) focused on Ottoman coffee houses as a consumer subject in the consumer resistance context. There are influential dimensions of the context in the article, such as using drugs and choosing unemployment. The people resist to the dominant culture and create a space in public sphere.

Consumer resistance has been progressing in diverse ways. For instance, Mikkonen and Baide (2013) analyzed a Christmas parody, Festivus. He found that Festivus had consumer resistance to established Christmas practices. This study shows the importance of parody in consumer resistance, and parody is destructive in consumer resistance. In addition, it profoundly shakes the dominant discourses and traditions.

It is the most recent consumer resistance research focusing on the GameStop case. GameStop participants, a vague mix of borrowers and speculators, keyboard warriors and workers, financial advisors, and short-term hackers, showed the effects of short-term consumer resistance. Not conducting a *project* of resistance against financial capitalism, this movement, because it avoided control and subjugation, overturned, and undermined its contours (Jones and Hietanen, 2022)

These examples can interpret as the possibilities of today's world diversification, consumer resistances diversify, and as they diversify, it becomes difficult to monitor and control them by surveillance mechanisms.

In our transforming world, the consumption habits of mothers and diversification in the home area, where a focal part of daily life practices in the classical viewpoint, takes place. It is necessary to consider how motherhood, a trial of systems shaped by various and intensely dominant strategic structures, affects these mechanisms at home.

Cherrier's (2009) research also mentions the increasing awareness of environmental problems and argues that consumer resistance has arisen because of this. We can interpret that mothers cannot remain indifferent to this awareness when focusing on

their children. If mothers stand against the consumption culture with this awareness, how do they diversify consumer resistance with technological opportunities? What do they do alternatively in the face of dominant market dynamics or their relationship with these dynamics? All these questions can allow us to travel to new worlds in the context of maternal consumption as consumer resistance in a relational context, even if we have looked inside the house before.

It would be difficult to categorize the resistance of mothers. If this awareness is increasing in a specific part of the mothers, it may be reasonable to think it can affect all mothers. It seems possible for mothers to come together against difficulties such as the climate crisis, economic problems, air and water pollution, wars, and great migrations because of their thoughts about their children's future. However, in general terms, these practices, which may be more individual, seem to cause a collective movement separately.

Considering that it is much more possible for the household to control the possibilities that the marketing device can enter the houses and shape the home space, options for mothers to develop an alternative to the dominant market dynamics and even have the power to change the whole discourse is an issue that needs an answer in today's technological world.

The research started intending to understand how Montessori products and the products could be considered a tactic of disadvantaged segments, work in the hands of mothers as a resistance device, and by what they are affected. We determined our research question within this framework. Is there any dialectical relationship between mothers' consumer resistance and dominant market dynamics?

At this point, we claim that individual resistance received less attention in the literature, and researchers should view it in terms of prevalence or diffusion. De Certeau's (1982) concept of "doctora ignorantia" (learned ignorance) provides an opportunity for this. It can be considered as a gap that needs to be filled in the literature, whether the unaware or semi-informed resistance of consumers who are exposed to the violence of marketing practices as affected by the dominant market dynamic or dominant culture change marketing, and whether it increases the level of acceptance of marketing practices.

As a result, our research will fill the gap in the field by examining consumer resistance in the context of maternal consumption in the literature with the Montessori products case.

1.2. Methodology

In terms of the number of participants, Boddy (2016) argues that insights can obtain from even a single participant because qualitative research develops a depth of understanding rather than broad knowledge. Precisely, we choose in-depth interviews as a qualitative method to understand the practices of mothers in their daily life, rather than the majority-priority information of mothers.

According to Dedeoğlu (2002), the trend of quantitative research does not give deep enough results to understand concepts such as brand value and customer satisfaction in the marketing and consumer research field. According to the author, qualitative research is necessary to model and understand consumer behavior that is difficult to predict. Since this research focuses on a subject such as consumer resistance to maternal consumption, which is affected by several factors, we preferred the method suitable for the nature of the research.

Looking at the methodology's definition in social sciences, qualitative research is defined as research in which qualitative data collection methods such as observation, interview, and document analysis are used, and a qualitative process carried out to reveal perceptions and events in a natural environment realistically and holistically (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2000). Qualitative research reveals ideas about the subject, shows tendencies, and provides rich and deep information (Daymon and Holloway, 2002; Silverman, 2001). According to Patton, there are five elements of qualitative research. Those are:

1. Naturalistic inquiry: The research is studied in its natural environment, not controlled, and manipulated.
2. Induction: There is no hypothesis. It is trying to reach the whole from the parts.
3. Holistic frame: The whole studied consider more complex than the sum of its parts.

4. Qualitative data: It includes the individual experiences and thoughts of the people, an in-depth examination, and the basis for detailed explanations created.

5. Participatory aspect of the researcher and empathetic neutrality: The researcher is a natural part of the process, and the researcher tries to understand complex data in the role of participants.

According to Ger (2009), the qualitative method used in consumer research should have three crucial elements. These are theory-data interaction, critical awareness, honesty, and obtaining valid-reliable results. In addition, according to the author, the aspects of getting valid and reliable results are being close and knowledgeable in the field, multiplicity in data sources, and multiplicity in data analysis. In other words, the researcher should spend as much time in the field as gaining the participants' trust, systematically diversifying the recorded data, and providing diversity in analysis by constantly comparing theory, literature, and data in data analysis.

The research focuses on the historical background to diversify data in the qualitative research analysis from newspapers. To reach the news about the Montessori education approach by using the word "Montessori" in the archives of Milliyet and Cumhuriyet newspapers and various newspapers and internet resources.

According to Derrida (1995), the archive has two primary purposes: the codification of law and the construction of truth. Accordingly, archives have a vital role in associating them with common sense and influencing what will repeat in the future. Thus, qualitative research is influenced by archives. According to the author, if researchers accept archives as they are, they should be aware of their responsibility to contribute to their continuity. For these reasons, the newspaper sources reference this research with a complex approach. The study examined news about circumstances in which the Montessori education approach emerged, the reflections of this educational approach in Turkey, education policies in Turkey, marketing practices specific to Montessori, the discourses developed over mothers and the economic level the schools address, and the words used. Also, the research analyzes other meanings of news.

The universe of the research is mothers in İzmir. As the sample, all the participants reached by the snowballing method consisted of working mothers. Therefore, the sample consisted of working mothers who had bought a Montessori product at least

once. The research conducted within the framework of this universe and sample is since mothers make the consumption decisions of children (Dedeoğlu, 2010).

In-depth interviews were conducted with ten Turkish mothers within the scope of the research. All the mothers live in the various districts of Izmir. Although the study aims to provide deep insights into the marketing field, understanding the consumer behavior of mothers by touching on other fields (sociology, communication, etc.) is the basis of this research. For example, to understand the consumer behavior of mothers, public opinion was reached by using newspaper articles and advertisements in the historical background. For this reason, a greater focus was chosen on the perspective of mothers for the research. Level. Because using qualitative methods in consumer research, as Ger (2009) emphasizes, what the consumer does and does not do on a particular ground is historical, cultural, social, political, etc. perspectives, and a deep understanding of the consumer is essential.

The spreading of Montessori products in our country was examined discursively with the public opinion obtained from the news. In this way, the research reached a semi-ethnographic point.

In addition, the fact that the number of participants is limited to 10 people leads to the satisfaction of the themes rather than being economical during the interview. Because all mothers gathered around the same themes and each mother spent more than average time in the interviews, more participants were not reached.

To reach the early participants, we applied to a kindergarten in Izmir, and other mothers were reached through the snowballing method (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The profiles of the interviewees are given in Table 1.

Table 1. Participants' Profiles.

Name (pseudonym)	Occupation	Number of Children
Ayla	Counselor	1
Bilge	Senior Operation Specialist	1

Table 1. Participants' Profiles. (cont'd)

Name (pseudonym)	Occupation	Number of Children
Ceren	Human Resources Consultant	1
Çiğdem	Counselor	1
Damla	Academician	1
Ece	E-commerce Specialist	1
Gökçe	Agricultural Economist	1
Işıl	Academician	1
Önem	Counselor	2
Pınar	Architect	1

As seen in the table, although no prerequisites were determined for the occupational status of the participants, all the participants consisted of working mothers. Although the fact that the participants are self-employed mothers may be essential data, the research was not explicitly designed according to the working status of the mothers.

The ages of the participating mothers' children were not considered. The main reason for this is to evaluate the experiences, knowledge, and perceptions of mothers, who are thought to exhibit consumer resistance by purchasing Montessori products in the context of marketing. Regardless of the age of the children, it was thought that it would be appropriate to focus on the resistant responses of mothers to the practices (marketing tools, social elements, educational opportunities, etc.) encountered in daily life.

Semi-structured in-depth interview was adopted to understand the mothers' situations. In addition, a total of eighteen questions were prepared. The most important reason for this was to be prepared to identify the emotional bonds of mothers with their children in the situation. The research aims to be ready to dominate the emotional side and not break away from the case. None of the mothers asked all the questions. Instead, a

maximum of six of these eighteen questions and some follow-up questions were asked to understand what the mothers were saying.

These in-depth interviews were designed so that the participant could express their views with openness perspective (Giorgi, 1985; Kvale, 1996). Three of the points to be considered in in-depth interviews are the flexible structure of the interview and the interviewer's ability to ask initial questions so that the interviewee can express themselves comfortably within the natural interaction. The range probes required the interviewer to try to understand the situation described by the interviewee with follow-up questions. (Leagard, Keagan and Ward, 2003) Interviews were designed with these perspectives.

The most important reason for choosing the in-depth interview method in this research is to reach in-depth insights. In the turbulent process, getting more prosperous and more comprehensive insights from the data obtained from quantitative research will provide a longer-term update in terms of the research results. Another reason for choosing this method is that the researcher would need help to think like a mother. We tried to understand every situation and discovered new insights into problems we could only see from the outside.

All the interviews were conducted in Turkish, the native language of the participants, and the texts reflected in the thesis were translated into English. All interviews were audio recorded, and the themes were extracted by transcribing X pages of texts. The written texts used in the research are divided into meaningful units with the phenomenological method.

Three main topics were identified in the in-depth interviews. The first was where mothers saw themselves and their children in the education system. Another issue focused on how mothers perceive the Montessori products they buy within this system. Thus, this research was first able to open the door to understanding the strategic structure of mothers and the tactics they adopted in the system. Therefore, this research has reached a critical point in understanding the strategic design of mothers and the tactics they adopt in the system.

According to Ger (2019), consumer research should be conducted in a continuous interaction spiral of current literature, theory, and field data. The study quality must iterate the data by establishing a constant loop between these elements. The education

system, the marketing of Montessori products, and mothers' reactions to these marketing practices were examined. Thanks to this interview design, in the theory of de Certeau (1984), strategic and tactical elements, Montessori, and marketing practices for all participant mothers became more functional.

The emerging themes were evaluated with the theoretical framework and Dr. Montessori's expressions. Also, all of them tried to reach the big picture. Due to the repetition of the themes by all participants, the interviews ended when the number of participants reached 10. Thus, it was possible to move to the research findings stage.

1.3. Limitations

This research was founded on mothers to convey their experiences and thoughts in a theoretical framework. The cornerstone of this study is to look from the perspective of mothers instead of looking with a particular prejudice and established knowledge. It presents a challenge in terms of time management and opportunities. The number of participants, which can be considered insufficient according to quantitative methods, shaped the research as a limitation at every stage of the study, as the need for much more time with ten mothers qualitatively.

Another limitation was that mothers were naturally emotional about their children. Ceren sums it up best.

*If you ask a mother about her child, you have to say stop. (Ceren,
Human Resources Specialist)*

If there had been more time, it would have been possible to deal with the topics that emerged in the mothers' extended sentences more broadly. Although there were longer than average interviews with the mothers at the point where all ten mothers agreed on the themes and a significant amount of time was devoted to the analysis of the texts, it is an undeniable fact that more time is required to reproduce and enrich the insights obtained from the more extended interviews with these participants.

The transparency and honesty of the participants in qualitative research was another factor that came to our attention in this research, especially when the mother-child connection was in question. It was observed that these mothers, who were observed to

be under the intense pressure of the dominant strategic stations (state policies, education system, marketing practices, etc.) and whose shares were recorded, were extremely transparent but did not share as long as in other subjects at the points where they acted by the discourses (such as good motherhood) and consumption culture imposed by the market.

Various measures were taken to minimize the impact of all these problems. Preliminary interviews were conducted with three different mothers to understand time, mothers, and motherhood. In this way, a step was taken to understand the structure of mothers better. The research questions and focus were re-evaluated with the experience gained from these three interviews. After the re-evaluation, a preliminary interview was held with two more mothers. The questions were simplified regarding dominating the field and allowing mothers to express themselves easily. It was ensured that mothers could answer the questions by feeling safe on a specific basis.

Particular attention was paid to the problem of time. Longer-than-average interviews (about one hour and ten minutes) were conducted with the mothers to gain in-depth understanding and, thus, pure insights. Thanks to the time allocated to each mother, it was possible to find our way into the wide world of motherhood.

Although we anticipated that there would be a considerable number of topics related to mothers, we encountered much more in the preliminary interviews. Therefore, we decided to collect the questions under three headings. These three subjects, closely related to each other, were determined as the education system, consumer resistance specific to Montessori products, and marketing practices with Montessori products. We mainly did this to keep it from getting out of focus from our research question and interviews. The mothers again determined this through the preliminary interviews to avoid problems arising from the researcher. For example, we observed that mothers have many issues regarding the dominant culture towards women and mothers, and we decided to focus on the education system.

In the first part, the general framework of the research aims and methods were stated. A qualitative study was designed to understand maternal consumption in depth. In addition, the data was diversified with archival research. Preliminary in-depth interviews were conducted to overcome potential problems in the interviews with

mothers living in Izmir. Seeing the world through mothers' eyes is the key point of this research. Therefore, in the next section, the mother's environment will be examined with archival research as a historical background.



CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. Early Pre-Schools in Europe

Before the industrial age, formal education was almost non-existent almost everywhere, and it was tuition and fee-based, volunteer-oriented, and generally for men. Education in feudal Europe was ecclesiastical, and seven out of ten workers made a living from agriculture. This limited minority enabled only a small percentage of people to earn their income through written words (Bloch, 1963; Cipolla, 1993). Although some states, particularly in Protestant areas, required villages and towns to have schools, these requests were subject to the will and resources of the locals. With the growth of the industry, support for public education increased. In this way, schooling changed from limited education to non-formal and hierarchical education systems (Katz, 1987).

In 1816, Robert Owen opened the first nursery school in Scotland to care for the one-year-old children of cotton mill workers (Kaye, 2016). Mialaret (1997, p.8) expresses the aims of preschool education under three main headings: social, educational, and child development. Accordingly, providing care services for the children of mothers working for social purposes is to ensure that children from all classes benefit from educational opportunities and socialize them. It aims to develop language communication, children's sense organs, and environmental sensitivity for educational purposes. On the other hand, the aims related to the child's development are emphasized to provide educational effects without creating any sense of deficiency.

Also, in Europe, formal childcare and education services, an important social policy tool for individuals to achieve work-family balance, have been examined regarding their positive effects on children and families. Accordingly, it has been observed that these care and education services have a positive impact on children's development, employment, fertility, and social equality (Aysan and Özdoğru, 2015).

As it can be understood from the section up to this point, preschool education has come to the fore in Europe, with the increasing number of working parents providing care for their children after the industrial revolution. Later, alternative approaches were mentioned in preschool education.

The basic idea behind Pestalozzi's method was that all human beings are subject to fundamental forces preconfigured by the laws of nature. The aim of education is to develop these forces naturally and psychologically. When the traits mentioned earlier develop naturally, they form a general harmony that allows morality to prevail. It was the spirit of this method rather than the mechanical process of establishing the education system of the modern state on the love of the family or the love of the mother. Thus, it was the view of education not as teaching knowledge but as strengthening and harmonizing intellectual and other psychological forces. (Palmer et al., 2001)

In Froebel's approach, the child's development must use activities such as games and music to gain experience by their needs. Children should be educated with different materials according to their age groups, and opportunities to get to know their environment, nature, and the world should be created. (Carter, 1987). Froebel's classrooms are not just school rooms, but playgrounds designed to make every activity enjoyable (Shonkoff and Meisels, 1990).

Waldorf schools support student development by nurturing the senses through free play initiated by children, the development of healthy will and activity, and providing opportunities for creative and artistic experiences (Nicol and Taplin, 2012). This imaginative play of children aged 3-5 is seen as a tool for children's need to integrate and assimilate their life experiences in a way that makes them entirely their own (Nicholson, 2000; Oldfield, 2001). A kindergarten environment with enriched creative play awakens self-awareness and provides a greater capacity for creative thinking (Cox and Rowlands, 2000; Oldfield, 2001). Pestalozzi's efforts to create a free school, Froebel's kindergarten, and Seguin and Itard's methods of educating the uneducated have found a place in Montessori's work as a synthesis. (Kramer, 2017)

From this information, we can interpret the following: While preschool education in Europe was focused on parents in the early years, later, this focus completely shifted to the child's development.

2.2. Pre-School Education in Turkey

In Turkey, *Geçici İlköğretim Kanunu* (Temporary Primary Education Law) was enacted in 1913 to expand the kindergartens. Then preschool education was also

considered an education level with the Ana Mektepleri Nizamnamesi (Nursery Schools Regulation) in 1915 (Kantarcioglu, 1984).

With two circulars issued in 1927 and 1930, previously opened kindergartens were closed, and only institutions opened to provide care for children whose mothers worked in provinces, factories, and agriculture during working hours were allowed. Again, the same circular stated that the institution would be closed in case children whose mothers were found to be unemployed during the ministry inspections (Ergin, 1977).

In the years following the establishment of the Republic, preschool education institutions were available in thirty-eight provinces of Turkey, and these institutions continued their education primarily as private schools (Akyüz, 2009).

Official kindergartens are not included in the 1937-1938 Education statistics. However, there were 47 private kindergartens, 59 teachers, and 1555 students. The related report shows that these schools are located only in Ankara, İçel, İstanbul and İzmir provinces. The critical point in these data is that there are 32 minority and foreign kindergartens compared to only 14 Turkish kindergartens (Oktay, 1989).

A kindergarten was opened by the Istanbul Municipality in 1932 to keep children between 3 and 7 years old, who had to work, and widows and poor women entertained, fed, and disciplined (Ergin, 1977).

In the third five-year development plan, it was stated that children who could not receive preschool education should receive education, and it was noted that there would be a tremendous financial burden for the state to provide this education to everyone (Konaklı, 1992).

In the National Education Law, which determines the principles of preschool education to be included in formal education, it is stated that this optional education depends on the choice of families (Milli Eğitim Temel Eğitim Kanunu, 1973; Akyüz, 2009).

The Regulation on the Establishment and Operational Principles of Private Nursery and Day Care Centers, enacted in 1983, determined the principles that natural and legal persons must comply with when opening these institutions (Öktem, 1986).

Regarding the history of preschool education in Turkey, the state was interested in caring for children whose families worked.

2.3. Montessori's Path from Past to Present

Maria Montessori was accepted to the university as the first female medical student and Italy's first female medical doctor. While working in the psychiatry department, she primarily dealt with deprived children needing special education and made noteworthy progress in her work with them. Upon these positive results, she started to work in the field of education, thinking that the same methods could be used on normal children (Standing, 1998; Lillard, 1973).

While she was a lecturer at the Roman Psychiatric Clinic, Dr. Montessori had the chance to take care of underprivileged children and observe them. By teaching these children to read and write, they were accepted into a test that "normal" children took. The remarkable success of Montessori spread rapidly, and he gave a seminar to teachers in Rome for the education of children with mental retardation by Guido Pacelli, the Minister of Education, and his teacher. These seminars also led to the establishment of an institution to train teachers of children with mental retardation, and Montessori worked there as a principal. (Montessori, 2009).

In Montessori's method, there are three basic principles: The importance given to the environment, the children's activities on their own with the suspension of the educator's authority, and the respect for the child's personality that no other educational method shows (Montessori, 2007).

At the end of 1906, offered the organization of schools for young children living in workers' lodgings to Dr. Montessori by the General Director of the Rome Contractors Association. Thus, on January 6, 1907, the first of 16 schools planned to open, Casa Dei Bambini (House of Children), was opened in Via dei Marsi, San Lorenzo. (Montessori, 2009).

Later, when the related association opened these schools in various parts of Rome, the children of middle-class families started to receive education in Montessori Schools. House of Children was established for the British Embassy staff in Rome and the children of aristocratic families. Only upper-class children were admitted here (Montessori, 2009).

Teachers from nine different parts of Europe participated in the seminar organized to prepare teachers to work in rural areas of Italy. Students from Europe, America, Africa, and India attended the courses held in Rome in 1913 (Montessori, 2009).

Maria Montessori and her son Mario founded the Association Montessori Internationale (AMI) in 1929 during the first 10-day Montessori Congress to oversee all Montessori schools and teachers worldwide. Maria Montessori was the head of the Berlin branch of this organization until she moved to Amsterdam in 1935 (Kramer, 2017).

In the harsh conditions of the First World War, the spread of the Montessori movement did not stop, although it weakened significantly. In 1915, M. R. Cromwell, an American woman who lived in Paris, established Montessori classrooms for immigrant children and war orphans and a workshop where war veterans produced Montessori materials and school furniture. Project committee sponsors, including the American ambassador and the Queen of Belgium, ordered two sets of materials from this workshop to transform schools in their countries into Montessori schools (Kramer, 2017).

Maria Montessori was exiled from Italy, although she chose to continue her studies by not joining the self-exiled intellectuals after the rise of the fascist regime in Italy, as in various European countries. While holding the Oxford Congress in 1936, she was exiled from Italy and Spain, and his schools were closed in Austria and Germany. At the Oxford Congress, AMI announced that Montessori's ambition was to devise a social plan for the welfare of children that would be presented to governments worldwide. Montessori focused on macro problems (Kramer, 2017).

In a letter to her son in December 1938, Maria Montessori talked about her plans to go to India. In addition to the problematic conditions of Europe, the most important reason for this was that managers such as India, Gandhi, and Tagore were willing to establish a Montessori center. After that, although she was offered a chair at the university in Berlin in 1947, she chose to return to India, where she felt very influential and had much more to do (Kramer, 2017).

Maria Montessori, known as Dottorressa, died of a cerebral hemorrhage in a village in The Hague on May 6, 1952. Montessori's home in Amsterdam became AMI's headquarters after her death (Kramer, 2017).

2.4. Reflections of the Montessori Method on Turkey

Mustafa Satı Bey, on his trip to Europe in July 1914, mainly focused on kindergartens and especially visited schools that applied the Montessori method (Şanal, 2002). In 1915, he opened a kindergarten called *Yeni Mekteb* (New School) and a teacher's school called *Darül Mürebbiyat* to train teachers for kindergartens. Later, the name of this kindergarten was changed to *Fevziye Mektebi* (Altın, 2005). It was stated that this kindergarten soon became a privileged school for upper-class families in Istanbul, children went to the school with horses, carriages, and butlers, and the names of famous pedagogues such as Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Montessori were mentioned by Turkish educators. In this kindergarten, it was a question of giving prizes to children and not resorting to punishment. (Akyüz, 1966).

The oldest news about the Montessori method was written by Selim Sırrı (1930). The main theme of this article is sports, and the author tries to explain how children should be raised mentally and physically with examples from the world. Expressing that focusing on the mental education of children affects their physical development in the field of sports, the author talked about the general characteristics of Montessori, Froebel, and Decroly education methods and how they are applied.

The news published next year belongs to Kazım Nami (1931). The author mentioned Montessori, Froebel, and Decroly methods while discussing the need to change the education system. According to the author, these methods should be examined to eliminate the problems in the education system. It was written that it would be appropriate for this examination to be done by universities and the professors there, but their detailed knowledge of Turkey may be weak. The author has discussed the subject in the context of north-south.

Abdulfeyyaz Tevfik (1931), who replied to this article by Kazım Nami, did not find it appropriate to discuss the issue as north-south or east-west. According to the author, the establishment of one of the Montessori, Froebel, and Decroly methods was the main issue, and the education organization continued with the methods to be selected and established. He asserted that the other issues might argue after the establishment.

Later, Peyami Safa (1933) stated that the single book application is wrong as an educational approach. The author stated that there are reports that only one book is applied in Italy and that this cannot be true in the Italian education system, which raises a value like Montessori.

In another article in Cumhuriyet newspaper, education elements in Sweden were discussed. Accordingly, if women who have graduated from teacher training school want to be teachers in kindergartens, they must take a one-year training in one of the institutions that teach Montessori and Froebel methods (Tarcan, 1935). Another article by the author is about what is done for the education of the people in Brussels. Accordingly, the author visited a kindergarten there. In this school, it was shared that Froebel and Montessori's products are available and covered by the town (Tarcan, 1935a).

Selim Sırrı Tarcan (1937) wrote a long article about the book of Maria Montessori in Cumhuriyet. The author explained the book with the daily practice examples of children from Turkey's that time.

In the newspaper article by Peyami Safa (1938), Montessori is mentioned as being world fame. Besides, he reflected to his readers that Montessori was against traditional education. In this article, with the theme of the school of tomorrow, it has been evaluated that traditional education, compared with the Montessori education method, does not change because factories and government offices need automatic people. As a final assessment, the author argued that the approach to be applied should be chosen according to local and professionally oriented needs.

In the Akşam dated May 12, 1938. In this article, Selim Sırrı talks about the fallacy of local practices and highlights the liberating side of Doctor Montessori's educational approach.

In another column, in which Maria Montessori is mentioned as the education authority and her photo is included, traditional education and the new curriculum are compared, and traditional education is described as medieval by the author. Particular emphasis was placed on the implementation of the new curriculum and the publication of the new books necessary for this. However, in this column, the idea of educating students according to the needs of the country in the light of psychological and sociological research is clearly expressed (Ersin, 1953).

However, Peyami Safa (1957) discussed school curricula by quoting Maria Montessori in his column. According to this, "adults" are "children who have no possibility of development" who fill the school curriculum according to their own needs. That's why the development of children who can be great is hampered despite all the directions of pedagogy. Another article of the author compared passive and active education methods. According to the article, in which the Montessori education method is also determined as new, it is stated that the child seeks information by using their own hands, and the teachers play a more passive role (Safa, 1957a).

Muhsin Ertuğrul (1960), on the other hand, stated in the last part of his newspaper article on theater that while the old communities expected development from heroes and Plato from philosophers, Montessori expected development from children.

One of the examples of newspaper articles on the Montessori education method is on deprived children. The related article mentioned that the Montessori education method was applied in the child psychiatry department of Gureba Hospital. In this news was heavily focused on the Montessori method. It was reported by the pedagogue, who interviewed those children almost completed until age seven. But compulsory education in Turkey started at the age of seven. According to the news, only 16 out of approximately 400,000 deprived children could benefit from scientific education at that time in Turkey (Tuğrul, 1976).

An advertisement (Figure 1) titled "A New Stage in Pre-School Education" in Milliyet newspaper dated September 23, 1979, stated that education was given in a Montessori environment three days a week. The same advertisement states that the Montessori environment aims to help the child's mental development with Montessori materials. The advertiser used the slogan "development as an individual, integration with the environment" (Milliyet, 1979).

It is understood from the related news that the speakers focused on Montessori education in a seminar organized by a private kindergarten in 1981 focused on audio-visual methods (Cumhuriyet, 1981).

Another news advocates that the Montessori education method should be widespread in kindergartens and at home. Expert pedagogue Güler Yücel organized the Montessori education method seminars for kindergartens and mothers, and this method was mentioned in detail (Karman, 1988).

OKUL ÖNCESİ GELİŞİMİNDE YEPYENİ BİR AŞAMA

„birey olarak gelişme, çevre ile bütünleşme„



MONTESORİ ORTAMI
Montessori eğitim araçları ile çocukların zihinsel gelişimine yardımcı olarak.

YARATICI ÇALIŞMALAR GRUBU
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Figure 1. Brand new stage in preschool development (Source: Milliyet, 1979)

Artık sözcüklere dokunabilirsiniz

•Dünyada geniş uygulama alanı bulan Montessori yöntemi, bu yıl bir Türk okulunda denenecek. Yöntem, öğrencilerin soyut kavramları, tüm duyuları kullanıma sokarak, somut biçimde algılamalarını hedefliyor

Tamer ALTUNAY

SÖZCÜKLERE, rakamlara dokunabilirsiniz. Kendinizi yağmurun ritmine verebilirsiniz. Ağaçların, çiçeklerin nasıl boy verdiğini görebilirsiniz. Ruhunuzu özgür bırakabilirsiniz. Montessori yöntemi, bunları amaçlıyor. Yöntem, “İnsanlar özgün doğarlar, kopya

Devamı 16. Sayfada

Figure 2. First Montessori Method Implication in Turkey (Source: Milliyet, 1992)

A report from 1992 (Figure 2) reports that the Montessori method will be applied for the first time. In the detail of the news, there is a special emphasis that it will be tried to be implemented at the primary school level to the extent that the Turkish education system allows. At the same time, it was reported that Maria Montessori started to apply this method in 1928 (Altunay, 1992).

Geleceğin eğitimi...

OKUL öncesi eğitimin her geçen gün biraz daha önem kazandığı günümüzde Bilfen Anaokulu, 'High Scope ve Montessori' eğitim sistemiyle minik beyinleri yarıllara hazırlıyor. Koşuyolu'ndaki Bilfen Anaokulu'nda uzman öğretmenlerce yetiştirilen minikler, resim, müzik, beden eğitimi, İngilizce, bilgisayar, bale, yüzme, ritmik jimnastik ve satranç eğitimi görüyor. Çeşitli gruplara ayrılan miniklere arkadaşlararası dayanışma dersleri de veriliyor. Anaokulu Müdürü Sibel Demiryol, eğitime ilgili şunları söyledi: "En dikkat edilecek dönemde bize emanet edilen çocuklarla öğretmenlerimiz duygusal bir bağ kuruyor. Çocuğun özellikleri doğrultusunda eğitim veriyor."



Figure 3. Future's education (Source: Milliyet, 1997a)

In another advertisement, it was stated in the advertisement text that a kindergarten institution would provide education to children between the ages of 3-6 and that the active learning and Montessori method was applied. It was also reported in the text that a training program was implemented in accordance with the hours of working mothers (Milliyet, 1997). Besides, the Montessori method was emphasized in the news (Figure 3) about the same institution, and it was stated that education was designed according to the characteristics of the child. The education method of the institution has been defined as the education of the future (Milliyet, 1997a).

In the newspaper text, where a private kindergarten is expressed as one of the few schools that implement the Montessori education method, the Montessori method was reflected by the school founders as preparing an environment for the child to learn the information rather than teaching the information directly (Atalay, 1997).

In the advertisement text of a different high school institution, it was presented to the newspaper readers in which the Montessori education method, which is said to be applied for the first time in Turkey since primary education, is based on the principle of developing the power of logic and increasing the intellectual capacity. Vocational

training courses, music, and dance training, as well as summer camps in Turkey and the USA were included in the text by the institution (Milliyet, 1998).

Montessori education is stated among the new methods of solving problems between parents and children. Alternative education methods, including Montessori education, are handled as methods that approach children with love, ensure that children are raised in line with their abilities, and question the methods of punishment (Eryürek, 1998).

Another news is that normal and deprived children are educated in the same private school with the Montessori education method. In the article, which also gave information about the Montessori education method, one of the private school partners stated that especially disabled children have better education opportunities in Germany than in Turkey. In the news, the author said that materials are used for the development of children instead of toys and conveyed that children discover themselves by using these materials in an organized environment (Cuyar, 1999).

Another advertisement text from 9 May 1999 emphasized that children should be happy and in themselves and be successful and knowledgeable. This text presents to the target audience that original Montessori materials are used, and English education is given from kindergarten (Milliyet, 1999). In the text of the other advertisement of the same institution, education was defined as the art of being human (Milliyet, 1999c). This institution, located in Etiler, Istanbul, has announced that it accepts students for the first, second, and third grades of kindergarten and primary school by interview.

Two private schools implementing the Montessori method are introduced in news that draws attention to the number of private schools (Figure 4). In the news, where it was stated that the desired number of private schools has not been reached yet, it was shared that the number of private schools is in search of a system for the taste and needs of society. It was stated that the kindergarten was removed from the nursery environment and given concrete to abstract education for children (Milliyet, 1999a).

Özel öğretim gelecek peşinde



Özel Fenerbahçe Koleji ile Özel Erol Altaca Koleji, somuttan soyuta gelişim sağlayan ünlü Montessori sistemini uygulayarak, bu alanda çarpıcı örnekler sergiliyorlar.



Figure 2. Private education's future (Source: Milliyet, 1999a)

In another private school introduction article (Figure 5) highlighting the Montessori method as a pedagogical reform, contemporary education was chosen as the general framework. This private school combines Turkish and German culture with the Montessori method and aims to teach Turkish and German languages starting from kindergarten (Milliyet, 1999b).

Çağdaş öğretim

Avrupa Koleji, 8 yıllık eğitim sistemi gereği orta kısımları kapanan Türkiye'deki yabancı okullara bir alternatif olarak kurulmuş ve 1998-1999 öğretim yılında öğretime başlamıştır.

Avrupa Koleji, Türkiye'de yaşayan Almanların kurduğu ve aynı zamanda Türk ve Alman kültürünün arasında bir köprü oluşturan Die Brücke E.V. derneği ile eğitim işbirliği yapmaktadır.

Programımız anaokulundan itibaren öğrencilerimizin üç lisani dil (Türkçe/Almanca) çok iyi öğrenebilmelerine yöneliktir.

İki disiplinin sentezi

Türk ve Alman eğitim sistemlerinin sentezinin yapıldığı okulumuzda kendi başına düşünme ve yaratıcılığı teşvik etmek için öğrencilere normal ders programının yanı sıra başka çalışma yöntemlerinin bazıları Maria Montessori'nin pedagojik reform yaklaşımlarına dayanmaktadır.

Parolası "Bana kendi işimi kendi kendime bırakmam için yardım et" olan Avrupa Koleji ailesi; anaokulu, ilköğretim okulu ve lise olarak Türk eğitim sistemi içinde yer almıştır. Öğretim kadrosu Alman ve Türk öğretmenlerden oluşmaktadır. 6. sınıftan itibaren 2. dil olarak İngilizce verilmektedir.

Öğrencilerimizin gelişmelerine uygun sosyal faaliyetlerin yer aldığı okulumuzda, Almanya kültürünün tanıtımını amaçlayan Weibnarschten Ostern ve Sommerfest gibi etkinlikler de yer almaktadır.

Dil eğitiminin ve bilgi aktarımının yanı sıra bir eğitim gönüllüsü olma görevini de üstlenen okulumuzda, bütün öğrencilerimiz kendi yaşantılarının ve toplum içindeki sorumluluklarının bilin-



cinde olmayı öğreneceklerdir.

Okul öncesi ve ilköğretimdeki öğrencilerimize tümüne günümüzün çağdaş eğitimi için gerekli internetle iletişim, bilgisayarla İngilizce ve Almanca dil eğitimi olanakları sağlanmaktadır.

Moderen bir ortamda kurulmuş internet bağlantılı kütüphane, bilgisayar laboratuvarı ve fen laboratuvarında öğrenciler bireysel çalışmalar da yapabilmektedir.

Özel yeteneklerin ortaya çıkması için resim atölyesi ve müzik kulübünde öğretmenlerin nezaretinde her zaman öğrenciler çalışmaktadır.

Gezerek, görerek, yaşayarak eğitim anlayışı çerçevesinde turistik, tarihsel ve sportif aktiviteler öğrencilere sunulmakta, bu konularda kulüpler oluşmuş bulunmaktadır.

Ayrıca ücretsiz fen liselerine hazırlık çalışmaları da yapılmaktadır.

Avrupa Koleji'nin parolası "Bana kendi işimi kendi kendime yapmayı öğret"...



Figure 3. Contemporary education (Source: Milliyet, 1999b)

There is another news that Montessori education has become widespread. Accordingly, the difficulty of applying the Montessori education method was mentioned because there were not enough Montessori trainers (Cumhuriyet, 2000).

In the newspaper advertisement of a different institution, it is seen that the kindergarten is directly promoted as "with a Montessori system" (Milliyet, 1999d). In one of the repeated advertisements of the same institution, "service to contemporary education"

was chosen as the title of the advertisement and the kindergarten was again emphasized with the Montessori system (Milliyet, 2002).

In another advertisement from 2002, the Montessori system in kindergarten classrooms was reflected in bold fonts and it was informed that contemporary education was offered (Milliyet, 2002a).

As the first time, the classified ads page of Milliyet newspaper for the first time featured the advertisements of many institutions under the heading "Children's Kindergartens and Study Centers". Many different features such as ballet, yoga, reiki, special pedagogue, and psychologist supervision, ayurvedic nutrition, daycare, and hourly care were presented to target audiences, especially in advertisements for children aged 0-6. In only one of the advertisements here, it was stated that the Montessori method was applied (Milliyet, 2002b). The same advertisement was published continuously from October 6, 2002, to October 24, 2002.

In another advertisement, which was stated to be registered in the order of application, Montessori and English languages were highlighted. It is clearly written that the organization serves students in the 4-6 age group (Milliyet, 2003).

In 2003, promotional news about kindergartens continued to appear in the newspapers. In the news about an institution located in Baltalimanı, Istanbul, it was shared that the Montessori method was applied in the relevant private kindergarten, and thus, the children gained self-confidence. As a prominent statement in the news, it was reported that 90% of Montessori materials used in kindergarten were brought from England. (Burçak, 2003) This article was commented on by Yavuz Baydar (2003), the newspaper's reader representative and ombudsman. Bringing 90 percent of Montessori materials from England will not provide a better education for the child, and bringing materials from England may create a perception that these products are not produced in Turkey. Still, it is not, and this method is applied by many organizations other than the organization shared in the news. highlighted. The author expanded his interpretation a little more and conveyed that the Montessori education method is education with a game, that those interested can develop the materials with their own creativity, and that even children can design these materials. In addition, the author has included the statement conveyed by the publication coordinator. According to the statements of publication coordinator Emre Oral, the private kindergarten mentioned

in the news was not deliberately highlighted, the essence of Montessori education was included, and this information was conveyed to the readers since the organization stated that 90% of the materials came from England. The publication coordinator defended that the Montessori education method was not given any information as it was applied only in this school (Baydar, 2003).

The headline of the news is a quote by Maria Montessori, and it is reported that learning is supported by using recycled materials and these materials, which we see as materials from garbage, in a creative way (Miço, 2006).

In the news about the kindergarten establishment in the Bursa Style supplement of Milliyet, it was stated that the relevant private kindergarten institution applied Montessori education. In the headline of this news, one of the founders of the organization conveyed that the purpose of the kindergarten is to raise Atatürkist, free, productive individuals who love their homeland (Milliyet, 2006).

An article written by the founder of the institution of a private kindergarten and the educational consultant with the full page and the institution's logo was also seen in the article. The article, which focuses on different perspectives on preschool education, talked about the general practices of Montessori education (Cumhuriyet, 2009). Another full-page informative article by the same institution focused on the reading skills of preschool children (Cumhuriyet, 2009c).

In the news about the spring festivals of a private kindergarten that uses the Montessori method, the school administration's aid activities for other schools and students were also mentioned (Cumhuriyet, 2009a).

In the Ankara supplement of *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, we see the advertisement texts of three preschool institutions. One of these schools stated that they applied Waldorf, Montessori, and Reggio Emilia's education methods in kindergarten. (Cumhuriyet, 2009b).

Another kindergarten in the private sector also stated that they practice in many different schools at the same time. They presented the reason for this as developing different aspects of children in an integrated way because the organization's director stated which aspects of each method were aimed at children. The word used to express all these education methods is "different" (Cumhuriyet, 2010).

There is a report that Maltepe Municipality aims to bring trainers from Germany to provide education to the kindergartens in the district and then to spread the kindergartens with a Montessori education model to the whole district (Cumhuriyet, 2014).

While talking about peace education in his column, Bekir Onur (2018) stated that the approach to peace developed by Maria Montessori is based on the education system and school building a peaceful world based on the child's freedom.

In Erdal Atabek's (2018) column, it was stated that today's Finnish education system is based on Montessori education and its main focus is critical thinking education. The author also stated that knowing these education models would not be enough and that they would not work without questioning in schools.

Atalay (2019) emphasizes that alternative education approaches such as Montessori, Waldorf, and Reggio Emilia are against mainstream education. Accordingly, mainstream education emphasizes homework and grades on the one hand and alternative approaches focused on creativity and art on the other hand, where the child is evaluated as a free individual. On the other hand, the author stated that if families want to turn to alternative education, they should allocate a budget for it because schools that implement alternative education are expensive.

According to the International Montessori Association of USA (n.d.), Amazon founder Jeff Bezos, Google co-founders Sergey Brin and Larry Page, Sims game creator Will Wright, The Washington Post owner and editor Katherine Graham, daughter of Bill and Hillary Clinton Chelsea Clinton, World War II diarist Anne Frank and many other famous names attributed their success to the education they received in Montessori classrooms. When we look at the newspaper news, especially Jeff Bezos and Google founders Larry Page and Sergey Brin are mentioned. Montessori education is famous because of such names (Çelebi, 2022). In another news in Turkey emphasizing these names, Montessori schools are mentioned as the schools of celebrities, and the efforts of parents to open the first Montessori primary school in Turkey are explained (NTV, 2012).

4.1 Themes on the Reflections of the Montessori Method in Turkey

After the kindergarten opened by Mustafa Satı Bey in 1915, in which the Montessori method was applied, information about the Montessori method being known in the country can be accessed from news sources (Sırrı, 1930; Nami, 1931; Tevfik, 1931; Safa, 1933; Safa, 1935; Safa, 1938) since the proclamation of the Republic. In general, discussions were made about which direction the education system should progress in this period, and the idea of applying the Montessori and other alternative education methods to the kindergarten in the education system was put forward.

The harsh criticisms of classical kindergarten education, which were selected in the news between 1957-1988 (Ersin, 1953; Safa, 1957; Safa, 1957a; Ertuğrul, 1960; Tuğrul, 1976), were discussed, and it was emphasized that the Montessori education method should be spread to all kindergartens and even applied at home.

Lipovetsky (2006) argues that the nature of consumption has changed since the early 90s. This is more than just postmodernist consumption; it is an experimental and emotional hyper-consumption.

It is seen that the mentioned change also took place for Montessori education. After the 90s, there was a significant change in the content and numbers of news, especially for advertising activities.

After the oldest Montessori advertisement was published in newspapers with the title "brand new stage" in 1979, many advertisements in this field were seen in newspapers after the 90s.

Table 2. Advertisements About Montessori Method Since 90's

Reference	Theme
(Milliyet, 1997)	Education of future
(Milliyet, 1997a)	Education of future
(Milliyet, 1998)	Montessori Education
(Milliyet, 1999)	Success, knowledge, self

Table 2. Advertisements About Montessori Method Since 90's. (cont'd)

Reference	Theme
(Milliyet, 1999c)	Art of being human
(Milliyet, 1999b)	Contemporary education
(Milliyet, 2002)	Contemporary education
(Milliyet, 2002a)	Contemporary education
(Milliyet, 2002b)	Montessori Education
(Milliyet, 2003)	Montessori Education
(Milliyet, 2006)	Atatürkist, Nationalist

All advertisements except one of them for Montessori kindergartens, which can be found in newspapers, are from post-1990. As can be seen in the table, these advertisements emphasized that only the Montessori method was applied in some advertisements. In most other advertisements, Montessori schools promoted this method as future and contemporary education. Other rarely highlighted themes focused on children's self-esteem and the success and knowledge they would gain in this way. The last theme was raising Atatürkist and nationalist children.

Table 3. Introductory News About Private Montessori Schools

Reference	Theme
(Atalay, 1997)	Limited availability of Montessori schools, Indirect education
(Çuvar, 1999)	Discover themselves (children)
(Milliyet, 1999a)	In search of the needs and tastes of society
(Burçak, 2003)	Montessori Materials from England
(Cumhuriyet, 2009)	General Montessori practices over children
(Cumhuriyet, 2009c)	Reading skills of children

Table 3. Introductory News About Private Montessori Schools (cont'd)

Reference	Theme
(Cumhuriyet, 2009c)	Reading skills of children
(Cumhuriyet, 2009b)	Spring festival, to help other schools, Atatürk
(Cumhuriyet, 2010)	Using different methods to develop different skills in children

Half of the introductory news was written on children's self-discovery, reading skills, and developing other skills, and private kindergartens were introduced in this context. One kindergarten introduced that the materials came from England. Other kindergartens aimed to promote more generally. The themes of spring festival and helping other schools came to the fore.

In the promotional news of private Montessori schools, the characteristics, and the characteristics of Montessori schools, in general, are highlighted. There are also reports emphasizing the small number of private Montessori schools. Generally, the aim is to advertise private Montessori schools as a marketing practice.

Table 4. Columns And News About Montessori Education After 90's

Reference	Theme
(Altunay, 1992)	First implication
(Eryürek, 1998)	Raise with children's their abilities
(Cumhuriyet, 2000)	Lack of Montessori trainers
(Cumhuriyet, 2014)	The prevalence of Montessori practices in municipal nurseries
(Onur, 2018)	Peaceful world
(Atabek, 2018)	Critical thinking side of Montessori method
(Atalay, 2019)	Against to mainstream education, expensive

Table 4. Columns And News About Montessori Education After 90's (cont'd)

Reference	Theme
(Çelebi, 2022)	Celebrity people completed Montessori kindergartens
(NTV, 2012)	School of celebrities

Other themes are Montessori for a peaceful world, the lack of educators needed to spread the Montessori method, this method focuses on children's discovery of skills, and the development of municipal nurseries.

Contrary to the search for an education system in the Republic's first years, the articles and news after the 90's mostly revisited Montessori. In this rediscovery of Montessori, the consumption and marketing side comes to the fore. Famous names from the Montessori school are highlighted. Montessori schools are considered separate from the national education system in this period.

Considering all the news examined, it is possible to state that the Montessori education approach, which is recommended to be integrated into the education system, is considered a commodity and status indicator. The story of Montessori begins in Turkey as the school of wealthy families and is still referred to as the school of celebrities today. Most recent articles are informative articles focused on marketing and sales. Thus, it is seen that the schools that focus on the Montessori approach in pre-school education, which cannot find a place for itself in the Turkish education system, are almost entirely private institutions. This may result in the application of dominant market dynamics for Montessori products.

These contents, which are mostly informative news, are divided into two. One is to include the Montessori approach in the education system created by the state, and the other is the articles written by private schools focusing on public relations and marketing. With a deep reading, all informative and problem-solving news is actually accepted by the education system with its shortcomings. The only newsgroup that differs here. In this period, it is seen that there is a search for the education system. However, when we look at the history of preschool in Turkey, alternative education

approaches, especially Montessori, could not be integrated into the system due to the limited resources allocated for the education system.

Considering all these results, it is seen as the historical background that Montessori products and schools are positioned to appeal to the upper level within market dynamics. When we look at the first years of the Montessori education approach, it is obvious that it was directly owned and shaped by the upper class, as in the opening of a school for the embassy. It is not a coincidence that the same example occurs in Turkey. All these naturally led to the perception of being "simple, effective but high quality and expensive."

2.5. Montessori Products and Services

We can divide Montessori products into two as tangible and intangible. Besides physical products, there are Montessori education services.

First of all, Montessori materials have been studied in the literature. Erişen and Güleş (2007) mentioned the design features of Montessori materials. While examining the properties of these products, the authors also shared their observations on use. Some of the products reviewed by the authors are listed below. (Figure 6)



Figure 6. Montessori materials. (Pink tower, smell trays, sound tubes respectively)
(Source: Erişen and Güleş, 2007)

Other one is Montessori's intangible side. Montessori education of private schools can be given as an example as Montessori services. Maria Montessori has not copyrighted or patented this education method (Whitescarver and Cossentino, 2008). It means that every kindergarten can be open with the name Montessori. Although the reason for this is stated as the commercialization of the method, she has taken the patents of Montessori materials to guarantee that the products do not turn into simple toys (Korkmaz, 2005).

When we look back at the historical development of Montessori education in Turkey, we see that the state generally does not want to allocate the necessary resources to kindergartens. For this reason, we have seen in our newspaper archive research that the services provided by kindergartens are provided by the private sector. Ultimately, we concluded that Montessori services are also provided by private schools.

As a result, the historical background initiated from Europe has also yielded harmonious results in Turkey. The dominant market culture can explain Montessori products' quality and expensive perception, even when even Montessori evaluated the Montessori mattress as an alternative and cost-effective in the early years.

In the historical background, we have seen that the demand for kindergartens, which are considered a place of care, differs due to the greater participation of women in the labor force in Europe. The differentiation is towards quality education from the care of the child. With the alternative education methods that emerged after the Second World War, parents focused on their children's skills.

The starting point of the Montessori education method is initially disadvantaged children. Maria Montessori developed this education method by focusing on children in asylum and workers' neighborhoods. In the following years, we see that the dominant structure adopted the Montessori education method, with the interest of Mussolini, and the school opened for the staff of the British Embassy. It is possible to say that this approach approaches the dominant market culture with the title "Graduate of Distinction" on the official American Montessori Society's page.

As a result of our research on Montessori products in Turkey, we have seen the closeness to the above-mentioned market culture from the first years. The first data, which was opened just before the proclamation of the Republic and became famous as the school for the children of well-established families, confirms this. There are

columns on the search for education in the Republic's first years. We have determined that the Montessori education approach cannot be reflected in the general education system due to the budget constraints that can be allocated to the education system, especially preschool education. The news we have examined shows that private kindergartens fill the gap here. In general, we can say that Montessori products and educational approaches in Turkey have progressed in parallel with the second part of its history in Europe, namely the dominant market culture.

As Kozinets (2002) found, anti-capitalist actions can serve the ideology. Maria Montessori's concern for the commercialization of this educational method was realized in a different way. It can be interpreted that Montessori products and especially services are adopted by the capitalist ideology because the states do not want to allocate resources to the Montessori education method. Because we can see that the private sector fills the gap left by the state institutions. The findings and analysis section will discuss this issue in a more general framework as a strategic structure.

In the next section, we will express our theoretical framework, Michel de Certeau's approach to strategy and tactics, under four main headings.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. Production

The concept of production is used in two senses in de Certeau. The first is used to mean that individuals or groups personalize certain goods. de Certeau gives the example of the student at this point. Accordingly, even if the students are punished for scribbling or drawing in their notebooks, they open up a creative space. Another example is the TV example. In this example, viewers cannot write anything on the TV, and unlike the notebook example, they are completely separate from the TV. In this position, the consumer has become a complete receiver whose creativity has been removed (de Certeau, 1984).

It has been shown that the productions and reproductions of mothers through social media have the power to shape today's dual-income families and play a role in the reproduction of the family (Chan, 2008).

This study will deal with mothers' production and reproduction practices in daily life. While doing this, the effects of mothers' production through social media and the effect of social media on mothers' consumption habits will be examined separately within the scope of consumer resistance.

3.2. Usage or Consumption

Like in production, de Certeau mentions two dimensions when explaining the concept of consumption. The first is that in regions dominated by production systems, "consumers" cannot find space to display what they produce. That is, production comes from the system side. The other dimension is that these consumers, who cannot exhibit what they produce, produce using their consumption practices. This means producing by consuming. What is at issue is the system's transformation in the way it uses the products imposed by the dominant order (de Certeau, 1984).

In another example, Certeau (1984) evaluates supermarket shopping within the scope of usage and consumption concepts as well as watching TV broadcasts. In other words, consumers who shop at the supermarket produce by consuming.

According to Thompson and Haytko (1997) consumers are not passive, instead of this they are interpretive agents. Thus, parallel to Hall (2019), it is emphasized that receivers change the message by ascribing different meanings.

Mick and Buhl (1992) argue that consumers' lifestyles are important in reading and meaning of advertisements.

3.3. Strategies

De Certeau's "strategy" is the ground of power relations organized by an institution or a place. He refers to de Certeau, Foucault and Bourdieu to explain this concept. Specific practices related to the sharing of periods and duties consist of a set of strategies covering reproduction, investment, health, education, social and economic investment, marriage, and other strategies. New contextualization strategies exist to clarify the differences between strategies and practice (de Certeau, 1984).

Referring to Foucault (1995), Michel de Certeau (1984) emphasizes the disciplinary apparatus of production and explains how power penetrates seemingly insignificant details of everyday life. Accordingly, power short-circuits institutional processes by regulating institutions internally, not as oppressive or expansionist in the classical sense. The author argues that this productive discipline device is also applied to education and that education is even a system of pressure regulating daily operations. Thus, the view that the public plays with the mechanisms of power in daily operations and forces it to transform and that the practices of the consumers who are dominated by this counteraction create anti-discipline becomes clear.

According to Montessori (1949), states' authorized people who want to change the traditions of their people should put their country's children first. This practice, which was tried with adults, was later directed to young people. When the desired result was not achieved, attempts were made to create warriors from children with a peaceful and loving nature. Dr. Montessori refers Hitler and Mussolini as examples for this. Maria

Montessori has clearly stated that Hitler and Mussolini changed the character of all human beings of a generation through children aged three and younger. For certain, she took all this in the context of educating the masses from infancy.

Today, motherhood is a status and status enhancement tool. The stroller that mothers buy during the transition to motherhood is naturally an indicator of this status. In other words, mothers are constructing their new identities with motherhood-oriented consumption (Thomsen and Sørensen, 2006). However, advertisers use a discourse based on bad motherhood. So, they address mothers' fears of being bad mothers (Prothero, 2006).

The part under the heading strategies, so far can be better evaluated for the concept of strategy. It is important to understand how children and their education are environmentally shaped. Accordingly, the identity of motherhood and the identity of the child are shaped by the dominant powers within the framework of strategic power relations that include education, consumption habits of mothers, marketing practices, etc. Thus, the power relationships' ground keeps under surveillance to reorganize these relations when necessary.

It has been revealed that the emancipatory practices developed by consumers against strategic power structures are the side of these practices that support the dominant power between the dominant power (Kozinets, 2002). Thus, the multidimensional structure of the dominant power has been revealed.

Miller (1998) argues that mothers shop for their families and that sacrifice and dedication are important in these shopping practices.

Marketing professionals often draw on the cultural authority of experts when designing products or services or examining their usefulness (Davies 2006; Geiger 2006; Prothero 2006). There also seems to be a strong moral association with fear appeal in products focus on the "bad mother" discourse (Prothero 2006). As Patterson and O'Malley (2006) argue, celebrity-obsessed cultures expect women in the public eye to recover from pregnancy quickly, wear zero-size dresses, and appear on red carpets. Even in maternity clothing catalogs, expectant mothers are often depicted with a neat bump at four to five months of age rather than the later stages of pregnancy (O'Malley 2006).

Beyond advertising, ideologies of motherhood are likely to be reflected and constructed through goods and services targeting pregnant and new mothers, how they are priced and distributed. In Britain, for example, the "Bounty Pack" is distributed through midwives and hospitals with the seal of government approval, reaching most expectant mothers and new mothers with free trial sized products offered alongside a range of product promotions and health information. Thus, brands that pay to be included in the package both gain easy access to their target markets and do so in a way that gives them an air of institutional approval (Hope 1999), which again signals interactions between the dominant medicine, market, and cultural system.

Likewise, goods and services bought, borrowed, or gifted are inextricably linked with the politics of motherhood and the construction of mothers and their children (Clarke 2004). In this context, Thomsen and Sørensen (2006, 2006a) examine the symbolic significance of prams in Denmark and how brands and advertising benefit from Danish maternal structures. Davies (2006) discusses the growth and increasing dominance of the British infant formula industry, reducing mothers to "navigating the brand landscape." More established mothers are not exempt from the brand landscape and its symbolism; Hamilton and Catterall (2006) note how low-income mothers feel compelled to buy expensive branded clothing for their children to fit into their peer group and avoid further stigma. According to Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg (2005), the main indicator of consumer vulnerability is the lack of control in relations with the market.

The strategic structure, which has individual components from government to marketization, will be better understood from the framework (Figure 7) of Baker et al. (2005). Accordingly, there is a state of powerlessness resulting from an imbalance in market interactions or consumption of marketing messages and products. It occurs when the person is not in control and creates dependence on external factors (e.g., marketers) to create fairness in the market. The real vulnerability these authors discuss comes from the interaction of individual situations, individual characteristics, and external circumstances in a context where consumption goals can be thwarted, and experience affects personal and social self-perceptions. As can be seen, Certau's (1984) strategy and tactics approach is also validated in the customer vulnerability model.

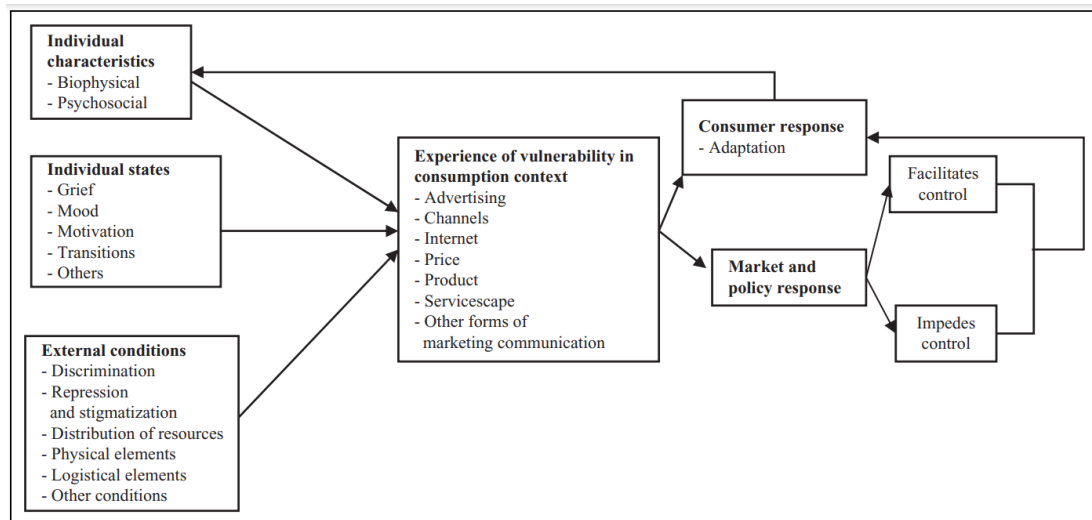


Figure 4. Consumer vulnerability model. (Source: Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg, 2005)

Most of "everyday acts of resistance" may not be observed by others and can only be experienced by the resister (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004; Chalari, 2012). This confirms de Certeau's (1984) approach of shrewd consumers trying to surreptitiously take advantage of the strategic structure. Thus, it is possible to say that the use and consumption exhibited by the rogues secretly transforms the strategic structure.

3.4. Tactics

Tactics, on the other hand, are implications developed to take advantage of the strategies that spread almost all over the system and to transform the system. It is within the scope of this concept to infiltrate the system and transform the dominant order by producing directly or through consumption and use (de Certeau, 1984).

Expressing the ability to identify, create and exploit opportunities, these tactics aim to equip the weak with unique strength and power, unrivaled by the power that resource ownership inherits to the strong. Effective tactics are often so well integrated into the daily practice of the weak that they go unnoticed (Vorley and Rodgers, 2014; Dey and Teasdale, 2016).

According to Stuart Hall (2019), receivers can change the message and transform the message by giving new meanings to those messages. Additionally, most research on

consumer practices of resistance highlights the creative and original ways consumers critically reinterpret the media, advertising ideals, and ideological orientations (Scott 1994).

Kozinets (2002) focused on the resistance practices of consumers against the dominant market culture. According to this study, there is a dialectic relationship between consumers and their emancipatory practices and dominant, consumerist, and normative institutional power.

Constraint strategies and liberating tactics are made possible in the same shared space. Accordingly, in the context of popular culture studies, it is argued that the manipulative imperatives of the culture industry can only be overturned within a strategically structured social space (Karanfil and Gürsoy, 2020).

Consumers, who were under the domination of the dominant power, are considered as interpretative agents instead of passive individuals. Accordingly, they show resistance by producing personalized meanings against the dominant power (Thompson and Haytko 1997).

Hirschman (1970) examined consumer resistance in the context of voice and exit and revealed different forms. According to the author, consumers can express their complaints collectively and show consumer resistance individually. In addition, in the study in which consumers raise their voices, it has been shown that consumers can silently exit temporarily or permanently. In this sense, consumer resistance is harmful to companies.

Peñaloza and Price (1993) propose an integrative resistance framework in four behavioral dimensions in the study where consumer resistance was defined for the first time. These are individual or collective, reformist or radical, products or signs, and internal or external positions. The principle of repeated interaction between consumers and the market and the externality of individuals are discussed in this study.

Consumers also produce by consuming, and the actions they perform within the scope of this production appear as tactics. Expressing the example of a woman shopping at the supermarket, de Certeau defends this tactic by consuming. Accordingly, this woman brings together different and active elements and evaluates the combinations

of frozen foods with the foods at home and the tastes and appetites of her guests (de Certeau, 1984).

Where moms shop most often for...

	Baby furniture	Carseats	Strollers
Baby superstores (e.g., Babies 'R' Us, Burlington Baby Depot)	42%	46%	47%
Mass merchants (Wal-Mart, Target, Kmart)	29	43	41
Mid-range department stores (e.g., Sears, J.C. Penney)	24	14	15
Infant/child specialty stores	17	9	9
Toy store chains (e.g., Toys 'R' Us, Kay Bee)	12	16	16
Internet	4	4	4
Mail order/catalog stores (Speigel)	4	2	2
Upscale department stores (e.g., Macy's, Nordstrom)	4	2	2
Wholesale/price clubs (e.g., B. J.'s Sam's, Costco)	3	2	2

Source: American Baby, Baby Products Tracking Study, 2003

Figure 5. Mothers' shopping channels (Baby Products Tracking Study, 2003)

As can be seen in the Baby Products Tracking Study (2003) (Figure 8), mothers' shopping options include online shopping as well as physical supermarkets. The same research shows that quality, price, brand name or reputation, safety, style, design, and color are key factors in mothers' decisions to purchase baby products. Considering the mentioned example of de Certeau's about woman in the supermarket with the Baby Products Tracking Study, it is possible to say that the tactics performed by mothers in their purchasing behaviors have diversified thanks to the internet and the combinations of their choices have increased.

De Certeau (1984) indicates the possibility of diversifying or reallocating market resources for purposes not conceived by marketers, often through mundane or playful everyday practices (Aubert-Gamet, 1997). Accordingly, consumers gradually but inevitably erode the dominant control of marketers through micro-emancipatory practices that decentralize subjectivity determined by market dynamics and accelerate the fragmentation of the moving subject (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995).

The tactic expressed is a set of covert actions; when considered in terms of resistance, this is covert resistance. "Everyday resistance" refers to "how people act in their daily lives with practices that can undermine power" and is "typically covert or disguised, individual and not politically expressed" (Vinthagen and Johansson, 2013). Some kind

of "everyday acts of resistance" may not be observed by others and can only be experienced by the resister (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004; Chalari, 2012).

Indeed, many studies of everyday resistance have examined actions often used by powerless people who lack the ability or the ability to resist in more obvious ways (i.e., Sanger, 1995). Scott (1985) describes in detail the "day-to-day forms of peasant resistance" as "the bland but constant struggle between the peasantry and those who seek to extract labor, food, taxes, rent, and interest from them." He calls them "weapons of the weak" and includes scrambling, hypocrisy, false obedience, and sabotage.

On the other hand, there are simple individual actions that show the daily resistance of consumers to the consumption culture and marketing of the meanings produced (Penaloza and Price, 1993). Current research shows that consumers are more likely to resist marketing practices and consumption culture. But dialectically, in doing so, they can support consumer culture by facilitating new marketing practices. For example, Ozanne and Murray (1995) argue that reflexively assigning meanings to consumption actions other than those provided by marketing can be an important act of defiance. Accordingly, there is a more rebellious, radically critical, or "reflexively defiant consumer" in the face of the power of the market and the technologies used. However, such new meanings can be reintroduced into marketing practice through social media listening, cool hunting, and being a productive consumer (Zwick et al., 2008). Holt (2002) also describes how one of their research participants filtered the impact of marketing and tried to dominate the market by using extensive research while shopping. Research like that exposes the consumer to even more marketing opportunities.

In this sense, it is possible to talk about this kind of consumer resistance for mothers trying to find the most suitable product for their child and economic opportunities by scanning the internet, mainstream shopping markets, and social media.

Maria Montessori (2007) recommends beds near the ground and where the child can get up and down without assistance, instead of difficult cots to reach, to overcome their children's sleep problems. In addition, the author stated that families overcame the problem by placing a mattress on the floor on a soft carpet. These sentences of Maria

Montessori are important for marketers because she stated that these practices that will contribute to the development of children's beds are less expensive.

At this point, while focusing on the consumer resistance of mothers, it will be an important question to be answered whether the Montessori education method and the materials of this approach naturally reveal the concept of consumer resistance. If the Montessori approach spontaneously generates consumer resistance, marketing professionals may have to reconsider their practices in different ways.

De Certeau (1984) explains that consumption is an active action with the example of the Indians. Accordingly, the Indians resisted it without leaving the system, making the rituals imposed on them very different from what the conquerors thought. It is a “poiesis” that the author is talking about, and this is the consumption power of the Indians.

De Certeau's (1984) portrayal of the consumer as a cheater is also taken up by Fiske (1989), who interprets an apron that reads "Women's place is in the mall" as women's destruction of patriarchy. He extended this interpretation to compare women who shop with guerrillas for the way they resist marginalization by spending their husbands' money. Fiske (1989) argues that commodity purchasing overturns a sense of freedom and dominant established ideologies; therefore, consumption suggests that it can be considered an empowering attribute.

At this point, it will be important to consider how mothers tend to the concepts of reuse, consumption, and production while consuming Montessori products. On the other hand, examining whether these practices, which mothers do not observe, will transform the dominant market culture will be possible.

To sum up, de Certeau (1984) argues that individuals and groups are tried to be shaped by strategic structures. In this structure, which the author describes as weak, it is discussed that individuals and groups erode strategic structures with tactics and daily life practices that give them an advantage. Accordingly, they develop tactics by consuming, producing, using, and gaining advantage from strategic structures until they are caught in the system's surveillance.

In the next section, the findings and analyses will be expressed.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS & ANALYSIS

For Adorno and Horkheimer (1944), consumers are employees, workers, and farmers belonging to the lower and middle classes. Because the capitalist ideology limits the consumers, these groups are forced to accept what is presented to them helplessly. Those are referred to by the authors as the ruled. The ruled people take the morality imposed upon them more seriously than the rulers, and the masses attach more importance to the myth of success than to the successful. Montessori products and services are affected by this imposition strategically.

During the transcription stage of the interviews, a theme that did not sound interesting when heard daily was encountered. This very simple theme was "happiness". All mothers considered the consumption, re-consumption, and anti-consumption practices in their daily lives entirely on the happiness of their children.

In the selection of nursery, kindergarten, and primary school, our priority has always been the happiness of our child. Together with my husband, we want her to enjoy learning at school and be happy by learning, without having to go through the mentality of "I have to be successful, I have to take the exam, I have to compete with my friends", which is forced by the exam system or having too much academic anxiety in the future. That is why the priority is not academic success and great exam scores. I think he should learn to be happy, learn to spend his life well. That is why my priority is always happiness in school selection or education. (Damla, Academician)

This simple theme immediately caught the eye when examining the interview texts, was handled as interesting because it was equivalent to Certeau's (1984) complex strategy and tactic theory. This study got a chance to reveal deep insights into maternal consumption with Certeau's (1984) strategy and tactics model, while mothers sometimes exhibit an anti-consumption practice based on not buying a popular product for their children, reproducing Montessori products without buying them at all, or purchasing these products that they find expensive with an opportunity cost focus.

In addition, although the mothers agreed on happiness, they tackled this concept differently. For example, while some mothers are afraid of their own experiences, some are afraid of the problems in Turkey's education system, and some are afraid of the problems in Turkey's sociology. The most basic finding of the research was that they turned to alternative methods to balance the negative impact of this education system on children. However, one must first focus on strategy to understand all this in the way Certeau has opened.

Therefore, the structure of the in-depth interviews carried out within the scope of this research will be followed to understand how mothers try to ensure the happiness of their children with complex emotions (fear, anxiety, problems arising from the education system, etc.) on this "expensive" road to "happiness" through maternal consumption specific to Montessori products. The interviews were held and evaluated under three headings. These are mothers' thoughts about the education system, where they position Montessori products in this system, and how they transform the system with the maternal consumption they do while purchasing Montessori products.

4.1. Strategic structure

In the strategic structure, which was questioned based on de Certeau's (1984) definition of power relations on strategy, the first thing mothers focused on was the education system. In this system, it was stated by all mothers that the only preference of mothers in preschool education was private nurseries and kindergartens for various reasons. Fear was the most frequently used word when evaluating the Republic of Turkey's education system. The mothers who participated in the study stated that they were afraid of their children being unhappy under this system while thinking about the success of the exam or academic success imposed by the system.

The education system in our country is one that focuses on exam success. It's focused on grade achievement and tires children a little bit, and I believe this success-oriented system focuses on exams and homework and excludes playing games and socializing. This puts pressure on children starting from primary school. Many of my friends' children I have observed around me struggle with various

physical problems at young ages. These are the results of this pressure. Especially if the child has a sensitive nature. So, is it important to be success oriented or is it important to be system oriented where the child can find himself a little more? This is the thing that scares me. (İşıl, Academician)

Mothers, who evaluated the education system in general, distinguished between public and private schools when evaluating schools under this system. Particularly striking was that all participating mothers, except one, preferred a private school. The reason for this exceptional situation was expressed as financial problems. A common theme emerged in public schools: children cannot discover and express themselves.

My husband and I talk about this from time to time: Should we send our kid to a public school or a private school? When my child was born, I always thought I would send him to a public school. So did my husband. That is what both of us have always thought. But when schools started again after the pandemic, we had the chance to observe the education in public schools. They were terrible. They did not have equal opportunities with private schools in distance learning. I started thinking: "Do children need more individual attention? Class sizes are less in private schools etc." Because I have had the opportunity to teach fifth graders for two years, and fifth grade actually starts with the continuation of the four operations skills, with mathematics. I saw that children could not acquire these four operations skills from their primary school teacher. Some learn well, and some do not. How can this happen? There are no intermediate students. They come from very crowded schools, as no elementary teacher wants to send their student empty. Among forty people, that child can get lost a student from a crowded public school. So, for example, right now, even just because of class size. We have come to the point where a private school would be better. Until then, he will continue to be in a private nursery school. (Çiğdem, Counselor)

The most striking factor for public schools was that even mothers who graduated from public schools and were successful in business and social life preferred private schools for their children for various reasons.

I used to think that it was wonderfully comfortable to study in a public school, because I graduated from one of them. I got my education in a small town's public school. However, I have a particularly good English level. I mean, I finished university and my master's degree. I was able to go abroad. So, I was able to find a decent job. That is why I didn't think private school was necessary for a good career. But now my kid is ten years old, and I am considering sending him to a private school. The reason for this is to protect the child from social erosion. Public schools are currently more undisciplined, more rambling, more disorderly than private schools. So, they instruct the students of course, but that is not a complete education. Private schools on the other hand have social students, who are the children of parents with a certain education level. Their concern is the happiness of their children, they have sensitivity about the world, they know about their country. But above all, I think private schools are better at protecting children from dangers. (Gökçe, Agricultural Economist)

De Certeau's (1984) strategy is defined as a reckoning or manipulation of power relations by a willing or power subject. Strategic practices, on the other hand, are the combination of a set of strategies (education, marriage, reproduction, health, etc.). In this sense, the "state" perceived by mothers in the field of education is the first and most important point of their strategic imagination. At this point, it is possible to consider similar expressions of Ayla directly regarding strategies for the education system.

I want my child to grow up to be able to use their potential in the best way. However, it is not possible if the classical approach is used at schools too much. This approach raises children in a specified manner. That is why we need to search for other methods, such as Montessori. (Ayla, Counselor)

As can be seen, the state, sociological concerns, and the education system were stated as the main strategic points by the mothers participating in this research. Again, the same mothers divided the education system into two state educational institutions and private schools. It has been seen that mothers trying to balance the negative impact of state educational institutions on children in private schools. On the other hand, it was found that there was a double distinction on the side of private schools. These schools adopt teaching close to the classical method and apply alternative teaching techniques, especially before and after school.

As Önem stated, mothers strategically found a way to separate from the state educational institutions with private schools. But this is not a complete separation. This private school preference, strategically made by the parents, especially the mother, under the education system is not separate from the education system, and they even seek a certain academic success in the private school.

While choosing a school, we considered the school's education system. We are not very academic-oriented parents. We do not want our children to learn only academic knowledge. We do not think that our children's characters are suitable for this. In other words, they are not children who sit and study with paper, pencils, tests, and books all the time. They are much more active and mobile children. For this reason, both are studying at schools that care about academic skills, but which have plenty of social activities. (Önem, Counselor)

Ayla also states that she is trying to balance this situation as follows.

Leaving it entirely to the child's creativity and giving an education to children without any limits is also a bit of a problem. Children feel safe when there are rules, and they know what to do. There are rules all over our lives. Therefore, when it is left to the child's creativity with no rules, the child will suffer from this in the future. I like the rules in classical education, the limiting part, but I also like alternative education's accepting the child's individual differences and providing them more personal development. Both sides have advantageous parts for me. (Ayla, Counselor)

Having an experienced public school, Ece (E-commerce Specialist) makes the difference between public school and private very clearly:

After my child's education process started, I realized that I was not very prepared for this. When kids start kindergarten, not everyone is like you. I had a shock there as a mother. I had built an organic life within my home, and at school everything was new and different. Then the primary school life started, it was even more disastrous. You teach your kid swearing is bad, but there is such a pattern there. Kids sometimes swear. We did not know what to do at that point. Likewise, since the education model stands in a more alternative place, I was very confused whether it was a public school or a private school. Sending your kid to a private school is a huge cost. Of course, public schools are more cost-effective, but we started asking questions such as "What is the quality of education there?" My child is now in grade two and I'm still thinking. There is a part of me sending him to a private school like, Ekin College, which provides full-day education, and the child does not have a problem there. Since I was freelancing, I sent him to the public school so that it would be under my control, but as I said, of course, there were problems. (Ece, E-commerce Specialist)

So far, we have tried to determine why mothers need the Montessori method. Bilge's statements at this point, which is also the common point of all mothers, are important.

Yes, because I don't want to send my child like a lamb to the slaughterhouse. Many conscious mothers in my generation do not want this anymore, and even if we look for alternatives outside, it ends within ourselves first. Unless we, ourselves educate our child in some way, some things will not fit, even if the child gets whatever education possible. I am talking about formal education. It's mandatory because of the six-year-old status. The school the child must go to should be able to present the education in a supportive, inclusive way. But there is currently no curriculum that can do this. Because in general, it will be a somewhat anarchist discourse, but

states do not want to raise individuals who will be against them sometime. (Bilge, Senior Operation Specialist)

To understand where Montessori is positioned in this system, I suggest focusing a little on why mothers buy these products. It was observed that mothers focused on not suppressing their children's wishes, skills, creativity, and abilities within the education system.

Talking about the Montessori bed, for example. Even when the kid is very young, they can go out themselves. As the kids grow up with these products, they learn to tidy up their toys or choose the book they want to read themselves. I always prefer to see them make that choice. I mean, my daughter, instead of saying "let's read this book to you," I want her to say, "I want to read this book." I think that if you give them the space, they can express themselves more in the future. (Ceren, Human Resources Specialist)

In order to better understand mothers' inclination towards Montessori products, a quote from Gökçe should also be made.

That negative effect. It reduces the destruction. A child who plays with these toys is less eroded when he/she goes to public school. Let's put it this way, you can minimize the wear and tear at home in public school, thanks to this toy. (Gökçe, Agricultural Economist)

Accordingly, while mothers preferred Montessori products, it was found that instead of finding an alternative way to the system, creating space for their children for their nature outweighed.

One last strategic station needs to be placed in the big picture to complete the strategic build. This strategic point is naturally marketing practices. This is revealed by focusing on the perception of marketing professionals, or in other words, marketing campaigns in mothers.

Mothers are already ready to buy those things. We have the motivation. Now, when someone tells me to buy Çilek's flying car model bed for my child, I do not know how many thousand liras, but if my child will sleep wonderfully and he will be himself, I will buy

it. I think the marketing strategy is built on that fear policy. Marketing strategies target mostly mothers because the perception is that if you are a good enough and knowledgeable mother, you should buy these for your child. Slogans like "Mothers know best." In fact, they do not. Mothers are also very confused. For example, why is it not the father who knows what is best for his child? (Ece, E-commerce Specialist)

Çiğdem conveyed her experience by focusing on a different point. She expressed that they still felt negative emotions in terms of marketing practices. The reflection of the perceived and experienced negativities of the mothers regarding the education system on the marketing is primarily negative.

We have no choice. I mean, when I send my child to kindergarten, what I feel the most is anxiety and a little helplessness. Because I must drop him somewhere, because I know, a babysitter will not be enough anymore. Of course, our families would gladly come if we were in a difficult situation but he's not at that age anymore. He needs socialization. He needs a friend. You know that the parents would do anything for their children. People at the nursery know that parents would accept everything. We must believe whatever they say. (Damla, Counselor)

Thus, Prothero's (2006) argument that marketing discourses are based on bad motherhood is also confirmed in this study.

Mothers also answered questions about marketing Montessori products targeted at mothers. Anns think that these products are sold above their cost for various reasons and that's why Montessori products are expensive.

I love the materials there, wooden materials, of course I like them, but the fact that they are so inaccessible and expensive seems dysfunctional to me. Because as I said, these are very simple products, they don't have to be wooden, you know, our kindergarten teachers make them out of cardboard. They write numbers on the cardboard. The kid touches it and can also add things on it. So, you can do the same activity with a simple cardboard activity. We, as

parents, make ourselves unnecessarily upset because such things are imposed on us. I mean, if we just remove those ads, we will be able to afford our children that money anyway. (Ayla, Counselor)

Although Ece states that the products are expensive, she is one of the mothers who find this expense normal. And this creates a space where we can refer to de Certeau's point of oversight of strategies.

Of course, it's expensive, like organic clothing items. There are different styles of brands in Montessori products. Of course, they deserve a different amount of money. More than the product itself, it's the philosophy. (Ece, E-commerce Specialist)

Damla is one of the mothers who find the products expensive, and her perspective is that she consents to this expensiveness.

Compared to other things, yes, it's expensive. I'm telling you from my own experience. Of course, there is a difference. When I say expensive, a little price-performance comes into play. Wooden table made of natural wood. After all, you know what you are offering to the child, you know whether there is a chemical damage or not. Something comes into play there; I think it's worth buying it. Because I'm buying something natural for my child. So, when it's plastic, I don't know what's in it. I don't know what will happen when my child comes into contact with it. It's expensive, but I think it's a little bit expensive.

Bilge expands the subject with an explanation about the expensiveness of Montessori products. As a perspective from Turkey's Izmir province, Bilge touches on many points.

Yes, they are expensive, but I think it's not just because of the quality of the product. It is because of the supply and demand. When people demand too much, something that is not that costly is sold at a very expensive price. A lot of things are "certified, organic dyed, edible dyed" The price of everything doubles as soon as it is organic. You know, organic avocado is something like 30-40 TL. That is why

they're not affordable for everyone. Especially for people working at a low salary, these things are not very accessible. That is why, although our current situation is economically feasible, we may not be able to get it after a while. In a way, this is a situation that creates an imbalance between children when you think about it now. Some children can achieve it, while others cannot. Although they are good and educational approach, when we look at the way of marketing, they do not comply with the social state principle. (Bilge, Senior Operation Specialist)

Çiğdem, shared an opinion on the expensiveness of Montessori products based on the audience targeted by marketing practices. According to her, the consent of the targeted audience is the reason for this expensiveness.

Last year or the year before, I planned to buy those products. There is an account called "the child of an engineer" who produced such a Montessori thing. The engineer father has seventy-eight cubes made of wood. He is stacking these cubes on top of each other, and they play with the kid together. Back then, when I bought a cardboard cube for my son, it was 40 TL. This wooden one was sold for about 200 Turkish Liras. I am talking about fifteen times the price in total. I thought it could not be because it's just wood. So, I did not buy them. I think, they are expensive. (Çiğdem, Counselor)

According to Petty (2000), marketers know that communicating with potential consumers is costly. In addition, it is often overlooked that consumers will incur some marketing communication costs. It is stated that economic activity can be increased by enabling marketers to internalize at least some of the consumer costs, especially those that must be inadvertently borne. Combined with what the mothers said, we can conclude that mothers who try to stay away from the system, from the education system to marketing practices, are surrounded by strategic elements.

According to Godin (1999), the average consumer is exposed to approximately one million marketing messages per year and 3000 per day. From a strategic point of view, it can be thought that marketing practices have intense pressure on consumers with the concept of surveillance, which de Certeau (1984) discussed with reference to Foucault.

In fact, according to him, disciplinary procedures regulating society have exploited and occupied revolutionary projects. From a strategic point of view, this scope includes mothers' consumer resistance). From this point of view, it can be concluded that mothers' consumer resistance can be caught in the surveillance of marketing practices and can be exploited and occupied by marketing.

Işıl, on the other hand, very clearly explains the consent given to the marketing practices expressed by all mothers, except for a few minor comments:

Yes, of course, you know, it does not harm nature in general, it does not harm the child, it is made of a special material, it is painted specially. Of course, the cost of a toy with such features will be 100 TL instead of 10 TL. At this point, when you compare a normal toy with the same standards, yes of course it is expensive. But in return for their safety, they are costly, and of course, mothers are willing to pay this price. (Işıl, Academician)

Thus, a clue can be found about the fact that their mothers' consumption habits and resistance practices are surrounded by marketing messages and the above-mentioned exploitation and occupation.

Gökçe, takes an opportunity cost-oriented approach to these products that she finds expensive. According to her, Montessori products are expensive for others. For herself, she argues that she focuses on opportunity cost.

Is organic food expensive? I don't think so because I work in the field of organic agriculture. When I calculate the cost, I add the cost of health, diseases, and expenses on a food that I buy cheap, and it becomes more expensive to me. It doesn't seem expensive to me if I'm going to get much more for the money I paid. In other words, I am at this point because I can understand this cause-effect relationship a little bit. So instead of buying 4 bad toys, buying one Montessori toy, and playing with it for a longer period makes sense to me. It's not cheap but it's not expensive either. Let's put it this way, expensive they are expensive for middle and low-income people. In other words, it is not easy for a person who does not have a certain income level to access this type of product. (Gökçe, Agricultural Economist)

Another mother, Lou determined Montessori products expensive because of the wooden material, brings to our attention the relationship between the products and abroad.

As far as I remember, those products (Montessori products) are expensive because they are imported to our country from Europe. Other products imported from China are way cheaper. (Önem, Counselor)

McConnel (1968) found the importance of price in the perception of quality in his empirical research. Although it is observed that the effect of price has decreased in the intervening period, according to Völckner and Hofmann (2007), it is shown that consumers still use price as an important indicator of quality. From this point of view, it is understood by Lou's clear statements that mothers associate their understanding of perceived quality with price:

I think they are expensive. Such products (Montessori products) are expensive if they are of good quality. (Önem, Counselor)

According to the strategy and tactics approach, the subjects claim that their narratives from visible productions create analogies with manipulation and they know this. He states that when approaches against manipulations are approached with "but," the subjects give "reality" to these narratives. In all the interviews with the mothers, the participants concluded that Montessori products are expensive, mostly because of the manipulations of marketing experts, if not what they cost. To express this finding fully: All mothers find Montessori products expensive for various reasons (natural materials, marketing strategy, imposed bad motherhood emphasis, etc.), "but" this cost is due to reasons such as the benefits of Montessori products for child development and their belief that they cannot produce these products. they said they found their marketing practices "normal." All mothers said they would continue to buy these products despite the current manipulations. It can be understood from this that De Certeau's (1984) approach stands at a point that affects and even shapes the daily practices of mothers in this context.

On the other hand, one of the most important elements emphasized by De Certeau (1984) in his theory is "home". The home he is talking about is not a famous, familiar house. It is any house. The "home" subverts the strategies of the public through its

own practices and practices and silently organizes language (vocabulary, idioms, etc.). From the picture above, it can be concluded that, regardless of school preferences, the tactical elements mothers set up with Montessori products at home can upset strategic structures. As can be seen in the image, it is understood from the mothers' expressions that the consumer behavior of mothers can be at a point that disrupts or transforms the public order. It may even be thought that the strategic structure of the "house" cannot interfere or even be caught by surveillance mechanisms. Because all the mothers participating in this study integrated Montessori products into their homes.

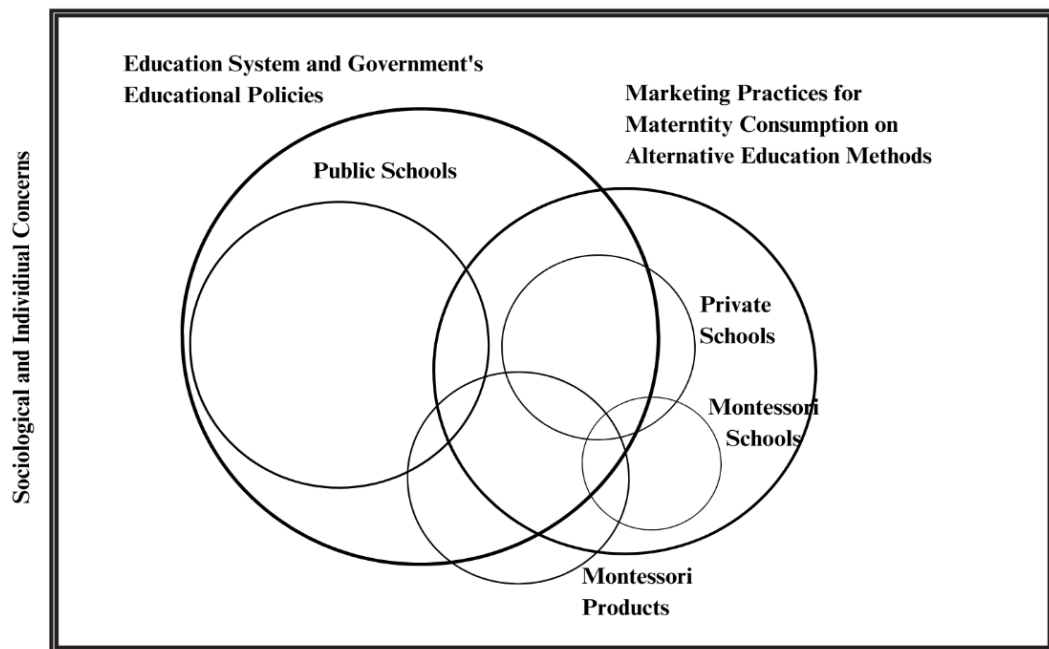


Figure 9. Strategic structures surrounding mothers

The main purpose of mothers is for their children to discover their own nature at home first by using Montessori products in general. Dr. Montessori does not only focus on school in this regard. According to her, the behavior of the parents to the child in the house and the child's environment, bed, toys etc. Those are (environment elements at home) essential to the Montessori method. Thus, it can be easily said that motherhood consumption practices, which mothers first practice at home and then reflect on the public sphere, have the space to transform the elements of the strategic structure.

Thus, the strategic structure is completed in the light of the literature data and the sharing of the mothers (Figure 9). It is seen that there is a space opportunity specific to Montessori products in the part that extends beyond the strategic structure consisting

of different stations. Thanks to this space, an idea about how the strategic structure will be transformed can be developed because this tactical area that goes beyond surveillance will either be a new strategic structure or dominant strategies (market and marketing dynamics, educational approach, etc.) will be able to surround this area in their favor.

To understand this, it is necessary to examine the tactics of mothers in detail. This will be addressed in the next section.

4.2. Mother's tactics

In this section, mothers' consumption practices will be examined from a tactical perspective. De Certeau (1984) defines tactics through the concepts of production and consumption. Examining mothers' use of Montessori products and their production of new meanings and uses from these products will make it easier to understand maternal consumption within the framework of her approach.

As a result of our analyzes, the four dimensions of the strategy and tactics approach emphasized by de Certeau (1984), which was discussed in the theoretical framework, were shared by the mothers. Those are consumption and production. Additionally, we found that anti-consumption and reuse tactics in light of the approach.

Table 5. Main Notions of Findings

Consumption	This explains developing tactics by consuming. The concept means that individuals choose cheap and expensive products in different combinations by considering many variables.
Reuse	It is the use of products by individuals with different meanings. It's like making lamb out of cotton at home.
Production	It is that individuals produce certain products or meanings. Examples include making a toy or producing an activity.

Table 5. Main Notions of Findings (cont'd)

Anti-consumption	It is choosing not to consume as a response to the strategic structure. Sometimes it's by producing, sometimes, it's just not buying.
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The findings of our research are explained under four headings (Table 5). These four concepts will be discussed under sub-headings.

4.2.1 Consumption

It would be appropriate to recall de Certeau's (1984) example of the woman shopping in the supermarket before the acts of consumer resistance adopted by mothers in their homes. According to him the mother, considering the products in the house and the tastes of his guests, searches for the most suitable option on the market shelves. When we consider the impact of the internet today, it is seen that the place where tactics start is the internet. Mothers mainly buy Montessori products online and evaluate many variables according to their budgets, just like de Certeau's example.

Pinar explains the theme of online purchasing in the most detailed way, which all mothers repeat. According to her, there are some types of advantages to shopping online.

Firstly, online shopping is more advantageous when I want to return a product. When you shop from stores, they may not take it back when there is a problem. I can choose my price range. You can't go to the store and ask someone "Did you buy this product? How was it?" but there are comments on the internet. People share their experiences; you can see positive and negative comments. Another thing is that I do not have to go anywhere. It's nice when you don't have to go out to buy and return something. It comes to the door when I buy it online. If I want to return it, there are many cargo branches, I can return it from anywhere. When I buy online, I have

less question marks in my mind. I think that conscious people can research products from the internet better. That is why I prefer the internet. (Pinar, Architect)

As can be seen in Pinar's statements, it is seen that De Certeau's example of women in the market and the tactical perspective explained by this example are confirmed.

The mothers were asked where they bought the products from. Only one of the mothers said that she did not shop online. This mother, on the other hand, said that she accessed resources about child education from the internet. In this context, it was seen that alternative channels such as not only mainstream shopping places but also individual producers selling on social media were used.

Mostly on the internet. I do not buy directly from the store because these stores put extra money for employee expenses, to cover the commission, electricity, and water. That's why it's better to buy online. You pay less. For a product worth 200 TL, for example, 20 TL or 25 TL makes a difference, but why does this 20, 25 TL matter? Because you're not buying just one of those toys. When you buy 4 toys, each one costs 80 TL, it means 20 TL win for each. It's almost half the price of one. That's why I don't like to shop much in stores. Instead, I buy these kinds of products from the internet more often. There are some wooden toy accounts that I follow on Instagram. I've been ordering through Instagram. (Bilge, Senior Operation Specialist)

Considering the thoughts shared by Bilge, a wide tactical insight is reached. According to this, it can be concluded that although mothers seem to be strategically weak in the wide possibilities of the internet, they are tactically advantageous.

All mothers stated that they had access to information about Montessori products and educational approach over the internet. Some mothers shared that they use books as well as internet resources. Looking at the larger picture, it is possible to say that the education system and industry were affected on a global scale by McLuhan's (1989) global village approach. When we consider De Certeau's (1984) example of the woman in the market again, it can be concluded that the market in question is the whole world. Accordingly, it would be appropriate to think that mothers can access information

worldwide. From a tactical point of view, it was concluded that individuals dominated by strategic elements process information from all over the world, and there are many reflections of mothers' daily life practices in the larger photograph, specific to Montessori. A discourse of Bilge can be read in this context.

When you become a mother for the first time, you think that I must be the only one to experience these feelings, but it is not like that. As I meet other mothers in the workshop, I realize that all mothers are paranoid, I will admit. They have such thoughts about where the child should go to high school when the child is only 16 months old. Of course, this is a bit of an issue, but when we consider the economic conditions of the country we are in and the quality of education in the country, it is normal for us to panic earlier than the other mothers in the world because, as I said, we don't have many options and it takes some experience to find out which of the existing options are advantageous. Even though we get advice from other people, being involved, there is something different. (Bilge, Senior Operation Specialist)

De Certeau (1984) deals with production context in many ways, and the production of meaning is one of them. In a way, there seems to be a similarity with Stuart Hall's (2019) view that recipients can change messages. It is possible to see the traces of meaning production in the thoughts shared by Damla.

I don't want my daughter to say, "My friends have this, so I must have this too. They eat this and I want to eat this too." I don't want my kid to look at others and their belongings all the time. If my kid wants something, I can go get it, but if she just wants something because everyone else has it, I don't want to buy it. In other words, she should want something to fit in under the pressure of those around her. We always wanted the same thing. Once she said, "I want a Lol doll." It is because her friends have it in the classroom. We went to the toy shop, I showed Lol dolls, and the other dolls. She directly told me Lol dolls were actually ugly, but she wanted them anyways. (Damla, Academician)

4.2.2 Reuse

So far, we have examined the place of mothers who buy Montessori products in the general strategic structure and the tactical space they open to them through which channel (internet). In the section, we will consider the tactics of mothers based on Montessori products and approaches in the home space. In doing so, we will focus on two concepts; In this research, which de Certeau (1984) calls use, the first of these will be the mothers' reuse of other household products as Montessori products, which will be considered as reuse. Another is Montessori products that mothers produce or have had their Montessori products produced by themselves or by the close people around them and independent local producers in a space that is not overseen by the dominant marketing practices.

Ece provides a good example of reuse. She adds a new dimension to both reuse and production with the Montessori approach with available things in her house.

I usually modify things in my house. For example, I had a bookshelf, it stood tall, and I turned it on its side. We made our child's bed ourselves. (Ece, E-commerce Specialist)

In Bilge's example, we have the chance to see the reuse choices (tactics) that he makes both compulsory and preferential in the strategic structure from a broader perspective.

A tent, for example, a Montessori-style tent is very expensive right now, 1.500-2.000 TL. The price goes up because the paint is said to be organic. Small sets, like boxes, yes, I can afford them, but I cannot afford the big ones like slides tents etc. So, I thought "What were we doing as children?" We used to stretch the sheets and play under them. I combined a bed sheet and chairs. My kid started to go under the sheet and ran up the chair and played happily. These also work. In fact, once you understand (Montessori's) logic, you can apply it to many things. You don't have to go and buy the toy itself. After taking as much as I can get and thinking about the logic of how to use it and doing some reading, I did the things I said, "If I do this too, this will work as well" I put the chairs together and made him

climb on top of them, or I made a slide by placing another chair. That's how he learnt to climb. Since then, he hasn't got off the seats, he always walks on the seats. (Bilge, Senior Operation Specialist)

Işıl's tactical approach is of the kind that de Certeau (1984) calls to use and which we consider as reuse within the scope of this research. As can be clearly seen, it means moving away from the consumption culture with one side of the simple practices that mothers apply in daily life. Considering that there are marketing practices that lead to consumerism in the dominant market culture, it is seen that these simple daily practices reveal a significantly different consumer resistance.

We sometimes turn our Montessori bed into a tent. We turn our Montessori bookshelves into a Christmas tree by adding lights on them. We have a big rainbow. We can turn the rainbow into a tunnel. There are Montessori wooden shapes I bought. We sometimes cook with them. We have pots and pans; we sometimes make musical instruments with them. (Işıl, Academician)

Finally, Gökçe prefers reuse and production as an alternative to these products, which he finds expensive due to their dominant market practices.

*I prefer to create what I can create at home with recycled materials. I examine the Montessori toy, trying to understand what it's trying to do. **I am thinking about how I can make it with alternative materials to create our activities.** I also prefer books over toys. Because alternative methods are described in the books. I try to understand and apply those methods to cheaper alternatives. (Gökçe, Agricultural Economist)*

4.2.3 Production

De Certeau (1984) argues that the production of space must suppress all physical, mental, and political impurities that would endanger it by rational organization. This is the way mothers use when producing Montessori products and activities.

Therefore, mothers access information from internet sources and apply this information in their home space, that is, adopt them as tactics according to theory, shows that mothers are actually part of a larger universe than previously thought, thanks to the internet.

I follow one account called "Montessori Mom". She has been creating games with her child at home since she was young. I'm trying to get inspiration and do something by looking there. We also do experiments with my kid at home. Earlier we made a lamb from cotton. (Ceren, Human Resource Specialist)

In addition, it should be noted that in this example, Montessori products are separated from the products and activities that mothers can normally make at home because there is a production here both because of the Montessori education approach and because the mothers are from the middle- and high-income groups. At least, it is possible to say that all the participants have economic freedom.

Ayla provided one of the most important data on production context. In Ayla's discourses, a wide spectrum was seen in terms of producing, not consuming, and reusing products at home. At the same time, De Certeau's (1984) conjuncture emphasis can be easily understood. It was understood that Ayla was also experienced with her experiences during the pandemic period, when tactics could turn into a strategy in changing conditions and affect the entire strategic structure.

When we say to my child's grandparents, "The Montessori (product) improve the child's creativity", they produce it very cheaply and in a brief time. Actually, we do not need the materials, this pillow can be a Montessori activity, so the child can play with these. ... Since my son was exposed to technology a little too much after I started working, we fell behind in many of the motor skills, expression skills and cognitive skills, and then the pandemic process started, which turned into a disadvantage for the world but an advantage for us, and I was able to take care of my son all the time. Every shop was closed, we couldn't do anything. When we wanted to buy a toy or a book, we couldn't. Therefore, we made many toys ourselves in that process and it made an incredible contribution to our child's

development. At that time, technology did not exist in our lives. We were able to clearly observe the positive difference those activities made in my child (Ayla, Counselor)

Pınar prefers a compact production and use rather than consumption. She shared that she made her own Montessori sense toy by combining materials from the house. Also, anti-consumption is another preference as a tactic in the example.

I think many things around the house can be used as Montessori products. We do not necessarily have to buy tactile materials; different forms of the dough can be sufficient. When we go on a picnic, my daughter can touch different surfaces. If there is no dough, for example, we wet the soil with water and let her touch the mud. There are tree barks, stones, and lots of things around. We don't have to buy audio products either. My daughter already loves things that make noise. She has a lot of fun when we put pots and wood in front of her. We can make a house out of pillows. So, when you think about it, even the Montessori bed has an alternative. You can throw a bed on the floor and support it with pillows. We didn't do that, but I mean one doesn't have to pay a lot. Anyone can come up with cheap alternatives if they really think about it. (Pınar, Architect)

Çiğdem's tactics are to produce Montessori activities for her child from the materials at home by examining the activities on the internet. In addition, her example makes it possible to evaluate second-hand items as another tactic.

I prefer secondhand shopping. I either produce them myself or I search for secondhand options. I have applications like Letgo. I search for DIY activities. I created an activity with things that can be used at home, for example toothpick and rubber and whatever play dough is available. (Çiğdem, Counselor)

Gökçe shows reuse and production as an alternative to these products, which he finds expensive due to their dominant market practices.

I prefer to create what I can create at home with recycled materials. I examine the Montessori toy, trying to understand what it's trying to do. Thinking about how I can make it with alternative materials to create our activities. I also prefer books over toys. Because alternative methods are described in the books. I try to understand and apply those methods to cheaper alternatives. (Gökçe, Agricultural Economist)

4.2.4 Anti-consumption

Mothers' other way to resist to dominant market culture is anti-consumption. According to De Certau (1984), tactics select pieces from large production communities according to their criteria and create unique stories with them. One of these original stories is anti-consumption.

The tactics used by Önem shows that non-consumption by adding new meanings to household products with a Montessori approach. In the example we see anti-consumption practices with other dimension of strategy and tactic approach such as reuse.

If a delivery comes in a box, we built houses from those boxes. At one point, we made a window in that box and painted it. My kid stayed in that cardboard house for a while. We make things from cardboard or toilet paper roll. We make shapes by mixing flour and water like ceramic dough. We painted it like playdough. At one point, another neighbor of ours made wooden swords, for example. They painted those swords. All the kids in the neighborhood had a sword. Both of my kids love to play with that stuff. That is why I do not want to buy anything. (Önem, Counselor)

Önem explained that children show more interest in activities and games (with items at home) instead of toys. Therefore, we see anti-consumption practice again.

I also think that children like toys and activities created from everyday materials more and play with them more. My little one is

not even interested in toys we buy anymore. That is why, we don't prefer buying. (Önem, Counselor)

Pinar also shared that anti-consumption tendency by using materials can reach.

I think many things around the house can be used as Montessori products. We do not necessarily have to buy tactile materials; different forms of dough can be sufficient. (Pinar, Architect)

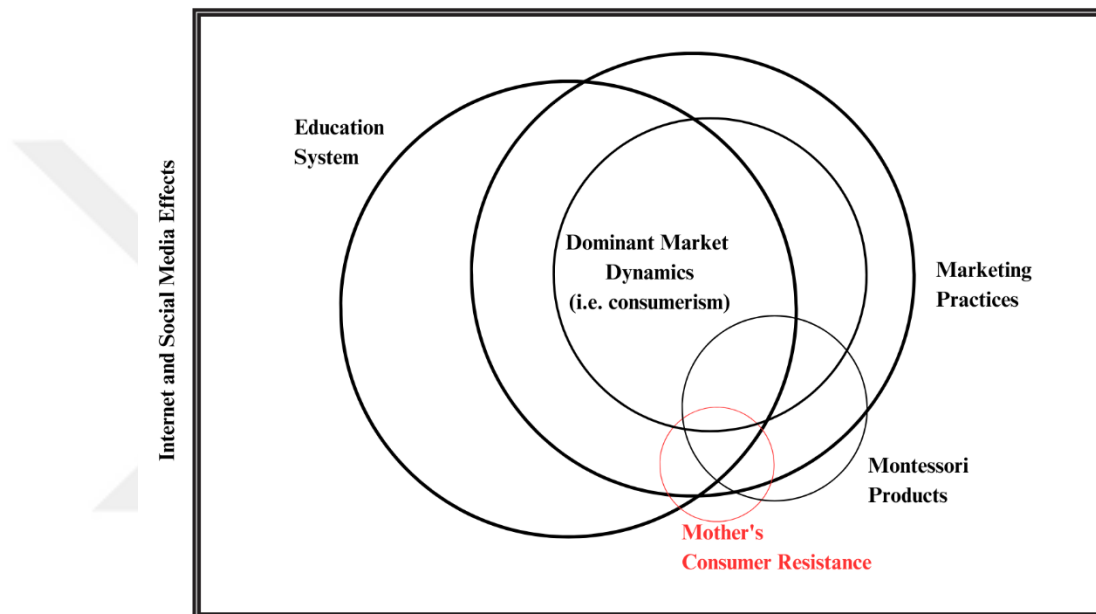


Figure 10. Tactical viewing of mother's consumer resistance

Looking at Figure 10, it is possible to see that the education system and its hidden or overt aims surround the overall strategic structure. It is said that it is not possible to escape from the pressure of the education system even when moving away from public schools. In addition to all these, it was found that the consumer resistance of mothers, specific to Montessori products, opened a space in the part that went beyond its strategic structure. How this tactical field is evaluated and/or evaluated by the dominant strategic elements is a question that needs an answer.

We asked the mothers this question, which is unclear within the scope of the research, to get an answer, at least perceptually. All mothers believe that Montessori products and educational approaches will transform the system. But while all mothers shared this, they made an important comment. It was also that a transformation in the

education system would not be possible in a short time. Instead, it was conveyed that there could be a transformation in the long run, considering that children raised with this approach could become the head of the education system.

Asked whether a radical change in the education system is possible with Montessori products, Ayla conveys to us the common thought reflected in the research from all mothers as follows.

I don't believe it will be possible so soon because the system isn't being conveyed properly. I currently work in a public school. Our school building had fractures during the earthquake. So, they moved the school somewhere else. I think in the long run there will be a transformation. In the long run, I think people will get closer to nature because the farther they get, the less positive it becomes.
(Ayla, Counselor)

As a result, it is thought that the strategic structure may change in the long run-in favor of mothers' current views, even if it is in the shadow of dominant market dynamics. In other words, we can say that mothers think that their tactics will one day turn into a dominant strategy.

4.3. Montessori Method as Tactic

Before focusing on the daily consumption practices of mothers, it is necessary to discuss a point discovered during the interviews. Important information was obtained from mothers about Montessori products being a tactic by itself or naturally creating a tactical environment. Some of these are as follows:

Apart from the materials (Montessori products) aside, this pillow is actually a Montessori activity, so the child can play with these pillows. (Ayla, Counselor)

It was stated by the mothers that the Montessori education method created a tactical situation. When Pinar's statements are examined, we see that it can find a place for itself in the public space as well as the home space that de Certeau (1984) mentioned.

The activities of mothers in the public sphere in the context of Montessori activity can be interpreted as the overflow of daily practices at home into the public sphere.

I think many things around the house can be used as Montessori products. We do not necessarily have to buy tactile materials; different forms of dough can be sufficient. When we go on a picnic, my daughter can touch different surfaces. If there is no dough, for example, we wet the soil with water and let her touch the mud. There are tree barks, stones, and lots of things around. We don't have to buy audio products either. My daughter already loves things that make noise. She has a lot of fun when we put pots and wood in front of her. We can make a house out of pillows. So, when you think about it, even the Montessori bed has an alternative. You can throw a bed on the floor and support it with pillows. We didn't do that, but I mean one doesn't have to pay a lot. Anyone can come up with cheap alternatives if they really think about it. (Pinar, Architect)

Also, Dr. Maria Montessori (2007) presents the mattress solution for children's sleep problems as a “less expensive” option, referencing the change in marketing practices. Years after the emergence of the Montessori method, today, the opinions expressed by mothers under this heading open a space for us to make this assessment.

One of Bilge's experiences at home with her child, which will later be seen as a Montessori-specific exercise by mothers, can be said to have a disruptive effect on marketing practices in the daily actions of mothers due to the nature of the Montessori approach.

The Montessori approach is basically allowing the kids to create their own toys. The child can create many things on their own in the house. I took away my kid's old toys, which made a sound. After a while, he went to the kitchen and found a pot and a spoon and had so much fun making noise in the house happily. Sometimes he wants to empty the dishwasher. I open the dishwasher and let him empty it. It takes 20 minutes for my kid to empty the dishwasher because he takes something, puts it back, puts down what he doesn't like, or takes something else. Or he calls me to come and help him. This is exactly what we need to do in

the development of children. This is to create a little space for themselves, in short. (Bilge, Senior Operation Specialist)

Another mother, Ece, pointed out that the Montessori philosophy is more important than the product. Accordingly, it is emphasized that it is possible to create something in accordance with the philosophy of Montessori products and that it is unnecessary to buy the products of consumption culture serially. In addition, the cost of marketing campaigns targeting mothers for children's products is also seen as a strategic element.

Expensive, of course. Everything is expensive when it comes to children. Organic clothing is like that. It's (Montessori approach) not the product that matters here, it's the philosophy. (Ece, E-commerce Specialist)

Önem explained an important result of Montessori products and their activities in the home area in a question we asked about the Montessori approach. Accordingly, children show more interest in activities and games (with items at home) instead of toys.

I also think that children like toys and activities created from everyday materials more and play with them more. My little one is not even interested in toys we buy anymore. That is why, we prefer not to buy. (Önem, Counselor)

She said that Montessori products are a response to the education system and consumerism.

As a result, it was found that Montessori products and the Montessori education approach, in general, can be considered as a natural tactical pattern from the data obtained. It can be considered as tactical elements within the strategic structure of this educational approach, which focuses especially on disadvantaged segments. In other words, it can be stated that the influence of Montessori's early years, which is considered a historical background, continues. As a matter of fact, when we look at the problems of the education system at all levels, especially preschool in our country, it is not difficult to see that an important tactical structure forms the basis in the background. Thus, it is possible to say that this ground, embodied by maternal consumption, has undermined the dominant market dynamics for years.

It was found that Montessori products caused a disruption in terms of marketing and education system practices in the strategic structure focused on consumer culture by nature, regardless of the negative effects on the relationship between the market and the market.

The presentation of these products within the dominant market culture with their marketing practices does not harm its tactical possibilities. On the contrary, it was seen that it created a tactic spontaneously within the framework of the learned ignorance concept mentioned by de Certeau (1984).

Consequently, we found that Montessori materials and activities are inherently tactical. We have seen that this natural feature diversifies the consumer resistance of mothers. By diversifying their consumption practices with these tactical products, mothers create space for themselves in a more comfortable way. In the next and final section, we have included the discussion section, and we will conclude the study.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

De Certeau (1984) not only explains the concepts of strategy and tactics but also considers consumption tactics as engineering knowledge based on making the weak take advantage of the strong. Therefore, this situation is considered a game played by the weak against the strong. Consumer resistance may reinforce dominant marketing practices.

Marketing's appropriation of resistance can take several forms. After the emergence of Montessori schools for the disadvantaged, the pattern we see in the Montessori news is not a coincidence, as it was recently presented on the website of the American Montessori Association with the title of "celebrities who graduated from Montessori schools" and defined as "the school of the rich" in Turkey. It is not possible for this non-random data collection not to affect the consumption practices of mothers. It can be argued that the "expensive=quality" or "expensive=effective" marketing discourse affects mothers within this pattern. This alternative education approach, aimed at helping children discover their nature, primarily attracts mothers with its excessive cost.

One of the first questions that come to mind about resistance may be whether the struggle against power leads to more power. As in Kozinets' (2002) research, the conclusion that practices developed against capitalist ideology serve capitalism is essential. Thus, it is a matter of debate whether the consumer resistance adopted by mothers against consumption culture leads to more consumption. In cases such as Ece expressing that mothers are already ready to be convinced about the development of their children and Damla sharing that she has to buy popular products in the face of the consumption culture, her child is exposed to, it can be considered that consumer resistance is at a manageable point by marketing practices.

In another example, some mothers emphasized the naturalness of Montessori products over organic products (like food) while sampling their experiences. It can be mentioned that marketing practices follow mothers and turn these resistance practices in their favor, particularly the discourses of good and bad mothers on motherhood and motherhood consumption. Another critical point is that mothers' consent to the

expensiveness of Montessori products, despite their opposing views on marketing practices.

From a relational perspective, the same is true in the opposite. Consumers try to overcome dominant market practices by learning marketing practices. It is among the practices of consumers to find and/or create a hidden space within the marketplaces and power relations in the market to escape from marketing. A good example is that Çiğdem chose the model of the Montessori bed from one of the dominant shopping platforms and had the product produced by a local producer.

From a relational perspective, the same is true in the opposite direction. Consumers try to overcome them by learning marketing practices. It is among the practices of consumers to find and/or create a hidden space within the marketplaces and power relations in the market to escape from marketing. A good example is that Çiğdem chose the model of the Montessori bed from one of the dominant shopping platforms and had the product produced by a local manufacturer. However, the fact that the product model was chosen from the mainstream marketplaces, one of the dominant market dynamics, can be considered the power of marketing.

De Certeau (1984) not only explains the concepts of strategy and tactics but also considers consumption tactics as engineering knowledge based on making the weak take advantage of the strong. Therefore, this situation is considered a game played by the weak against the strong. It is possible to evaluate that consumer resistance may reinforce dominant marketing practices.

Marketing's appropriation of resistance can take several forms. After the emergence of Montessori schools for the disadvantaged, the pattern we see in the Montessori news is not a coincidence, as it was recently presented on the website of the American Montessori Association with the title of "celebrities who graduated from Montessori schools" and defined as "the school of the rich" in Turkey. It is not possible for this non-random data collection not to affect the consumption practices of mothers. It can be argued that the "expensive=quality" or "expensive=effective" marketing discourse affects mothers within this pattern. This alternative education approach, aimed at helping children discover their nature, primarily attracts mothers with its excessive cost.

Naturally, it is questionable whether consumers are more of a cop-out because of the ability of marketing practices to recognize and easily re-adapt these consumer resistance practices. According to Adorno (1978), these practices that emerge with a liberating perspective can be realized as a representation of surrender. On the other hand, the consumer resistance of mothers can be reflected in the spread of consumer resistance and the reflection of these practices outside the home space, as it takes place in the home space with daily practices that are difficult to monitor by marketing.

Another discussion topic is scapegoating (Scott and Lyman, 1968). The concept suggests that the behavior of the person whose behavior is questioned is a response to another person's behavior. It is possible for a person who behaves in this way to blame someone else for her problems. Since we observed in the research that mothers are intensely anxious, they can direct the problems arising from this anxiety or other harmful situations to marketing. The main focus was marketing in shared situations, such as the fact that some of the mothers in our study had to buy things that they could not produce in situations that they described as obligatory and the need to buy the same product for the child who sees the products that other mothers buy for their children. These mothers, who state that marketing uses their maternal feelings, maybe scapegoating marketing.

One of the most important conclusions drawn from the research findings is that the happiness that mothers seek in these expensive products is the happiness that the children will find by discovering themselves, not by consuming commercial products. Baybars (2017) emphasizes the consumption culture at the point of commercialization of motherhood and expresses that mothers are concerned about their children's turning to commercial happiness. The author's conclusion was confirmed in this study. To provide this pure happiness, mothers turn to Montessori products and display consumer resistance behavior with other elements of the Montessori education approach (such as Montessori activities).

Consumer resistance is manifested in four different ways in mothers. These are listed below.

1. **Consumption:** It explains the tactical aspect of consumption. Since mothers have access to all products on the internet, choosing the most appropriate option at the right time is a tactic, according to a theory. Because de Certeau (1984) states that the

intellectual synthesis of moving elements can be turned into an opportunity in the form of a decision, all mothers use internet resources as an opportunity (waiting for a discount, buying from different channels, etc.).

2. **Anti-consumption:** Mothers stand against market dynamics by not consuming. Maternal consumption behavior, which chooses not to buy these products that they find expensive, disrupts the market dynamics. In other words, not consuming tactically exposes the strategic structure to transformation. Anti-consumption, one of the most precise expressions of consumer resistance, appears in the context of maternal consumption.

3. **Reuse:** Mothers offer the activities of the Montessori educational approach to their children with household items or materials from nature (such as forests). So, we can talk about a different semi-production. Mothers either completely use the items in the house or exhibit a partial buying behavior to transform the items in the house. Thus, they have developed a vital tactic regarding the expensive Montessori products the dominant market culture offers.

4. **Production:** It is necessary to divide the production into two. Reuse, which was stated in the previous title, is partly, in part, production. Mothers produce Montessori products with the items at hand. On the other hand, they usually have their wooden Montessori products produced in their local environment. For this, they have their mothers and fathers produce wooden Montessori products through local carpenters and individual (non-institutionalized) producers on social media. It is seen that this consumer behavior, which is the opposite of the dominant market culture, can have a disruptive and/or transformative effect on the market in the context of consumer resistance.

On the other hand, it was also observed that the negative thoughts of mothers about the marketing of Montessori products were limited on the relational plane and that the sentences connected with "but" on the negative side gave legitimacy to their marketing practices. In this sense, mothers may interact with the dominant market dynamics relationally. It confirms that freely made decisions in terms of individual agency stem from the strategic structure, and personal decisions (tactics) are not entirely free.

The most critical element of the strategic structure is the education given by the institutions of the state. All of the mothers expressed that they wanted to raise a child within the framework of the education policies adopted by the state with the education

device. Under this dominant structure, it is thought mothers that the state's policies are also reflected in private schools through the curriculum. Particularly on the side of private schools and kindergartens, it was heard from mothers that they saw an opportunity to go out of the system focused on exam success. It was stated that mothers were mostly helpless and anxious under this strategic structure. Both in the literature review and by the mothers themselves, the perception that marketing practices use these negative emotions predominated.

De Certeau (1984) introduces the concept of "doctra ignorantia" (learned ignorance) with reference to Sartre (2014). According to this, because the subjects are unaware of what they are doing, what they do brings out more significant results than they think. Thus, it can be easily said that mothers' actions have unconsciously transformed the market culture.

We are faced with a meaningful image from the historical background. Marketing practices that focus on fear targeting mothers develop a bad motherhood discourse on mothers over good motherhood. These marketing discourses, which advice to be a good mother by consuming them by mothers, point to providing children's happiness with expensive products, straightforward Montessori products. Mothers under pressure, implemented by the strategic structure, shape the market, sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously, with the tactics they adopt against strategic expensiveness.

The fact that Montessori products, which are expressed in a discourse that can be summarized as the contemporary education of the future in Turkey, are tactical reveals the power of resistance against the dominant market dynamics that are difficult to cope with the daily consumer resistance practices that mothers have separately.

The area where this power primarily takes place is the home, where mothers and their children are exposed to less pressure. Due to the distance between them and the public sphere, mothers here exhibit behaviors under the four headings listed above as consumer resistance as consumers. In other words, together with the home, mothers can create a space outside of the strategic structure.

Thus, the tactics considered as the consumer resistance of mothers can overflow from the home space to the public space. It is proof that mothers can develop alternatives to

dominant market dynamics. The idea that Montessori products can transform in the long run, especially by mothers, is combined with the conjuncture.

This research provides three critical insights for marketing professionals. The first is that working mothers constitute the research sample and are more conscious about consumption and their children's skills and nature, especially in these crisis-filled years. However, considering that Montessori products are offered by dominant market actors, mothers' demand for products that balance strategic structure-related issues, such as problems arising from the education system at the relational level, is still at a more severe level.

Another is that the intensification of dominant market dynamics will continue with a positive outcome, at least for working mothers. Conscious mothers will seek alternative ways against this violence, primarily through alternative approaches. One of the results that can be reached from the interviews with the mothers is that the campaigns aimed at plainly conscious mothers (such as mothers who consume organic food, organic toys, etc.) can be successful in terms of alternative education products. Many products for children will be successful through the campaigns created with this mindset on mothers.

Finally, mothers' access to information about Montessori products through internet resources also provides insight. Accordingly, since it was concluded that mothers with a prominent level of education and economic power attach importance to information about products, it may be critical for campaigns to be informative, especially for wooden toys. These mothers focus on the profound benefits of the product at the same time as their children's health.

The participants consisted of working and educated mothers spontaneously, and it was not analyzed as data. In addition, interviews can be conducted with fathers to get a more comprehensive framework of mothers' discourses. Therefore, future research may focus on mothers from various economic backgrounds and fathers to examine relational links.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1 – Question List

1. What do you think about the education of children at school or home?
2. Do you have plans for your child's education?
3. Who makes the consumption decisions about the child in your family?
4. What would it be if you were to evaluate the Montessori approach in three words?
5. What do you know about Montessori education and materials?
6. From which sources do you find information about Montessori education and materials?
7. What Montessori products have you bought, and are you planning to buy?
8. What is your motivation for buying these products?
9. How will the Montessori approach and its products contribute to your child's future?
10. What are your thoughts on marketing Montessori products?
11. Do you think Montessori products are expensive?
12. What are you doing against this cost?
13. What do you think is the reason for this expense?
14. Where do you prefer to buy Montessori products?
15. Where would you instead not buy Montessori products?
16. What do you think about ads for mothers?
17. Finally, can the Montessori approach make a transformative and transformative difference in children's education?