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1. Introduction

China's market-orientated economic reform and one-child policy in the late 1970s contributed to drastic changes in Chinese family patterns from that of an extended family to that of couples and nuclear families. The one child is imparted with high expectations from the whole family to facilitate upward mobility, correspondingly making child-rearing the primary responsibility of the family. Meanwhile, owing to an unequal distribution of educational resources and opportunities as well as an intense market competition, parents place a high premium on investment in their children's education with the goal of them excelling in educational competition. With the rise of children's educational consumption, parents become learners of child-rearing knowledge and consumers of the education market far beyond the traditional *daily life caring*. On the one hand, the parents learn about scientific child-rearing methods to interpret and respond to children's needs; on the other hand, they hold a wide range of educational information to screen suitable schools, private training institutions, activity content, books and toys, and arrange suitable extracurricular activities for their children. In such a trend, family members are supposed to have a rational division of responsibilities to provide financial capital, customize study plans and schedules, and to integrate educational resources.

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In the past, Chinese the extended family has been characterized by a traditional child-rearing attitude of strict fathers and gentle mothers. That is to say, the mother being responsible for the children's *daily life caring*, i.e. caring for children's clothing and food, satisfying the children's needs in daily life, and building a close parent-child relationship. The father was in contrast not directly involved in taking care of the children's life, but rather responsible for *educational caring*, that is developing children's morality, character, knowledge and skills through discipline. The close parent-child relationship was suppressed.

Recently however, along with the development of the economy as well as modernization permeating Chinese society, gender division of childcare among parents is changing. Mothers bear more responsibility in regards to *educational caring* while fathers maintain participation in children's education through communication with the mothers and devote themselves to providing financial capital. In addition, Chinese society in general and well as women have not lowered their expectations for career development, and most mothers need to take on this "upgraded" mothering role. Therefore, young mothers feel anxious with increasingly intensive responsibilities, especially with being in charge of children's extracurricular education.

The following analysis is based on a case study as well as data processing, aiming to explore possibilities to fulfill the practice of managing children's education under the requirement of new mothering. This paper is organized as follows. *Section 2* provides an overview of child-rearing styles and tendencies in terms of demographics and stages. *Section 3* introduces the case study and frames the hypotheses. The empirical results are presented in *Section 4* before the conclusion is laid out in *Section 5*.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Mothering and Child-rearing Styles

Today's scholarly work focuses on the quality of mothering and its supposed effects on child. Over the past decade, the study of mothering expanded notably

and became more interdisciplinary.

Definitions of mothering share common themes, which are the social practices of nurturing and caring for dependent children. Mothering thus involves dynamic activities and ever-evolving relationships. For example, scholars like Glenn, Brown, and Forcey define mothering as “a socially constructed set of activities and relationships involved in nurturing and caring for people” (FORCEY 1994, p.357). Mothering is associated with women since universally, it is primarily women who do the work of mothering, and women’s gender identity is reinforced by mothering (McMAHON 1995). Especially since the 19th century, mothering has been presumed to be the primary identity for most adult women. Yet not all women are mothers, and mothering if defined as nurturing and caring work is not inevitably the exclusive domain of women (FORCEY 1994, Rothman 1994).

Based on the socially constructed mothering, the ideology and practice of mothering vary in different social and cultural environments. The prevailing ideology in North America since the 1970s is that of intensive mothering, which declares that mothering is exclusive, wholly child centered, emotionally involving, and time-consuming (HAYS 1996). The mother in this ideology is portrayed as dedicated to caring for others; her behavior involves self-sacrifice and she is “not a subject with her own needs and interests” (BASSIN et al. 1994, p. 2). From 1975 to 2010, the amount of time mothers spent with their children nearly doubled, despite increased participation in the labor force (DAMASKED 2013). The intensification of mothering is neither unique to North America nor white families. In fact, this type of mothering is even more prevalent among certain groups of immigrants in the west. For instance, there is so-called *super mother* prevailing in the Chinese diaspora in Australia, which puts forward quite high requirements on mothers’ housework skills, economic abilities, educational background and cultural capital.

In the field of sociology, hierarchical analysis is a common approach in the research literature on mothering. Some of the pivotal scholarly work of the past decade has focused on the relation between social stratification and mothering. Mothering ideology is entwined with idealized notions of the family. Intensive

mothering as constructed in Western societies is based on the idealized white, middle class heterosexual couple with its children in a self-contained family unit, which puts pressure and exerts influence on mothering practices in working-class and lower-income families as well as single-parent households. They have to forgo intensive mothering and turn to the *extensive mothering* model, entrusting a substantial amount of day-to-day child caring to other family or community members when they go out for work. This frequently results in a deep sense of guilt. Moreover, those children enjoy limited success in educational competition due to both inadequate companionship and instruction, pressuring mothers to secede from their workplace and turn to intensive mothering, serving as their children's caregivers and instructors (LAVEE/BENJAMIN 2015). Recently however, several American scholars have put forward different views on the binary framework of differentiating between intensive mothering and extensive mothering based on social and economic status. Karen Christopher's research for instance reflects varying views on mothering according to ethnicity. She addressed that black women have a historical tradition of paid labor, so they cannot feel moral guilt because of turning to extensive mothering. She also points out that there is an ever-rising tendency for women in the United States to adopt extensive mothering across ethnicity and socio-economic backgrounds (CHRISTOPHER 2012).

Besides, BLARE-LOY (2003) studied female managers in the United States and concluded that the youngest generation of mothers see mothering more as delegated than intensive, and children as independent rather than vulnerable.

Along with the research of the Bourdieu social class's influence on habitus, LAREAU, by observing American family life, proposed two different types of child rearing: concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth. Concerted cultivation is commonly exhibited in middle and upper class families in the United States, and is also characterized by consciously developing language use and the ability to interact with social institutions. Middle class parents have a greater presence in the lives of their children, mainly through organizing their children's daily life by scheduling and participating in a variety of extracurricular activities such as sports. Moreover, they try to promote a

sense of entitlement in their children, resulting in middle class children being encouraged to see adults as their equals. In contrast, working-class and low-income parents tend to turn to accomplishment of natural growth. Here, children experience long stretches of leisure time, child-initiated play, clear boundaries between adults and children, and daily interactions with their kin. This allows for free expression and helps children to keep ties to relatives. However, it can leave them less prepared for encounters with professionals and with fewer opportunities to pursue further education. LAN employed Lareau's research framework to study the child-rearing style of middle class families in Taiwan. She indicates that mothers, through their own cultural and social capital, commit themselves to their children's daily life and education, including absorbing new knowledge, establishing contacts, planning children's activities. Consequently, fathers often play the role of the breadwinner by providing economic capital. Moreover, according to LAN (2014), mothering ideology is closely associated with notions of the family. That is to say, in addition to parental capital, the values and ideals pursued by the family also influence actual educational actions.

In general, existing literature on child-rearing styles in different families, especially in regards to educational styles, suggests that the hierarchical analysis framework commonly used in sociology may not be fully applicable to the analysis of parenting practices in various scenarios. In addition to social and economic status, the cultural tradition of the group, the concept of the individual family and even the concept of gender may all work together in the process of mothering practice.

2.2 Educational Marketization and Child-Rearing Tendency

Influenced by globalization and the rankings of various economic and social development indicators as well as the assessment of international student achievement, international competition in education is becoming increasingly fierce across the globe. As a consequence, private supplementary tutoring is constantly expanding. The latter has been extremely prevalent in East Asia,

especially in China, Japan and South Korea. Private supplementary tutoring institutions first emerged in China in the mid-1990s, recording a stark increase in recent years.

In 2011, the Family Education Research Institute of China Youth and Children Research Centre conducted a questionnaire survey on nearly 5,000 parents of primary and secondary school students in the eight cities of Beijing, Guangzhou, Nanjing, Harbin, Shijiazhuang, Xi 'an, Chengdu and Yinchuan, showing that after-school tuition fees have become an important part of families' expenditure in regards to education. On average, annual expenditure from urban families regarding their children's education accounts for 76.1% of total expenditure for children. The latest edition of the Chinese journal *The Training Industry* from 2017 pointed out that the tutoring industry in the online K12 (from Kindergarten to Twelfth Grade) has entered the stage of large-scale revenue. Concerning the reason for the current intensive investment of families in education, some scholars (JING,i.e) attribute it to the *paternalism* generated by both competitive education sweeping the world as well as neoliberalism. Under the competitive discourse emphasizing educational efficiency, paternalism emphasizes parents' self-selection and responsibility, resulting in education reflecting parents' financial capital and expectations rather than students' abilities and efforts. The paternalism in the educational reform is the product of the neoliberalism which advocates the market superemacy.

Studies on private supplementary education also point out that educational marketization and privatization of public education in various countries are correlating with the prosperity of neoliberalism since the 1970s. In the early 1990s, Japan also implemented the Friday system in the name of liberalization. This idea of liberalization of education was criticized by Japanese educational sociologist Hidetoshi Fujita, who pointed out that education liberalization exacerbated the stratification of education and the privatization of public education.

In view of the problem that marketized child-rearing in China has put a heavy economic burden on young parents and decreased the employment rate of young women, some scholars have strongly argued that the contract between the state

and young parents should be reconstructed so that society as a whole could share the responsibility of child rearing.

From the perspective of the market-oriented development process of education in China, the child-rearing trend of concerted cultivation is not only driven by the potential benefits of investment in education stimulated by global education competition, but also directly pushed by the gradual atrophy of a public child-rearing system and the trend of private education in a period of collectivism. With the collapse of the Unit System and the shrinking of the public childcare system, the responsibility of child-rearing is fastened to the family. If there is the possibility of outsourcing children's daily life caring, the corresponding educational caring is usually undertaken by mothers (XIAO 2014). They must bear full responsibility for the success or failure of the next generation's education, from early childhood education over preschool to junior high school. Until the college entrance examination, no link should be disjointed. Not only is the so-called "starting line" of education moving forward, but mothers' intervention in education is also extending across the board.

Through this literature review, it can be observed that the current educational orientation of mothering has entered the research field of scholars. The seemingly overzealous *mothering in education* is not caused by the irrationality of individuals or due to market forces, but shows a profound connection to the overall transformation of the relationship between the state and the family in history.

3. Analysis Process

3.1 Concept Analysis

Against the background of intensified educational competition and marketization of education, the new practice of mothering adapted to those external changes deconstructs the traditional Chinese connotation of mothering based on gender. Not only does the responsibility of mothers sharply increase in regards to education of their children, the new role also has characteristics

of a *manager*, a concept originally associated with the economy, markets and transactions. However, the manager as referred to in this study is defined as a private planner, mainly providing services for individuals. With the goal of letting their children excel in the fierce education competition, mothers as education manager aim at searching and maintaining information network, making the child's personalized study plan, integrating education resources. A great deal of research about the private supplementary education both internationally and in China focused on the family's economic background. In fact, no matter how mature the development of educational markets, the suitable (or *right*) purchase of educational products proves difficult. Therefore, as a prerequisite, families ought to have the ability to acquire information about educational products, screen their respective value and make rational use of them. Thus, the author employs the notion of *education manager* to examine the new form and new meaning of mothering in the context of the transformation of the country, free competition in the market, and the continuation of gender division of labor.

3.2 Interview Analysis

For the qualitative research, the author carried out semi-structured interviews with nine mothers of middle-class families in Shanghai. Their educational background ranged from senior high school to doctoral degrees. Eight mothers took part in the workforce and one was a full-time mother. Out of those eight mothers, one was employed in the education and training industry. The children of the interviewees encompassed four girls and five boys, aging from four to thirteen. They all attend private supplementary tutoring after school.

3.2.1 Positive Full-time Child-rearing as Education Manager

Due to the matured urban education market and abundant resources available, the main task of the mother as an education manager is to screen potential

education sources and to customize children's study activities to improve the improve their educational achievements.

Ms A as the first interviewee, a businesswoman, aged above 40, regarded herself as part of an upper middle-class family. She was very happy for her boy who recently had entered a top- class private junior high school, a result of his excellent academic achievements and additional qualifications. She attributed her child's past achievements to her attention to the child, her understanding and fine planning for his future development. In regards to raising children, in her opinion, mothers were more reliable than schools and teachers.

It is impractical to implement an overall philosophy of schooling in each [single] teacher's educational practice. Each teacher is different. We parents have to admit this problem. If you want to solve it fundamentally, the mother should have a keen insight into her child's hobbies, abilities and merits.

Ms A (Interview in 2018)

Ms A's attitude represented an understanding of mothers as educational managers. In her view, mothers were more reliable than schools and teachers, which are abound with uncertainties in the cultivation of children. She called on mothers to seek their own strength internally and act as the first teacher of children. Ms A learned about the high-quality private junior high schools in Shanghai through various channels when her child was starting primary school. "Teaching contents in public schools are generally exam-oriented. And I don't think it is conducive for cultivating children's creative and critical thinking". "My boy's goal is to enter one of the Ivy League Universities in the future". Compared with the children who enter the junior high school directly without examination or the children who will enter domestic universities through the college entrance examination in the future, Ms A's child, aiming at top-class private school will require a more personalized study plan, and his mother, as his educational manager, takes the initiative to the full extent.

Ms A's child attended a primary boarding school. During this time, she took full charge of his study at the weekends without any work affairs and turned from a businesswoman to a full-time mother when her child was in third grade.

I need to fully prepare [him] for the junior high school entrance exam in three years. When it comes to acquiring new knowledge, no matter how quickly he catches on and how engrossed in his homework, this process will need guidance and practice however.

Ms A (Interview in 2018)

She hired a teacher for her child because of his talent in math, leading to him achieving second place in the Youth Mathematical Olympiad. Moreover, she hired a teacher from Spain to teach her child Spanish twice a week for two years. "He has a good English environment in school and I do not need to do extra work for that. But I still want him to be able to master another foreign language. I have communicated with him about this, and he is not dismissive about that and the teacher is good. Now they have become good friends and my son has gradually gotten used to this." In addition, at the age of five, he did ice-skating and played ice hockey once a week. Later, he formed a team with boys from his class. "No matter where my son has after-school lessons, I will always be by his side. His dad is mainly focusing on companies' affairs. And my duty is to take care of my boy's education."

Different from Ms A, who has an advantage in cultural capital and is able to plan her child's study arrangement, Ms B is as a full-time mother without a higher education background more representative for the manager-like mothering practice among the majority of mothers. When talking about her child, Ms B does not deny that it is her own efforts that have facilitated her son's current opportunities and achievements. The child is currently studying in a prestigious private primary school in Shanghai, showing excellent academic performance. The family moved to Shanghai when the child entered primary school. His foundation was weak, especially English, and he could not keep

up with the average level of the class. In order to find excellent educational resources, she used her communication skills and took the initiative to establish contact with teachers in educational institutions and mothers who are proficient in educating children in order to ask for advice on learning methods. In addition, she often immersed herself in various online and offline education forums and parent communities, collected and interpreted information including admission policies of higher education, educational market products, and requirements of target schools. In addition, she customized personalized learning routes according to her child's own condition, so that her child was able to gain an advantage in the fierce educational competition. This case reflects the growing process of intensive mothering as manager from scratch. Although the family could not provide effective resources for educational competition, the mother nevertheless actively accumulated resources, built and maintained social networks and shared this information with her peers.

3.2.2 Why Do Mothers Become Education Managers?

All women interviewed emphasized the importance of mothers' planning roles. According to Ms C, "According to my own observation, I think this society should have a reasonable social division of labor. So does the family. Someone needs to take care of the children's study and life, and someone needs to work outside to provide material security for the family." From interviewee Ms D, "In my family, because the child's father and me being both busy with work, the child's grandparents take care of the child's daily life. I am responsible for the child's education and the father plays with the child in his spare time." When the interviewees were asked why they did not entrust the work of the education manager to children's fathers, their statements were reflecting a deep-rooted pattern of gender division of labor in- and outside the family. Under the influence of the patriarchal power system and the gender division of labor, mothers become the responsible planner and supervisor of children's educational tasks.

I have always been taking care of my child since he was born, so he is very dependent on me. His father is very busy with his job and often on business. It's unrealistic for his father to focus on the child's education planning. He just takes child to amusement parks at weekends if he can spare time. Of course, I communicate with him about the child's daily affairs and study achievements to let him know.

Ms B (Interview in 2018)

From these cases, it can be observed that in the workplace, fathers face professional demands of the ideal employee. In general, the workplace does not give male employees reasonable time with children to fulfill their family responsibilities, the only exception being jobs with flexible time management. The unequal time resources of both parents have become a substantial reason why the gender division of labor in the family is difficult to change.

3.2.3 Mothers' self-development and child-rearing as Education Managers

There is no doubt that intensive manager-like mothering practices have an considerable impact on the personal career development of mothers. As the mothers interviewed were all career women, problems on how to deal with the relationship between personal career development and mothering were always present. The women differed in their attitudes towards conflict between their role as mothers and career women due to differences in family structure, work pressure and their own role identity, which can be divided into the following three categories:

First, mothers balance their professional and family role in stages. According to Ms A, "I had my kid when I was 35. Before that, I paid full attention to my career development. When I got my kid, I started to cut back my job. The achievements on my job are enough for me. Now I just want to shift my attention to my kid. Joining in my kid's growth is another self-satisfaction". Another interviewee, working in a public institution with a master's degree, said:

Before I turned 30 years old, I focussed on my study and work; after 30, the family and the kid have been my attention. Since I had a kid, I obviously could not spare more time, energy and enthusiasm on my job. Of course, I know my ability and character. It is impossible to seek higher career advancement. So for me now, my child holds priority to career.

Ms E (Interview in 2018)

Second, mothers are unwilling to suffer a “mothering penalty”. Intensive mothering is based on good mother-child interaction and a mother's large amount of discretionary time, which is a threshold that not every family is able to cross. Ms F and Ms G confessed that they had to calculate whether the time spent on children was worth it or not. The children were asked to spend more time on reviewing and consolidating school work after class, but they could not finish independently without tutoring. Both mothers were also frustrated with their children's imperfect academic performances, but they had to turn to work from intensive mothering. The two mothers' experience reflects the manager-like mothering practice not only requires mothers to bear the "mothering penalty" in the form of a negative impact on their income and career development due to their intensive investment in mothering. They also face a sense of "dereliction of duty" from children's poor academic achievements due to insufficient investment.

Finally, mothers get self-development from the practice of intensive manager-like mothering. Ms B pointed out that “although I am a full-time mother, I find my value in the process of planning my son's study. Now I am busy. I set up my own information sharing community online, and I often share my experience with other parents”. Her inner confidence comes not only from the sense of accomplishment brought by her child's success, but also from the good feelings brought by the continuous acquisition of cultural resources, the expansion of her social networks and the rise of personal prestige in the process of the mothering practice. Another mother expressed a similar sentiment, stating that “for myself, I become more tolerant to society since I have a child. Because of my girl, I

read a lot of books, visit many places home and abroad, get to know a lot of like-minded parents, and also expand my social circle and horizons.” The practice of mothering is no longer merely a time- and energy-consuming task for her, but also a stage to show her ability and develop capital. About Ms A, when her son became a freshman in junior high school, she invested in an extracurricular institution due to her familiarity and understanding of various training institutions and students' needs. The cases of the two mothers are a minority, but it is also a reminder that while manager-like mothering is intensive and time-consuming, it has also a potential to empower women and facilitate their self-development.

3.3 Student t Test

In addition to semi-instructural interview, the author also employed a sample size of 238 from her designed survey as a complementary analysis. In terms of content, the survey was about the status of mothers' responsibilities in child-rearing practice, aimed at mothers living in Shanghai. The questions within the survey included the mother's educational background, job type, expectation for the children's future, child's grades, school type, one-child or not, time spent on interest-developing classes as well as extracurricular academic classes. Child education caring includes attending parent-child activity in and out of school and social activity as well as guiding children's study and reading, learning about information of extracurricular institutions and communicating with teachers.

In the remainder of the analysis, the author will investigate who is devoting more attention to children's study planning in the family, and time difference between children from public schools and private schools on private supplementary tutoring. Based on the discussion in the previous section, the author proposes three hypotheses:

- (i) *In urban middle-class families, mothers contribute more to child-education than fathers.*
- (ii) *Children in private schools spend more time on interest-developing classes*

than children in public schools.

- (iii) Children in private schools spend less time on extracurricular academic classes than children in public schools.

In order to test those hypotheses, the author employed a Student's t-test.

Table 1. Family Members for Child-education Caring

	Family members of caring child' s daily life	N	average	Standard Deviation	Standard error	t	p
Child- education caring	Father	12	21.6667	5.45732	0.86407	0.32	0.02
	Mother	50	23.06	6.1889	0.87524		

Note: $p < 0.05$

The t-test shows p is 0.02, less than 0.05, thereby reaching the significance level. In other words, there is a significant difference in the degree of child-education caring between fathers and mothers. The analysis of the average value indicates that, in urban middle-class families, mothers contribute more to child-education than fathers. This result is consistent with the interviews. Fathers retreat from their traditional duty, turning to providing financial capital while mothers focus more on children's education planning. There is therefore supporting evidence for *Hypothesis (i)*.

Table 2. The Difference of Time for Interest-developing Class between Public and Private Schools

	School type	N	average	Standard Deviation	Standard error	t	p
Time for interest- developin g class	Public	124	2.38	0.832	0.075	-4.034	0.000
	Private	114	2.86	1.003	0.094		

Note: $p < 0.05$

Table 3. The Difference of Time for Extracurricular Academic Class in Public and Private Schools

	School type	N	average	Standard Deviation	Standard error	t	p
Time for extra-curricular academic class	Public	124	2.65	1.022	0.092	3.711	0.000
	Private	114	2.19	0.84	0.079		

Note: $p < 0.05$

In Tables 2 and 3, p is 0.000, less than 0.05, therefore again reaching the significance level. In Table 2, the average value of private school exceeds that of the public school, thereby providing evidence for *hypothesis (ii)*. In Table 3, the average value of private school exceeds that of the public school, supporting *hypothesis (iii)*. In conclusion, Tables 2 and 3 indicate mothers of children in public schools focus more on academic achievements than interest-development, in stark contrast their peers with children in private schools. Despite mothers for instances being devoted to making personalized education planning for their children, the practice of mothering is largely influenced by family resources and the value families put on education.

4. Analysis Results

In the process of China's social transition, the new trend of mothering as "education managers" reflects a gradual shift in relationship between nation and family, the intersection of public education and market education and the coordination between women's career pursuit and gender division of labor both within and outside the family. According to the analysis in Section 3, the results are as follows.

Firstly, in urban middle-class families, mothers contribute more to children's education than fathers. On the one hand, the pressure of obtaining high-quality educational resources remains high and the intensity of educational competition

continues unabated. On the other hand, the public education system with the purpose of "reduction of burden" has been unable to provide sufficient support for the increasingly diversified, personalized, cutting-edge and in-depth educational needs. Families with expectations for their children's educational achievements have to independently run their children's educational programs with family resources, and seek outsourcing services that best meet the family's educational expectations and children's conditions in the education and training market. Under the patriarchal system of gender division of labor in and outside the family, mothers often become the specific "manager" to implement children's education programs, and act as planners, organizers and supervisors of children's education programs.

Secondly, mothers of children in public schools focus more on academic achievements than interest-development, in stark contrast to mothers of children in private schools. Private schools tend to be dominated by students from middle-class families, while public schools tend to be dominated by those from working-class families. For the latter, it is undoubtedly the safest way to invest their limited social capital and economic capital in their children's extracurricular learning and ensure their children to obtain a more advantageous position in academic competition. Middle class families, with abundant social and economic capital, are not only as keen as other families to send their children to various remedial classes, but also more inclined to various art and sports training classes to improve their cultural taste and artistic accomplishment, which is a kind of education consumption practice with obvious stratification characteristics. Thus, mothers from different classes, holding educational concepts, present different study schedules and development paths in "education caring" mothering. This also reflects the influence of financial and cultural capital on the practice of mothering.

Finally, mothering is based on educational marketization and the financial capital of families. Moreover, mothers' cultural capital, overall planning ability, disposable time, and communication ability, all contributing to their mothering practice. The planning of the children's education route, the investigation of the educational products and the arrangement of the specific learning schedule by

the broker mother all reflect a kind of modern Weber's instrumental reason and the ability to achieve the goal by means. It requires the subject to define the goal and find the most convenient path. A Mother needs to hold a rational ability, such as collection and screening of information, rational planning and choice, social communication and coordination as well as construction and maintenance of networks. In particular, based on a realistic consideration of the current situation, the planning ability reflects timeliness and expediency. Children from families where mothers own such corresponding endowments are more likely to have a head start in the education market, and accordingly are more likely to excel in education competition. The seemingly equal manager-like mothering indeed implies a threshold. In this sense, the manager-like mothering can be treated as a conditional hierarchical mechanism, affecting students' educational achievements. Because of the high requirements for manager-like mothering, it is difficult for those mothers to entrust and outsource their mothering tasks to others and to turn to extensive mothering. Thus, it constitutes a perpetual constraint for career women.

Furthermore, mothers are unable to entrust the practice of manager-like mothering to others due to the lack of support from the public and private sectors. There is always a struggle for scarce time, resources and energy between being a good professional and being a good mother. Therefore, manager-like mothering may result in the damage to the mother's own development opportunities, the increase of unremunerated labor paid to the family, and the solidification of the traditional gender division of labor both in families as the labor market. Moreover, manager-like mothering also provides a stage for women to develop and display their own talents. Compared with traditional intensive mothering, focusing on the daily life care for children in the household, the manager-like mothering, featured with modern connotation, has a degree of affinity for women's career development and contains the potential to unfold women's initiative to a certain extent.

5. Conclusion

Against the background of increasingly fierce educational competition, families place great importance on their children's educational investment, which is not only financial investment, but also the comprehensive investment of family's economic capital, social capital as well as the mother's human capital and cultural capital. Supported by the booming education and training market, mothers have actually begun to replace schools as the axis of personalized learning programs for their children while fathers are largely absent from the daily lives of children, and commit to securing economic capital for their children's development. That reflects the power division of different family members in parenting affairs in different stages. Moreover, even though it is impossible for some mothers to take on "education manager" and career development, none of them raised reflections and questions on the current situation of intensive mothering. Conversely, they tried to coordinate multiple responsibilities through rational planning. Although the trend of mothering as a manager has only recently emerged in China, it has become a powerful normative force to influence mothers' practices and cognitions. In order to prevent the negative impact caused by the increasing trend, it is not only necessary to advocate for a more equal gender division of labor and parental sharing both inside and outside the households. It is also necessary for the state to play a more active role in the supply of public educational resources.

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Mothering as Education Manager— The Current Situation of Mothering in Education Marketization

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This paper explores the trend of intensive investment in education against the backdrop of the developing marketization of education in the context of China. The combines an overview of the relevant literature on intensive mothering and the development of education in China with own empirical research, investigating how individual mothers act in the education market to improve their children's educational achievements. Several studies from both China and other countries have pointed out the trend of investment in intensive mothering. On this basis, this paper puts forward the concept of the mother manager, framing a special trend of mothering against the background of the marketization of education as well as to discuss the current situation of intensive mothering in Chinese middle-class families and potential implications.

Key Words: education marketization; intensive mothering; private supplementary tutoring; women' s career pursuit