A PHENOMENOGRAPHIC STUDY ON BECOMING MOTHER: CONCEPTIONS AND LEARNING EXPERIENCES

IŞIK SABIRLI

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

2022

A PHENOMENOGRAPHIC STUDY ON BECOMING MOTHER: CONCEPTIONS AND LEARNING EXPERIENCES

Thesis submitted to the

Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Educational Sciences

by

IŞIK SABIRLI

Boğaziçi University

2022

A Phenomenographic Study on Becoming Mother:

Conceptions and Learning Experiences

The thesis of Işık Sabırlı

has been approved by:

Prof. Özlem Ünlühisarcıklı _____
(Thesis Advisor)

Assoc. Prof. H. Ayşe Caner _____

Assoc. Prof. Zeynep B. Erdiller Yatmaz _____

Prof. Ozana Ural _____
(External Member)

Assist. Prof. Cem Kirazoğlu _____
(External Member)

June 2022

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, IŞIK SABIRLI, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;
- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

Signature…….....

Date …….....

ABSTRACT

A Phenomenographic Study On Becoming Mother:

Conceptions and Learning Experiences

The aim of the study is to reveal and describe women's different ways of experiencing the phenomenon of becoming mother in two aspects: "the conceptions on becoming mother" and "the reflections on learning experiences regarding becoming mother". To investigate the variations in these two aspects, phenomenography was used as a qualitative research methodology. Research data of the study were collected through semi-structured and audio-recorded interviews with 20 women who are mothers with various characteristics like age, educational level, working status, and number of children. Regarding conceptions on becoming mother, five categories of description were discovered through the phenomenographic data analysis. Becoming mother is conceived as: a multifaceted process, a life changing experience, a struggle with diverse difficulties, a set of particular personal traits and feelings, and a dynamic interaction with others. On the other hand, women's reflections on their learning experiences as mothers were presented within three categories of description which are acquisition of parental knowledge and skills, construction of parental knowledge and skills, and transformation of self.

Since motherhood is an -across the board- topic where the real subject's self-reports are overlooked in general, it is most of the times spoken about on 'behalf' of its subjects. The collective voices of women regarding their mothering experiences, and the effort to present and describe these experiences through their own narratives as much as possible is what makes this study an important one.

ÖZET

Anne Olmak Üzerine Fenomenografik Bir Çalışma:

Kavrayış Biçimleri ve Öğrenme Deneyimleri

Bu çalışmanın amacı, kadınların anne olma olgusunu farklı deneyimleme yollarını, "anne olmaya dair kavrayış biçimleri" ve "anne olmaya ilişkin öğrenme deneyimlerini yansıtma biçimleri" olmak üzere iki boyutta ortaya koymak ve betimlemektir. Bu iki boyuta dair varyasyonları araştırmak için nitel bir araştırma metodolojisi olan fenomenografi yaklaşımı kullanılmış ve araştırmanın verileri, farklı yaş, eğitim düzeyi, çalışma durumu ve çocuk sayısı özelliklerine sahip, hepsi anne olan 20 kadınla yapılan, yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler yoluyla toplanmıştır. Anne olmaya dair kavrayış biçimleriyle ilgili olarak, fenomenografik veri analizi yoluyla beş tanımlayıcı kategori keşfedilmiştir. Anne olmak; çok yönlü bir süreç, hayatı değiştiren bir deneyim, çeşitli zorluklarla mücadele, bir dizi belirli duygu ve kişisel özellik ve başkalarıyla dinamik bir etkileşim olarak ifade edilmektedir. Öte yandan, kadınların anne olarak öğrenme deneyimlerini yansıtma biçimleri; ebeveynlik bilgi ve becerilerinin edinilmesi, ebeveynlik bilgi ve becerilerinin yapılandırılması ve kendini dönüştürme olmak üzere üç tanımlayıcı kategori altında sunulmuştur.

Annelik, bu olgunun gerçek öznelerine ait deneyimlerin ve ifadelerin son derece göz ardı edildiği ve çoğu zaman bu öznelerin "adına" konuşulan bir alan olduğundan, bu çalışmada, kadınların anneliği deneyimleme biçimlerinin mümkün olduğunca kendi ifade ettikleri haliyle sunulması ve seslerinin kolektif bir şekilde duyurulma çabası önem taşımaktadır.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME: Işık Sabırlı

DEGREES AWARDED

PhD in Educational Sciences, 2022, Boğaziçi University

MA in Educational Sciences, 2008, Boğaziçi University

BA in Preschool Education, 2004, Boğaziçi University

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST

Parent education, teachers' professional development, music and movement education in early childhood, and critical education

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Part-Time Instructor, Bahçeşehir University, 2020 - present

Part-Time Instructor, Boğaziçi University, 2015 – present

Part-Time Instructor, Maltepe University, 2020

Educational Coordinator, Boğaziçi University Preschool Center, 2015-2018

Research Assistant, Department of Primary Edu., Boğaziçi University, 2008 - 2015

Preschool Teacher, Boğaziçi University Preschool Center, 2004-2008

PUBLICATIONS

Book Chapters

Sabırlı, I. (2021). Erken çocukluk döneminde müziğin yeri ve eğitimde kullanımı [The place of music in early childhood and its use in education]. In M. S. Gönen & F. Alisinanoğlu (Eds.), *Çocuk ve müzik* (pp.15-66). Ankara: İzge Yayıncılık.

Sabırlı, I. (2012). Müzik ve hareket etkinliklerinde okulöncesi öğretmenlerinin rolü [The role of preschool teachers in music and movement activities]. In E. Aktan-Acar & G. Karadeniz (Eds.), *Erken çocukluk dönemine derinlemesine bir bakış: Fikirler, paylaşımlar ve dünyadan yansımalar* (pp 342-352). Ankara: ÖzgünKök Yayıncılık.

Conference Proceedings

Sabırlı, I. (2009). Yeşiller (Greens of Turkey) movement from an adult learning perspective. In R. Evans (Ed.), *Local development, community and adult learning – Learning landscapes between the mainstream and the margins (Proceeding of the III. International Seminar of the ESREA Research Network "Between global and local: Adult learning & development"- Magdeburg University 28-30 May, 2009)* (pp. 299-314). Nisaba Verlag.

Other Publications

Sabırlı, I. (2013). Orta sınıf ailelerin eğitim algısı ve ilkokul seçme dinamikleri [Middle class families' perception of education and their primary school choice dynamics]. *Eleştirel Pedagoji, 30,* 13-15.

Sabırlı, I. (2012). İlköğretime bir yıl erken başlamak [Starting primary education one year earlier]. *Eleştirel Pedagoji, 21,* 53-56.

Sabırlı, I. (2011). Okulöncesi Öğretmen Adayları ile Elementer Müzik Hareket Eğitimine Giriş [Introduction to elementary music and movement education with pre-service preschool teachers]. *Orff Info (Turkey), 19,* 28-31.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Sabırlı, I. (2011). *Toward a transformative parent involvement.* Presented in I. International Critical Education Conference, University of Athens, Athens, Greece, July 12-16, 2011.

Sabırlı, I. (2010). *Prospective learners? Some voice from preservice teachers.* Presented in 20. EECERA Annual Conference "Knowledge and voice in early childhood: Who knows, who speaks, who listens?" Birmingham, UK, September 3-8, 2010.

Sabırlı, I. (2010). *Twenty years of "children's rights" between rhetoric and reality".* Presented in 14. World Congress of WCCES "Bordering, re-bordering and new possibilities for change in education and society", Istanbul, Boğaziçi University, June 14-18, 2010.

Sabırlı, I. (2009). *A parent involvement study in Bogazici University Preschool Center.* Presented in 18. National Educational Sciences Congress, Ege University, Izmir, Turkey, October 1-3, 2009.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank my dear thesis advisor Prof. Özlem Ünlühisarcıklı who ensured that I could plan, conduct, and complete this study with her unending patience, understanding, support and trust in me; to my thesis supervisory committee members, Prof. Ozana Ural and Assoc. Prof. Ayşe Caner, for their constructive and supportive feedbacks and suggestions during our numerous thesis progress meetings, and for their encouraging words during this long process; and to Assoc. Prof. Zeynep Berna Erdiller Yatmaz and Assist. Prof. Cem Kirazoğlu for their acceptance to be in my thesis committee, and for their constructive criticisms and suggestions they provided after my thesis defense. I also would like to thank to Prof. Emine Erktin who always supported me during my doctoral process. I feel very lucky that I had the opportunity to work with her as being one of the assistants in the department during her tenure as the department chair; and I take her humanitarianism as an example to follow.

Special thanks to my dear spouse, Levent Öztuş, who provided me with the greatest moral support in completing this study, and with time to study and also rest through his co-parenting efforts; to my little daughter Ayça, who have made me live and question almost every topic I have talked about in my thesis with her presence, and who have unwittingly comforted me with her lovely disposition on my lap when my anxiety level was rising; to my dear mother Semra Sabırlı and my dear aunt Belkıs Özkıvanç, who provided me with time by taking care of Ayça during the thesis writing process; to my dear sister Kıvanç Sabırlı, who translated all the 218 interview excerpts from Turkish to English perfectly and proofread the entire thesis… I am so lucky and happy to have you…

My dear friends Assist. Prof. Zerrin Doğança Küçük, Assist. Prof. Gürsu Aşık, and Assist. Prof. Gaye Defne Ceyhan who have energized me with their friendships during the ‘research assistant’ years we worked together in the same office (and still), and who have enlightened my way with their professional successes, and my dear friend Dilek Çankaya, who has been listening to my whining about this thesis process for years without getting bored, and who meticulously provided the last-minute help I asked for… I thank you a lot.

I would like sincerely to thank Müge Deriş, Tuğba Altun and Beyhan Ataş for helping me to reach an important part of the mothers I interviewed, and to Dr. Meral Apak for her initial feedback to the first version of the interview questions of this study.

It is a fact that many excellent professors have contributed to my education throughout the years. However, I would like to specially mention four names. Prof. Sevda Bekman who has played a great role in my growth as an academician and a researcher, and whom I took as an example with her rigorous working discipline, openness to continuous learning, and to whom I feel an unbreakable bond; Prof. Bruce Johnson by whom I have learned countless theoretical and practical knowledge about early childhood education, and as a person who has always astounded me with his humility; Prof. Fatma Gök and Prof. Rıfat Okçabol who influenced and shaped me as an educator with their upright stance against injustices and their attitudes that always favor the student and value the voice of the student… It is a great privilege to be your student. I will never forget.

Last but not least, I want to thank all the 25 mothers who participated in my study with their sincere narratives which are the backbone of this study. And I have deeply understood that it takes a village to write a doctoral dissertation.

Dedicated to my father, Hikmet Sabırlı and to
his granddaughter, to my little sunshine Ayça…

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION ……...1

1.1 Statement of the problem and conceptual framework ……..……..….4

1.2 Aim of the study ……..…….……6

1.3 Significance of the study ……...……..…….6

1.4 Researcher's Positionality ……....……..…7

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERAURE …….……..…11

2.1 Motherhood as a socially-constructed vs biological phenomenon …….11

2.2 Motherhood as a life changing process ……...…15

2.3 Working or not? 20

2.4 Diverse motherhoods ……..……25

2.5 Some mother-specific concepts ……..…28

2.6 Feminism and motherhood ……...……..……32

2.6 Motherhood as a learning site ……...……..37

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY ……...……...……...42

3.1 Research questions ……...……...……42

3.2 What is phenomenography? 43

3.3 Sample ……...…….…….54

3.4 Data collection ……...…….59

3.4 Data analysis …...……67

3.5 Validity and reliability of the study ...……79

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION ……...…...……82

4.1 Demographic characteristic of the sample …….....83

4.2 Conceptions on becoming mother…….…….……85

4.3 Women's reflections on their learning experiences as mothers …..….164

4.4 Outcome space ……...…….……...……..…....205

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION …….……...…....210

5.1 Summary of the study and findings ……...210

5.3 Reflections on conducting a phenomenographic research ……212

5.4 Implications for adult learning and education ……..……..…..214

5.5 Limitations and suggestions for further studies ……218

5.6 Concluding remarks ……..……219

APPENDIX A: Consent from Ethical Committee ……...……223

APPENDIX B: Interview Questions (ENG) ……...…….……224

APPENDIX C: Interview Questions (TUR) ……..……..225

APPENDIX D: Participant Information and Consent Form (ENG) ……..….226

APPENDIX E: Participant Information and Consent Form (TUR) …….……228

APPENDIX F: Quotes in Turkish ……230

REFERENCES ……...….271

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Characteristics of the Interviewees in the First Pilot Study ……63

Table 2. Characteristics of the Interviewees in the First Second Pilot Study ……...63

Table 3. Main Differences and Similarities Between the Three Versions of Interview Questions ..…….....65

Table 4. Gradual Emergence of "Categories of Description" for Conceptions on Becoming Mother ...…….…….……..77

Table 5. Gradual Emergence of "Categories of Description" for Women's Reflections on Their Learning Experiences as Mothers …….……77

Table 6. The Analysis Steps of the Study ...……..78

Table 7. Demographic Characteristics of the Sample ……...…84

Table 8. Dimensions of Variation in Conceptions on Becoming Mother ……...…..87

Table 9. Referential / Structural Aspect of Conceptions on Becoming Mother ..….88

Table 10. Dimensions of Variation for Category A ……..96

Table 11. Dimensions of Variation for Category B ……...……109

Table 12. Dimensions of Variation for Category C ……...……..…133

Table 13. Dimensions of Variation for Category D ……..……..148

Table 14. Dimensions of Variation for Category E1 …….……157

Table 15. Dimensions of Variation for Category E2 ……..……164

Table 16. Dimensions of Variation in Women's Reflections on Their Learning Experiences as Mothers …….…….……166

Table 17. Referential Aspect / Structural Aspect of Women's Reflections on Their Learning Experiences as Mothers ……..……167

Table 18. Dimensions of Variation for Category A1 ……...……...173

Table 19. Dimensions of Variation for Category A2 …….....176

Table 20. Dimensions of Variation for Category B1 ……...……..……180

Table 21. Dimensions of Variation for Category B2 ……...…...183

Table 22. Dimensions of Variation for Category B3 ……..…...…194

Table 23. Dimensions of Variation for Category C ……....……204

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Phenomenographic relationality …….…...51

Figure 2. Outcome space for conceptions on becoming mother …….....207

Figure 3. Outcome space for women's reflections on their learning experiences as mother …….....…209

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Motherhood, as a multidimensional phenomenon, and as a focus of public concern and intervention, has always been an issue on which everyone, including medical specialists, politicians, religious authorities, and social scientists, makes comments and has judgments. This is maybe the most prominent topic where the real subject's self-reports are extremely overlooked, and which is most of the times spoken about on 'behalf' of its subject.

The concept of motherhood, and its related experiences used to refer a single and "universal" meaning which has not been questionable, and oppressive for all women regardless of whether they have children or not (Tuğrul, 2018), but it has turned to have multiple critical meanings thanks to relatively dated and contemporary feminist studies and practices.

Regardless of a person's ideological, philosophical or professional orientation, the reality that the potential capability for "being a -biological- mother" is a biological characteristic for women cannot be ignored, however, as Burç (2015) stated, "becoming a mother" is emerging as if it is an inevitable situation and an obligatory identity for a woman's existence. And since women's mothering is seen as a natural/biological fact which has –to some extent- common characteristics in all generations and all societies, social scientists have shown little interest in it. Chodorow (1999) objects to this attitude of social scientists and states: "it seems to me that we must always raise as problematic any feature of social structure, even if- and perhaps especially because –it seems universal" (p.14). She also underlines the threat of pre-acceptance of social norms justified by biological claims, which would

sooner or later be used to legitimize oppression and inequality, and considers women's mothering as central to the sexual division of labor which directly and indirectly effects women's lives, the ideology about women and the reproduction of sexist social norms. Patriarchal ideology controls -or intends to control- women in diverse ways as Glenn (1994) states:

> Mothers of all races and classes have been subjected to patriarchal control, but they have experienced that control differently. Poor women, especially women of color, are been subjected to particularly invasive forms of control. Thus, while middle-class women have had to struggle for the right to limit pregnancy through birth control and abortion, poor women, especially women of color, have contended with assaults on their rights to have babies at all. (p.17)

Ideologies build a motherhood definition and motherhood-living according to their needs. Like the assumption that 'the woman identity is biological' aims that the women get used to be oppressed and naturalize it instead of being 'aware' of this oppression, this is the same with the assumption that 'motherhood is biological'. Because if we are convinced enough with this assumption, we are also convinced that we, as women, are the only ones who are in charge of child rearing. On the other hand, since this assumption is inherently combined with the idea that every woman is a mother, it represses all of the women whether they are a mother or not (Hazar, 2014).

Most of the times, mothering is associated solely with love, affection, protection, and so on, but the power issue in mothering is often ignored. Mothering occurs in a social context where men and women have unequal powers. Glenn (1994) states the attempt of feminist thinkers to explain this power relationship as such: "Feminist writers have been concerned primarily with patriarchal control over mothering. By patriarchal control they refer not just to individual husbands and

fathers controlling their wives' and daughters' reproduction, but also male-dominated institutions controlling women as a group" (p.17).

Although feminist studies and struggles have the primary impact on raising awareness and policy making, there are various feminist approaches to the "motherhood" issue. During the first wave of feminist movements, maternity issue was something to be ignored or even totally disapproved and reduced to an institution which secludes the women to the house (Hooks, 2000). However, with such an attitude, it will not be wrong to say that they missed the need to analyze maternity as an already lived experience of numerous women. On the other hand, as early as the mid 80s, (although this issue was still at the periphery of the feminist academical writing) some feminist thinkers started to consider and idealize maternity, and also paternity as an opportunity for constituting alternative values against patriarchy (Hooks, 2000). According to Kinser (2010), the reason behind this variation in approaches by feminists to motherhood is that:

> Feminists have always spoken from a variety of perspectives, from a range of beliefs, worldviews, and experiences. This many-sidedness, or polyvalence, in feminism is a sign of lively debate, intellectual rigor, and willingness to change. Feminists have addressed a broad range of issues related to motherhood, and they have done so by employing differing, sometimes contradictory, arguments. (p.2)

Beyond all those discussions and controversial characteristics of the motherhood topic, there is also another repression weapon, and this is the image of 'appropriate motherhood' or 'ideal motherhood'. Holmes (2006) mentions that the mainstream and patriarchal definitions of appropriate mothering ignore unique pathways of women's when becoming mothers. Patriarchal ideologies offer single ways of thinking, feeling and acting, and a single form of 'good' motherhood to women without leaving much space to reject; moreover, the diversity in thought, emotions and performances of mothers is ignored, and even marginalized (Holmes, 2006).

To impose the idea of ‘appropriate motherhood’ or ‘ideal motherhood’, patriarchy has many tools like mass-media, commercial products, advertisements, social-media which romanticize and commodify motherhood. Bozkur and Taylan (2020) investigated the news presented in mainstream mass-media, and they found that motherhood is introduced as an identity, as if it is aspired by every woman; the difficulties of mothering are ignored, and ideal motherhood is depicted through celebrity moms in a perfect and appealing framework; it has not seen that mothers from different races, ethnicities, mothers who are refugees, poor, very young, old, or handicapped (who are outside of the ideal mother profile) are represented in the texts of the news; and mothers are represented through the dichotomy of good-bad mothers, either sacrificing and/or being the victim, or as a villain.

Based on these views and information, the concept of motherhood and mothering practices should be examined more with research studies in which the subjects of the research are women who are mothers.

1.1 Statement of the problem and conceptual framework

The increase in awareness of the importance of childhood, especially in the middle-class households, the conscious and planned birth of the child, the increase in the psychological value of the child, the effect of the developmental psychology, as well as the consumption-increasing strategies of the market that wants to benefit from these changes, have led to a child-centered culture. On the other hand, the demands and risks of the rapidly changing world make raising children more challenging than before, which forces parents to be more conscious and educated; along with these, conservative policies also popularized motherhood, and the concentration of information on childcare and the mediatic emphasis on 'conscious motherhood' led to

the “new motherhood ideology” (Işık, 2015). Douglas and Michaels (2007) describes ‘new momism’ as follows:

> The insistence that no woman is truly complete or fulfilled unless she has kids, that women remain the best primary caretakers of children, and that to be a remotely decent mother, a woman has to devote her entire physical, psychological, emotional, and intellectual being, 24/7, to her children. The new momism is a highly romanticized and yet demanding view of motherhood in which the standards for success are impossible to meet. (p.619)

The ideal that mothers should/would love every moment of their motherwork with patience, affection, and energy, lead to lots of women feeling inferior, unsuccessful, and even evil. So, this situation creates the need to bring new definitions to motherhood, and to challenge the prevailing understanding of what motherhood is.

Motherhood is a phenomenon on which the subject’s (mothers’) self-expression is mostly neglected. On the other hand, it is also a phenomenon which is being talked about very much apart from its subject (mothers). Therefore, it is important to study the individual (mother) to understand what is actually being experienced on their side. There are a lot of studies which investigate the effects of mothering on the well-being of children, however it is very rarely studied how the motherhood is constituted and put in action by women.

The process of becoming a mother is comprised of continuous learning and relearning experiences, and that these experiences are shaped both personally and socio-culturally, and through a reciprocal relationship with children. From this point, if there is not (and should not be) only one kind of “motherhood” understanding and practice, and if motherhood is an ideological “institution” which is shaped by the society, and shape the society in return; to question the patriarchal discourse of motherhood as a natural and universal process, there is a need to examine the variations in the process of becoming a mother, and how these processes transform

women and in what way, and how different “motherhoods” are learned and constructed.

1.2 The aim of the study

While considering the mothers as agents of either reproducing the society or of social change, this study investigated the variations in conceptions of women who are mothers, on the phenomenon of “becoming mother”, and variations in reflections on their learning experiences as mothers. Here, mothering experience has been approached “as a sphere of adult learning”. The aim of the study is to reveal and describe women’s different ways of experiencing the phenomenon of becoming mother in two aspects: “the conceptions on becoming a mother”, and “the reflections on learning experiences regarding becoming a mother”. In this sense, two phenomenographic research questions have been formulized:

i. What are the conceptions of women who are mothers, on the phenomenon of “becoming mother”?

ii. What kind of variation is there in women’s way of reflecting on their learning experiences as mothers?

1.3 Significance of the study

Susan Maushart (2000), inspired by Adrienne Rich’s work ‘Of Woman Born’, and after Rich’s first use, uses the term “the mask of motherhood” herself (which is also the name of Maushart’s book published in 2000). With this term, she refers to a repertoire of socially constructed representations that ignore the actual experiences of mothers. She also states: “This mask keeps women silent about what they feel, and suspicious about what they know” (p.2). This study aimed to seek the ways to lift up

the “mask” to some extent, if not entirely, and give women who are mothers a voice to tell their way of experiencing their mothering.

This study also stands on an authentic point, although there are many studies which deal with ‘women’ and ‘mother’ issues from various perspectives, there are no dissertations and any other academical works published in Turkey studying “mothering” within the scope of conceptions of becoming mother and reflections on learning experiences.

Another important point that this study has is a methodological authenticity. This is a phenomenographic study that every step of it was designed according to the principles of phenomenography. The authentic point is that there are very few academical studies carried out in Turkey which uses this research methodology, and all of them were conducted in formal educational settings.

1.4 Researcher’s positionality

Being aware and acknowledging one’s own positionality as a researcher is very important in qualitative research processes (Berger, 2015; Holmes, 2020). In this section, I want to depict my positionality as a researcher, and its particular effect when conducting this study.

I earned my bachelor’s degree in early childhood education, and then I have worked for four years as a preschool teacher in Boğaziçi University Preschool Center, during which, I also successfully completed my master’s degree in adult education. As it happens, parenting issues have become my area of interest right after I started to work as a preschool teacher, since I have started to have solid observations regarding the mutual influence of the family members to each other during that period. This was my main motivation for selecting ‘parent involvement’

as my master's thesis topic to investigate the position of the preschool in this mutual relationship by considering it also as a part of this relationship, and I had the opportunity to conduct interviews with mothers and fathers as part of my research. Through my interviews with them, I have gained insights regarding the prevailing and challenging role of mothers -both from their self-report and also from the fathers' utterances- on their children's care and education.

My professional and research experiences led me to a further attempt to study parenting, but this time specifically on the side of women, and from a more critical perspective to the ideology of patriarchy which represses the women in the 'sole' identity of being a mother.

When the details and structures of this study started to emerge and evolve, I had no obvious plans to have a child myself, however I was around 35 years old, and the mainstream thoughts regarding being "late" had already started to invade my mind.

The positionality is not unchangeable, so it can change with time (Holmes, 2020). This was an apparent case for me, and this happened even during the process of an ongoing study. When data collection process for this doctoral study was ongoing, I got pregnant -at the age of 39-, and I myself became a mother during the data analysis process. It can be said that I moved from being an "outsider", to being an "insider" within the time span of this study. However, I should to mention that although I shared the characteristic of being a mother with the participants of the study, I have still felt as an outsider to an extent because of my and my spouse's non-traditional ways of co-parenting, and household collaboration (with minimal exceptions due to my 'maternal' gatekeeping attitudes and behaviors).

I -despite my socio-political orientation as a feminist- have acknowledged that it was difficult to get rid of the influences of socio-cultural context and the effects of contemporary views on motherhood completely. For example, I, myself, built long sentences when I am giving information about the cesarean birth of my baby to justify it to others although it was the doctor's suggestion (it could also be my decision). I do not know a single case around me otherwise; no woman who had a cesarean section just say she had a cesarean section, but they add the details about the needs and reasons behind this decision. However, it seems that this is not the case for women who had a natural childbirth. Moreover, I was thinking that it would be acceptable if I could not be able to breastfeed my baby, and was saying that it was not a big issue, however I felt an -undercover- pride when I could nurse my baby.

During the writing phase of this thesis, I have crucially felt the need of sharing the responsibilities of rearing a child with others, and thanks to my spouse's co-parenting, and the affectionate caregiving of my mother and my aunt to my baby daughter, I could get this support in abundance which also helped me to cope with the feelings of maternal guilt and ambivalence which I have felt -from time to time- when I found myself stuck in between my love for my daughter and my career aspirations.

As a highly educated woman who defines herself as a feminist, who was brought up by parents with a more egalitarian attitude compared to the gender norms in the society she lives in, and who has an egalitarian marriage and home life in the context of gender, I took care, and put an effort that my stance and demographic characteristics are functioning as empowering, not limiting, in designing and conducting the study and -then- while interpreting the results of it. On the other hand, I think that learning about my pregnancy during the data collection process

increased my empathic listening skills in the context of the subject I researched during the interviews. I cannot deny that this was also actually a bit like “what is waiting for me after the birth” type of listening. Moreover, the fact that I was mothering a small baby during the data analysis process helped me catch the details in the data - therefore not overlook them - while examining the data again and again.

I wanted to share the above information and experiences to depict my positionality as a researcher, as a feminist woman, and as a mother during the ‘gestation and birth’ of this dissertation.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

While examining the previous studies and texts on motherhood for the scope of this study, a focused effort to trace the variations on different aspects of motherhood has been made. Moreover, it is inevitable to say that, as the natural flow of a qualitative research, the outputs from the interviews carried out for this study also have an impact, giving this chapter its final shape. Some utterances by participants of this study have expanded the vision to understand the concepts of the study, and a need emerged to search for additional studies, and re-organizing the content of this chapter.

Here, in this chapter, motherhood is examined as a multidimensional concept, as a life changing process, as a phenomenon of conflict and challenge, as a feminist study area, and as a learning site. When deciding for the organization of the literature review, the conceptions and the experiences regarding motherhood and mothering have been considered mostly within the context of intact families to better serve the practical framework of the current study.

Moreover, to keep the literature review confined to the research goals of this study, some motherhood-related sub-topics have not been included to this chapter. To name some of them, these are the studies on representation of mothers in media, mother activism, challenge of modern reproductive technologies, and medicalization of pregnancy and childbirth.

2.1 Motherhood as a socially-constructed vs biological phenomenon

Historically, motherhood had been considered a biological issue, and therefore studying the concept of motherhood had stayed on the periphery in the social sciences,

because natural phenomena had been out of research interest of social scientists. Chodorow (1999), on the other hand, opposes this and stated: “It seems to me that we must always raise as problematic any feature of social structure, even if- and perhaps especially because –it seems universal” (p.14). She puts forward the need to question all these biological assumptions which give form to sexual division of labor in all generations and societies by being reproduced repeatedly, and which in turn result in women taking the primary responsibility in childrearing rather than men.

The idea that motherhood is a natural and instinctive process has been supported for a long time by many disciplines and institutions and used to be a dominant view for a long time (Timurturkan, 2019). Moreover, ideologies construct a definition and life of motherhood according to their needs to shape the society so that it is prevented from discussing motherhood on a rational basis. Just as with the proposition that motherhood is biological and natural phenomenon, and by emphasizing biological functions such as getting pregnant and giving birth, it is aimed for women to take for granted and “naturalize” the fact that they are being oppressed. (Chodorow, 1999; Hazar, 2014; Holmes, 2006).

On the other hand, if it is discussed beyond the biological aspect, the social construction discourse of motherhood does not always lead to innocent results. Once a woman plans to have a child, this personal decision turns to be a public issue as Balta Paker (2009) elaborates:

> From the moment you get pregnant, it's as if that body doesn't belong to you, an old lady you don't know touches your stomach, another person gives you advice on how to walk, what you eat and drink becomes a social issue. For example, if you smoke while pregnant, the whole society decides that you will be a bad mother before the baby is born. (para. 6)

The traits attributed to good motherhood put most women in the background.

Moreover, the mother and child are under the surveillance of popular culture, and they are studied by researchers mostly without taking into consideration of their interaction with others, and their separate identities as mother and child (Cannella, 2008). For example, bonding and attachment theories and studies stand in a risky place for women as mothers, stationing them as the ones who determine everything regarding their children's psychological and developmental well-being. As Cannella (2008) states: "While veiled in the language of support for young children, the concept of bonding actually fosters a conservative universalist agenda that regulates women, predetermines human life, and pathologizes all those who do not fit within the construction" (p.75).

The discourse of ideal motherhood transforms the motherhood into an expert area by taking it from its relational position between the mother and child (Balta-Paker, 2009; Baştürk-Akça, 2015; Maher, 2008;), and a singular form of 'good' motherhood is imposed by patriarchal ideologies and through their socio-cultural traces where the diversity in thought, emotions and performances of mothers is ignored, and even marginalized (Holmes, 2006). As Rich (1995) stated: "Certainly the mother serves the interests of patriarchy: she exemplifies in one person religion, social conscience, and nationalism. Institutional motherhood revives and renews all other institutions" (p.45). Moreover, Rothman (2000) asserts that three ideologies give shape to motherhood: the ideology of patriarchy, the ideology of technology, and the ideology of capitalism.

Although patriarchy provides women with almost no power in society, it loads the whole responsibility of raising children to them. To describe this situation of mother, Rich (2015) reminds the term "powerless responsibility" which first pronounced by a feminist group called "The Matriarchists" in 1986.

Ruddick (2002) discusses the concept of motherhood around the concept of ‘maternal thinking’, and separates being mother and giving birth so that she attempts to change the meaning of motherhood which is limited with sexuality and being able to give birth. According to her, motherwork starts within the reality of accepting the responsibilities of childrearing and making it an important part of one’s life. Primary social groups, with which the women have ties, expect that these women bring up their children in an acceptable way for them regardless of the origin of these ties (e.g., kinship, force, choice), and the acceptable childrearing differs within and between social groups to a great extent (Ruddick, 1989). In addition to such demands of social groups and the demand of women for being accepted and appreciated by their groups, they also start to formulate their own ideals and values regarding motherwork as members of and influenced by larger society. But although more experienced and socially privileged mothers can express their ideas more freely in this sense, most of the women feel ambivalence about their social groups’ norms, and face isolation and harassment because of their new grasp of motherhood (Ruddick, 1989).

Bora (2001) pointed out that maternal identity is one of the intersection points between the social and the individual, perhaps the most important one. Because, on the one hand, the individual (whether as a mother or having a mother) stays at the center of the deepest experiences; but on the other hand, her identity contains many elements of the social. Even though there are some natural dimensions of the mother-child relationship, women do not experience these dimensions in the same way, and the experiences of these relationships are shaped, and can change historically and socio-culturally (Kinser, 2010).

2.2 Motherhood as a life changing process

In this section, the life changing aspect of motherhood is examined through postpartum period, difficulties of new life as mother, the role of father in this process, and the relationships with extended family and in larger society.

2.2.1 Postpartum period

Studies on postpartum depression shows that a lot of women do not feel an emotional connection to their newborn babies, unlike what they expected and what is told to them before the birth, so the mothers begin to feel and to be convinced that "they were loathsome, some deficient, or unfit mothers" (p.19) (Kinser, 2010).

In Kölemen's study (2021) conducted in Turkey, the majority of the mothers referred to the puerperium as the most sensitive, fragile, and difficult period of their lives which was also not expected. Mothers had felt that they were like in a never-ending cycle due to "hormonal changes, physical discomfort after birth, sleeplessness, difficulty in baby care, uneasiness caused by not knowing" (p.167). Moreover, the sudden and irreversible change and interruption in women's lives - especially for the one who lives in cities, and who were working- causes that women acquire an unexpected feeling of loneliness during postpartum period, however this is not a natural and inevitable consequence of postpartum but a result because of urbanization and deficiency in social state policies (Kölemen, 2021).

In the postpartum period, although their need for support from their family and spouses increases a lot, mothers, on the contrary, encounter unexpected negative attitudes from their relatives very often, especially from their own mothers; experienced mothers continuously exemplify themselves as good mother, and criticize (sometimes in the name of giving advice) and compare the new mother's

childcare, house management, and so on (Kölemen, 2021; Sawyer, 1999). Breastfeeding sometimes becomes a challenging issue for women. New mothers are constantly given advice, criticized, even accused by their relatives, members of larger society and also health professionals of not having milk, or not being able to breastfeed, so breastfeeding turns into a struggle to prove being a 'good' mother, and to get affirmation from others, and it becomes one of the most important reasons for the feeling of inadequacy and guilt in motherhood (Kölemen, 2021; LaCoste-Nelson, 2005)

On the other hand, women who had a relatively comfortable and peaceful postpartum period attributed this to the support of their mothers and spouses, and women who had difficulties during this period emphasized that this was due to the lack of support from their mothers and spouses (Kölemen, 2021; LaCoste-Nelson, 2005).

2.2.2 New life and difficulties

New parents, especially in the first year of their infant, experience various feelings ranging from satisfaction and confidence to strain and burnout. Parents who have a more positive experience regarding their new and changed life reported a common sense of concern for childcare and mutual share of childcare duties with their partners, and external support; on the other hand, majority of parents reported that they felt exhausted with the various difficulties of childrearing (Nyström & Öhrling, 2004). However, the experiences of parents vary regarding the gender of the parent. Women as mothers have generally more disruption in their social life including their careers compared to men, and feel much more stuck as Nyström and Öhrling (2004) states:

> Mothers' experiences of being primarily responsible for the infant were expressed predominantly as feelings of powerlessness, insufficiency, guilt, loss, exhaustion, ambivalence, resentment, and anger. These experiences were overwhelming and caused strain and led to feelings of being fatigued and drained of physical and emotional energy (p.327).

According to Wada, Backman, Forwell, Roth, and Ponzetti's study (2014), mothers see themselves in a never-ending cycle of tasks, and this situation makes them feel exhausted. To be able to fulfill these tasks on time and properly, they need to be strictly organized to be able to manage daily flow and routines of the house; however this is not easy due to unpredictability of life with children, therefore this situation is a source of stress for mothers.

2.2.3 The role of fathers

Işık (2015) found in his study that the different amount of time allocated for the house by mothers and fathers (and mothers had reported that it's due to their spouses' workload) normalizes the imbalanced involvement in childcare and education in the eyes of mothers. However, providing childcare is different for mothers and father in terms of type and allocated time even if both partners have fulltime jobs (Craig, 2006; Wada et al., 2014), and working mothers questions more about the inequal distribution of childcare and housework duties in the household (Uluğtekin, 2002).

Mothers spent more time with childcare tasks when compared with fathers, and the physical care of children comprise most of the mothers' time spent, whereas fathers use their time mainly for playing and talking together with their children (Craig, 2006). And when fathers provide the childcare, they do it rarely all by themselves in intact families, but mainly act as assistants of mothers, which means it is very difficult for women as mothers to get relief and step away from the

responsibilities and burden of childcare even for a while (Craig, 2006). As Nomaguchi, Brown, and Leyman (2017) found, maternal parenting stress is decreased when there is more practical support in childcare by fathers like spending time with children; (only) psychological support of fathers to mothers does not provide the same result with the practical support. When fathers spend time with their children, this is also beneficial to their marriages (Pekel-Uludağlı, 2019).

As another perspective, Kocatepe and Bilgi (2018) found that mothers consider the house and housework as a domain of their own through which they feel strong and confident; and they accept the inequality in division of labor in the house regarding housework and childcare as normal, nevertheless they have expectancies from their spouses for having quality time with their children (playing, getting involved in children's coursework, etc.) and helping slightly in housework if needed.

Cowdery and Knudson-Martin (2005) revealed four processes which keep the idea of mothers as natural nurturers with innate abilities constant and propagate it continuously. These processes are: "(a) partners believed that mothers had natural connection and knowledge, (b) fathers stepped back, (c) mothers organized time around children, and (d) mothers took continual responsibility" (p.339), hence mothers build closer and stronger relationships with their children than fathers through these processes. These researchers also revealed that these processes are even valid for couples who are against gender inequality.

Bora (2001) reported that although women describe the sexist division of labor at home as a problem, they don't make an efficacious effort to change it. On the other hand, they try to provide a personal space not to transform their relationships between themselves and their spouses but ask for and get help from their own mothers.

2.2.4 Extended families and larger society

In the study of Johnston and Swanson (2004) with 98 mothers of preschoolers; friends and young relatives -especially the ones with whom the participants had a shared context- come first regarding getting and asking for social and emotional support. On the other hand, in the same study, it is found that parents and parents-in-law are considered as secondary sources regarding support due to the change in the expectations and request for transmission of the parenting practice and values to the adult child (who is now the new parent). Beyond the preferences, the support is also more lacking from the parents' side, both due to the physical and psychological distances. At the present time, it is a frequent occurrence that nuclear families live far away from their extended families. On the other hand, changing practices and understanding regarding motherhood and childcare -especially on the side of working mothers- put psychological distance between the generations.

Dudu-Karaman and Doğan (2018) found that mothers were intervened, and their mothering was questioned at many points by extended family and the larger society, regardless of their education level, age difference, whether they work or not.

Uluğtekin (2002) reported that regardless of class differences, mothers develop supportive relationships with women in their families, but these relationships can turn into a field of power conflict, competition and exclusion in matters related to childcare. Although mothers are open to getting advice and support from other mothers, including their own, they are uncomfortable with it if it is in the form of intervention (LaCoste-Nelson, 2005), and women living with an extended family experience this intervention more, and they wish to live as a nuclear family in order to realize their own childcare and family ideals (Uluğtekin, 2002). Despite all these

conflicts, family relationships are of great importance in shaping and reproducing motherhood (Uluğtekin, 2002).

In all social classes, the most important purpose of marriage is seen as having children (Çarkoğlu & Kalaycıoğlu, 2013; Uluğtekin, 2002). In this context, lower- and middle-class women are often pressured to have children in the first years of their marriage, and they do not even have the option of not wanting to give birth to a child; this is not acceptable by the family and also by the larger society. (Dudu-Karaman & Doğan, 2018; Uluğtekin, 2002).

2.3 Working or not?

In this part, findings from several research studies about the concept of 'mother wars' and about different decision processes of women as economically disadvantaged mothers, middle-class working mothers, academic mothers, and highly educated stay-at-home mothers are presented.

2.3.1 Mother wars

The rhetoric of "Mother Wars (or Mommy Wars)" is used to represent the conflict between the understanding and practice regarding mothering, and it is mainly about the time allocated for childcare and childrearing; therefore this conflict is much more visible between mothers who are working outside the home and who are full-time 'mothering' (Maher, 2008), and the Mother War rhetoric is much more accepted by at-home mothers, which means that they consider full-time working women as less caring to their children (Johnston & Swanson, 2004).

Çarkoğlu and Kalaycıoğlu (2013) presented a report on the analysis of ISSP-2012 data (International Social Survey Program - https://issp.org, ISSP-2022 is under

development) from Turkey (which were collected by both female and male participants), and they revealed that almost half of the subjects (48%) think that a working mother cannot develop a close and trusting relationship with her child as much as a non-working mother, while forty percent (39%) think in the opposite way. More than half of the subjects (58%) also stated that they consider it to be possible that a preschool-aged child will be affected in a bad way when its mother works. Only about a quarter (24%) of subjects indicated that they did not consider it likely that the preschool-aged child would be affected adversely from her mother's working status. When compared with ISSP-2002 data, Çarkoğlu and Kalaycıoğlu (2013) observed that the opinion of working mothers having a negative effect on their children gaining ground in Turkey in the last ten years can be interpreted as an indicator of rising conservatism in Turkey. However, it is interesting to note that the world-wide result is 51% for the general opinion that a preschool-aged child can be badly affected when her mother works, and this is consistent with Turkey results.

2.3.2 Different decisions regarding working

There are various reasons and consequences of the women's decisions on whether to keep on working after their children were born or to quit and stay at home with their children.

Ward and Wolf-Wendel (2016) states that women's decisions and choices regarding work and home are engaged with the "gendered expectations" (p.20) of her family (parents, children and spouse) and the society. On the other hand, reducing the decisions of currently working women about whether or not to stay in working life after having children to the concept of individual choice means ignoring all the social, cultural and economic reasons that may be behind this decision; without

reducing the issue to the problem of working and staying-at-home mothers, and even avoiding it, the way should be opened for women to make their own decisions about motherhood, childcare and paid work by choosing among feasible and applicable solutions (Cartwright, 2008).

Regarding the childcare issue of working women, it was found in a study conducted by Kölemen (2021) with 25 mothers in Turkey that the ideal is considered to be raising the child at home and by the mother until the age of three, when this is not possible, the second choice is to transfer her role to the grandmothers; when grandmothers cannot provide this service, a babysitter and, lastly, a nursery is preferred if financial means are available (however there is a widespread belief that children who are not raised at home by their mother or grandmother receive insufficient love or care, and are at risk of abuse). If a family cannot provide any of these solutions for their child's care, this situation is completely ignored in the current social system. On the other hand, it is also confusing for women in Turkey that the state is insistently promoting exclusive breastfeeding of the babies in their first six months, and the paid postpartum maternity leave is regulated by the same state as only eight weeks (Kölemen, 2021).

2.3.2.1 Economically disadvantaged mothers

Conflicting results emerge on how mothering is constructed for different women, and how women should mother their children. While the white, middle-class values of the West constantly emphasize the need for young children to be with their mothers; social policy practices give the impression that this high value does not apply to the children from poor families and nondominant race and ethnicities since mothers who are in an economically disadvantageous condition need to return to work as soon as

possible after they give birth; this shows that the approach and practice related to maternity and child care is regulated according to social and political interests (Kinser, 2010; Glenn, 1994), so there is “see no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil”.

2.3.2.2 Middle-class working mothers

In Wada et al.’s study (2014), mothers expressed that working outside the house provides them with a better sense of competence, and intellectual and social balance when compared with solely involving in family work. Maintaining a balance between home and work regarding time and responsibilities is not easy and also stressful, however women benefit from the social context of the workplace in which they can express themselves through their identities out of being mother and have a personal space out of home (Guendouzi, 2006).

Kaya (2008) investigated the class-based maternal experiences and attitudes of working middle-class mothers from various professions, and found that they consider mothering as a performance in which they have to be ‘successful’ -with a similar manner in their works-, and as an important trait of their identity -overriding being a professional woman in labor market. Douglas and Michaels (2007) even assert that to be considered as a successful woman, women should firstly be successful in their mothering, which is not applicable to men (fathers).

Middle-class working mothers’ point of views on childrearing, and socio-economic opportunities effect their ways to learn mothering. They have a number of available sources like books, internet, seminars, experts, and they can also recognize their needs well due to their cultural capital and seek the knowledge accordingly to raise their children ‘perfectly’. So, they -despite and even because of their

advantageous socio-economic positions- continue to reproduce the role of the woman as the main caregiver (Kaya, 2008).

2.3.2.3 Academic mothers

Different professions also bring different experiences to women who are mothers when dealing with home-work conflicts. For example, Swanson & Johnston (2003) conducted a study with mothers who are full-time academicians and found that they have more conflicts between their higher expectations for both their job and their mothering. Even so, on a positive note, they are more confident regarding their decisions about working (after the child) when compared with other full-time employed mothers from other professions.

Academic mothers consider themselves as good role models for their children -which is very important for being a good mother- and being 'only' a mother would not be good neither for them nor for their children. Moreover, unlike the other full-time employed women, academician mothers have difficulty to draw a line between work and home; they sometimes need to work at home during nights; sometimes children are brought to the offices; so it can be said that the work life and home life of an academician mother are intertwined (Swanson & Johnston, 2003).

2.3.2.4 Highly educated stay-at-home mothers

Sometimes, highly educated and (before the child) working women decide to quit their jobs and stay at home with their children as mothers. Rubin (2005) studied the lived experience of these mothers regarding their decision process, perceived benefits for themselves and their families, the challenges of staying at home, and needs for 'continuing' personal growth. Some of participants of this study have a

smoother transition, whereas some of them experience a harder transition after they decide to quit work, however all of them (at least at the time of the study) stand behind their decisions through which they could observe the growth and development of their children without missing anything, raise their children as they wish, and be able to focus on their family (both the child and spouse) without interruptions of work-related issues. Standing behind a decision, however, does not prevent negative feelings at all. So, some participants of Rubin's study (2005) mentioned loss of identity, loss of a dream, and loss of self-esteem due to their 'only visible' identity at home and in the public space, even though they were highly-educated and had diverse experiences in their professions. Therefore, taking care of themselves and personal growth through social, intellectual, artistic and volunteer activities are among their prime concerns in their 'new' stay-at-home life.

2.4 Diverse motherhoods

Although I do not aim to present a detailed review on mothers with diverse demographical, cultural, socio-economic, and sexual characteristics -to confine the extent of the chapter within the scope of the study-, I would like to mention a number of studies on the topics of single mothers, immigrant mothers, older mothers, and also the differences between the generations of mothers.

Within the subject of motherhood, the maternal experiences of single mothers stand in a very important position. Their distinct forms of family without a resident father in the house are open to be exposed to discrimination, and criticism by conservatives; and there is disregard by the states in general regarding the provision of socio-economic support to those mothers since they are out of norms -out of marriage, out of 'normal' family. Mothers become 'single mothers' due to divorce or

death of their spouses, or they are single mothers from the beginning of their motherhood due to the absence of the father. Taylor and Conger (2017) examined the factors which have positive impact to the well-being and parenting of single mothers and found that perceived social support and specific internal resources like optimism, self-efficacy and self-esteem affect single mothers' well-being and parenting behaviors positively. Therefore, it is important to provide single mothers with channels through which they can find and receive social support, and in turn, have the necessary time and social capital for their self-actualization to improve their internal resources mentioned above.

On the other hand, immigrant mothers -as another vulnerable group of mothers- who have moved from their homelands to another -mostly to an extremely unfamiliar- country for various reasons have to struggle with many challenges not limited to childbirth and childrearing, but also with the concerns of transmitting their culture to their children along with the challenge of forming 'belongingness' to the new land (Gedalof, 2009). On the other hand, although there are some attempts to provide formal education programs to them regarding adaptation, these mothers, who are mostly isolated, are out of the research interest of adult educators (Zhu, 2020). However, having insights on their -possibly- distinct ways of learning, experiencing, and practicing mothering would provide important information to help them to adapt (while preserving their cultural identities) to the socio-cultural climate of their countries of residence when rearing their children there. According to a two-year critical ethnographic study with 30 Chinese immigrant mothers in Canada, Zhu (2020) investigated how immigrant mothers learn mothering, and how their experiences are compatible with the neoliberal motherhood ideology. Zhu (2020) discovered that "immigrant mothers' lifelong learning practice constitutes a

mechanism, one in which the ideology of mothering and immigrant mothers' everyday learning and mothering deeply interact to reproduce race, gender, and class relations" (p.377).

At this juncture, I would like to mention a controversial issue which is the 'appropriate' age to have a child. Budds, Locke, and Burr (2016) found that having a child in older ages -it is sometimes called as late motherhood- is caused by different reasons like waiting for the 'right' socio-economic life conditions which are beyond their control -so beyond their choice-, women's self-readiness to be a 'good' mother of which characteristics are determined by larger socio-economic, ideological context, so it can be said that the expected child-devoted, intensive mothering has a significant effect on feeling of readiness, and on timing of motherhood among the middle-class women accordingly. The researchers of that study, therefore, concluded that it cannot be assumed that women have their full agency and direct control on their decisions regarding 'late motherhood'.

There are also differences between generations of mothers. Bora (2001) studied the differences and similarities between two generations of mothers in Turkey regarding various aspects of womanhood, families, marriages, and mothering. One of the remarkable findings is the change in the discourses of mothers. Whereas the old generation described motherhood through the concept of "duty", the new generation approached it from the understanding of "success". It can be said that the discourse of motherhood has moved from a collectivist mindset to a more individualistic one.

Although I mentioned several studies on a good few distinct mother characteristics up to this point in the Chapter II, there are many other issues regarding the diversity of mothers, and I would like to -at least- name some of them

here so as not to ignore their entities. There are non-heterosexual mothers, teenage mothers, mothers from nondominant cultures, imprisoned mothers, mothers with disabilities, mothers of children with disabilities, stepmothers, adoptive mothers, rural mothers, and activist mothers whose diverse lived experiences deserve to be a site for research and acknowledgement.

2.5 Some mother-specific concepts

In this part, a couple of specific concepts which can be discussed under the phenomenon of being mother are presented: namely, maternal ambivalence, motherguilt, and maternal gatekeeping.

2.5.1 Maternal ambivalence and motherguilt

Brown (2010) states: "Motherhood experiences of twenty-first-century mothers are strongly infused with ambivalence, which is largely located in the social conditions and expectations of contemporary motherhood" (p.121) and defines maternal ambivalence as follows: "In general, ambivalence refers to the coexistence of conflicting and opposing thoughts or feelings; in the case of mothers, these are usually described as a coexistence of love and hatred" (p.122). Tuval-Mashiach and Shaiovitz-Gourman (2014) define maternal ambivalence as "the coexistence of negative and positive emotions in mothers towards their children" (p. 357) which is related to the perceptions, understanding, and expectations about what constitutes for being a 'good' mother, and these are socially, culturally, and historically constructed (Brown, 2010; Tuval-Mashiach & Shaiovitz-Gourman, 2014). Brown (2010) elaborates the socio-cultural reasons of ambivalence as follows:

> Standards of mothering, understanding of childhood, relationships between mothers and fathers, the role of the extended family and community in childrearing, participation of women in the labor force, and family economic

> resources are among the social and cultural factors influencing mothers' experiences of motherhood. In other words, people experience ambivalence according to their position in social structures and according to the resources that they have available to resolve it. (p.123)

Tuval-Mashiach and Shaiovitz-Gourman (2014) conducted a study with mothers in which they seek whether these women experienced maternal ambivalence, if so, how they expressed it, and whether there is connection between the thoughts of ideal motherhood and maternal ambivalence. They made three claims based on their findings:

- First, mothers share a common perception of an internalized rigid maternal ideal, which defines what a good mother is and denies the possibility of ambivalence, both towards the child and towards the maternal role.
- Second, it is through a process of dialogue with this maternal ideal that mothers come to evaluate it, adapt it to their individual needs, or even abandon it entirely. In its place, they can develop a personalized, flexible, ever-changing internal good-mothering model, in which there is room for a wealth of emotions and ambivalence.
- Third, this developmental process is not automatic, and the mothers in *our* study were found to be on a continuum somewhere between total adherence and total non-adherence to the maternal ideal. (p.369)

Allen (2005) put another term forward regarding women who are mothers which is 'maternal dilemma' and scrutinizes the confusion and search of being a mother and an autonomous person at the same time.

On the other hand, motherguilt emerges when there is a conflict and discrepancy between externally -rarely by self- idealized and practiced mothering, as perceived through mother's self-judgment (not her child's) (Constantinou, Varela, & Buckby, 2021; Maher, 2008). According to Maher (2008), the idealized form of mothering (we can say intensive mothering) ignores the diversity among mothers like cultural differences, socio-economic conditions, and availability of social support; it also ignores the uniqueness of child-mother relationship and give all the responsibilities of motherhood to women on an individualistic ground by masking the social responsibility to rear children. The feelings of guilt and inadequacy

regarding their mothering are more pronounced in working women (Uluğtekin, 2002).

2.5.2 Maternal gatekeeping

Maternal gatekeeping is mothers' various behavior and attitudes that put a barrier for father's involvement in childcare and childrearing. It emerges as a result of some fixed beliefs regarding motherhood which in turn affects the mothers' attitudes and behaviors in distribution of family work between them and fathers (Allen & Hawkins, 1999). Allen and Hawkins (1999) describes maternal gatekeeping as:

> the mother's reluctance to relinquish responsibility for family matters by setting rigid standards, wanting to be ultimately accountable for domestic labor to confirm to others and to herself that she has a valued maternal identity, and expecting that family work is truly a woman's domain. (p.205)

Aytaç (2021) found in her study which is conducted with mothers from Turkey that maternal gatekeeping is not a natural result of a mother being affectionate and protective towards her child, but these practices are affected by socio-cultural context in which motherhood concept is constructed. She also put forward that this situation is affected by unequal gender roles in the family before the child which means the women has already allocated more time for domestic chores than the male spouse; and in Turkish context, as Aytaç (2021) asserts, gatekeeping (she also uses the term 'gateclosing' interchangeable in her paper) is a fact for household chores in addition to childcare; and stay-at-home mothers are more prone to possessing the traditional gender roles regarding childcare and domestic chores when compared with working mothers. Moreover, these women mostly attributed this inequality to men's incompetence due to their nature.

Mothers inhibit paternal involvement by setting high standards in childcare and housework, and by expecting acceptance from the larger society for their

devoted maternal identity through maternal gatekeeping (Allen & Hawking, 1999; Aytaç, 2021). Moreover, sometimes mothers believe that -to be a good mother- they have to fulfill all of the responsibilities regarding childcare and childrearing, and this attitude turns to a source of power through which the mothers hold and keep the control of everything regarding the child, and the fathers cannot build closer relationship with their children and feel aggrieved due to the case that they were excluded from the active sphere of childcare. (Nyström & Öhrling, 2004)

Moreover, maternal gatekeeping is more visible and rooted when women possess the role of the manager (she is also the labor anyway) and perceive their spouses as their assistants in the household (Allen & Hawking, 1999) by "taking charge of tasks, doing chores herself, redoing tasks to a higher standard, or organizing, delegating, planning, and scheduling-all processes that require her partner to conform to her way of doing family work" (Allen & Hawking, 1999, p.204).

Although it is a fact that fathers with traditional family values which reproduce gender inequality are not willing to participate in childrearing actively, there are fathers who wants to be a more active partner in childrearing, but they may be not sure about what to do and how to do it, so they may need more practice to feel more motivated and competent (Pekel-Uludağlı, 2019). However maternal gatekeeping behaviors prevent collaborative parenting practice, and also put barrier to men's learning opportunities through and for involvement in household chores and childcare and reinforce the feeling of incompetence (Allen & Hawking, 1999; Cowdery & Knudson-Martin, 2005). Some studies show that fathers' perceptions regarding gate opening behaviors of mothers are positive, and they consider it as a support of their own parenting (Olsavsky, Yan, Schoppe-Sullivan, & Kamp Dush,

2020; Pekel-Uludağlı, 2019). On the other hand, some mother are aware of the disadvantages of this type of attitudes and behaviors primarily to themselves, and express their need for help in letting go and trusting that partners and others could adequately care for the child (Sawyer, 1999), so mothers who are willing to collaborate with fathers, or expect that fathers collaborate with them in childcare and childrearing hold themselves back in order not to intervene and interfere their partners‘ way of parenting (Cowdery & Knudson-Martin, 2005).

2.6 Feminism and motherhood

The general concern of feminism is power relations in public (workplaces, education, health system, etc.) and personal spheres (house, personal relationships, etc.), and the effect of these on women’s lives (Kinser, 2010).

During the first waves of the feminist movements, maternity issue was something to be ignored, or even totally disapproved and reduced to an institution which oppressed and secluded the women to the house, and which is an obstacle for women’s empowerment and emancipation (Hooks, 2000; Timurturkan, 2019). However, with such an attitude, it would not be inaccurate to say that they missed the need to analyze maternity as an already lived experience of numerous women. On the other hand, as early as the mid 80s, some feminist thinkers started to consider and idealize maternity and (also paternity) as an opportunity for constituting alternative values against patriarchy (Hooks, 2000), a uniting factor for women (Timurturkan, 2019), and as an important source of power (Kinser, 2010). Although there are many feminist attempts to study motherhood from the perspectives of feminist theories, nondominant cultures, races, ethnicities, and classes are distinctly excluded aspects of motherhood in these studies which results in presentation of a limited view of

multiplicity of women's experiences as mothers (Collins, 2007). On the other hand, Kawash (2011) pointed an -intentionally- ignored aspect of diversity of women who are mothering in feminist research and practice and put forward the need and necessity to include and study women's conceptions, experiences and cultures regarding different religious practice and faith, and their connections and effects to secular practices in the research area of mothering and motherhood.

Mothering is time and again associated solely with love, affection, protection, and so on but the power issue in mothering is often ignored. Mothering occurs in a social context where men and women have unequal powers. Glenn (1994) states the attempt of feminist thinkers to explain this power dynamics as such: "Feminist writers have been concerned primarily with patriarchal control over mothering. By patriarchal control they refer not just to individual husbands and fathers controlling their wives' and daughters' reproduction, but also male-dominated institutions controlling women as a group" (p.17).

2.6.1 Motherhood as an institution and an experience

As feminist thinkers and scholars have been unpacking the concepts of motherhood and mothering, and attempting to analyze and describe these, they have started to treat the concept of 'motherhood' from two perspectives: Motherhood as an institution and motherhood as an experience (for this distinction, feminists have been strongly inspired by Adrienne Rich's book entitled "Of Woman Born: Motherhood as an Institution and Experience" which was published in 1976). Motherhood as an institution shapes the experience of women through predetermined norms and expectations of patriarchal ideology; this suppressive process also finds a concrete place in the policies of the states like fertility policies, interventions, and

enforcements of medical companies regarding the female body, and capitalism's manipulation on production and consumption relations (Timurturkan, 2019).

Adrienne Rich's analysis of motherhood as a social institution has been an important central point for many feminist researchers and theorists to work on women's experiences of mothering to recognize that motherhood is not simply bearing and/or caring for children, but rather it creates conditions and thus shape the women's lives (Green, 2001). As Green (2001) stated that although women experience motherhood differently, "they are not free to mother in ways they may consider suitable or appropriate for their children. Rather, women mother within socially prescribed ideals and conditions that are often restrictive and damaging" (p.26). Moreover, Rich (1995) tackles the idea of motherhood as institution with the concept of heterosexism:

> The institution of motherhood is not identical with bearing and caring for children, any more than the institution of heterosexuality is identical with intimacy and sexual love. Both create group prescriptions and the conditions in which choices are made or blocked; they are not "reality" but they have shaped the circumstances of our lives. The new scholars of women's history have begun to discover that, in any case, the social institutions and prescriptions for behavior created by men have not necessarily accounted for the real lives of women. Yet any institution which expresses itself so universally ends by profoundly affecting our experience, even the language be used to describe it. The experience of maternity and the experience of sexuality have both been channeled to serve male interests; behavior which threatens the institutions, such as illegitimacy, abortion, lesbianism, is considered deviant or criminal. (p.42)

Patriarchy needs motherhood and heterosexualism to perpetuate, so it does not allow the motherhood and heterosexuality -which it imposes as nature-based- to be questioned in any sense (Rich, 1995). On the other hand, as O'Reilly (2008) states: "while motherhood as an institution is a male-defined site of oppression, women's own expression of mothering can nonetheless be a source of power" (p.3).

2.6.2 Matricentric feminism and feminist mothering

According to O'Reilly (2019), in order to understand the lives of women who become mothers, it is necessary to consider how being a mother shapes women's self-perception and the way they experience and perceive the world. From this point of view, and also because she considers motherhood as the "unfinished business of feminism" (O'Reilly, 2019, p.14), she introduced a new concept called "matricentric feminism" by putting an emphasis to "mothers' needs and concerns as the starting point for a theory and politics on and for women's empowerment" (p.14).

For all intents and purposes, this new concept is not brought forward to replace the traditional form of feminism, but it is an attempt to attract attention -especially from feminists- and open a space to study, discuss, and act regarding the socially, politically, culturally, and economically distinct and diverse positions of women who are mothers (O'Reilly, 2019). Matricentric feminism considers that motherhood is a socially constructed phenomenon across the history, and it is more associated with the concept of identity, whereas mothering is practice-based. So, matricentric feminism refuses that mothering is naturally and instinctively a female issue, on the contrary it is asserted that it can be learned regardless of the sex.

O'Reilly (2019) lists some general principles of matricentric feminism -and she asserted that this list is limited and open to change. According to matricentric feminism:

- all issues related with mothers deserve scholarly interest;
- mothering has a significant value for society, however the duties of mothering shouldn't be only the women's tasks;
- patriarchal institutions' oppressive discourses and acts should be challenged, and mothering should turn to an empowering identity;

- there is a need to develop a scholarship and practice which is different than the child-centered approaches, and which consider the experience of mothers;
- motherhood and mothering practices have the power for social change;
- diversity of mothering experiences needs to be explored which varies across cultural, economic, ethnical, sexual, and geographical differences; and
- maternal theory and studies on motherhood need to be established as a distinct and independent scholarship.

Looking from the above perspective of matricentric feminism, O'Reilly (2007) describe feminist mothering as follows:

> In my writing I use the term feminist mothering to refer to an oppositional discourse of motherhood, one that is constructed as a negation of patriarchal motherhood. And feminist practice/theory of mothering, therefore, functions as a counter narrative of motherhood: it seeks to interrupt the master narrative of motherhood to imagine and implement a view of mothering that is empowering to women. Feminist mothering is thus determined more by what it is not (i.e., patriarchal motherhood) rather than by what it is. Feminist mothering may refer to any practice of mothering that seeks to challenge and change various aspects of patriarchal motherhood that cause mothering to be limiting or oppressive to women. (p.796)

When these are translated to the language of everyday life experiences, feminist mothering is resisting to the ideology of intensive mothering which impose on women to mother 24/7, to consider motherhood as their most important and inevitable identity, and to accept that mothering is only reserved for them; and feminist mothering provide women with time and motivation for self-realization by putting their needs and wishes to the center (O'Reilly, 2007).

2.7 Motherhood as an adult learning site

To begin, I want to briefly present some of the findings of a qualitative research on the effects of Mother-Child Education program by MOCEF (Mother Child Education Foundation – www.acev.org) which was conducted through interviews with 100 mothers who had participated in the program in five different countries, namely Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Switzerland, Belgium, and Bahrein. According to the findings, although the primary intentions of the mothers were to benefit their children through the education program, they also expressed many benefits for themselves and their relationships with other members of their families (spouse, other children outside the program). Participating women who had become isolated due to marriage and migrations stated that program helped them to socialize; through the interactive learning environment, they saw that they were not alone regarding their problems in childrearing and family issues, and became more open to share and express themselves which also facilitated their change; their self-concept and self-confidence improved; and they became more willing to work and seek further education (Bekman & Atmaca-Koçak, 2009).

Actually, women who participate in education programs for mothers are mostly willing and ready to learn and change; and sometimes they already have the information in the education content but become more open to putting this knowledge into practice through the programs (Bekman & Atmaca-Koçak, 2009).

Jarvis (1995), in his work, explains the relationship between learning and change: “Paradoxes are inherent in this relationship: learning is a response to change, but it also creates it; learning is a mechanism of adaptation, but it also has the capacity to evoke it; people learn to be safe, but learning is also a risk-taking activity” (p.110). If we adapt this view to maternal learning, since becoming mother

is a very big and important change in women's lives, it creates the need for learning, and the related learning experiences provide changes in the women, in their children, in the relationship with her surroundings. By learning, women put an effort to adapt to the new changes in her life to feel safe, confident, and sufficient.

Feminist theorists consider the lived experience of women as a sphere of adult learning and knowledge construction. In the same manner, adult learners interpret the teaching content of the adult educators in formal education settings by reflecting on their lived experiences, and by filtering it through their personal interests and its familiarity which in turn results in constructing different understandings from what they have heard and seen during the education (Fenwick & Tennant, 2004).

However, maternal learning and parent education are most of the times organized around formal learning activities, and the approaches, principles and contents of formal learning activities provided by experts can sometimes be incompatible with maternal experiences and mothers' learning needs; moreover, they may lack for considering the "contextual, social and emotional factors that potentially influence maternal ability or behavior" (Fowler, 2002, p.158), and in turn mothers would not acquire necessary skills to adapt and practice what they have learnt (Fowler, 2002). Therefore, professional attention is also needed to be given to informal and incidental learning experiences which play an important role when becoming mother (Fowler, 2002). Incidental learning emerges mostly without any particular intention and plan beforehand. Fowler (2002) exemplify it as follows:

> For example, a woman watching another woman care for her crying baby in a shopping center may be engaging in incidental learning. This experience of observation contributes to the development of the behaviors, body stance, verbal responses and facial expressions of a mother trying to calm a crying baby. The woman at the time of the observation may not consciously register

> that she is observing another mother calm her crying infant, but incidental learning may have occurred as a consequence of the experience. (p.158-159)

Contrary to formal parent education, in terms of incidental learning, "there are no limits to what can be learned or the sources of learning, as learning is always situated within and influenced by a social and cultural context" (Fowler, 2002, p.159), and the origin of women's incidental learning experiences regarding mothering date back to when they are being mothered (Fowler, 2002).

Gouthro (2006), by using a critical feminist analysis, addresses the homeplace "as a significant site of adult learning to broaden the scope of lifelong education to consider more deeply learning that occurs outside of the formal realm" (p.6). What is considered as important learning is influenced by masculine thoughts and global market interests, therefore homeplace as a learning site -mostly of women, and mainly through the motherwork- is neglected; however, handling homeplace as a fruitful source for learning and evaluating it regarding its complexities with power relations, conflicts, learning opportunities, and uniqueness would provide adult learning professionals and experts with insights regarding women's experiences (Gouthro, 2006). Kolb (2015) describes the role of experiences in learning process as follow:

> Learning is the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience. This definition emphasizes several critical aspects of the learning process as viewed from the experiential perspective. First is the emphasis on the process of adaptation and learning as opposed to content or outcomes. Second is that knowledge is a transformation process, being continuously created and recreated, not an independent entity to be acquired or transmitted. Third, learning transforms experience in both its objective and subjective forms. Finally, to understand learning, we must understand the nature of knowledge, and vice versa (in Part I: Experience and Learning).

Kolb (2015) puts emphasis on the process of adaptation to novelties, and the transactions between the individuals and their surroundings. From a traditional

perspective, someone may assert that learning is a personal process which is realized through a set of sources like teaching materials, a particular physical environment, and a teacher, however such a point of view ignores the effect and contribution of the surrounding real-world (Kolb, 2015). Barg (2004) also states that:

> An important part of adult education links learning to change and transformation for individuals as well as for society. In order to affect change in society, many adult educators recognize that the goals of transformation are embodied in the day-to-day lives of people who challenge existing oppressive societal systems. (p.27)

This statement can be interpreted as everyday life experiences which include homeplace, and therefore -because of the current socio-cultural and political situations- women's (and naturally mothers') learning experiences being very important to investigate regarding reproduction of societal norms and values and their agency in social change.

As live contact opportunities is getting more and more limited due to various reasons, and as -especially at-home- mothers live more in isolation and feel lonely, starting from the late nineties, mothers -who are literate, and have (or able to reach) necessary technological equipment- have built online communities where they can communicate and learn from each other, so they find a sphere where they share their expertise on mothering with each other, where they can get affirmed on their mothering, and which they use as a coping strategy with the challenging aspect of mothering (Aktaş, 2019; Gürçayır-Teke, 2014; Kinser, 2010; Kölemen, 2021).

Through the use of social media, the culture of motherhood which is transmitted from generation to generation among women becomes visible in the virtual world through virtual communications between the women (Gürçayır-Teke, 2014). However, Friedman (2010) argues that:

> In twenty-first century the virtual frontier alters the landscape of maternity, presenting new technologies as both sites of resistance and potential bolsters

> to patriarchal motherhood….To ask whether the Internet is empowering or restrictive to mothers is a facile: like any sort of interaction, online conversations, communities, and activities have the capacity for redemption, the ability to keep the status quo, or on a more sinister level, the facility to create more disturbing and misogynist pictures of motherhood. (p.353)

When mothers are getting into contact with each other in search of ideal mothering, it is sometimes the case that their children's and families' uniqueness and special cases are ignored by others, and even by themselves and this causes confusion, and feelings of incompetence in mothers, and refer them to mispractices (Aktaş, 2019).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In this study, phenomenography as a qualitative research methodology was used to investigate the variations in conceptions of women who are mothers on the phenomenon of "becoming mother" and their reflections on their learning experiences as mothers.

In this chapter, first, the research questions of the study are stated, then phenomenography as the research approach is introduced through the related literature regarding its origin, premises and main assumptions, unique features, its development, and validity and reliability issues.

Afterwards, the steps of the study, which are sampling, data collection and data analysis are explained one by one by providing general knowledge about the characteristics of these steps in phenomenography, and then by giving details on each step regarding this study, also mentioning their particular conformities and connections with 'phenomenography'. This chapter ends by mentioning how validity and reliability have been ensured for this study.

3.1 Research Questions

The aim of the study is to reveal and describe women's different ways of experiencing the phenomenon of becoming mother in two aspects: "the conceptions on becoming a mother", and "the reflections on learning experiences regarding becoming a mother". In this sense, two phenomenographic research questions have been formulized:

i. What are the conceptions of women who are mothers on the phenomenon of "becoming mother"?

ii. What kind of variation is there in women's way of reflecting on their learning experiences as mothers?

3.2 What is phenomenography as a qualitative research methodology?

Phenomenography as a "reaction against and an alternative to dominant positivistic, behavioristic and quantitative research" (Svensson, 1997, p. 159) has its roots in an educational research in Sweden in the beginning of 1970s aiming to see the world from the higher education student's point of view (Ashworth & Lucas, 1998, 2000; Marton, 1994) while seeking an alternative understanding regarding thinking and learning (Marton, 1986).

A phenomenographic research focuses on and seeks to understand how a group of people differ qualitatively in ways of experiencing a phenomenon (Collier-Reed, 2009; Linder & Marshall, 2003; Marton & Pong, 2007; Yates, Partridge, & Bruce, 2012), and aims to discern and describe these variations in their conceptions of this specific aspect of the world (Ashworth & Lucas, 2000; Dortins, 2002; Sin, 2010; Svensson, 1997; Tight, 2016). Pang (2003) presents an etymological definition to the word 'phenomenography', and says: "It derives from the Greek words 'phainemenon' and 'graphein', which mean appearance and description, and phenomenography is thus concerned about the description of things as they appear to us" (p.14).

Ference Marton (2015), the most prominent researcher among the developers of phenomenography, explains:

> Phenomenography is about the different meanings of the same things (or about ways of seeing, experiencing and conceptualizing them), where 'things'

> refers to anything that might have different meanings. We can learn about meanings by reading, by solving problems, by seeing, by hearing, by feeling, by moving and so forth. Research findings about different meanings might be grouped together in terms of how these meanings are learned (through perception, communication, immediate experience, conceptual engagement, etc.). (p.106) … In phenomenography we try to describe how the world around us might be seen or experienced. We try to capture ways of seeing and ways of experiencing in terms of dimensions of variation, values, and instances. (p.113) … Phenomenography was initially a descriptive research specialization, aiming at finding powerful categories for characterizing qualitative differences in how the world around us is seen. (p.118)

According to the phenomenographic premises; "the ways of experiencing represent a relationship between the experiencer and the phenomenon being experienced" (Åkerlind, 2005, p.322), and "there is a limited number of ways of experiencing a particular phenomenon and that these ways are logically related to each other" (Kettunen & Tynjälä, 2018, p.3). Hajar (2021) summarizes and lists the main assumptions in phenomenography as such:

i. It should be carried out by considering second-order descriptions (i.e., learners' own accounts of their experiences).
ii. Individuals often experience or understand a specific phenomenon or aspect of reality differently, and thus hold different conceptions of it.
iii. An individual's conceptions can be accessed e.g., verbally or in writing.
iv. A limited number of categories should be used to describe the variations in the experiences of a given phenomenon.
v. The categories of description or ways of experiencing a phenomenon are logically related, typically, hierarchically, from simple to complex.
vi. A phenomenographer needs to consider the aspects of a concept that a participant focuses on, requiring them to bracket any pre-conceived notions and judgments of their own as much as they can. (p.1434)

Ontologically, phenomenography is formed by a non-dualistic point of view to the human experience which puts forward that the human and the aspects of the world are seen in a significant relationship instead of being separate entities from each other (Collier-Reed, 2009; Yates et al., 2012), and that the world is experienced and perceived differently by individuals (Marton, 2000). Therefore, "the object of phenomenographic research is the phenomenon as experienced by individuals rather

than the phenomenon itself" (Kettunen & Tynjälä, 2018, p.3). This non-dualist point of view also determines the researcher's position when interpreting and reporting a data, so "the adoption of a second-order perspective" (Collier-Redd, 2009, p.340; Yates et al., 2012, p.99) is put into practice. Marton (2015) depicts the difference between the first- and second-order perspectives with an example:

> There is a basic distinction that separates phenomenography from what it is not, and this distinction is between first- and second-order perspectives. A statement made from a first-order perspective is a statement about what things are like (e.g. The sun revolves around the Earth). A statement made from a second-order perspective is a statement about what things appear to be (to someone), such as, for instance, Elmer sees the Sun revolving around the Earth. The distinction between the two perspectives is a pragmatic one: arguments about the first kind of statements are about what the Sun and the Earth are doing, and astronomical information is highly relevant; arguments about the second kind of statement are not so much about what the Sun and the Earth are doing, but more about Elmer is doing (perceptually) with the Sun and the Earth; astronomical information is less relevant than information about what Elmer is saying and doing. (p.106)

Through a second-order perspective, a phenomenon is described as the awareness and reflections of research participants on their experiences regarding that particular aspect of the world, not as a set of socio-culturally and academically anticipated descriptions (Hajar, 2021).

Marton (1986) qualifies the phenomenographic descriptions as "relational, experiential, content-oriented, and qualitative" (p. 33), and explains each of these respectively:

> The point of departure in phenomenography is always relational. We deal with the relation between the individual and some specified aspect of the world, or, to state it differently, we try to describe an aspect of the world as it appears to the individual. This means that we adopt an experiential, or what phenomenographers call a "second-order" perspective (Marton, 1981). We do not try to describe things as they are, nor do we discuss whether or not things can be described "as they are"; rather, we try to characterize how things appear to people. After all, human beings do not simply perceive and experience, they perceive and experience things. Therefore, descriptions of perception and experience have to be made in terms of their content. To characterize how something is apprehended, thought about, or perceived is, by definition, a qualitative question. (p.33)

The methodology of phenomenography is not solely relevant with data collection and analysis processes of a study but is pertinent to the entire process of a research study. Sin (2010) states this as such:

> Phenomenography is more than a method for gathering and analyzing data, and reporting findings. It is integral to the overall research. Thus, the consideration of quality in phenomenographic research begins at the outset of the study, from stating the research question(s) and justifying the appropriateness of the phenomenographic method, and at each stage of the research process through to the reporting of findings. (p.312)

Although Marton himself used to label it initially as a method, as this research tradition evolved, he and his colleagues have changed the jargon, and started to characterize it as an 'approach' which targets "identifying, formulating and tackling certain sorts of research questions" (Marton & Booth, 1997, p. 112).

The foci of phenomenography have gradually changed while there have been more research studies done using its methodology. The first developments stemmed from, - and also lead to- change in interest and focus of the researchers. Although the interest for variations in ways of experiencing a phenomena and for general conceptions of learning had been continued, the focus had started to be moved from investigating the learning processes regarding the concepts and principles of course contents in formal education, to describing people's different ways of conceiving various aspects of everyday life (Marton, 1986). The initial concern of phenomenography was quite practical rather than being theoretical about learning (Åkerlind, 2015; Collier-Reed & Ingerman, 2013). On the other hand, there has been an ongoing attempt to specify the methodological processes more clearly which in turn helps to provide a more theoretical basis for the approach (Åkerlind, 2015). This theoretical basis has given rise to the 'new' phenomenography also called as 'variation theory' which opens a broader space "to investigate the significance of variation for possibilities of learning" (Runesson, 2007, p.407), and for "the

pedagogical utilization of phenomenography in the design of educational activities" (Collier-Reed & Ingerman, 2013, p.247).

The phenomenography approach has been mainly used in higher education context which is its birthplace. However, there are also various studies carried out in different contexts of education including but not limited to preschool education, primary and secondary education, adult education and learning, guidance and counseling, and in different disciplines outside of education like nursing and health sciences, information technologies, career development and social work.

To exemplify some of these contexts, we can mention the following studies: first-time mothers' conceptions of prenatal preparation for the early parenthood period (Pålsson, Kvist, Ekelin, Kristensson Hallström, & Persson, 2018), reflections on theory and practice in parent involvement from a phenomenographical perspective (DeMoss & Vaughn, 2000), a phenomenographic study of older adults' experience of home (Dendle, Miller, Buys, & Vine, 2021), phenomenography in the "lived" context of parental learning (Go & Pang, 2021), student teachers' and preschool children's questions about life (Pramling Samuelsson, Johansson, Davidsson, & Fors, 2000), women social workers' different ways of understanding learning in anti-violence work (Alexander, 2011), career practitioners' conceptions of social media (Kettunen, 2017), applying phenomenography in nursing research (Sjöström & Dahlgren, 2002), the efficacy of phenomenography as a cross-cultural methodology for educational research (Willis, 2018), applying phenomenography in guidance and counselling research (Kettunen & Tynjälä, 2018), and exploring information experiences through phenomenography (Yates et al., 2012).

3.2.1 Phenomenography vs. phenomenology

When the word ‘phenomenography’ is pronounced, phenomenology is most of the times the first thing which comes to people’s mind, for those who are one-way or another concerned with qualitative research methodologies but not familiar with phenomenography.

The fact is that the two approaches are not a subbranch of each other although they have similarities. Phenomenological research studies are relational, experiential, contextual, and qualitative as this is the case for phenomenographic studies as well (Marton, 1986). However, there is a fundamental distinction between the two as Marton (1986) states:

> While phenomenographers try to characterize the variations of experience, for phenomenologists the essence of experience usually is interpreted as that which is common to different forms of experience. … For example, contemplate the question, “What is common to all different colors?” or, to put it another way, “What is the essence of color?”. The only thing that is inevitable about color is that it is seen on the surface of objects. Thus, the essence of color is that it is an extension of a surface. The essence of objects and our experience of them is arrived at through what is called imaginative variation. What remains constant, in spite of the variation, is the essence. (p.41)

To reveal the empirical meaning of carrying out a phenomenological and a phenomenographic study on a shared topic, Larsson and Holmström (2007) conducted an interesting comparative study where they use the data of a phenomenographic study on how anesthesiologists understand their work (Larsson et al., 2003, cited in Larsson & Holmström, 2007), and they compared and discussed the results from the phenomenographical and phenomenological analysis of the same interview data. Within the phenomenological analysis, they studied the essence of being an anesthesiologist which provided descriptions and a better grasp for being an anesthesiologist; on the other hand through phenomenographic analysis, they studied

anesthesiologists' different ways of experiencing or making sense of their work. So, this shows that -despite their commonalities- these two methodologies have different goals and research processes which cannot be replaced with each other, and these different processes lead to differences in findings.

3.2.2 Validity and reliability issues in phenomenography

The general procedures to inspect credibility for quantitative research are mostly not appropriate for qualitative research however the need to evaluate its rigor is stable (Sin, 2010). Sin (2010) puts forward three main problematic aspects about objectivity in the qualitative research as the most questioned issue: the reciprocal influence between the researcher and the subjects of the study, the relationship between the researcher and the phenomenon to be studied, and the risk of subjectivity in interpretation of research data.

To overcome the potential biased effects of the above three aspects regarding the objectivity of the researcher, Sin (2010) suggests the concept of 'reflexivity', and describes that:

> Reflexivity is when a researcher identifies his or her own preconceptions that are being brought into the research at the outset and then systematically questions at each stage of the research process as to how to minimize the effects and whether the effects have been sufficiently dealt with. The researcher should document fully and explicitly each stage of the research process so that readers can make a judgment. (p.310)

It can be said that reflexivity is important both for validity and reliability issues of a qualitative research.

3.2.2.1 Validity

Validity in research simply means the internal consistency of the object of study, data, and findings (Sin, 2010). Åkerlind (2005) describes it as follows: "The extent to which a study is seen as investigating what it aimed to investigate, or the degree to which the research findings actually reflect the phenomenon being studied." (p.330). However, "a phenomenographic researcher asks not how well their research outcomes correspond to the phenomenon as it exists in 'reality', but how well they correspond to human experience of the phenomenon." (Uljens, 1996, cited in Åkerlind, 2005, p.330).

When studying conceptions, phenomenographic researchers use interview as an ordinary tool to access to people's conceptions, but this reliance on 'contextual' interviews has been always critiqued because of the potential differences between the language and the meaning in interview data (Sin, 2010). Marton (2015) points this issue while depicting the potential attitudes of research participants:

> Research on what the world looks like to others can be found within many specializations (hermeneutics, empirical phenomenology, anthropology, history of ideas, etc.) Much of what is discovered about people's ways of seeing the world around them originates from what the participants say that they see. There is always some uncertainty with the analysis of what people say, as their validity is contingent on the intentions of the people observed: Perhaps they meant something completely different from what the researcher thought they meant, perhaps they were just pretending, perhaps they just had stomach problems during the interview, perhaps they wanted to please the interviewer, or they wanted to appear in a certain way. (p.114).

To evaluate the validity of a phenomenographic research, there are two types of validity procedures: communicative and pragmatic validity (Åkerlind, 2005; Hajar, 2021; Kettunen & Tynjälä, 2018). Communicative validity is the "accurate description of the procedures" (Kettunen & Tynjälä, 2018, p.8) for "an open dialogue with the participants themselves, other members of the professional community and the audience of the research outcomes" (Hajar, 2021, p. 1431). The second type,

pragmatic validity is the “meaningfulness of the results for the intended audience” (Kettunen & Tynjälä, 2018, p.8).

3.2.2.2 Reliability

A general definition for reliability is “the extent in which the findings of a study can be replicated” (Sin, 2010, p.310) however this concept of reliability cannot be valid for qualitative research because the social contexts and conditions in which the research studies have been conducted are constantly changing (Sin, 2010). On the other hand, the researchers in qualitative research play a significant role in data analysis since an inevitable relationship is built between the research data and the researchers through their own backgrounds, therefore replicability of findings is not a necessity in phenomenography and not purely possible (Cope, 2004).

The object of study in phenomenographic research is the relationship between the participants and the phenomenon of interest (see Figure 1.1). There is also a relationship between the researcher and the phenomenon which means that the researchers have their own way to see and interpret the phenomenon, and a relationship between the researcher and the participant (can also be seen in Figure 1.1) (Bowden, 2005).

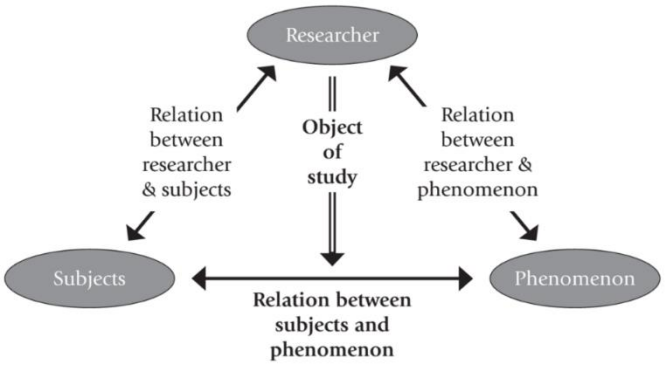

Figure 1 Phenomenographic relationality (Bowden, 2005, p.13)

There is a necessity to keep the focus of the researchers on the object of the study which is the relationship between the participant and the phenomenon, to minimize their subjective interpretations during the interview, analysis, and reporting processes (Bowden, 2005). There are two approaches which the researchers may follow to meet that necessity, and to display the reliability of their phenomenographic findings: interjudge reliability and interpretative awareness. Some phenomenographic researchers place importance to interjudge reliability (Cope, 2000; Marton, 1986, 1994) whereas some others consider it as unnecessary, and even inappropriate (Sandbergh, 1997; Sin, 2010).

3.2.2.3 Interpretative awareness vs. interjudge reliability

Interjudge reliability, which can also be called as 'interjudge communicability' (Cope, 2004) is an indicator of the extent to how one or more researchers can recognize the categories of description discovered by the original researcher by reading and classifying the same data against the categories of descriptions already identified (Sandberg, 1997). In this sense, higher agreement means higher reliability of the research findings (Sandberg, 1997)

This definition of Sandberg (1997) excludes the practice of coder reliability check "where two researchers independently code all or a sample of interview transcripts and compare categorizations" (Åkerlind, 2005, p.331); and approaches more to the practice of dialogic reliability check "where agreement between researchers is reached through discussion and mutual critique of the data and of each researcher's interpretive hypotheses" (Åkerlind, 2005, p.331).

Marton (1986) explains this distinction between the two practices by emphasizing on the discovery aspect of phenomenography and favoring the second as follows:

> The original finding of the categories of description is a form of discovery, and discoveries do not have to be replicable. On the other hand, once the categories have been found, it must be possible to reach a high degree of intersubjective agreement. (p.35)

However, methodological and theoretical developments of phenomenography through many studies have brought some counterarguments regarding the reliability issues. For example, Sandberg (1997) considers interjudge reliability as an undependable technique to build reliability in phenomenographic findings because it ignores the researcher's own elaborative research and analysis process to reach the participants' conceptions to be studied.

The presence of the counterarguments against interjudge reliability does not mean that a phenomenographic research process is free from the liability to be evaluated regarding its reliability. For this purpose, and to signify the inevitability of researcher‘s voice in reporting findings (Sin, 2010), interpretative awareness is introduced to replace with the practice of interjudge reliability.

Interpretative awareness is that the researchers are accepting, willing to deal with, and monitoring their subjectivity during the whole process of data collection and analysis (Cope, 2004; Sandberg, 1997). In this manner, "reliability is not concerned with the replicability of results, but with the employment of thorough and appropriate methodological procedures to achieve faithful interpretations of participants' experiences of a given phenomenon" (Hajar, 2021, p.1433), which means that the research process as a whole is the focus according to this understanding of reliability check rather than the findings in isolation.

From this point of view, “researchers document and explain clearly and in detail how they have practiced interpretative awareness so that the reader can make a judgment about the research process and assess the reliability of the findings” (Sin, 2010, p.311).

There is also another term which can be thought and treated together with interpretative awareness as a ‘measure’ of research reliability: bracketing. Bracketing as a researcher’s attitude and act means the researchers’ efforts for being away from their assumptions as much as possible to reach a correct and unbiased understanding and descriptions of the participants’ way of experiences on the particular phenomenon of the study. (Ashworth & Lucas, 1998, 2000; Hajar, 2021). Ashworth and Lucas (2000) submit some kinds of presupposition that must be bracketed as follows: “Importing earlier research findings; assuming pre-given theoretical structures or particular interpretations; presupposing the investigator’s personal knowledge and belief; assuming, prior to acquaintance with the nature of the experience itself, specific research techniques; the researcher’s concern to uncover the `cause’ of certain forms of student experience” (p.298).

It won’t be wrong to say that a researcher needs to perform ‘bracketing’ not only for (and during) interpreting the research data, but during the whole process of the research including (but not limited to) making a research literature search and review, formulizing the research questions, and determining / organizing the steps of the study.

3.3 Sample

In this section, the sampling approach in phenomenography and the sample of the current study are explained respectively.

3.3.1 Sampling in phenomenography

In phenomenography, the focus is not the phenomenon itself but the relationship between the participant and the phenomenon, therefore the participants of a phenomenographic study, before anything else, must be among the ones who have a direct experience on that particular aspect of the world during the process of data collection (Collier-Reed & Ingerman, 2013; Yates et al., 2012).

As being similar to other qualitative research studies, the prevalent sample selection approach followed by phenomenographic studies is purposeful sampling (Yates et al., 2012) which aims "the identification and selection of information-rich cases related to the phenomenon of interest" (Palinkas et al., 2013, p.533).

More specifically regarding the sample selection procedures in phenomenography, 'maximum variation sampling' as a purposeful sampling strategy is widely used. As Palinkas et al. (2013) stated, with this strategy of selecting the participants with maximum variation, "unique or diverse variations that have emerged in adapting to different conditions" (p.534) can be documented, and "important common patterns that cut across variations" can be identified (p.534).

After the clarification of the general characteristics of the potential interviewees and the sample selection strategy, the next and final issue is the sample size which means the number of participants to be interviewed. According to Trigwell (2000), 15 to 20 interviewees are most probably sufficient for a phenomenographic data analysis. Actually, there is no restriction – lower or upper limit- regarding the sample size, however it is expected that mainly two factors are to be considered when deciding for the sample size. Firstly, the data acquired through interviews need to provide sufficient input to reveal variation in ways of experiences, and secondly, the amount of the data to be analyzed needs to be manageable

(Kettunen & Tynjälä, 2018; Trigwell, 2000; Sin, 2010). This means that too small and too large sample sizes would be not an appropriate choice and decision for a phenomenographic study. Sandberg (2000) mentions in her study a third possible approach for determining sample size which is data saturation and means that the researcher continues to collect data until no new related conceptions are being recognized by the researcher from the utterances of interviewees.

3.3.2 Sample of the study

The sample of the study consists of 20 women who are mothers with various characteristics like age, educational level, working status, and number of children. In addition to that, five women in total (2+3) participated in the pilot studies before the main study. When specifying the participants of the study, age, educational level, and working status (working, non-working) of the women, and number of children they have were the characteristics to be considered, and these were tried to be selected as diverse. However, instead of maximum variation sampling -although it is widely used in phenomenography-, I used criterion sampling strategy as another purposeful sampling method by determining some shared criteria for the potential participants which, in turn, excluded some probable variations in the sample.

I have considered the heterogeneity in the sample as a fruitful source for the scope of this phenomenographic study since my aim is to reveal the variations in conceptions and reflections on women's learning on becoming mother, however I was also thinking about determining some other shared characteristics in addition to be a mother to ensure that the participants would have a relationship with the phenomenon -here becoming mother- in a mutual context according to some extent.

Thus, the major ‘determinants’ which may be directly effective on mothering perception and practice were kept constant, and before starting to reach the participants of the study to be interviewed, some shared characteristics for the potential participants on the availability of the father in the house and the age of children have been set with the suggestion and approval of the PhD supervisory committee. According to these delimitations/requirements, to be eligible for being a participant in the study:

- The participant has to live with the father of her child in the same house (marriage status was not specifically important since being officially married does not always meet this criterion – however all the participants were married)
- The child or smallest child of the participant has to be at least 2 years old.
- The child or at least one of the participant’s children has to be between the ages of 2-6.

The shared -or supposed to be shared- role of raising a child with the father in the same household, and the comparatively more exhausting physical and psychological efforts while taking care of a baby in her first years of life would affect the way of experiencing ‘to become a mother’ (e.g. Nomaguchi et al., 2017; Nyström & Öhrling, 2004). In the same way, parenting an older child in school age and further (here older than six years of age) whose needs, demands and capabilities are highly different than a younger one would also lead to a structural difference in the perception of the woman through moving -in one respect- away from the experience of ‘becoming mother’ to ‘being a mother’.

Because of the aforementioned prudence, those three features were required for all the participants to make the collected data more manageable to discuss and to

reach a more framed conclusion which may also lead to open a space to deliberate the phenomenon of ‘becoming mother’ in regards of the ‘unrepresented’.

To reach the participants of the study, convenient sampling strategies were used. 10 of the 20 women in the sample were reached through a university campus preschool in Istanbul where I was working as the educational coordinator during the data collection period. I sent e-mails to 14 eligible mothers whose children were enrolled in the campus preschool, including the information of the study, the consent form, and my invitation to participate in the study. 12 mothers stated that they were willing to participate, however with two of them we couldn’t meet because of time conflicts.

I wanted to balance the numbers of participants from each educational level to inspect the variations in conceptions on becoming mother and reflections on their learning experiences, so I needed to interview with more women who are primary and middle school graduates. Seven women with lower educational level were reached with the support of a preschool teacher in a public primary school in a low socio-economic neighborhood of Istanbul. They were among the parents of the children in her classroom. I got in touch with the teacher through a friend of mine. The teacher delivered my invitation to participate in my study to the eligible mothers in her classroom, and 11 mothers stated that they would like to participate. From 11 mothers, interviews were held with seven mothers due to reasons like their children’s illnesses and time conflicts. Three women were reached through an instructor at mother education program of AÇEV (MOCEF - Mother-Child Education Foundation). She mentioned the study to some of her participants, and three mothers stated that they would like to participate. The details about demographic characteristics of the sample were presented in the Chapter 4.

3.4 Data collection

In this part, firstly general knowledge is given on data collection processes in phenomenography with an emphasis on interviews as a data collection method. Secondly, the data collection procedure for this study is explained regarding the pilot studies, constitution of interview questions, and conducting the interviews.

3.4.1 Data collection in phenomenography

In phenomenographic studies, data are collected through various ways like focus groups, written responses, observations, and drawings, however individual, audio recorded, and face-to-face semi-structured interviews with a small sample size are the most typical data collection method (Collier-Reed & Ingerman, 2013; Kettunen & Tynjälä, 2018; Marton, 1994; Tight, 2016; Walsh, 2000). The aim of phenomenographic interviews is to investigate "the lived experiences of interviewees and their conceptual meanings of the phenomenon of interest" (Sin, 2010, p. 313), and "the focus of the conversation between the interviewee and the interviewer is to unfold the lived experience of the interviewee regarding the target phenomenon" (Go & Pang, 2021, p.7).

There are some strong suggestions regarding the quality of interview questions which are "to be designed to provide data which will help establish critical variation in a group of participants' ways of experiencing a phenomenon" (Cope, 2004, p.13). First of all, the pre-determined questions need to be few in number (Ashworth and Lucas, 2000; Collier-Reed & Ingerman, 2013; Hajar, 2021; Marton, 1994) and open-ended (Ashworth & Lucas, 2000; Kettunen & Tynjälä, 2018; Marton, 1994; Yates et al., 2012). Marton (1994) suggests that the first question to start may directly point the main phenomenon to be studied.

Beside that the interview guideline has a somewhat structured and pre-planned part which helps the interviewer to keep the interviewees focus around the research topic, the interviewer has also to facilitate that the interviewees reflect more freely and deeply on their experiences through the open-ended questions (Kettunen & Tynjälä, 2018). Through this freely and deeply reflection process, another concern emerges regarding the meaning of the expressions. Sometimes the utterances of the interviewees need to be clarified by the interviewer to reach a mutual meaning with the use of follow up questions. While asking follow-up questions, interviewers should be cautious about not prompting the interviewees for certain responses, and they have to be aware of their assumptions about the phenomenon of the study during the whole interview (Kettunen & Tynjälä, 2018).

Actually, the process of interviewing cannot avoid, even requires the dialogical relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee (Marton, 1994). Moreover, the case in phenomenographic interviews is that, “the experiences, understandings, are jointly constituted by interviewer and interviewee” (Marton, 1994, p. 4428), and this interview process has to “facilitate the thematization of aspects of the subject's experience not previously thematized” (ibid). This approach carries the risk to have an impact on participants’ expressions even without noticing it. Sin (2010) stated some practical cautions of the interviewer to minimize the effect on the utterances of the participants. Interviewers need to make the intended meanings in the utterances of participants to be disclosed by follow-up questions (not leading questions) without making any quick assumptions; they need to avoid to add new concepts regarding the topic, to correct interviewee’s expressions, to show any signs of agreement or disagreement; the interviewees need to have necessary time to express themselves to answer a question, and they need to be felt to be listened to

and understood by the interviewer (Sin, 2010). The following is an example of a follow-up question which Sin (2010) gives in her article:

> *Interviewee:* Accountants work in very different industries, tax, audit, corporate accounting . . . If you ask me what accounting is, I'll say, it's a human science.
>
> *Interviewer:* Human science, what does it mean?" (p. 313)

Having a similar perspective with Marton (1994) about the dialogical relationship between the interview and interviewees, Ashworth and Lucas (2000) describes the interview as "a conversational partnership in which the interviewer assists a process of reflection" (p.302), and (interviewer) needs to:

> engage in empathic listening to hear meanings, interpretations, and understandings; consciously silence his or her concerns, preoccupations and judgements; and use prompts to pursue/clarify the participant's own line of reflection and allow the participant to elaborate, provide incidents, clarifications and, maybe, to discuss events at length. (p.302, 303)

Anderberg, Svensson, Alvegård, and Johansson (2008) recommends following another systematic interview pathway named "the intentional-expressive approach" to overcome the misunderstandings regarding the 'meaning' of interviewee utterances. Intentional-expressive approach opens space for interviewees "to reflect on and confirm the intended meanings in the expressions that they have used" (Sin, 2010, p.310). Anderberg et al. (2008) presents the three steps for applying the approach during an interview:

i. Starting with describing the problem and a question about that problem and providing time to the interviewees to reflect on their conceptions regarding the problem.
ii. Asking for elaborations and clarifications for some main expressions of the interviewees
iii. Concluding the interview by re-asking the first question

To sum up, the qualitative and dialogical interview processes in phenomenography give the participants voice to reflect on their diverse way of experiences which have not been reflected before, or at least not thematized, and through objective and clarifying attempts of the interviewers with appropriate interviewing strategies, the intended meanings are being revealed, understood by the researcher, and become ready to be used for uncovering the variation in participants' conceptions.

3.4.2 Data collection procedure of the study

In this part, information regarding the pilot study, the interview protocol as the data collection instrument of this study, and interviewing procedures is given.

3.4.2.1 Pilot study

Pilot study was carried out in two phases. In the first phase, the preliminary version of semi-structured interview protocol was applied with two participants in January 2015. One participant was an academician with doctoral degree, 41 years old, divorced, and has a six-year-old son. The duration of the interview was 1 hour 29 minutes. The other participant for the first phase of the pilot study was an instructor with a master's degree, 35 years old, married, and has a three-year-old son. The duration of this interview was 2 hours 10 minutes (see Table 1).

The second version of the interview protocol which was very close to the final version was applied to three participants in November 2017 (the long period between the two pilot studies is due to personal reasons). The details of the development of the interview protocol are given in the next section.

Table 1. Characteristics of the Interviewees in the First Pilot Study

	Age	Education	Occupation	No. of children	Age of children	Marriage status
Pilot 1	41	PhD	academician	1	6	divorced
Pilot 2	35	Master's	preschool educator	1	3	married

First participant for the second phase of the pilot study was an academician with a doctoral degree, 37 years old, married, and has a two-year-old daughter. The duration of this interview was 57 minutes. Second participant was a preschool teacher with a bachelor's degree, 30 years old, married, and has two sons, one is three, the other is seven years old. The duration of this interview was 51 minutes. Third participant was an engineer (quitted working when pregnant), 46 years old, married, and has a 11 year old daughter. The duration of this interview was 58 minutes (see Table 2).

Table 2. Characteristics of the Interviewees in the First Second Pilot Study

	Age	Education	Occupation	No. of children	Age of children	Marriage status
Pilot 3	37	PhD	academician	1	2	married
Pilot 4	30	Bachelor's	preschool teacher	2	3-7	married
Pilot 5	46	Bachelor's	engineer (quitted work after the child)	1	11	married

For all the interviews conducted for the pilot study, the subjects were reached through convenient sampling. All of them were the researcher's acquaintances (friend, colleagues, co-worker).

There were two main functions of the pilot study. The first was the inspection if the "meanings" of the questions intended by the researcher were perceived as the same by the interviewees so that interviewees can express their understanding of the

phenomenon clearly. The second function of the pilot study was to provide the researcher who was the sole interviewer of this study with the opportunity to make a self-evaluation on her interviewing performance and skills.

Lastly, it is important to note that the pilot interview data were not used in the analyses.

3.4.2.2 Interview questions

When working on the first version of interview questions, the main sources were the available research literature on motherhood, my experiences with mothers as a preschool and adult educator, and my -at that time- tentative research questions. I also had consulted with an adult education specialist specifically experienced in women studies as expert opinion. During that period, the methodological orientation of the study was not very clear, therefore there were no clear considerations regarding the rapport and consistency between the questions and phenomenography.

The first version of interview questions was revised by taking into consideration the first pilot interviews, the clarified research questions and research methodology which is phenomenography. It was recognized that some of the question sentences are very long, some of those having a significant potential to direct the participants for a certain response, and there were unnecessary questions which were actually out of context for the scope of this study.

After this, I applied for consent for my research to the Social Sciences Institute Sub-Committee of Boğaziçi University Ethical Committee on Ethical Conduct in Research with Human Participants. After revising the application and giving more detail regarding the sampling procedure of the study as they requested

after they evaluated my application, I received the necessary consent to conduct my study with my revised application (see Appendix A).

After the second pilot study, the interview questions were finalized for the main study through some suggestions and afterwards approval of my PhD supervisory committee with minimal changes while not changing the meaning of the questions, but mainly simplifying the wording, and neutralizing the -still- 'leading' character of some questions.

In the Table 3, the main differences and similarities between the three versions of interview questions can be viewed:

Table 3. The Main Differences and Similarities Between the Three Versions of Interview Questions

First Version	Second Version	Third (Final) Version
12 questions + 3 sub-questions Longer question sentences Including questions about conceptions on "father" and "child" Lots of leading questions	10 questions Shorter question sentences No questions about conceptions on "father" and "child" Less leading questions	10 questions Shorter question sentences No questions about conceptions on "father" and "child" Almost no leading questions
5 questions are quite similar in three versions		

To provide a self-reflection space to the participants to discern and express their own ways of experiencing the phenomenon of becoming mother, interview questions of the study (see Appendix B for English version, and Appendix C for original Turkish version) were about: the meaning of becoming mother, the possible change in women's perspectives on conceiving motherhood before and after being a mother, the ways of learning mothering, the potential influences of the process of becoming mother on the women themselves, extended family, larger society, and working life,

the similarities and differences between the women's mothering and their mothers' mothering, the potential differences between women's aspired and in-practice mothering, and also between the expected mothering from them and their in-practice or aspired mothering, and women's reflections on that interviewing experience.

3.4.2.3 Main study

After reaching the final format of the interview questions, I started to conduct the interviews with ten participants by scheduling, and sometimes re-scheduling the meeting time when needed, and deciding for the interviewing place (as much as convenient for specific participants). For the remaining ten participants, the persons who supported me to arrange these participants scheduled the time and determined the places for interviews according to the participants' and my availability.

The places where I conducted the interviews are: my office in the university campus preschool, another available room in the campus preschool, outdoor area of the university campus, participant's office/workplace, available classroom in the (other) preschool, and two different cafes. In each of the settings, maximum attention was paid for providing the participants with a confidential space where no one can hear our conversations. The only exceptions for this might have been the cafe settings, however the participants there were feeling comfortable about the place, and they seemed indifferent about other people's presence in the surroundings.

In the beginning of each interview, before I start to ask my predetermined interview questions, I was introducing myself and my research with a few sentences to the participants so as to encourage them to openly and without hesitation reflect on their experiences. As Ashworth and Lucas (2000) states that:

> The research interviews have to be introduced to the interviewee as being 'about' something. … The researcher and researched must begin with some

> kind of (superficially) shared topic, verbalised in terms which they both recognise as meaningful. If we tried to bracket this, the conversation would be directionless. (p.299)

All the participants read and signed the consent form (see Appendix D for English version, and Appendix E for original Turkish version) I submitted to them, and I also provided them with a copy of the consent form.

The average duration of the interviews was 51 minutes whereas the shortest one was 17 minutes, and the longest one was 1 hour 47 minutes.

By trying to follow an intentional-expressive approach (Anderberg, 2008), and with an effort to 'bracket' (Ashworth & Lucas, 2000) my presuppositions on the phenomenon of the study, semi-structured face-to-face interviews with 20 women were conducted to get their narratives on the lived experiences regarding the phenomenon of 'becoming mother'. All the interviews were audio-recorded with the consent of the participants.

3.5 Data analysis

In this part, first, a general knowledge about data analysis in phenomenography is given, and secondly, the data analysis procedure of this study is explained in detail.

3.5.1 Data analysis in phenomenography

The purpose in phenomenographic data analysis is to reveal different conceptions of the participants on the phenomenon of the study by treating the data collectively with a focus on the variations across the whole data (Sin, 2010; Tight, 2016).

Interviews which are conducted for a phenomenographic study are usually audio-recorded, and verbatim transcriptions of the interview records are made after the interviewing process (Åkerlind, 2005; Marton, 1986, 1994). Accurate

transcription is very important because “the oral language of an interview is decontextualized into the written word, (and) the transcripts need to accurately capture how a person has reflected over their experience of a phenomenon during the interview” (Kvale, 1996 cited in Collier-Reed & Ingerman, 2013, p. 251)

Although there are different phenomenographic analysis procedures followed by researchers, some shared premises and principles exist. For example, it is indisputable that the process of data analysis in phenomenography is an iterative - rather than sequential - process which requires to evaluate the data from different perspectives at different times by reading and re-reading the transcripts, sorting and resorting the data, and by coding-revision-recoding (Åkerlind, 2005; Sin, 2010), and each step in the analysis may have implications for next as well as the preceding steps, as Marton (1994) mentions. Moreover, the researchers of phenomenographic studies have to be open minded, bracket any of their assumptions about the phenomenon of interest, and avoid reaching a conclusion regarding the categories of description too rapidly (Kettunen & Tynjälä, 2018).

The amount of the transcribed data to be analyzed is most of the times very large, and there is a need to make this data manageable for both not to lose meaning from the interviews, and for making the best use of the data. Marton (1994) identifies some steps for this target which can also be considered as common steps of phenomenographic analysis: One and the first step is to reduce the data through eliminating the irrelevant parts from the transcription (this act can be repeated throughout the analysis) and another step is to identify different ways of experiences by contrasting the excerpts in terms of the similarities and differences in their meanings, and to bringing them together in (as Marton calls it) pool of meaning which “derives from what all the participants have said about the same thing”

(p.4427). Collier-Reed and Ingerman (2013) consider the pool of meaning as "a collection of fragments from all the interviews that refer to an experience of the phenomenon in question, and forms the starting point for further analysis" (p.251).

Once the pool of meaning is formed, the focus of the researcher is no longer on the individual transcriptions, and a gradual differentiation is started among the utterances in the pool of meaning where they are grouped together into different categories according to their similarities through an interpretative effort (Marton, 1986). Marton (1986) describes this process like this:

> quotes are sorted into piles, borderline cases are examined, and eventually the criterion attributes for each group are made explicit. In this way, the groups of quotes are arranged and rearranged, are narrowed into categories, and finally are defined in terms of core meanings, on the one hand, and borderline cases on the other. Each category is illustrated by quotes from the data. … As the meanings of categories begin to form, those meanings determine which quotes should be included and which should be excluded from specific categories. The process is tedious, time-consuming, labor-intensive, and interactive. It entails the continual sorting and re-sorting of data. Definitions for categories are tested against the data, adjusted, retested, and adjusted again. There is, however, a decreasing rate of change, and eventually the whole system of meanings is stabilized. (p.43)

Marton and Booth (1997) put forward three criteria when evaluating the quality of 'emerged' categories of description:

i. Each category which is in explicit relation to the phenomenon of the study points a distinct way of experiencing it.
ii. There should be a logical and frequently hierarchical relationship between the categories.
iii. The number of the categories should be as few as reasonable for introducing the variation in the data.

Thus, phenomenographic analysis reaches to a set of qualitatively different but hierarchically related categories of description and these are "the researcher's abstractions of the different ways the phenomenon can be understood" (Larsson &

Holmström, 2007, p. 56) which are not set by the researcher in advance, but appears through the data via the relationship between the data and the researcher (Åkerlind, 2005; Kettunen & Tynjälä, 2018). On the other hand, the 'expected' hierarchical relationship between the categories of description does not have a value-based quantitative structure, essentially it points to an inclusive relationship between the categories (Åkerlind, Bowden, & Green, 2005) which Kettunen and Tynjälä (2018) names as 'nested' hierarchy (p.4).

There is an argument on emergence of categories of description about whether categories of description are being constructed or discovered by the researcher. If the categories are assumed to be constructed, this means that the relationship between the data and the researcher gets ahead of the relationship between the phenomenon and the interviewee which results in integration of the researcher's point of view in categories (Walsh, 2000). Conversely, if the categories of description are assumed to be discovered in the data, this means that the categories are grounded in the data to be discovered by the researcher because the phenomenographic data analysis uses the data as it is with all its aspects by focusing the relationship between the phenomenon and the interviewee (Walsh, 2000).

When forming categories of description, sorting data is not enough, yet identifying the structurally distinctive features discovered in the data is also needed (Kettunen & Tynjälä, 2018; Marton, 1986). In the meantime, alongside forming the categories of description, investigating a structural relationship between the categories is also required (Åkerlind et al., 2005), and when presenting this relationship, there are two aspects which should be looked for and identified during data analysis to interpret the way of experiences of the participants (Sin, 2010): the referential aspect and the structural aspect.

The referential aspect is “the particular meaning or label assigned to the experience” (Yates et al., 2012, p.101) and the structural aspect is “the specific combination of features that have been discerned and focused on” (Marton & Pong, 2007, p. 335). Hajar (2021) defines the two as such: “The referential aspect focuses on what is being experienced; it describes what the phenomenon means in everyday language. The structural component refers to how an individual thinks about the phenomenon; it describes a deeper level of phenomenal understanding” (p. 1424).

In addition to this, ‘dimensions of variation’ which “corresponds to the critical aspects of the phenomenon as experienced by the ‘experiencer’” (Pang, 2003, p.146) is another important concept in phenomenographic analysis -especially in new phenomenography- which can be considered together with the referential and structural aspects. Åkerlind (2005a) states that dimensions of variation and – as she calls- themes of expanding awareness “mark aspects of the similarity and difference between the categories, and thus between different ways of experiencing the phenomenon, and allow the inclusive relationships between the categories to be elaborated. These relationships mark the structure of the outcome space.” (Åkerlind, 2005a, p.145). In this way, she put emphasis on the function in constituting the outcome space which is the overall exhibition of the findings of the phenomenographic study mainly though schematic diagrams.

The data analysis process in phenomenography is iterative rather than being sequential, however, there have been attempts to clarify and name the steps of it, although, the number and extent of the steps have varied. Sjöstörm and Dahlgren (2002) introduce Dahlgren and Fallsberg’s (1991) seven-steps analysis which I also tried to follow in this study to a great extent because this is a more detailed guide when comparing with others, and this can be summarized as such:

i. Familiarization: the researcher is introduced to the empirical material by repeated reading through the transcripts. The familiarization phase is also necessary for correcting errors in the transcripts.
ii. Compilation: identification of significant elements in answers from all interviewees to a certain question/experience.
iii. Condensation (or reduction): of the individual answers to find the central parts of longer answers or a dialogue.
iv. Preliminary grouping: classification of similar answers.
v. Preliminary comparison of categories: establishing borders between the categories (possible and potential revision of the preliminary groups).
vi. Naming the categories to emphasize their essence.
vii. A contrastive comparison of categories: a description of the unique character of every category as well as a description of resemblances between categories, and forming the outcome space

3.5.2 Data analysis of the study

When the first ten interviews were completed, I made the verbatim transcriptions of these interviews, and a preliminary analysis were carried out to start to see the emerging categories, and to present these to the PhD supervisory committee. However, for personal reasons, I did not continue to conduct the next interviews right after the first ten interviews, and the preliminary analysis. There is about one year in between to start again to conduct interviews, and during this second phase the interviewing process came to an end through the next (and last) ten interviews.

Åkerlind et al. (2005) mentions John Bowden's view (a prominent phenomenographer) about when to start phenomenographic analysis as such:

> John Bowden argues strongly that the phenomenographic analysis should not begin until all of the interview transcripts are ready for reading as a whole. This view is based on the need to keep the nature of the interview constant throughout all interviews. He suggests that if analysis occurs in parallel with further interviewing there is a danger that the interviews will be altered in some way, either explicitly or unconsciously. (p. 91)

I have come across with this passage long after I finished the interviews, however it was a relief that I unknowingly followed a reasonable path by leaving quite a lot of time between the preliminarily analyzed interviews and the following ones, which in turn, might have served to minimize the potential effect mentioned above by Åkerlind et al. (2005).

After the 20 interviews were completed, I started everything from the beginning regarding the data analysis and included the first ten interviews to the analysis process as if there had not been any analysis trial with those before.

Verbatim transcription of the audio records of interviews were completed by me (the first ten interviews had been already transcribed for the preliminary analysis however I also added those to re-listening and re-reading process). Dortins (2002) identifies the transcription process as a bridge between interview and data analysis, so it was a conscious choice to carry out all the transcription myself and build that "bridge" personally.

I want to give some more details about transcription process. To ease the transcription's physical and time-consuming load to some extent, I decided to use a voice-to-text application (Web Speech API by Google) but because of the various talking speed, articulations and the word accents in the voice records of the interviews, it seemed that there would be an unusual need to correct the transcribed text. However, I was still thinking that it would be more practical than starting/stopping the record innumerable times, and trying to write at the same time, so I came up with a solution. With the help of a headphone, I started to play the

audio records, listen to as long pieces as I could articulate with my voice afterwards as clear as possible. In this way, there were much less incorrect parts in transcription. The 20 interviews had lasted 16 hours 43 minutes in total, and the length of the whole transcriptions were 165 pages (Times New Roman, 12 point, single space).

Once the whole interview records had been transcribed as explained above, I listened to all records from beginning to end, checked the transcriptions, made the necessary corrections simultaneously, and took notes myself if there was anything which might change the meaning in particular utterances at all like sarcasm, allusion., etc.

I can say that the data analysis process had already started during this transcription process explained above because I became very familiar with the data, had a better grasp in understanding the contexts of each interview, and started to build connections between the research questions of the study and data utterances. It won't be wrong if I name this process as "the preparatory phase" of the data analysis.

For analyzing the data, I used MAXQDA (Plus 2020) as a qualitative research software. After the transcriptions finished, I transferred all the transcriptions to the MAXQDA, then started and continued to work with the data through that software till the end of the data analysis.

The first phase of the analysis involved the constitution of categories of description which refer to participants' different conceptions on becoming mother, and way of reflections on their learning experiences in becoming mother.

At first, 821 excerpts from the whole 20 transcriptions were loosely sorted under 286 codes according to their -first noticed- meanings mostly by in-vivo coding to have a general collective view of the analysis data, so they formed the "pool of meaning" in Ference Marton's (1986, 1994) terms. Here, the responses to interview

questions have not been analyzed one by one in transcriptions, however a whole interview transcription was handled as if it were an answer to a single question so that I opened a freer coding sphere for myself.

Respectively, I re-read all of the 821 excerpts within their 286 codes, and finally 508 excerpts which were considered as more related with the two research questions were selected and the rest were separated but kept for not losing the context of the interviews, and to turn back to look at in the end of the study for discussing the findings. Then, the selected 508 excerpts were re-read, grouped by being brought together according to their similarities or inclusiveness and re-grouped several times, and during these re-groupings, some uniting upper categories begun to emerge. These were the first draft of categories of description for two research question of the study (see Tables 4 and 5).

After a brief hiatus of around five months to the data analysis, I went back to the data and inspect the last version of categories, sub-categories, many excerpts under these, and reached to the second draft of categories with many changes (see Tables 4 and 5).

After completion of each draft (first and second), I introduced my progress in the analysis to my PhD supervisory committee with definitions, illustrative excerpts, and my reasoning for those categories, and with their questions, comments and suggestions regarding re-viewing my data, I continued to the next step in the analysis.

After introducing the second draft to my supervisory committee, and got their comments and suggestions, I waited about a month to turn back to the data for reaching the final version of categories of description, then I re-read the whole raw data (the interview transcription) entirely, and checked if there were overlooked data

which had not been coded, or if there were any data which I might have contextually misinterpreted. During the transitions between the main two drafts and the final version of categories of description, there were also many other tiny draft changes which were not mentioned here in detail. This iterative categorizing and re-categorizing, naming, and re-naming process is mainly an attempt to find the inclusive expression which represents the content best. So, I finally re-checked the categories of description, and made some final changes mainly on the wording of categories, since the iterative reading and sorting efforts showed that no more structural changes were needed. The gradual emergence of two sets of categories of description can be seen in Tables 4 and 5.

The second phase of the analysis involved clarifying and describing the dimensions of variation which "corresponds to the critical aspects of the phenomenon as experienced by the 'experiencer'" (Pang, 2003, p.146) which at the same time contribute to describe the referential (what) and the structural (how) aspects of the phenomenon as experienced by the participants.

Although I named this as the second phase of the analysis, this is admittedly for clarifying and finalizing these depictions (dimensions of variation and referential/ structural aspects) in a tabular presentation. On the other hand, looking at the data to discover the critical variations between and the structural features within the categories of description had been long ago started together with the start of data analysis process.

Table 4. Gradual Emergence of "Categories of Description" for Conceptions on Becoming Mother

First Draft		Second Draft		Final Version	
A	A gradually growing feeling	A	A process	A	A multifaceted process
B	Self-sacrifice	B	A critical life change	B	A life changing experience
C	Beginning a new life	C	A struggle with difficulties	C	A struggle with diverse difficulties
D	Particular personality characteristics	D	A set of particular attitudes and feelings	D	A set of particular personal traits and feelings
E	A life-long self-criticism	E	A dynamic interaction in extended family and larger society	E	A dynamic interaction with others
F	Struggle with difficulties			E1	Extended family
F1	Physical difficulties			E2	Larger society
F2	Social difficulties				
G	Uniqueness				
H	Never-ending worry				

Table 5. Gradual Emergence of "Categories of Description" for Women's Reflections on Their Learning Experiences as Mothers

First Draft		Second Draft		Final Version	
A	Growing empathy (to other mothers)	A	Acquisition of knowledge	A	Acquisition of parental knowledge and skills
B	Personal change/ transformation	B	Acquisition of skills	A1	Parental knowledge and skills through other mothers
C	Different than theory/what has been told	C	Acquisition of insight	A2	Parental knowledge and skills through experts
D	Learning/growing with child(ren)	D	Making use of former experiences	B	Construction of parental knowledge and skills
E	Through knowledge sources of experts	F	A transformative experience	B1	Self-experience
F	Through experiences of other mothers	G	A new grasp on "becoming mother"	B2	A reciprocal process with children
G	Implications from her own mother's mothering			B3	Making use of former experiences
G1	Replication /reproduction			C	Transformation of self
G2	Differentiation				

In this sense, I went back to the categories of description and the data utterances for each of the categories, clarified the similarities and differences between the categories, named the dimensions of variations (for each of the research questions), elaborated variations for each dimension and each category of description, and presented those in a tabular format. Thus, I could finalize the representation of the referential and the structural aspects confidently.

As the third and the final phase, I re-evaluated the categories of description, and worked on displaying them with their logical and hierarchical relationships in between through schematic diagrams, so I finally reached two outcome spaces.

The steps of this phenomenographic analysis process explained in this part can be seen at a glance in Table 6, and the details and explanations of the categories of description, dimensions of variation, the referential and structural aspects, and outcome spaces are in the Chapter 4 (Findings and Discussion).

Table 6. The Analysis Steps of the Study

Preparatory Phase		Verbatim transcription of the interviews, checking and re-checking, and making corrections
The First Phase	Step 1	Forming the 'pool of meaning'
	Step 2	First draft of categories of description
	Step 3	Second draft of categories of description
	Step 4	Finalizing the categories of description
The Second Phase	Step 1	Clarifying and describing the dimensions of variation
	Step 2	Describing the referential and structural aspects of the phenomenon
The Third (Final) Phase		Working on different schematic representation of "Outcome Space" and finalizing to depict it

3.6 Validity and reliability of the study

As for the validity of the study, via elaborative descriptions of the procedures of the study and having had dialogue with the supervisory committee of this study regarding these procedures, I think I established communicative validity. On the other hand, I think that the finding of the study is meaningful for adult educators both in academia and in the field of practice, so this situation meets pragmatic validity. Moreover, I provided a detailed presentation and description of the characteristics of the participants which "allow the readers to judge the validity of the data" (Sin, 2010, p.313).

Some of the interview questions which were used during data collection process might seem not very relevant with the research questions of the study, and this situation might bring some concern about the content validity of the data collection instrument. However, all the questions in the interview protocol were prepared and asked to the participants, while being cognizant of this. Even if interviewing about becoming mother is thought and presupposed as an easy-to-talk issue -and which was also my presupposition-, the real case was not like this, especially when the interviewee intends to mention some negative aspects of the phenomenon to be studied. The process of becoming mother is actually a very personal sphere, and the dominant approach by most of the women is that the concept of being a mother cannot be told but must be lived, therefore a more broad conversation sphere on perceptions, attitudes, behaviors and practices regarding mothering would be a better way to reach the way of experiences which are sought by the research questions of the study.

For the reliability of the study, I am convinced that I put the necessary effort for bracketing during data collection and analysis. Bracketing as a researcher's

attitude and act means the researchers' efforts for being away from their assumptions as much as possible to reach a correct and unbiased understanding and descriptions of the participants' way of experiences on the particular phenomenon of the study. (Ashworth & Lucas, 1998, 2000; Hajar, 2021). On the other hand, in spite of the interjudge reliability, I preferred to follow the principles of interpretative awareness for reliability. Sandberg (1997) considers interjudge reliability as an undependable technique to build reliability in phenomenographic findings because it ignores the researcher's own elaborative research and analysis process to reach the participants' conceptions to be studied.

However, interpretative awareness dictates that the researchers are accepting, willing to deal with, and monitoring their subjectivity during the whole process of data collection and analysis (Cope, 2004; Sandberg, 1997). In this manner, "reliability is not concerned with the replicability of results, but with the employment of thorough and appropriate methodological procedures to achieve faithful interpretations of participants' experiences of a given phenomenon" (Hajar, 2021, p.1433), which means that the research process as a whole is the focus according to this understanding of reliability checks rather than the findings in isolation. So, the researchers need to be the critical supervisors of themselves rather than seek for an interrater to validate their process.

Based on this approach and the methodological requirements it demands; I was diligent to keep the relationship between the research topic and my own social, political, and cultural positioning as a researcher under control throughout all research phases. As a highly educated woman who defines herself as a feminist, who was brought up by parents with a more egalitarian attitude compared to the gender norms in the society she lives in, and who already has an egalitarian marriage and

home life in the context of gender, I took care, and put an effort that my stance and demographic characteristics are functioning as empowering, not limiting, in interpreting the results of the study.

On the other hand, I think that learning about my pregnancy during the data collection process increased my empathic listening skills in the context of the subject I researched during the interviews, and the fact that I was mothering a small baby during the data analysis process helped me to catch the details in the data - therefore not overlook them - while examining the data again and again.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the findings of the study are presented in four parts. The first part is the demographic characteristics of the sample, the second part is "conceptions on becoming mother", the third part is "women's reflections on their learning experiences as mothers", and the fourth, which is the last part is the representation of outcome spaces of the study which are "the graphical representation of the conceptions" (Hajar, 2021, p. 1428) and their logical and hierarchical relations with each other. In second and third parts, the findings 'discovered' through phenomenographic analysis were reported through two different but intertwined presentations regarding the three phenomenographic concepts and discussed through the related research literature accordingly.

The first presentation is explaining and elaborating categories of descriptions which are "the description of the participants' conceptions" (Hajar, 2021, p.1428) with illustrative excerpts from the interviews, and the second is the tabulation the structural relationships between these categories by stating the dimensions of variation which "corresponds to the critical aspects of the phenomenon as experienced by the 'experiencer'" (Pang, 2003, p.146), and referential and structural aspects which are "the particular meaning or label assigned to the experience" (Yates et al., 2012, p.101) and "the specific combination of features that have been discerned and focused on" (Marton & Pong, 2007, p.335) respectively.

The excerpts from the interviews were translated from Turkish to English. The original versions can be found in Appendix F. When there are sentences with missing words or unclear statements, I added italic words in parenthesis if necessary,

and only if I am sure of the meanings through the flow of the interview and the participant's previous sentences. If there are some follow-up questions between sentences of the participant, I showed them in parenthesis and as italic. If there are words, sentence or sentences removed from the excerpt because of irrelevance of excessive repetitions, I used three dots to show that removed part. For ethical reasons, names of the participants are nowhere in the report, and the names uttered in the excerpts were replaced by different names. On the other hand, the number of interviews were used to indicate the source of the excerpt along the number of sequences in the Appendix F for the originals (e.g., Interview no.9, Appendix F, 41).

4.1 Demographic characteristic of the sample

20 women who are mothers with various characteristics like age, educational level, working status, and number of children were interviewed for this study. All of the participants are married and live with the father of their children in the same household. Only one mother has an older child whose father is deceased. The minimum age of the children of the participants is two, and the maximum age of the child / youngest child is six according to the pre-determination regarding the sample selection (see Section 3.3.2 Sample of the study). Detailed information for each participant can be found in the Table 7.

4.1.1 Age

Regarding the age of the participants, the youngest one is 27, and the oldest one is 43 years old. Two participants are younger than 30 years old, seven participants are between 30-34, five participants are between 35-39, and six participants are between 40-43 years old.

Table 7. Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

Interview No.	Age	Education	Working status / Profession	No. of children	Age of Children
1	43	Doctorate	Working / academician	1	5
2	39	Bachelor's	Working / civil servant (finance)	1	3.5
3	28	Bachelor's	Working / dean's secretary	1	3
4	41	High school	Working / department secretary	2	14 - 3.5
5	37	Bachelor's	Working / dormitory desk clerk	1	3
6	35	Doctorate	Working / academician	2	4 - 4
7	43	Master's degree	Working / architect	2	4 - 2
8	34	Bachelor's	Working / civil servant (computing)	3	9 - 5 - 4
9	34	Bachelor's	Working / librarian	2	6 - 3
10	42	Doctorate	Working / academician	2	7 - 5
11	33	Middle school	Non-working / used to be a worker before marrying	2	9 - 6
12	34	Primary school	Working / janitor in preschool	4	20-12-10-5
13	43	Primary school	Non-working / used to be a worker before marrying	2	5 - 3
14	34	Middle school	Non-working / never worked	2	5 - 5
15	35	Middle school	Working two days a week as a cleaner / used to work in various jobs	2	10 - 5
16	41	Primary school	Non-working / never worked	2	5 - 2
17	27	Middle school	Non-working / used to work as a worker before getting pregnant	1	5
18	32	High school	Non-working / used to work in various jobs, quitted because of her son's special needs	2	14 - 6
19	34	Primary school	Non-working / used to work in field before getting married	3	13 - 11 - 4
20	39	High school	Non-working / used to work in various jobs, quitted after her first child's birth	3	14 - 8 - 5

4.1.2 Educational level

Educational level of the participants is specified according to the last graduation level. In terms of higher educational levels, three participants have doctoral degree, one participant has master's degree, and five participants have bachelor's degree. In the lower educational levels, three participants are high school graduates, four participants are middle school graduate, and four participants are primary school graduates.

4.1.3 Working status

Almost half of the sample (11) is working full-time, and eight participants are not working. One participant is working two days a week only. Two of the non-working participants has never worked before, three of them has quit working just before getting married, one participant has quit working when she was pregnant, one participant has quit when her first child has born, and another participant has quit because of the special needs of her son.

4.1.4 Number of children

Five of the participants have a single child, 11 participants have two children (two participants have twins), three participants have three children, and one participant has four children.

4.2 Conceptions on becoming mother

The findings in this part corresponds to the research question which is this: What are the conceptions of women who are mothers on the phenomenon of 'becoming

mother'? Five categories of description (one category includes two sub-categories) have been discovered through the data analysis. Becoming mother as:

- A multifaceted process
- A life changing experience
- A struggle with diverse difficulties
- A set of particular personal traits and feelings
- A dynamic interaction with others
    - *Extended family*
    - *Larger society*

The woman herself, her child(ren), her spouse, members of the extended family and larger society, and socio-cultural context are major determinants which are effective in constituting the participants' ways of experiencing the phenomenon. These determinants' forms of involvement, women's positive or/and negative perceptions of lived experience, and outcomes of lived experiences for women constitute the critical aspects in conceptions of the participants. These critical aspects compose the dimensions of variation in conceptions, and accordingly show the structural relationship between the categories. The tabular presentation for dimensions of variation and the structural meanings of these dimensions for each of the categories can be seen in Table 8. In Table 9, categories of description and referential / structural aspects of conceptions on becoming mother are presented as a whole which can be considered as a tabular summary of the findings for the first research question. The column for referential aspect shows the meaning of each category whereas the column for the structural aspect shows the critical aspects for each category of description which are consistent with the dimensions of variation presented in Table 8.

Table 8. Dimensions of Variation in Conceptions on Becoming Mother

	CATEGORIES OF DESCRIPTION					
DIMENSIONS OF VARIATION	A multifaceted process	A life changing experience	A struggle with diverse difficulties	A set of particular personal traits and feelings	A dynamic interaction with others	
					Extended family	Larger society
Major determinants	mother, child	mother, father	mother, father, members of extended family and larger society, socio-cultural context	mother, socio-cultural context	mother, extended family, socio-cultural context	members of larger society, socio-cultural context
Forms of involvement	reciprocity between mother and child	mothers as perpetual organizers fathers as implementers	mothers as bearers of child rearing burden fathers as supporters/non-supporters interferences from family-in-law presence/absence of sympathy and support from workmates reflections of socio-cultural traits	mothers as loving, compassionate, and protecting worriers reflections of socio-cultural traits	mothers as rebels appreciation, support and interferences from extended family reflections of socio-cultural traits	social relationships inferences and support from larger society members reflections of socio-cultural traits
Women's perception of lived experience	positive	negative	negative	positive negative	positive negative	positive negative
Outcomes of lived experience for women	gradually growing, and lifelong bonds with children	devoted child-centered life changed social and working life	interruption in professional success and social life limited or no quality time with children and spouse loss of personal space	feeling of fulfilment emotions felt for the first time	feeling of fulfilment improved relationships struggle with conflicts	feeling of being respected new social relationships struggle with social pressure

Table 9. Referential aspect / structural aspect of conceptions on becoming mother

Categories of Description		Referential Aspect	Structural Aspect
A	A multifaceted process	Becoming mother is conceived as a multifaceted process which is lifelong, gradual, reciprocal, and unique.	The focus is on the reciprocity between mother and child which leads to gradually growing, and lifelong bonds between them.
B	A life changing experience	Becoming mother is conceived as a life changing experience through: • new responsibilities and priorities • new everyday life practices	The focus is on critical changes in lives of women as mothers which become child-centered and devoted to children's needs and requests.
C	A struggle with diverse difficulties	Becoming mother is conceived as a struggle with diverse difficulties which are: • psychological difficulties • physical difficulties • social difficulties • time-related difficulties • economic difficulties • child-rearing difficulties	The focus is on women as bearers of child rearing who experience burn out, interruption in professional and social life, and loss of personal space after becoming mother.
D	A set of particular personal traits and feelings	Becoming mother is conceived as having particular personal traits and feelings which are: • a unique love • pride and gratitude • worries • guilt, uncertainty, and regret • protectivity • emotionality and sensitivity • self-sacrifice	The focus in on women's feelings and personal traits associated with motherhood and the reflection of socio-cultural context on these feelings and traits.
E A dynamic interaction with others	E1 Interaction with the extended family	Becoming mother is conceived as having a dynamic interaction with the extended family.	The focus is on changing relationships with the extended family members and the interferences from them on women's child rearing as mothers.
	E2 Interaction with larger society	Becoming mother is conceived as having a dynamic interaction with the larger society.	The focus is on new social relationships with members of larger society, and interferences from them to women's child rearing as mothers.

In phenomenography, the term conception can be described as "ways of experiencing a specific aspect of reality" (Sandberg, 1997, p.203) or "ways of making sense of a

phenomenon in the world" (Collier-Reed & Ingerman, 2013, p.245). According to Hajar (2021), conceptions are "the meanings embedded in the internal relationship between a subject and a phenomenon in the world" (p.1423); they have a dynamic nature, and are changeable through the effect of time, different experiences, and context in which the individuals live. On the other hand, conceptions become visible when their differences are discerned by contrasting them (Collier-Reed & Ingerman, 2013). Marton and Pong (2007) explain the process of discernment of critical aspect of a phenomenon through a metaphor:

> One can never discern a feature which is always present. If the ventilation system is on all the time, you cannot hear it, until it is switched off. The contrast between the unnoticed noise and the silence makes one aware of both. … There is thus no discernment without variation; hence every feature discerned corresponds to a certain dimension of variation in which the object is compared with other objects. (Marton & Pong, 2007, p.336)

In the following parts, the 'discovered' categories of description for conceptions on becoming mother are explained, elaborated one by one with illustrative excerpts by emphasizing both on the referential and structural aspects.

On the other hand, women's varying experiences, and their conceptualizing becoming mother through these experiences -by comparing and contrasting their lives before and after they have children- are discussed under the categories of description discovered from the data.

4.2.1 A multifaceted process

In this section, Category A (becoming mother as a multifaceted process) is elaborated by presenting its referential aspect through illustrative excerpts from interviews and its structural aspect through the relevant referrals to the dimensions of variation.

4.2.1.1 Referential aspect

Becoming mother is conceived as a multifaceted process by the subjects which is lifelong, gradual, reciprocal, and unique.

4.2.1.1.1 A lifelong process

Becoming mother is conceived as a lifelong process in which the responsibility of rearing a child is not something which lasts for a certain amount of time but continues life-long as stated by two participants. One of these participants also pointed the contextual background of this manner:

> To be a mother, to raise and support a person, to assume such a responsibility, is not like any other process for all practical purposes. How should I describe this? It does feel like a never-ending stretch of time, lasting till the end of your life. At least, this is how it actually is in Turkey. (Interview no.10, Appendix F, 1)

Other participant used the metaphor of having a chronic illness which someone needs to welcome with strength. She also pointed that this manner runs in the family by mentioning her mother's attitude regarding this:

> Just like a disease that you have to be strong to survive, like a chronic disease in fact, since it will last a lifetime. Even when your child gets married, just as I know from my own mother, or have their own kids, an even when they themselves get old, you still experience it. May God give a long life, you will have their responsibility till the end. Hence this has nothing got to do with only them growing up, since being a mother, motherhood, it is something that last for lifetime. (Interview no.18, Appendix F, 2)

4.2.1.1.2 A gradual process

Becoming mother is conceived as a gradual process which is experience- and learning-based as described by six participants. From the participants' utterances, this process can be defined roughly in three phases: pregnancy, after birth, and six months after the birth. Unlike the imposed views in the books (as they stated), participants shared their experiences regarding the feeling of being a mother during

pregnancy and after the birth as not very strong, on the contrary, they described this feeling as growing through experience and labor. One participant mentioned the conflict between the imposed views and the reality about not carrying strong feelings toward her baby in womb and right after the birth, and refused the instinctual and biological explanations of 'feeling of being a mother':

> In my opinion, biological *(attachment)* and such, all made up stories, that's how I see it. In actuality, of course there is an affinity and connection, but I did not feel this during my pregnancy. Even when *(the baby)* was born, I did not perceive this as if this was the best feeling in the world. … What I mean is, it is something completely different, it intensifies as you experience it. For example, when I became pregnant, I kept asking myself, regarding being pregnant, becoming a mother, what I do feel. Actually, what I read about motherhood, being a mother, pregnancy, I did not feel these that much during my pregnancy, I guess. I questioned if I was lacking in feeling and such. Then the kid was born, so with the first kiss etc., of course you have emotions, but these feelings peak as you toil away raising them. That's how I felt mostly, I say it as I have experienced it, hence this is how I see things now. Therefore it is much different than how I assumed it would be, it is an ever intensifying love, and struggle. (Interview no.1, Appendix F, 3)

Two participants stressed the physical and mental difficulties for the woman in the first six months after giving birth because of various reasons like a difficult birth, breast-feeding difficulties and hesitations about childcare, and the effect of these situations on the sense of motherhood:

> Do you know when motherhood began for me? It began when Mehmet turned 6 months old. For the first six months, you deal with your own biological *(issues).* What I mean is, for example, even breastfeeding is something that one can learn, it does not happen instinctively. There are breastfeeding techniques etc., even nursing is a problem in and of itself. You feel worried, as you feel worried your body's chemistry and hormones get affected, which affects your emotions, such a vicious cycle, your supply drops, milk dries up etc. (Interview no.7, Appendix F, 4)

> The birth was a bit difficult due to the baby's weight, since the baby was big, it caused more problems hence more stress. I suppose I may have projected the stress onto the kid. I wonder if the stress I have experienced, combined with difficulties after the birth caused me to not be able to take care of *(the baby).* It took some time before I understood that I became a mother. Since I had to deal with myself, others were taking care of the baby. For me, it was the acceptance that took time. I had assumed that the moment I take *(the baby)* on my lap, my whole life will change, since I will be living with it

> thereafter. As I said before, you may remember, there is an acceptance period, in my opinion. During pregnancy, while you are carrying them, since they are not present in your life yet, you cannot comprehend their presence, there is nothing to go against or struggle is what I mean. We do not understand this initially... It took me about the first 3-4 months to realize this, I think. In 6 months, everything settled anyway, its colic whatnot. After the first 6 months, specific problems resolved completely. (Interview no.3, Appendix F, 5)

According to Ruddick (1989), motherwork starts within the reality of accepting the responsibilities of child-rearing and making it an important part of one's life. This view has been also supported by the participants.

The same participant who shared the last shared excerpt above brought up a milestone regarding the start of becoming mother: taking the control over other people and griping the responsibility regarding her child's care:

> I started to interfere. I had deferred to my mother and mother-in-law, them being elder, and more experienced, when they said, "don't do it like that, don't even try such and such: it is just gas". But then I stopped assenting and took charge, and I think this is the beginning of motherhood. I did not grasp this during my pregnancy that much, or at all. Only after the delivery, and after I started to feel a bit better, I understood that it all depends on me, to the mother. (Interview no.3, Appendix F, 6)

On the other hand, although the women themselves experience becoming mother as a gradual process, the reality is that the woman is considered as a 'mother' by 'others' immediately after the birth. A participant expressed her reproaches like this:

> When it comes to motherhood, it is a whole different story: They say, you gave birth, here you go, you are a mother now. But when it comes to anything else, for example, you go to school, study, work for 4-5 years on your doctorate etc. But for this, you just become one. It is a bit hard situation, and a bummer. (Interview no.6, Appendix F, 7)

4.2.1.1.3 A reciprocal process

Becoming mother is conceived as a reciprocal process between the mother and the child -as five participants uttered- which is beyond physically giving birth, and includes an affectionate communication, spending mutual time, co-experiencing the life, and making sense of it together, and increasing interaction with the child as she

grows which results in knowing the child better, and adapting the motherhood accordingly.

One participant describes this process as a mutual labor while both she (as the mother) and her child were going through a process of change, so both parties put an effort to understand each other: "It is a big endeavor, a mutual labor-intensive process. *(What do you mean by mutual?).* I mean, this is an important period for Artin as well, in my opinion. He is in a state of flux, and so am I" (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 8).

Two participants emphasized on the value of moments lived together and accumulation of these as times goes by on bonding with the child and developing a sense of motherhood, and they asserted that 'giving birth physically' is not relevant in this sense. One of these participants presented the concept of forming a joint language with the child: "When you spend time with the kid one-on-one, and develop a mutual language, this forms a bond. And it has nothing got to do with the birth experience, it is all about sharing" (Interview no.7, Appendix F, 9).

She also stressed the refreshing effects of children's utterances when interpreting the world on the exhausting side of mothering:

> Being a mother is very exhausting, very taxing, but also is very joyful. Doing this, it lifts you up. The way they talk makes you feel better, this is also the case. As an example, the sentences they form while trying to make sense of life are so much fun. (Interview no.7, Appendix F, 10)

The other participant told the effects of astonishing and pleasing behaviors of a growing child on her conceptions regarding motherhood, and that co-constructing the life together with the child through co-experiencing it surpasses just giving birth to that child when it comes to motherhood. However, she couldn't go without saying that she also feels gratitude for being able to give birth.

> You put in the effort, and (the infant) grows up a bit, becoming a baby, then a toddler, starting to walk. One day, she is smiling at you, and out of the blue saying, "I love you so much.". These are some examples for the moments that surprise and delight me the most, reminding me the sacred nature of this position. These are the examples I can offer ... For this reason, I do not support the idea that being a mother is achieved by only giving birth. For me, it is the life experiences you share, altogether threaded path, adventures along the way, and the world that you've built together matters. But I am grateful that I was able to give birth, it is such a beautiful emotion, I am forever grateful. (Interview no.1, Appendix F, 11).

The same participant pointed out another outcome of this reciprocal process, which is getting to know the child better, and adapting the mothering practice accordingly:

> Along the way, you get to know the child a little better, you learn about her character, things she likes and dislikes. I mean, motherhood is a process, there is an inexperienced period for sure, in which you try to do everything according to rules, but also make mistakes. For example, one such rule may not work with your kid specifically, hence once you learn all these... (Interview no.1, Appendix F, 12)

4.2.1.1.4 A unique process

Becoming mother is conceived as a unique process in which every woman conceives, feels, and performs her mothering in a personal way as stated in five participants' utterances. One participant metaphorically called this process as "just like fingerprint" (Interview no.8, Appendix F, 13) to describe this uniqueness which is connected with women's and children's personal characteristics, and also with family's particular social, cultural, economic characteristics. Another participant used another metaphor and said: "Just as the way the house cleaning is done differs from person to person, so does motherhood, that's what I think. You can observe this" (Interview no.4, Appendix F, 14).

Because this uniqueness is related with women's personal characteristics, one participant disapproved of criticizing other mothers and giving advice to them about their mothering: "One's experience of motherhood is shaped by their character. Hence, I do not approve of giving advice to anybody, saying this is right, and that is

wrong. If you want to be one, you can and find your own way, such a beautiful experience" (Interview no.1, Appendix F, 15).

There is also a prevailing understanding in talking about motherhood that motherhood cannot be understood unless one becomes a mother as one participant uttered: "I don't know. Motherhood has a very particular feeling to it. It is beyond-words, you have to experience it." (Interview no.13, Appendix F, 16), and also describing how it is like to be a mother is almost not possible as it can only be experienced as other participants said: "It is such a different feeling, does it have a description, it is indescribable, how could you even start to do so? One only understands this after becoming a mother." (Interview no.16, Appendix F, 17).

4.2.1.2 Structural aspect

The major determinants for the conception that becoming mother is a multifaceted process are mothers themselves and their children (see Table 10). The perception of women regarding this lived experience is positive, and as being illustrated through the utterances of participants (see section 4.2.1.1), becoming mother as a multifaceted process stands in a very intimate and personal sphere shared by mother and her child(ren) where mutual experiencing and learning occurs. So, the focus is on the reciprocity between mother and child which leads to gradually growing, and lifelong bonds between them. On the other hand, this intimate relationship along the personal characteristics of mother and child creates a unique pattern for the sense and practice of motherhood.

However, as Holmes (1997) and Maher (2008) point out, the idealized form of good mothering (we can say intensive mothering) imposed by patriarchal ideologies ignores all the diversities among mothers like cultural differences, socio-

economic conditions, and availability of social support. It also ignores the uniqueness in child-mother relationship, in thoughts, emotions and performances of mothers, and even marginalize those which do not fit the standards of that ideal forms of mothering.

Table 10. Dimensions of Variation for Category A

	Dimensions of Variation			
Category A	Major determinants	Forms of involvement	Women's perception of lived experience	Outcomes of lived experience for women
A multifaceted process	mother, child	reciprocity between mother and child	positive	gradually growing, and lifelong bonds with children

4.2.2 A life changing experience

In this section, Category B (becoming mother as a life changing experience) is elaborated by presenting its referential aspect through illustrative excerpts from interviews and structural aspect through the relevant referrals to dimensions of variation.

4.2.2.1 Referential aspect

Becoming mother is conceived as a life changing experience through new responsibilities and priorities, and new everyday life practices as being uttered by 16 of the participants. This new life according to many utterances of participants is a devoted child-centered life which is very different than their past lives, and in which the women is neglecting themselves -more than fathers- by ignoring or postponing attending to their own needs and wishes.

4.2.2.1.1 Changing responsibilities and priorities

There are critical changes in women's lives regarding the responsibilities and priorities when becoming mother as mentioned by 12 participants. The prominent character of this new life according to many utterances is a devoted child-centered life with new responsibilities of rearing a child in terms of health, nutrition, care, and education. Participants compared their life before and after they have their children, and they uttered that they give the highest priority to their children whereas they relegate themselves and give a new meaning and shape to their life where they fundamentally focus on their children's needs, feelings and wishes. One participant sarcastically exemplified this comparison between past and today and added her occasional need for some self-focused acts: "Before (the kid), I cared about whether I should paint my fingernails beige pink, or red, what direction I should curl my hair, inwards or outwards, what hair color to pick. One needs to focus on herself as well." (Interview no.7, Appendix F, 18). Another participant described this process as not living the life for herself anymore and stressed the hardship to accept this situation as a woman:

> Of course, it increases the number of your responsibilities, you do not only live for yourself anymore, that's for sure. As I say, having a child, even only considering carrying the baby to term, puts a lot on the woman (*'s shoulders*), it is not something easy to accept. (Interview no.9, Appendix F, 19).

One participant with three children stated the deferability of everything except children's needs and requests, and finished her statement by pointing out the difficulty of handling everything alone:

> You have responsibilities, I mean you may have obligations of all sorts, but, if need be, you can postpone them, but not so when it comes to *(the child).* For example, you may be at work, and push a file aside if you feel overwhelmed and want to stop for a while. But *(the responsibility of)* the child is such that, even when you feel sick, tired or sleepy, doesn't matter if it is in the middle of the night, if they need anything, you act instinctively to

> provide right away, you cannot delay ... There are many things that you may be flexible with timing, for example, say you are expecting visitors, and you need to prepare food, one can even delay or cancel it. But this does not apply to when it comes to the kids: One says, excuse me, I have to go pee, one is thirsty, and one needs you to go and sit with her... How to put it? If you assume all the responsibility and your partner does not support you in any of this, and you have not one but two kids, even having only one is hard enough, *(the kids)* want to play *(spend time with)* the mother all the time. (Interview no.8, Appendix F, 20)

After having their children, economic decisions are made according to their children's needs which again results in reducing and postponing the women's own expenses like buying something for themselves as one participant stated:

> *(Before the kids),* whenever I had gone shopping, I would have visited many places *(to find things)* for myself. Now, when I shop, I question even 50 TLs for an item, preferring to buy something for my daughter or for my son instead. It all changed. (Interview no.18, Appendix F, 21)

Economic restraints are not only limited with buying things, but women also restrict themselves in spending money during their leisure time (e.g., drinking coffee outside the home) as one participant stated:

> You also consider things differently. For example, why would I spend my money outside, forget about it, I'd rather buy something for my child instead of giving it away. I consider all this, maybe it is not good for me to do this, but I don't know, this is how I feel. What's the point, I can brew my own coffee, and have it at home as well. My husband says, let's have coffee outside, Mutlu is still little, we can all go. I contemplate it, and say no, the reason, I mean why should we go out and spend money, I can make you coffee, arrange it so that we can have it at the balcony, feel like we are outside. We can sit at the balcony and have our coffee, let's not go. When you become a mother, you cut from everything, believe me, you think, I should not do *(this)*, I'd rather provide for my child, let her wear this, eat that, I had all those in the past, let her have what she needs now. *(Your priorities)* change over time, is what I mean. (Interview no.16, Appendix F, 22)

This economic caution is not only for the current needs of the child but also the possible future expenses, especially for education, which is also considered by the mother when deciding to buy something for herself as one participant shared:

> There are financial examples, such as, you have to manage your funds differently now. In the past, you could be spending all your paycheck on

> yourself, whereas now, I say I do not need to buy the latest cell phone, I could be spending that money on Baran's future, provide for what he needs, or if I can buy something else that would make Baran happier. I am pretty sure, this is how most people think, you try to be more..., I mean plan. How can I say, this is for Baran, that is also for Baran, not for me. Do you remember, there used to be an ad, saying so what if I don't have it, I am still alive, but there are things that are an absolute must for Baran, for his education. As I say, you mostly consider him when it comes to financial decisions. (Interview no.5, Appendix F, 23)

One participant with two children (10 and 5 years old) depicted the child-centered, responsible, and elaborative life of women as mothers with her intense expression:

> In reality, I did not know that it was going to be this way, of course. As far as your life goes, *(the kid)* takes over, everything is for her. It all changes during pregnancy, you get used to going sleepless as an example, and when it's born, you consider what is best for her. What would be good for her, which food items to pick when you switch to solid food, how to raise, what to feed, from her first steps to her education, you think about every single thing now. Now, for example, I try to hustle as much as I can for my kids; my son is attending an English language school for the last two years, he is in 4th grade. Twice a week, I run back and forth to get him there on time. At home, it's all about their routine, mealtime, homework, study, field trip planning ... I try to plan and arrange for all these when they are at school, when I have time to do so. As an example, I plan for their coursework on the cell phone, prepare practice questions for them, for my son and daughter both similarly. Then I go out to get them printed at a nearby shop. What can I do for them, what should I do, these are the questions I search online for all they may need. I read their curriculum, do research on their education, I follow how they are doing. I ask his teacher, Mrs. Fatma, about all these. I read books on child development, let me put it like that. I read Prof. Doğan’s books on children. Frankly, motherhood is so unique, it needs devotion and sacrifice, and is full of unconditional love. You do everything considering your kids. (Interview no.15, Appendix F, 24)

4.2.2.1.2 Changing everyday life practices

Changing responsibilities and priorities elaborated in the previous section have effects on everyday life practices of women as half of the participants mentioned in their utterances. These changes are mostly in household chores, social life, and working patterns. The role of the spouse has been also stressed.

According to the participants, the prominent changes regarding everyday life practices are in household chores like cooking, cleaning, and tidying up the house.

Most of the participants mentioned a freer and 'outside the house' life before having the child by not minding very much what is going to be eaten as meal, when to wake up, where to go, etc. One participant named this period as 'being young', and elaborated it as follows:

> I say, of course, we were young back then. What I mean is, I call the time before the kid, our youth. I realized that I am actually married only after I had a kid. You have more freedom to choose when you are young: you may skip a meal if you wish to do so or decide to go out to eat on a whim, even take an hour long nap after lunch. But this is not how it works out when you have a kid. Nowadays, neither we can sleep as much as we wish, nor we can decide not to have supper, because you have a child!! Now we feel more restricted after having the child, we do not have as much flexibility, what I mean by this is the things I mentioned at the beginning: food decisions, travel plans etc. The places you may want to go or can go changes; you start considering things like if the kids will have anything to occupy them there. If we consider a destination we want to visit very much so, we have to consider what the children will do there, or should we leave them with my mother in case we cannot take them with us, and if they were to come with us, we look for a nearby playground. (Interview no.3, Appendix F, 25)

Another participant mentioned her transformation regarding the everyday life practice, which is comparably different than her previous life, but, as she uttered, still not meeting the standards of many other mothers:

> I was a disorganized person. What I mean is not only in the physical sense, messy, but also in lifestyle, I would come and go as I please. Under no circumstances I could be considered a tidy, orderly, or disciplined person. But now I am, I am more organized. For example, I live my life more according to a plan. What can I give as an example, I take care of housework a lot more, I could never be considered a domestic person in the past, but now, I may be becoming one somewhat … I mean, most probably, compared to other women, I may be messier still, but compared to how I used to be, definitely not as much. Still, if someone would drop by my home for a visit, they might say that it is untidy. (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 26)

There is also a change in social life as part of everyday life. People with children start to meet up with people with children particularly at similar ages with their own children, as one participant stated:

> For example, socially, you get together with other families who also have kids more often. I also have close friends who are single, but the things we have in common and times we meet are dwindling slowly. Nowadays we

> meet with Berfin's peers a lot more, mostly her age group. My friends who are older than me have kids that are older than mine as well in general, some are even attending university, we don't spend as much time together anymore. The scheduling is an issue, not only for us, but for them as well, everybody has TEOG exam, university admission exam preparation takes time etc. When I look at from a social point of view, these might have affected our friendships. (Interview no.1, Appendix F, 27)

The same participant talked about her changing working pattern as an academician. She used to work in the night at the house in addition to the office work, but because of its impracticality after her daughter has born, she started to work in a more planned way at the office since it is not feasible to carry extra or remained work from the office to the house due to child-related chores till late. The following excerpt depicts this case by her utterances:

> I used to work a lot, for example I would go on at home, even when I was in graduate school for my doctorate. I would sincerely go back home and toil away, even when I was married, and since Batuhan was also working, we would sit down together after dinner, each with our own computers, and go on working. I can easily say that I would work 2-3 hours extra every day, I would spend time at the office, and at home in the evenings. Let me omit the marriage period for the time being, but before getting married, I strived, to publish more, to do more I mean. Now, after Berfin is born, it is not like that anymore and I am more like this: I learned to be more organized at the office. (Interview no.1, Appendix F, 28)
> After returning home, it is dinnertime, we arrive around 6 PM; after dinner, if you consider the time spent on things like getting ready to sleep, bath time etc., and nowadays it is not that easy to put her to sleep either, we are all together till around 10:30 PM. And after 10:30 PM, you have only an hour left that you can either take care of your own affairs or plan the next day. I cannot sleep too late since she still wakes up occasionally in the night or wakes up really early in the morning. And so is life, we scheduled our life accordingly. (Interview no.1, Appendix F, 29)

Another issue in dealing with the -most of the time challenging- changes in everyday life is whether the household tasks are shared with the spouse or not. One participant shared her lonely struggle with everyday chores because of her spouse's mentality:

> *(Kids' waking up in the night)*, it still happens, I don't know why, but they do wake up; if they wake up in the evening, they call for mommy, if they call daddy, they would not be able to wake him up, he would not get up for that I mean. They are together with him only during dinnertime, or maybe for a

> little while after dinner for playtime, but other than that, he does not deal with any of their morning personal hygiene care. All the rest of the household chores are on me … Our own mothers, he has a different point of view I guess because of them, they used to do laundry by hand, and this is no longer the case, we do not wash cloths by hand, and it is much easier in his mind, hence he does not feel the need to contribute I suppose. (Interview no.8, Appendix F, 30)

On the other hand, another participant -in spite of her spouse's similar attitudes as in the above example- stated her firm standing and struggle for reversing the situation for a more shared life in terms of responsibilities:

> You may know a little about the men of the Black Sea region, the men lead, whereas women work and are stronger both physically and functionally. Consider my husband, back in the day, he used to spend a lot of time outside, he would attend many societies etc. He would not do that many things with me. Since I did not want to accept this situation, we used to argue a lot … I struggled a lot with this, I fought hard not to live my life the way our mothers did. Because that is not the life I considered for myself, the one where woman stays home and lives to serve the man. I did not want to live like that. My husband and I got married, why, to share our lives. My husband may have hobbies of his own, and so may I, we are independent people who came together to share life. Thus, I do not want to be anybody's servant or slave, hence I fought hard against that, for example, I stood up to my husband's late arrivals. Come to think of it, I feel like my husband's sibling, who is not married, is criticizing me due to my attitude towards my husband; the remarks they make about my husband becoming woman dominated and such makes me realize that they are criticizing me. (Interview no.20, Appendix F, 31)

One participant who is an academician and has a full-time housekeeper, who is also responsible for the childcare, during the day, clearly shared her point of view and disagreement regarding the full-time mothering after six months which causes a critical change in everyday life of women:

> I cannot even imaging being a full-time mom, after the point that they reach 6 months old, to be leaving them in the mornings, and spending time together only in the mornings, evenings, and weekends, or during summer vacations is enough for me. At this point in time, I do not fantasize about taking care of her and raising her myself. It would have been for the worse in my opinion if it was the case, since being patient gets hard then. When one works, and also has a baby and a child at home that she needs to take care of and needs to deal with all sorts of issues that come with them, they need to have serious organizational skills. Being with *(the kids)* 24 hours a day, while waking up to

> nurse over and over in the night, is difficult psychologically, people who do this and enjoy doing so *(exists).* (Interview no.10, Appendix F, 32)

She also inferred that children transform the women's lives radically however this should have been reversed soon:

> Frankly, I think the kids alter your life substantially in the first 6 months, first year, or even the first two years; they transform it into something utterly different. But later on, it slowly settles, goes back to the way it used to be. If this does not happen, I think you may start losing parts of yourself. And my life still is not like the way it was in the past, if you consider it in point of fact. (Interview no.10, Appendix F, 33)

There is also another particular situation uttered by the participants which effects the everyday life planning and practices is that the women become the 24/7 organizer and implementer of everything in the house (and outside the house) after the child was born -whereas the fathers are only implementers. It can be interpreted as mental and emotional labor of women is continuing even if the physical work is done, whereas, in most cases, men can both physically and mentally rest after he carried out a house- or childcare- related task. Even if the woman most of the time starts to undertake this responsibility with marriage long before due to inequal sharing of household chores (Aytaç, 2021), they start to consider this role as more serious after the child so as to be sure that they rear their children in a healthier way, and in a healthy house.

Regardless of the spouse's participation in household chores, the woman is in a state of planning and organizing all the time as one participant said:

> My husband is genuinely a great father. For example, he gets up in the night to prepare the kids formula etc. I mean, he takes care of the children as much as it is customary for a woman, even then it is not like being a mother. Motherhood is so unique, you keep planning 24 hours a day nonstop. (Interview no.7, Appendix F, 34)

Another two participants elaborated this situation very clearly:

> If you look at us, and this deserves quotation marks, as others also remark upon, we have a very good relationship with respect to the Turkish societal

standards, what I mean is, alright, we became parents and our relationship, childcare etc. is supposedly shared evenly, but this is not so; it is definitely not the case. My share is the much bigger part for sure and a reason for this is I, for one, and him being a male, for the other. Let me give you an example: Hasan wakes up early in the mornings and prepares breakfast, afterwards he wakes us up. If someone hears this, it is praiseworthy, this man wakes up early and prepares breakfast etc. But what happens is, I say, for example, during the breakfast, Hasan, look, we do not have any walnuts at the table for the last two days, shouldn't we do that? That is my initiative, but sometimes I do not provide this: Let's say Hasan has time to spare to help Artin put on his cloths, and we are in a rush to catch the shuttle. He asks, what should I put on him? Why would you even have to ask me that, grab something from the closet, put it on him, after checking the weather forecast. As you can see, he will do things himself if you tell him how, but you have to do all the planning yourself. Say the sheets need to be changed, but when; or he fills up the laundry machine, but when he should start... impromptu action is rare on his part, I cannot say it never happens, but for instance we will be travelling today, but I am the one who made all the arrangements for this trip. (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 35)

He is helping me a lot, there is no question about it, but mostly for division of chores, for example at home, if he is taking care of Baran, I prepare his bag, he does not have to deal with rest of Baran’s things, I personally take on the responsibility for those. No matter whom you consider, may he be the perfect dad even, doesn't matter, I myself do the laundry, do the ironing, prepare, and place everything ready to go at the door, get up in the morning, kiss them and go *(to work).* I return home at 7, but I wake him up anyway. For instance, I say, look, this, this, and that, are all ready, you should do such and such, put those on Baran since it is a bit chilly today, and don't forget that other thing, but if I leave all those decisions to the father, regrettably, even though he is committed to Baran, he would not say, I should do that as well, but would that bother *(Baran),* should I do this instead and that; let me say that he is not that considerate. He does help, household chores, preparations etc., or if I am putting Baran to sleep, he cleans up in the kitchen. At home, I handle everything regarding Baran, or while I change his diaper, I ask Kazım, deary, could you warm up his milk; but he never offers himself, let me bring his milk, or thinks of reminding, Gülsüm, it is Baran's sleep time, no such thing, it never happens. I know he takes care of things in the weekends, fine, but I call and ask, what are you doing, did he have breakfast, what did he eat, what did you give him. I wonder if I interfere a lot since I am not there to see what happens. For instance, today he asks me, how should I dress him up, even though I prepared everything and put them on the couch, saying he will wear these; let's say he couldn't find those, or did not know that they were there, instead of picking something from the kid's drawers according to the weather forecast, he is asking me, what should I put on him, or what should I feed him. (Interview no.5, Appendix F, 36)

It is seen -as Cowdery and Knudson-Martin (2005) also revealed- that the unequal sharing of childcare responsibilities is even -in one way or another- valid for couples who are against gender inequality.

The women as mothers do not only control the goings on in the house but also when the child is away with the father, the women also directing the process on what is to be eaten, what needs to be worn, where to go, etc. However, one participant stated that no one has refused but accepted this situation: “That's what motherhood is like, I suppose -his mother knows-” (Interview no.3, Appendix F, 37).

Another participant stressed the importance of this planning process which cannot be replaced with a professional service in contrast to her spouse’s view which she generalized for manhood:

> The father does not pause *(to consider)* anything. He is always on the move, never plans anything. It is not part of his world. Such a concept does not even exist in the men's world, men cannot perceive that. If you leave it to him, here, let's find a woman *(caretaker),* cure-all; there is no such thing, he presumes that he will be able to get a professional service *(for all our needs),* there is no such thing. (Interview no.7, Appendix F, 38)

Although the main focus of these plans and organizations is the child, the general household issues are also considered. In addition to these, the education and extracurricular activities of children, vacation organizations and preparations are also parts of this planning effort. All these different parts form a chain as one participant uttered, and when the mother gives up putting her effort for this chain, then problems may start to arise even if the father seems to participate in the chores:

> Of course, I receive help, but the men do not do such things, like, they do not think about details like what we should eat today, so the men do not pause and think if the kids should eat vegetables today ... For example, if I was to be done with the lectures late that day, or will meet up with the girls, Orhan either orders pizza, or takes the kids to his mother's place; but if we have food *(ready to eat)* at home, he feeds them, feeds them really nicely, changes their cloths, warms up the food, and feeds them; but there is nothing to serve something that all is set already. Or for example, I do the laundry, and he hangs and folds them; I leave early in the morning, he puts on their cloths,

> prepares their bags, and takes them *(to school).* Therefore, the moment the mother stops preparing the meals, or doing grocery shopping etc. the sequential flow of the operations breaks down in my opinion. For example, square one, he goes shopping, but has to ask what he should be buying, then buys only that. So, all planning regarding home is on women. Not only regarding home, in fact, vacation planning etc. is like that in general, or the kids' education. What I mean is that I do the research to decide for example which courses to send them to, or whether to send them to that gymnastics class or not etc., he takes them *(there).* (Interview no.6, Appendix F, 39)

The same participant also made fun of herself about her interference to her spouse when he attempts to take an initiative on the above mentioned issues by laughingly saying: "I tell him, for example, buy two types of vegetables, he goes *(shopping),* comes back, and I comment, it is not the season for this type of vegetable, or this spinach is past its prime, couldn't you get beans?" (Interview no.6, Appendix F, 40). One participant criticized these interfering attitudes of women as mothers by giving an example from her observations which represents the dominant view around her:

> So, for them, the man is a helper. Say he clears the table after meal, or even after clearing the table he carries them to the kitchen. These women are legitimately weird when it comes to childcare, honestly, they do not let their partners take over, as if the man will do something, even kill them. Take Sibel for example, I mention this assuming the names will not be mentioned, her kid got sick. She couldn't get a leave of absence, but her husband was able to get five days. She says he didn't even feed the kid; she says he doesn't run after them like I do of course, she says of course what can you expect, he is obviously not the mother. I questioned this wondering if what he did could be the better way to go about, considering the kid was not feeling well, it is possible that they may not want to eat then, why you would even run after them *(to make them eat)* etc. She counters with *(the kid)* being unimaginably thin, that this is how they normally interact, that is the storyline she offers. But look, this is a great opportunity for the man to learn how these things are done etc. I encounter these types of examples very frequently in the workplace. (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 41)

Another participant related this interfering attitude to children's vulnerability when they are younger, and she asserted that because the women start to feel more relieved as children gets older, they start to open a larger space for fathers to take care of the children which has positive results for everyone including the mother, father, and the child:

> As the scope of intervention begins to expand, I think the father's involvement in the situation diminishes, this is a problem, but after a while you see this, so yes, even though I don't interfere with this, they can actually find much more creative solutions, they can go to more interesting things, get out of my controlling thing and it's actually better for the child. things that can be good for the child can be done. That's why, as one gets older, if one can relax those things, I think that imbalance starts to disappear a bit … children can now say what they feel, what they think, what they do, if they are hungry, so I think it is very comforting for the mother. It is not perfection, for example. I think it can even become a matter of survival there when they are very young … I think as they get older, that thing diminishes, the risk factor decreases so much, and as I said, children can tell and do everything about themselves, so there is nothing for the mother to worry about anymore. At that point, I think the father can be actively involved and can also feel comfortable there. Thinking, oh, what if I do something wrong, because I think that kind of things happen between couples, maybe it's something that fathers more than anyone else experience. (Interview no.10, Appendix F, 42)

This is also compatible with one of the findings of Sawyer's study (1999) which is the women's realization of their need for trusting and permitting their spouses and others for more involvement in childcare tasks (Sawyer, 1999).

4.2.2.2 Structural aspect

The major determinants for the conception that becoming mother is a life changing experience are mothers themselves and their spouses (fathers) (see Table 11). The perception of women regarding this lived experience is negative, and as being illustrated through the utterances of participants (see section 4.2.2.1), the focus is on critical changes in lives of women as mothers which become child-centered and devoted to children's needs and requests, and in which women as mothers are perpetual organizers and implementers whereas the fathers are taking only the role of implementers.

This situation can be interpreted as both the reason and the result of some mothers' gatekeeper attitudes and behaviors (Allen & Hawkins, 1999). In such a position, women possess the role of the manager (she is also the worker anyway) and

perceive their spouses as their assistants in the household (Allen & Hawkins, 1999) by “taking charge of tasks, doing chores herself, redoing tasks to a higher standard, or organizing, delegating, planning, and scheduling-all processes that require her partner to conform to her way of doing family work.” (Allen & Hawkins, 1999, p.204). Although this situation is very tiring and exhausting for the participants, as they expressed, most of the times they are not willing to delegate this role of being organizer of the house to their spouses. Moreover, when the spouse takes any initiative regarding the household and/or child-rearing issues, this mostly ends up with dissatisfaction of the women. This can be also because women’s possible consideration of the house and housework (and also childcare) as a domain of their own through which they feel strong and confident (Kocatepe & Bilgi, 2018), and as a source of power through which the mothers hold and keep the control of everything regarding the child and the house (Nyström & Öhrling, 2004).

In spite of the fact that women do not want that their spouses interfere with their works, spouses who are not available and supporting them cause that the negative consequences of the changed and challenging new life with children are felt more intensely by the women as mothers. This is because, as Nyström and Öhrling (2004) assert that women as mothers have generally more disruption in their social lives including their careers compared to men and feel much more stuck with the responsibilities of the house and childcare which are “overwhelming ... and led to feelings of being fatigued and drained of physical and emotional energy” (p.327).

Table 11. Dimensions of Variation for Category B

	Dimensions of Variation			
Category B	Major determinants	Forms of involvement	Women's perception of lived experience	Outcomes of lived experience for women
A life changing experience	mother, father	mothers as perpetual organizers fathers as implementers	negative	devoted child-centered life changed social and working life

4.2.3 A struggle with diverse difficulties

In this section, Category C (becoming mother as a struggle with diverse difficulties) is elaborated by presenting its referential aspect through illustrative excerpts from the interviews and structural aspect through the relevant referrals to dimensions of variation.

4.2.3.1 Referential aspect

Becoming mother is conceived as a struggle with diverse difficulties as 17 participants out of 20 mentioned by referring to various sides of this struggle which are psychological, physical, social, economic, time-related, and child-rearing difficulties.

Two interviews started with the expressions about the difficult side of mothering when the meaning of becoming mother asked as the first question. One participant said: "So let me tell you this is the most beautiful feeling in the world, but I'd say is the most difficult profession, it is a fact" (Interview no.4, Appendix F, 43), while the other uttered: "Being a mother. When I think of being a mother, the first

thing that comes to my mind is, it may be a bad thing *(meaning it may sound bad)*, difficulty comes to mind, a really difficult task" (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 44).

In the following parts of this section, various difficulties expressed by the participants regarding becoming mother are elaborated with the utterances from the interviews.

4.2.3.1.1 Psychological difficulties

There are various factors mentioned by eight participants which effected their psychological states after they gave birth to their children. Main emphasis on these narratives was on the post-partum process and the first months of the child. The readiness for having a child, the attitudes, and interferences of others especially family-in-law, the burden of house, and the presence or absence of spouse's support were expressed as the determinants of the participants' psychological well-being.

When the woman does not feel ready to have a child, and if this happens in the beginning of married life, it negatively affects the woman as one participant shared:

> Before my one year was up, I took my child in my arms, if I thought about it then (as I do) now, I would have waited a little while, even before my marriage was settled, the child came to my lap, I floundered, I really floundered, for that child I mean, how, I grew up with the child, I grew up together with the child. (Interview no.19, Appendix F, 45).

Dominant ideologies of motherhood have limited the choices many women have made about when, if, or how they become mothers. And in all social classes, the most important purpose of marriage is seen as having children (Çarkoğlu & Kalaycıoğlu, 2013; Uluğtekin, 2002). In this context, lower- and middle-class women are often pressured to have children in the first years of their marriage, and they do not even have the option of not wanting to give birth a child; this is not

acceptable by the family and by the larger society (Dudu-Karaman & Doğan, 2018; Uluğtekin, 2002). Likewise, in this study, almost all the participants with lower educational status expressed that they were expected to get pregnant almost as soon as they got married mostly by their parents-in-laws.

Some cultural traditions which can be considered as direct interferences like insisting on deciding for the name of the child have also negative effects on the woman as one participant shared: “As I said, with the first child, there was some trouble on the mother-in-law's side, too. The naming thing of classical Turkish families, unfortunately, because of that, at first, I couldn't sleep at night, unnecessary crying, and stuff” (Interview no.8, Appendix F, 46).

The process of post-partum depression was also dwelled on by participants when they talked about the period after birth. One participant mentioned her worries about how to take care of the baby as the reason of the post-partum depression which she overcame with the support of her spouse.

> My first child was a natural birth. I had a bad postpartum depression. How am I to take care of this child, no one was there with me, my spouse helped a lot, he really helped a lot, because I asked my spouse how will I take care of this kid, my husband said if it is foreordained, if it is in our destiny, we can take care *(of this child)* every which way, why do you *(act)* like that. I didn't think I could actually come out of if it wasn't for my husband. (Interview no.19, Appendix F, 47)

Another participant told the challenge of this post-partum process with various details like the absence of the spouse because of his occupation, uncertainty about her feelings for her child, gaining weight, and a constantly demanding child:

> At first, everyone came and went, you get over that shock, the photos are so and so, the child starts to show the grumpy thing after a while, what is it, during those times when I was also very alone, you can't leave the house right away, at the beginning for a 40-day, two-month period. Because there is a period when you are constantly breastfeeding. I will say, I started to get very depressed, and I was always crying at that time. In reality, I was 28 years old when I gave birth for the first time, so I was still a child. After all, I am more childish in spirit, I am naive, as if I am not enough, do I not love my child,

> why am I not like other mothers? … My husband is a Naval officer. I went through a very difficult period … I was coming here, the child was only two months old, I was always bringing *(her)* to the Spring party or such, I tried to find my own remedies. But at first, I was myself yes depressed when I did *(had)* the thing at first. But I tried to find a cure for myself ... I also gained a lot of weight. In other words, your baby is born, you get over that shock and stuff, but you are left alone with those extra pounds, a baby who doesn't want to leave your chest anytime, you don't even have time to brush your teeth. (Interview no.9, Appendix F, 48)

In Kölemen's study (2021) conducted in Turkey, the majority of the mothers referred to the puerperium as the most sensitive, fragile, and difficult period of their lives which was also not expected. Mothers had felt that they were like in a never-ending cycle due to "hormonal changes, physical discomfort after birth, sleeplessness, difficulty in baby care, uneasiness caused by not knowing." (p.167).

One participant described this process as a sudden maturation in which she had to undertake the whole burden of the household chores and taking care of the children:

> I was always a person who liked to work like this, whether it was tax offices, banks, or customers at work, I was on the move. I didn't even like working at the office, but when I suddenly found myself at home dealing with laundry, dishwashing, cooking and with a child, after a while I felt depressed or something, after that came the other kids, my burden is increasing even more, it's hard is what I mean ... after marriage, I fell directly into everything, the burden of the house, the burden of the spouse, the moment I had a child, say like I matured instantaneously, or I was given a big responsibility that I had to become *(more)* mature, I had to keep up with everything. (Interview no.20, Appendix F, 49)

The same participant also told the dilemma of being crucially in need of help by even verbalizing 'suicide' but not asking for help because of her personality:

> For example, I know that I cried many nights, I was alone, I was feeling bad psychologically, sometimes I even thought of suicide. For example, in my second child, I remember very well that my eldest son came from school, I met his needs, my second son had gas pains because his intestine was not developed very well, I *(had him)* always in my lap or something, I was afraid to go close to the window, in case I would throw myself down on a momentary thing. I have a characteristic like that, I don't like asking people for help etc. I like being self-sufficient in everything. I'm mostly always with

> myself although my mothers *(parents)* are nearby, but I didn't like asking for help. (Interview no.20, Appendix F, 50)

A lot of women -including many of the participants of this study- do not feel an emotional connection to their newborn babies unlike what they expected and what is told to them before the birth (Kinser, 2010), so the first feeling of those mothers towards their children happens to be 'confusion'. This period is sometimes very severe for some women -as in the previous excerpt- who even had suicidal thoughts mostly because of the lack of support, and because of the uncertainty about expressing the need for this support.

One participant underlined the harming aspect of the tradition to host the guests who visit to see the newborn baby:

> Also, I was very uncomfortable because there were so many guests, that's the reason why I understand very well now, *(why the people)* do not accept visitors, sometimes such things happen that so now I agree that it should be so and it is necessary to be understanding. A person had to be on their own then, for example, I wouldn't want my mother-in-laws to be with me – may they not hear this - why, now I'm postpartum okay I don't say anything to them, I have internal stitches, for example, I would, next to my father-in-law, I mean he would come and visit, I served him even when I was in that state, even in that state, these people need to be more understanding. For example, I always hosted guests. You know, you can't say don't come, I would say at that moment, if it was my own mother, she would come and prepare food for me, my mother-in-law would bring some, but she was not as caring for it as much as I was. … Do you understand, this is the reason why all these affected my psychology… That is why it is necessary not to go for a visit too much in (someone's) postpartum period, it is necessary to be understanding. (Interview no.17, Appendix F, 51)

In the last example, the inconsiderate attitudes of other people -mainly the family-in-law- as expressed here, affect the psychological state of the woman who passes through a difficult time both physically and mentally.

In the postpartum period, although their need for support from their family and spouses increases a lot, mothers, on the contrary, encounter unexpected negative attitudes from their relatives very often, especially from their own mothers;

experienced mothers continuously exemplify themselves as good mothers, and criticize (sometimes in the name of giving advice) and compare the new mother's breastfeeding, childcare, house management, so on to others (Kölemen, 2021; Sawyer, 1999). In this study, participants did not mention their own mothers as a negative support figure, however some participants who are from lower socio-economical and educational status, pointed their mother-in-law and relatives-in-law as giving negative support.

One participant emphasized the importance of spouse's support to be able to overcome psychological strains resulted by the challenging aspects of becoming mother and says: "A person can get the greatest support from her spouse, she can get from her mother, or sibling, yes, but psychological support can be received from her spouse the most" (Interview no.8, Appendix F, 52).

According to Kölemen (2021) and LaCoste-Nelson (2005), women who had a relatively comfortable and peaceful postpartum period attributed this to the support of their mothers and spouses, and women who had difficulties during this period emphasized that this was due to the lack of support from their mothers and spouses. In this study, although participants acknowledge and appreciate their own mothers support, they particularly emphasized their spouse's support or lack of support as very important and determinant while struggling to overcome psychological strains resulted by the challenging aspects of becoming mother, especially during postpartum period.

4.2.3.1.2 Physical difficulties

In addition to the psychological aspect of the difficulties, rearing a child is also physically tiring as five participants mentioned. This starts in pregnancy, continues

with recovery process after birth and with taking care of the child. Weight gain, healing of the stitches received during the birth, affected metabolism of the woman by the pregnancy and post-pregnancy, breast-feeding, not being able to take a rest, and sleeplessness are the main issues uttered by the participants regarding the physical difficulties of becoming mother. One participant told her daily routine in which she does not take a rest, and she also mentioned her dilemma between her wish to be more flexible and her meticulousness:

> I mean, for all things, like anymore, you don't think about yourself, you don't think about getting tired, I get tired, of course, who wouldn't get tired, I get up at 7.40 in the morning, and there is absolutely no lying down, sitting down, or napping until 12 in the evening. I've sent Mutlu, Suat must be awake now. *(I'm)* with Suat, also preparing breakfast and food *(for the day)*, tidy the house, organize the house, so the work does not end. Sometimes I say that too, I say I won't do it today, never mind, but later on I look at something at home, it's a child after all, he picks up something, carries it around the house, then you see its crumbs, you don't feel comfortable, for example, when someone comes, I say something like, you know, the shape and scheme of the house when I first got married, and the way it is at the moment is different, it is inevitably getting untidy, so of course I try not to mess it up, I pick it up anyway, but it does happen, it is definitely incomplete. (Interview no.16, Appendix F, 53)

Sleeplessness is a very prominent situation which most of the women experience in various extents. This situation although seemed as a physical issue effects the women's psychological states, the sense of motherhood, and her feelings toward her child as one participant uttered:

> He was born at that moment, all was well, after that I was sleepless a lot, And I am a bit of a meticulous person, in every way. Even though my husband was thankfully very supportive and used to say go to sleep or something, but I could never leave it like that and go to sleep regularly, even if I quit, my head, my mind was always there, after that, it *(the baby)* never slept like that either day or night, I kept waking up, day and night became one now, the brain does not rest, it does not regenerate, I was looking outside, it was morning, without experiencing the night ... You don't rest at night, fatigue, then she cried a lot, I was affected a little too much, you know, I couldn't even relish my motherhood, I couldn't even love ... it lasted almost 1 year *(like this)*. (Interview no.17, Appendix F, 54)

The affected metabolism of women influences general life quality of them which in turn effects the quality of taking care of children. One participant mentioned this issue also by relating it to multiple births and her advanced age:

> But for example, I recently had a thing. My body has run out of iron. Of course, when you give birth one after the other and deal with a lot of things, there is no mineral etc. left in the body. Recently, I started to experience the sadness of the thing, I mean, I am not enough for the children physically, the children want to play, I don't have the strength, all the time in a lying position, for example, this all started to make me feel out of sorts. Also, as the age progresses, I think that human energy really runs out, what I have shown to my sister's child, what I have shown to my nephew in terms of patience and energy, I cannot show my own children. For instance, this also bothers me. (Interview no.7, Appendix F, 55)

4.2.3.1.3 Social difficulties

Social difficulties uttered by 14 participants emerge in both the work life (for working ones) and the social life of the women after becoming mother.

In work life, the -more than usual- need to take time off from work because of the child related issues, mostly illnesses, is the main problematic issue as one participant shared:

> I can say that I didn't have any problems other than asking time off from work. I mean that, now you have to take time off, you have certain assignments at work, you also feel embarrassed next to your friend who works with you, of saying that he has a fever again, or you hesitate to go to your manager. These bother you, what are you doing in this case, you are speeding up to complete your work because the child is waiting in the daycare, and you have to pick him up. And unfortunately, this was mostly happening, even though we were working as two secretaries, I was always on my own during days like these, my friend is not there, it's a mere coincidence, so who do you leave it to, you are stuck like this, you freeze. (Interview no.4, Appendix F, 56)

On the other hand, the stress and burden of work life -when it come together with the responsibilities of rearing a child- and accordingly a balance seeking effort between the work and the house sometimes may affect the attitudes and mood of the women in a negative way which can be seen in two participants utterances respectively:

> And life conditions are really difficult when you are a working mother. You are already experiencing a lot of negative things during a day in Turkey, and then you go home. For example, the thing made me very sad, I want to share it, too. I took the kids, we went home, I'm washing their hands such and such, -Mehmet- mommy, are you mad at me, no, son why should I be angry, here, let's play, son, we'll play a little later, let me rest, I say you start playing, I'll come, he goes, comes back, mommy, are you angry with me? Mom, I do what you say, mom, does Müge not do what you say. Are you angry with Müge, no, son, I'm not angry with you, I'm not angry with Müge either, why should I be angry, you didn't do anything to be angry about, … I said, where did you get it *(what makes you think that)?* Mom, he said, you look upset, I went to the mirror, and I really looked upset. Why, because so much happened that day regarding work, there were so many problems that of course you can't cut it off in your mind ... This made me so sad, that I mean, I should be able to control my emotions, but you cannot do it *(always),* you are a human being, not a machine, so things happen, it is difficult. (Interview no.7, Appendix F, 57)

> I mean, I wonder if it was the negativities in my work life that caused this, that is, when it comes to patience, was my tolerance too low for him, I do not even know, I mean, I guess with their *(negativities')* influence you somehow put aside your emotionality, but for example, sometimes Tanya says, "Mom, you are different on Saturdays and Sundays", so you are definitely doing something unintentionally, you can reflect your stress and fatigue due to our life at work to the children. (Interview no.4, Appendix F, 58)

Some participants pointed out the interruption in their professional advancements especially when there is need to work in the nights and weekends, and for academical travels to attend conferences as it is the case for most of the academicians. One participant shared her sadness while questioning her excuses in this situation:

> Well, this makes me very sad because being an academician also requires 24/7 work, it is a bit difficult, so for example, I have in mind to read this paper in the evening, I couldn't do it at the office, but when the children are asleep, my energy is already gone … it requires a very different motivation, but I do not have the strength to do it by then. It saddens me a bit. Back in the time, I used to spend more time at night, work better. Other than that, I'm a little inefficient, I think I could be more productive, but I think it might be due to the children, but I don't know, so I thought about it a lot. So that's an easy excuse, saying I haven't been able to publish a paper for a long time, but I'm dealing with two children, is how I console myself a little somewhat. (Interview no.6, Appendix F, 59).

For academic mothers in the sample of this study, the case about professional progress is as Sutherland (2009) mentions: "When a mother feels hyper responsible

and pulled in the numerous directions, her ability to focus on the academic work before her can be affected" (p.217-218).

Another participant mentioned the encouragement from her colleague, however openly confessed her 'continuing' causing for her professional interruption although her child's age is not very young anymore:

> For example, I have a teacher, she is my doctoral thesis advisor, we now work together on projects, tells me, Helin, enough is enough, Berfin is four and a half years old, come on, you can leave her *(with others)* or something. I have never left Berfin yet. Actually, I did once, but I really did not want to do it. My sibling…had a daughter, I hadn't seen her yet, and it would take some time till the next *(opportunity)* I would be able to do so. They were living in Ankara then, at that time I left her with his father and with my mother-in-law and we were separate for 2 nights, I think she was 3 years old or so then, our first separation, I have never left *(her side)* since then. I mean, she did not stay with even my own mother. We always stay at home, stay together, sleep together, we have such a reliance. She also does not want to sleep with anyone else but me, it is very hard for her to fall asleep, she does not want to sleep with anyone else, even with his father. Even with him *(father)*, we can't quite do it. (Interview no.1, Appendix F, 60)

Ward and Wolf-Wendel (2016) states that women's decisions and choices regarding work and home are engaged with the "gendered expectations" (p.20) of her family (parents, children, and spouse) and the society.

Beyond the women's decisions, sometimes the bosses/directors in the work may also have a negative effect on the professional advancement of women by deciding on the behalf of the woman like not including them in certain projects, work travels, seminars, conferences, etc., and by doing so, they are overtly or in a subtle way, consciously or unconsciously, attaching the traditional primary childcare role, which is nourished by the patriarchal ideology, to women.

> Our department head does not put me in active *(assignments)* withal. Now, for example, the children have grown up, and even Mahmut is 3 years old, and he *(department head)* started sending me out of the city to the conferences. Maybe he pulled us back from thinking a little bit about the same thing, maybe thinking somehow, saying there is that, the priority of the children. Now he is more promoting. (*Was he doing this after conferring with you?)* No, you know, he was doing it without asking at the beginning, but he

> was saying you can go, be prepared or such. I was always open to this, then I would bring my mother and mother-in-law into the picture, I was saying you can do this, you can consider me, but you know, not much happened during that period, right now we are just getting sent out this year smoothly, we are getting things from outside events, a bit without noticing, yes, it may have been interrupted from the top, bona fide. (Interview no.9, Appendix F, 61)

Beyond the difficulties, there were also some positive utterances regarding the work life of women after the child. Some participants expressed that they have lot of support in their workplaces like the considerate attitude of their colleagues, and directors and were allowed flexibility regarding the working days and hours in the first year which is mostly applicable for academicians. One participant attributed her director's positive approach to her being a woman and a mother by saying:

> I can say, for example, since my supervisor is also a woman and she is a mother, for example, when Artin gets sick and so on, I take leave very easily, so I guess it is related to motherhood. Other than that, there wasn't much extra plus or minus here because I'm a mother, but when I take time off at work, for example, even during periods when I'm more hesitant to do, now when it comes to Artin, I can take leave very easily. (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 62)

However, we can assume that this situation is actually much more valid for women. In this sense, being woman (a mother) has a protective aspect when compared with men (fathers). When a man asks for time off from work due to his child's illness (or such child-related special cases), this is not well received - where is the mother? -; even his authority in his house would be judged - is he henpecked? -; or this could be considered as an excuse to swing the lead. Of course, we can interpret this protectivity toward mothers again as an oppressive trait which underlines the main caregiver responsibility of women as mothers.

In addition to the difficulties in the working life, becoming mother brings a critical and -as some of the participants said- irreversible interruption in the social life of women.

Participants compared their previous and the current life regarding their social life, and they mentioned the challenging characteristics of their children, special requirements of particular periods in child-rearing like sleep training, lack of tolerance on the side of acquaintances, lack of spouse's support, and having multiple children are among the main difficulties the woman have against an active and pleasant social life.

One participant explained this change in detail emphasizing before and after, the needs and characteristic of her child, and the expectation of tolerance from others:

> Of course, we used to go out more often, we went to the movies every Friday. After that, also dinners with our friends. since Berfin was a bit like, crying child and didn't like changing places *(routines)* much, she had some colic during that six-month period, we couldn't invite many people to our house. Actually, our place used to be a house with a lot of guests coming and going. We couldn't go to many places, hence a slight separation from our friends formed for a while as an example, things like that … but that's how it was, our friends would invite us, we kept replying in the negative over and over, they don't come with us anymore, for example, so we alienated them for a while. And I was saying that Berfin has sleep problems, if we come, her sleep schedule will truly be disrupted, this was after is sleep schedule training, so we have to put her to sleep at this hour, so I can't join you at that hour, we have to be back home at seven in the evening. However, we can do something *(together)* before that period, or you can come to *(visit)* us, and I'd put her down to sleep. It is the same in that case, we could never go to visit our friends during that time ... there are those who understand, there are those who don't sometimes. And so it goes. (Interview no.1, Appendix F, 63)

One participant uttered her worries regarding her child's health in case of going outside during cold weather, and mentioned that she gives up going out in such a case:

> It's different, as I said, initially when you first get married, you go wherever you want with your spouse, be it a wedding or somewhere else, but you can't go when you have a child, the simplest thing is it gets cold, it gets rainy, snowy, he may catch a cold, he may get sick, I say never mind, I don't have to go, I mean you *(the spouse)* can go but I won't come, because the kid may get sick. Sometimes my spouse goes, and I don't go, sometimes I don't let him go, what if, let's stay together, if something happens, you'll be here with me,

> you know, things change, there is no such thing as not changing I mean. (Interview no.16, Appendix F, 64)

Same participant pointed the behavioral differences of their two children and expressed the effect of these differences when asking for support:

> Whom will I leave her with, Mutlu will behave. I trust Mutlu, I can leave her and go, but Suat does not settle, even a little bit, for example, take my sister-in-law, he does act out even with her, she says, I would do whatever you want from me, she says, but do not leave Suat here, because he does not stop running around. (Interview no.16, Appendix F, 65)

Although women start to have a separate social life as their children grow, they still make arrangements according to children's needs and requests as one participant utters:

> For example, I have just started going out with my friends in the evening again, but for example, I have to return at 9-9:30 because I get a phone call "Mom, where are you", sleep symptoms start and she wants me *(back)*, and since I can't refuse her in general. I can mention these aspects. (Interview no.1, Appendix F, 66)

Another participant who is a political activist stressed the 'irreversible' changes in her activities before and after she has her child:

> He created a great change, that is, an incredible change. First of all, it has truly changed me a lot socially ... Well, you know, I'm an activist person, I used to engage in political activities, and I still do, but of course they were stopped abruptly. So, my social life has been affected a lot. Especially in the first year, let me tell you that. Then after the first year, then I started working, I had taken one year off *(from work).* After that, I became a little more, just a little bit more like before, even if never the same as before, but a little more social, then I became a woman who does things other than taking care of children. But I mean, İlkay before Artin and İlkay's life after Artin are completely different, socially. (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 67)

Having multiple children has also an effect of the social life because of its practical difficulties as one participant mentioned:

> With my friends on weekends etc., that is, even when I was married, I was able to make plans with my friends, or I could meet with them on weekends, but then all of them disappeared from my life one after the other, one by one. It is different when you have only one child, you take it with you like a purse and go, but after the number of children increases, even if you take to … It's hard to take all three together *(out with you).* Forgive me, but even if you take

> them, it is hard to go to someone with the kids, it is hard for the other side *(people)* for instance. If it is for a close friend, you would go of course, but to visit neighbors or acquaintances, meaning for leisurely *(visiting)*, you shy away from that if you don't have a rapport with them. (Interview no.8, Appendix F, 68)

The lack of support of the spouse and his conservative point of view regarding women and motherhood cause serious conflict especially when he continues his life as in the past. The same participant who was quoted above also shared:

> *(Can you leave your children alone with your spouse?)* All three of them, very rarely, what for, for example, the grocery shopping *(laughs)*. I mean, surely there are people who do it, but we don't do that, so it didn't happen. Since that is the case, without meaning to, resentment and anger arise against your spouse. When you talk about this, some due to the religious beliefs, some not due to beliefs but to her nature, a woman takes care of her child at home, I do not want to associate religiosity with this, but if you are a woman, you stay home and take care of your child, so going out of engage in social activities with friends is not for us *(women)*, this cannot be *(part of)* our lives. But he himself goes out with his friends, I mean from time to time, yes, it so happened that he went to the soccer matches with a season ticket, or for example, he went to the movies with his friends on Saturday etc., when can be arranged, he went to play bowling, he continued *(all these)* after we had kids. So maybe this is me being unlucky, that is, his lack of understanding … we talked but it did not help with the solution. (Interview no.8, Appendix, 69)

In this 'social life' issue, the view, attitude, and acts of the spouse are very important. When the spouse lives his life as in the past, this causes a conflict in marital relationship. On the other hand, sometimes conservative points of view of spouses restrict women from having a private sphere outside home. In families, where men have an oppressive approach in marital relationships, there is almost no space for collaborative parenting (Cowdery & Knudson-Martin, 2005).

Despite this challenging situation, she mentioned her relief of having close friends whom she can reach by phone to compensate her social need to some extent: "There are some people and my friends whose goodness, and rapport I trust, whom I can call even at night, no matter what time it is, I trust their sincerity. I get that from there the most" (Interview no.8, Appendix F, 70).

On the contrary, some participants shared that they have overcome the interruption in their social life with the support of their spouses regarding taking care of the children, as can be seen in utterance of two participants respectively:

> *(Can you leave the children with your spouse and go out?)* I do go out, yes. I have been managing to do so for a few years, for example, we have groups of friends, we meet up occasionally, we either meet at one person's place, or go out to visit a nice place together. Once a week maybe, the father stays at home, sometimes they go to the grandmother's to spend time. At the moment, I can honestly say that my spouse is a very accommodating husband. (Interview no.20, Appendix F, 71)

> I have a circle of friends, we are already doing things, we either go out once a week, go out to live music or something, or go out for coffee and such. Also, I go to the hairdresser etc.… He also says that when I see you happy like this, I feel happier and you reflect this on your children, too. (Interview no.11, Appendix F, 72)

There is also a positive statement by a participant regarding the changes the children brings to everyday life. She mentions that they have traveled more than before without considering having children as a drawback:

> Actually, you know, we used to go on excursions much less before we had kids. We traveled more with the children, so we never did anything like, we never turned it into a problem with my spouse and let me tell you, we went wherever we wanted to go. (Interview no.4, 73)

4.2.3.1.4 Time-related difficulties

Time-related difficulties were uttered by 11 participants, and these are mainly about difficulties for having time for self and having quality time with children and spouse.

Because of the time-consuming chores of the house and child-rearing which sometimes come together with the working life, the women have difficulty to find special time for themselves. Consequently, they find themselves in a situation where they move gradually away from their interests and hobbies even if they sometimes find time for these, because they start to lack the necessary motivation. Moreover, they sometimes prefer to use the available free time apart from the house and

children for just resting and centering themselves to prevent burnout. One participant pointed the lack of necessary motivation to act for her interests and hobbies:

> So, of course, it is very painful. The whole story of not being able to take time for yourself, that is also a negative thing, for example, I used to spend a lot of time on myself, the things you did to improve yourself etc., all of them are completely gone. The most basic things like, movies, books, courses, sports are all over; now that's why I'm spending time in the kitchen, only that chills me out. I don't think I have enough motivation either … I think I forgot how; it overwhelms me. Actually, I forgot that in five minutes, it would clear my head if I went out. And there are always things *(to do)* at home, so, that is that actually. (Interview no.6, 74)

Another participant elaborated the issue of not-having special time for herself by describing a morning routine, in which she is busy not only with her children's stuff but also with her spouse's, by ignoring her own self-care needs, and then she compared their children's attitudes to her and their father regarding having special time by emphasizing that her spouse lives his life in a similar manner as it was before children:

> For example, let me tell you about our daily routine: I get up at half past six to seven in the morning, I prepare breakfast. The children get up, the children either eat by themselves, or maybe they cannot do so *(need help)*. After that, my spouse takes a shower every morning. Then I prepare his clothes, I prepare the children's clothes, I dress them, etc., this you cannot do I mean; you do not have anything for yourself, you do not have the time. For example, I comb my hair here *(at work)*, brush my teeth here. You can't do those things, no time to go through with them. Know what I mean? ... For example, people want to, for example, I am a person who loves to read books, I used to be. I miss reading books, but I don't have time for that essentially. I wonder if it's because of me, I don't know. My spouse is also a man who reads a lot, my spouse lives his life as before. But I can't. Now I want to read something while the children are playing by themselves, I will paint it like this - mommy, take this book, put it here, play with us. Certainly, both of them would not let you read a book, you can't read, like they get on your back, they jump, but I also need the rest, I don't have time to rest. But there is nothing to *(distract)* the father, the father reads while he is reading, they never touch the father's books. But they certainly do not let me to read a book. For example, I feel deeply about it being, I don't have this, how can I say, I don't have a space to relax. Reading a book is an act of relaxation, because I enjoy it, but I have no space to enjoy any of my pleasures. (Interview no.7, Appendix F, 75)

One participant expressed the seriousness of this case which causes a burnout in women's life:

> You are not cognizant of it for a period, but then as time goes by, you see that you can't do anything, you are in a vicious circle, but there is still nothing (you can do). There is no relaxation space for yourself, and when you can't do anything, this time you are exhausted, you are slowly going towards the bottom. You know, I don't have anything for myself, neither I rest, nor I travel, I don't do this, pardon-me, but I can't even eat my food in peace. What I mean is that I'm a person, too. (Interview no.8, Appendix F, 76)

Same participant uttered the need of social support to handle this difficulty, and its lack in her life:

> Here, for example, what I observe most is that in my circle of friends, most of them have families nearby. At least on a weekend, for example, even on an evening, they can leave the children *(with them)* and go to the movies without worry, they go to the theater, excursions, etc. You know, these would be like a breath of fresh air for me, I mean, everybody outside the city, like there is no one else, sometimes one wants to remain silent without doing anything. Just doing nothing, being idle. (Interview no.8, Appendix F, 77)

And she remarked the healing effect of turning back to working life:

> When you look at (ask) yourself to decide if the money (spent on) babysitter, daycare etc. is worth it or not, taking some time for yourself, maybe going out for lunch break, eating in peace, (interacting) with others not as a mother but taking off the mother's costume and being an individual, I realized that it was good for me. … Before that, I had turned into a type of person who cries at home all the time, for instance. (Interview no.8, Appendix F, 78)

Here, turning back to working life despite its potential exhausting effects due to dual roles meant re-obtaining private space and time for themselves -even if it means just an hour of lunch break. This experience is in the same direction with one of the findings of Guendouzi's study (2006) that women benefit from the social context of the workplace in which they can express themselves through their identities out of being mother, and have a personal space out of home.

Similar to coping with other challenging aspects regarding the responsibilities of becoming mother, the support of the spouse is again a very significant factor. One participant underlined this issue; however it is seen from the utterance that she needs

to express to her spouse that she is not feeling well so as to get (or feel) the right to rest:

> I like to take time for myself when my spouse takes the kid out, or I don't know, when my kid goes to bed early. As much as I can, when I go to my own room, even if it is for an hour or maybe even half an hour, give the kid to my spouse, free time for myself and clear my mind, then I take care of the children better and more serenely, I tell my spouse that I am very restless today. (Interview no.19, Appendix F, 79)

In this study, the findings also support that providing childcare is different for mothers and fathers in terms of allocated time even if both partners have full time works (Craig, 2006; Wada et al., 2014), and as the same with Craig (2006)'s analysis, when fathers provide the childcare, they do it rarely all by himself in intact families but act as assistants of mothers, which means it is very difficult for women as mothers to get relieved and stay away from the responsibilities and burden of childcare even for a while.

Moreover, time-related difficulties include having limited quality time with children. The women, as the mothers, sometimes as working persons, and as the main -most of the time only- responsible persons of the housework find themselves in a 24/7 rush in which they experience the challenge of being always in a hurry to accomplish never-ending tasks, and in which they cannot respond -or have to postpone to respond-their children's requests for a more intimate time like playing, reading book, etc., as one participant shared:

> And I think the worst part of motherhood is that since you have things to do at home 24/7, when the child comes to you, at that moment you need to quit and, for example, in the kitchen, okay son -let's play-, ok son -let's read a book-, I always put it off, I feel very sorry for him, okay let me finish this, then I can do so, it makes me feel a little sad. (Interview no.6, Appendix F, 80)

Another participant mentioned economic limitations as the reason of carrying the whole burden of household chores by herself -because she could not afford a paid

helper at the house-, and consequently not having adequate time and physical energy for her children:

> If we were in a better situation, I would like to have a helper in my house. Because mothers spend a lot of time at home, get tired too much, physically, and mentally, and cannot spare time for their children in a healthy way. I wish, instead of dealing with them *(chores)*, I could take care of my son in a healthy way, I would like to see everything relating to him, but when you are tired, you cannot do it because now you get tired of it all, so oh let me sit down, my son, let me lie down, you have to postpone constantly ... I don't want to deal with housework. On my own, I want to attend to myself, read my book, when my children come *(home)*, I want to spend time with my children, I want to listen to what they do daily, but you can't find time for these. (Interview no.20, Appendix F, 81)

Bora (2001) reported that although women describe the sexist division of labor at home as a problem, they don't make an effective effort to change it. On the other hand, they try to provide a personal space not transforming their relationships with their spouses but asking for and getting help from their own mothers. When we look at the finding of this study, Bora's interpretation is to some extent valid for this study, too. Women are preferring or intend to solve the problem of multiple burdens of housekeeping and child-rearing mostly through other sources like their own mothers or paid workers.

One participant shared her regret about not being able to drop off her children to their school herself which she considers as an important sharing with her children:

> For example, I was never a person who went to school with their children. All of them, because I always work, there is always a caregiver, they transport them back and forth because I work. The youngest goes to kindergarten, the nanny takes her there, I never take my children to school. That's another *(upsetting)* thing for me as well. (Interview no.12, Appendix F, 82).

In addition to not being able to have quality time with children, the intense life with children which lacks social support most of the times, prevents the spouses from having private time together, as one participant uttered:

> I have never been apart from the three children, no instance of me leaving them *(behind)* to go anywhere. I always went with children. (*Would you have*

> *liked to do*?) Definitely… I would love spend time with my spouse. I wish for a day, only a day, or even half an hour, one hour. (Interview no.19, Appendix F, 83).

4.2.3.1.5 Economic difficulties

Economic limitations have an effect on various aspects of rearing a child according to the utterances of five participants, including some practical issues like not having a car and discomfort in transportation, timing about turning back to working after birth, and the changing needs of a growing child. One participant compared the turning to work process between her two children:

> I had to leave it *(baby)* to my mother when it was only 3 months and 1 week old. It wore me out a lot, it was after a very short time and since we were newly married, there was no chance like, I did not have the luxury of taking unpaid leave ... Since my mother was *(living)* at Hisar, I used to leave work, go and breastfeed in the breaks, I used to take the milk I pumped during breaks to them at noon, so it worked out, but that rush was too much. Did I get daunted? No, it went very well, but the heart would have liked to take unpaid leave to make it easier. For example, I had it with Toprak, it was very nice. Both the official vacation leaves had increased, and of course, the paid and unpaid leaves given by the civil service also was announced. That way, I took care of Toprak fully for 7-8 months. (Interview no.4, Appendix F, 84)

One participant who had similar difficulties after her first child's birth told that she had wished the support her parent-in-law offered them had been monetary instead of babysitting:

> My family could not offer much to help, but on the other hand, not because of the love or yearning of grandchildren, they (family-in-law) said they would take care of her, I can leave. In fact, if they could pay our rent instead, and help (that way), so saying you look after your child, because I was breastfeeding then. (Interview no.8, Appendix F, 85)

Another participant pointed the changing needs and requests of her growing children and her lack of means to meet these demands due to financial reasons:

> After the child*(ren)* started school, they were more outside then, they socialized. And they also grew up, they are aware of some things, sometimes there are financial impossibilities, frankly, I can't go out and take them somewhere and my spouse is at work, *(they say)* look, you are not taking us anywhere, and my father is working all the time, what's the point of living

> etc., they remonstrate like that. Then you feel very helpless like this, you get worn out, okay, I'm trying to take them to a park, here and there, close by places where they can have fun, but you still feel sad inevitably, financial issues happen. (Interview no.15, Appendix F, 86)

Conversely, when the economic conditions are sufficient, and some services regarding the household chores are provided through paid workers, there is the possibility that the life of women is not very much affected by the physical burden of the house which in turn affect her work and social life positively as mother, as one participant uttered:

> When Tarık started the daycare, that is, at the point where they were both in the daycare, Ayhan was telling me that I guess we may let the helper *(nanny)* go, no need anymore, I said no, not at least until they are 15-16 years old. Because I'm not doing anything at home. Now I neither cook, nor clean the house, because there is no way to keep up with everything. If I do those, I won't be able to do other things, it will affect me professionally as well. She comes every day on weekdays, not boarding, from 9 to 6 ... After all, as I said, I want a life that I can keep up with a number of things both professionally and socially. For this reason, yes, we have the income to pay for it, fortunately, after all, there would be no way of doing such a thing, but if it happens that way *(letting go of the help)*, we will either live in sh.t and do other things, or in the end I will settle to cook and clean all day. (Interview no.10, Appendix F, 87)

4.2.3.1.6 Child-rearing difficulties

Becoming mother brings the challenges of rearing children with it as 12 participants mentioned. The lack of knowledge about meeting the basic care needs of children, the correct acquisition of basic habits such as eating, sleeping and toilet training when the child grows up, managing the child's behavior at home and outside, the difficulties related to providing support for spending quality time at home, and thus the intense relationship with technological devices and the difficulties of managing it were expressed as the difficulties that the participants encountered most about child rearing. One participant talked about her need for support which she felt when her child was born:

> This happens, I mean there must be someone from the family. You don't know what to do, how to do with the child. Think about it, a being that cannot express itself, it cries, you do not know why it is crying, you cannot fathom. And you have recently given birth, there is a psychological thing that comes with going through labor for a woman (Interview no.7, Appendix F, 88).

One participant compared the time of her childhood with today, and favored the former in terms of simplicity, socialness, and happiness.

> It's due to the time *(we live in),* as people say, I'm really scared, trending tidbits, technology, sometimes I wish we weren't like this, you know, in the old times we grew up on our own, you know, they say the generation that grew up on its own was better. I look at the children now, there is really a big difference between the current generation and the previous ones, I don't have much hope, to be honest ... we used to have nothing, but look, we were happy even though my mother wasn't involved. The children now seem unhappy to me, I don't know … I remember then, for example, my brothers bought me a big truck and I had a Barbie doll, I didn't have any toys other than those, and we always used to play outside, everything was toys *(for us)*, until the evening … at the moment, I don't know, I see right now the children are not playing house much, *(they are)* more into technology. We used to be like this *(as I've mentioned).* Well, I don't know. My age is not very much either, so *(what I mention)* is not from ancient times, and I've experienced it all. And I am happy that I've had that, this is how I feel about it. But I don't know if today's children, who are now 5 years old or so, would be happy *(like that)*, but I am not sure about that. For example, we used to play hopscotch on the road, play ball until the evening, for example, I remember those years very well, I remember the time spent playing even better than my family relationships, or even better than my interactions with my mother. Because, see, we grew up outside. We don't have much in common with my mother, we came in, we ate, we slept. (Interview no.17, Appendix F, 89)

Another participant's utterance is supporting the former participant's expression by elaborating the misuse of technological devices:

> Of course, also some technological gadgets and the development of technology, these all affect the lives of children a lot …When we look at the current times, we consume everything quickly. Therefore, they are not satisfied with anything, that even a three-year-old kid is not satisfied. For example, his future scares me right now, what will happen in five years? Even next year, what will he become, what other things will he want, since he knows everything. So, we falter ... We turn on the TV, we give him the cellphone, meanwhile, the child disappears, times are very different now, I think it's due to technological gadgets and technological development. (Interview no.3, Appendix F, 90)

On the other hand, child-rearing difficulties are multiplied when there are more than one child as one participant stated:

> I mean, if you really can handle two, *(having)* a child is very beautiful, very difficult, but really, if you can handle everything with patience and psychology, I'd say *(have)* two. Having an only child is a little like fairytale marriage, you have a taste of both motherhood and other things, two children is really hard, two kids is too many kids. (Interview no.9, Appendix F, 91).

Sometimes the interferences of others to the women's own attitudes, regarding child-rearing, challenge the already difficult situation more:

> For example, even if when the child falls I do not say anything, not get upset, or when he breaks *(something)* and I do not get angry. Then someone from the sidelines will say "Oops, see how he fell!", and if nobody would say something like that the kid would not cry, so it would not be possible then, he would just shake it off and get up. I would say that Toprak does not cry, for example, as a reaction, but with the influence of that person, that magic is broken right away. (Interview no.4, Appendix F, 92).

Intellectual and behavioral conflicts with the spouse is also another challenging and important issue during child rearing as one participant utters:

> What I have observed in fathers in general, and what is also happening with Hasan is that they are very mediocre in terms of changing themselves, transforming themselves, when it comes to child development, meaning they do not put any effort into that. For example, Hasan has not read even a single book on this subject. Are we going to raise this kid with a book, he says for example, I tell him about these seminars etc. for instance, I keep sending him the information and such that I find, all the time. Take for example that we are experiencing feeding problems, I send the ideal thing to do about it so that he can look through and read it, but he does not read, that he does not do, he tells me that I read too much, that is the reason you are this obsessed, he says … I mean, he acts very instinctively and spontaneously, for example, he never had a problem with *(the kid)* biting his nails. I was just telling him over and over, look, nail biting may be a sign of many things, it could be this or that. (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 93)

In addition to the above situation, she gave two examples from their everyday life, and mentioned further conflicts with her spouse, however within these examples, she also expressed her uncertainty regarding her attitude:

> So, like, how can I put it, maybe I'm doing it the right way, I'm not so sure about that. Artin is a boy after all, and I am a feminist woman. For example, I want him to grow up with as much as possible thingamajig *(separate)* from

> societal gender *(roles)*, but my spouse is more relaxed about this subject, hence he may make jokes about things like, I don't know what, for example about the kid's weenie and I get very upset about it. For example, when it comes to subjects like this, there are many areas where I am hypersensitive about. For instance, I can be a little more relaxed about that point because, for instance my spouse's explanation actually convinces me. For example, our sharing and division of labor in the house, let's see, if you ask Artin, who cooks the meals at home, he would say, daddy does it. Or, he says so, since he sees it that way, he says don't worry, but I'm like this, how to put it, I'm like that, my antennas are always up like that, I'm a little nervous about that subject, so I would like to be a little more relaxed about that subject matter. (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 94)

> Or I have some rules like that. For example, the food will be eaten at the table rule, I am not amenable to being flexible much in some rules, this generates tension in our house. I mean, sometimes I do too much *(according)* to book knowledge, I try to adhere to it too much. It is 50% to 50% where I am right and where my spouse or Artin is right. So, for example, there has been almost no television in the house for three years, I mean zero television, for example, I won that, it is my thing, my position. But in the meantime, even when the television is on occasionally, I can react like this, do you know what I mean, what I mean by loosening up is, so what, let him watch a little bit etc. (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 95)

4.2.3.2 Structural aspect

The major determinants for the conception that becoming mother is a struggle with diverse difficulties are mothers themselves, their spouses (fathers), members of extended family and larger society, and socio-cultural context (see Table 12). The perception of women regarding this lived experience is negative, and as being illustrated through the utterances of participants (see section 4.2.1.1), the focus is on women as bearers of child-rearing who experience burn out, interruption in professional and social life, and loss of personal space after becoming mother. The reflections of socio-cultural traits and changes, fathers, family-in-law, workmates and managers as facilitators or hinderers are also considered as the background of this process.

Table 12. Dimensions of Variation for Category C

	Dimensions of Variation			
Category C	Major determinants	Forms of involvement	Women's perception of lived experience	Outcomes of lived experience for women
A struggle with diverse difficulties	mother, father, members of extended family and larger society, socio-cultural context	mothers as bearers of child-rearing burden fathers as supporters/non-supporters interferences from family-in-law presence or absence of sympathy and support from workmates reflections of socio-cultural traits and changes	negative	interruption in professional success and social life limited or no quality time with children and spouse loss of personal space

4.2.4 A set of particular personal traits and feelings

In this section, Category D (becoming mother as a set of particular personal traits and feelings) is elaborated by presenting its referential aspect through illustrative excerpts from interviews and structural aspect through the relevant referrals to dimensions of variation.

4.2.4.1 Referential aspect

Becoming mother is conceived as a set of particular personal traits and feelings as being uttered by all (20) participants, however they focused on and uttered different aspects of these personal traits and feelings on a personal level like unique love,

pride and gratitude, worries, guilt, uncertainty, regret, protectivity, emotionality, sensitivity, and self-sacrifice.

4.2.4.1.1 A unique love, pride and gratitude

The intense and gradually growing love felt towards the children by the mother was expressed as unique and unconditional by three participants: “Love, an unconditional love. I mean, a different kind of love that you have never felt before” (Interview no.1, Appendix F, 96).

For three participants, becoming mother is a reason to feel proud and thankful. The imposed place of women as mothers in the society, and the fulfilment of society’s expectations as a woman bring these feelings forward. One participant mentioned her positive feelings due to others’ view to her when she has her child:

> After I became a mother, yes, as a *(part of)* society, I really liked the look people around gave us when that child was in my arms, yes I liked it very much because I am a mother with my child in my arms, this is me, this little thing is mine, so it is a very nice feeling, may it be the way the society views you, or such, to possess it *(baby).* (Interview no.13, Appendix F, 97)

Another participant put forward the expanding role of the women as mothers when she expressed her feeling of pride:

> How can I explain, when you call me a mother, I feel proud, it is very honoring. A mother is everything, you become a mother to your spouse, to your kids, I mean if there is a woman in a home, she is the mother. (Interview no.14, Appendix F, 98)

Moreover, one participant approached this issue from the side of her religious belief so pointed the feeling of spiritual gratitude:

> Being a mother is very lovely. In my opinion, this is the best thing the world, Allah granted to women, the best present, we should be grateful for this so much. I think being a woman is a privilege, and it's beautiful. We should thank Allah because we taste motherhood, it is definitely the most beautiful thing in the world I can say. (Interview no.17, Appendix F, 99)

Although women suffer a lot from the physical and mental load, and responsibilities of giving birth to and upbringing a human being, they also get satisfied from the social and spiritual benefits of being a mother in one way or another.

4.2.4.1.2 Worries

Seven participants mentioned that the prominent feeling when becoming mother is worries. These are mostly related with the women's self-confidence about taking care of their children, with rearing the child in big cities, and with the anxiety of getting sick, in turn the possibility of not being able to take care of their children accordingly. These worries start before birth during pregnancy especially if the expectant mother is older than 35 years old as one participant uttered:

> And as the age progresses, I don't know how it is in other countries, but unfortunately in Turkey, in our country I mean, when you become 35 years old, they begin right away, as if you are a Guinea pig, test this, test that. When that happens, your anxiety increases even more. I mean, it makes the mother very uneasy, you start there, they give you sugar *(glucose tolerance test)*, then this test, and that test, like a guinea pig, things like that makes people feel very uncomfortable. For example, my friends living abroad are not having these *(that many)* ultrasounds in any way. (Interview no.7, Appendix F, 100)

Sometimes being more anxious than before can also be observed and compared by acquaintances as one participant said:

> Now, for example, the people in the neighborhood always told me this, you turned into a worrywart, this is the thing that I take the most criticism on after becoming a mother. I was more relaxed before, these are all negative *(attitudes)*, such as them saying you worry too much, why do you panic this much etc. Actually, I have this in me, but I suppose it intensified, hence the people around me observe this, so that is the one that I hear most of the time. (Interview no.4, Appendix F, 101)

Life goals of women as mothers becomes different after the child has born, and they start to give priority to their children before anything else. One participant expressed this situation by pointing the responsibility of rearing her child:

> You say things like, when you are in your 20s, or rather before you become a mother, I am here today, it is fine even if I am not here tomorrow *(whether I live or die)*. Remember, they say, take care of yourself, don't get sick, don't do this, don't do that, cross the street *(carefully)*, but aren't we going to die anyway? But right now, dismally, I'm thinking, God, please give me this so that (*she becomes tearful at this point*), I mean, if it wasn't for me, yes there would be someone looking after Baran in this world, but it has to be me, me, me, I have to be the one. You don't care *(then)* because you only have your own life, yes, your family, your friends etc. would be sad if you were no more, but right this moment, fine, you may disregard your own life, but there is a very important life that I need to accompany. I need to raise him. (Interview no.5, Appendix F, 102)

The future of children is already a concern of mothers even if the children are very young at the present time as one participant stated: "Before motherhood, I was living for myself, for my own wishes, now, after they are born, there is always a concern about future, about their prospects" (Interview no.19, Appendix F, 103).

One participant revealed her extreme worries and fears about child abuse issues which -as she utters- is mainly influenced by the news on TV and internet, and which also affects her mothering in turn:

> It should be pointed out, for example, it's really hard to be a mother, how difficult it is, I'm thinking about Mutlu right now, seeing in the news, such and such happened to children, for example, when I think about these, it's very bad, let me tell you that sometimes when an uncle or similar takes my daughter, Mutlu, on his lap, I think of bad things *(happening)* instantly, I call her right away, I say Mutlu come, in case they do something to my daughter, anything could happen. Well, I don't know, such a bad thing, I do not ever want to hear those news, so in general I do not want to follow the news, the internet for that reason, because there are always things on those relating to kids and it is very bad, I cannot sleep after listening to the news about those kids, my mood goes down absolutely, and my attentiveness to Mutlu becomes more different like this. Sometimes I think, the world is going bad, I gave birth to one, granted, but why did I have the second one? (Interview no.16, Appendix F, 104)

4.2.4.1.3 Guilt, uncertainty, and regret

17 participants mentioned that they have had the feelings of guilt, uncertainty and/or regret during the process of becoming mother.

Child-care decisions when turning back to work life, absence of breast-feeding, aggressive behaviors toward own children, and aspirations for being a 'perfect' mother and self-comparison with other mothers are among the reasons of feeling of guilt and uncertainty according to participants self-reports. The feeling of regret is mainly about not being well educated.

Once the women give birth to their children, many of them start to develop feelings of uncertainty about whether they will be able to take care of their children or not. After some time, this uncertainty becomes about being good enough mother, and they start to judge their decisions regarding their lives and their children. Motherguilt mostly emerges when there is a conflict and discrepancy between externally -rarely by self- idealized and practiced mothering according to mother's self-judgment (not her child's) (Constantinou, Varela & Buckby, 2021; Maher, 2008). For example, working women, when they get separated from their child in the early stages, have a feeling of guilt as one participant shared:

> I felt as if I should not be here, like I should be *(there)* with my daughter, as if I myself was doing something detrimental, because I left her too early, she was little, even though I left her with my mother. (Interview no.4, Appendix F, 105)

As Uluğtekin (2002) reported that the feelings of guilt and inadequacy regarding their mothering are more pronounced in working women. If maternity repress women, it is not because of the nature of being a mother but it is because what the patriarchal society imposes on women under the mantle of motherhood. Many working women totally quit working after she has a baby because of the imposed guilt and fear by the society that they would not be able to raise their children "well" if they work. However, when we evaluate the socio-cultural context where the participants of this study live, this result (feeling of guilt) is not very surprising since the results of a large scale survey conducted in 65 cities of Turkey show that half of

the subjects (48%) think that working mother cannot develop a close and trusting relationship with her child as much as a non-working mother, and more than half of the subjects (58%) also stated that they consider it possible that a preschool-aged child will be affected in a bad way when its mother works (Çarkoğlu & Kalaycıoğlu, 2013).

Breast-feeding is also among the important issues which causes feelings of guilt and uncertainty when it is the case that the women do not / cannot breastfeed her children, as one participant who is mothering twins said:

> This is something that makes me very sad, I couldn't breastfeed, I gave them my milk still, since I was pumping, I feel very sorry about this. I should say, even when you carry only one child, these things could have happened, but when the twins came, it turned out his way, no matter, at least it happened *(we had them)*. (Interview no.6, Appendix F, 106).

On the other hand, it is also confusing for women in Turkey that the state is insistingly promoting exclusively breastfeeding of the babies in their first six months, but the paid postpartum maternity leave is regulated by the same state as only eight weeks (Kölemen, 2021).

The feeling of guilt rises also when women have difficulty arranging schedules to be able to have quality time with their children, so they start to think if they neglect their children. The work life of women, the general (and unshared) burden of the household, and also the practical side of some women's aspiration for being a "perfect" mother -but mainly focusing on the physical side of it (like cleaning, cooking, etc.)- are among the reasons for having limited (quality) time with their children as two participants respectively expressed:

> Since my spouse was not with me either, he would come home around 12 o'clock or so. All was happening via going through very complicated emotions. You are dealing with cooking, you work hard to tidy the house, and the child is a creature that demands incredible attention, a creature that you need to keep up with all their needs, you experience explosions of emotions. You know, I wonder if I am neglecting my child, I mean in a way, while

> taking care of everything else, am I neglecting my child, and not providing enough mothering to her, that is, you also experience emotional outbursts. (Interview no.20, Appendix F, 107)
>
> At first, I tried to be the perfect mother, this was very wrong, by spending less time with the child. However, it is not so *(how it should be)*, let the house be, it is enough if this means you take her out, pay her attention more *(than the house)*. I used to leave her half an hour to an hour a day in front of the TV from time to time, so that I can keep up with the chores, but you can do these after she goes to sleep, I was trying to even things out with resting. (*What do you think the perfect motherhood entails?)* Here are those bloggers, whose everything is so precise, they have helpers and such, somehow such a dreamy motherhood, all goes well for them. But that's not how it works out, your spouse has expectations from you, that's what I tried to do, to do both gigs at the same time, may it be for the child, and the spouse, and the house or something else ... But you lose yourself at that point and that, that's not it, being a perfect mother, that is, being patient, listening to the child and sharing many things with her. (Interview no.9, Appendix F, 108)

However, Winnicott (1987) rejects the ideal of perfect mothering and brings forward the concept of 'good enough mother' which provides the child with many skills due to mother's shortcomings in some aspects (cited in Johnston & Swanson, 2004). When looking from that perspective, if mothers allocate their time which they have planned to use for their children's care and rearing more for having intimate relationship with their children, this will have a lot of benefits for both the mothers and the children.

Getting often and easily angry towards their children is a source of feeling guilty, and what women regret. Half of the participants complained about themselves that they wanted to be more patient toward their children, and not get angry easily. However, the background reasons for getting often and easily angry to their children are mostly the intensity of household chores, interruption in the very limited time they reserve for themselves by children, and the women feeling stuck in the identity of motherhood. The temperament of the child is also a determinant in women's reactions however busyness in the house has an important influence as one participant said:

> So, I don't doubt my mothering, but on the other hand, I can't stop *(worrying about it)* either. It also depends on the child. I get angry a little too quickly, but *(hard to)* be patient *(sometimes)*, we tell them something *(to do)*, of course, there is a difference between saying something 10 times and saying it only once. That, I don't like it, I feel sad later, I cry, what more to, I feel like approaching him to apologize ... I wish I wasn't like that, I would like to be more patient, on the one hand, I feel sad since I screamed at him, on the other hand I bother him to the point of tears, he must be feeling saddened. (*What could be making you impatient?)* Afterwards, I would have to deal with other matters, the mother's chores do not end, at home, due to the intensity of it all, I want everything to be done right away, as soon as I say *(something about)* it, I can think of it as so that we can continue the flow. (Interview no.3, Appendix F, 109)

As mentioned in the previous sections, the women as mothers have difficulty to find free time for themselves, and in such a case, the interruption in this free time may evoke aggression in women as one participant expressed:

> I am a person who may get very angry, I wish I could be calmer, I make decisions *(about this)* for myself, for example, we make decisions on our own in the course as well, but sometimes it does not work out, that is, as the pedagogues say, do not shout at the child, you know, but everyone has a limit, after a point, if the child constantly calls you nonstop every 3 seconds, mom, mom, mom, mom, and you only have an hour spared just for you, for things like working on needle lace and such, just one hour that I set aside just for myself, and calling mom, mom, mom, one gets unsettled, then I can't be like the mother I want to be. (Interview no.18, Appendix F, 110)

Feeling stuck in the identity of motherhood, and the changed lives of women in which they find themselves far away from the acts of their previous life have an effect also on their attitudes toward their children:

> For example, the subject of things *(concern)*: yelling, getting upset, getting angry, for example, I am not happy with myself when it comes to that, I never want such a thing to happen, I never want that, but it happens ... I mean, actually I became aware of this, that the reason that I get angry this much is due to me attaining the motherhood identity only, I mean there is no İlkay, because İlkay before Artin was very different, maybe if this was not the case, if that angle *(of separation)* hadn't been that much, I might not have had such a hard time, but when Artin was born, I suddenly became a mother just like that, but what happened to all the other İlkay's *(personas)*, the ones who reads and writes pieces, participates in protests, who meets up with her friends, there used to be such a person, who had her own tastes, so that is the reason for all this I supposed. I was so bored, so overwhelmed. Now, for example, it

> has changed, I am doing things a little bit *(different)* now, with my spouse, for example, we are planning the week now, the things he wants to do and the things I want to do, we are doing things without Artin etc. So I am not only a mother, at the moment, I am, take for example, a woman organizing for an election campaign, a woman who works for that *(goal)*. (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 111)

Here, because Rich (2015) elaborately and outspokenly described this situation, I want to quote her statements directly and fully:

> The physical and psychic weight of responsibility on the woman with children is by far the heaviest of social burdens. It cannot be compared with slavery or sweated labor because the emotional bonds between a woman and her children make her vulnerable in ways which the forced laborer does not know; he can hate and fear his boss or master, loathe the toil; dream of revolt or of becoming a boss; the woman with children is a prey to far more complicated, subversive feelings. Love and anger can exist concurrently; anger at the conditions of motherhood can become translated into anger at the child, along with the fear that we are not "loving"; grief at all we cannot do for our children in a society so inadequate to meet human needs becomes translated into guilt and self-laceration. (p.52)

There is also another factor causing uncertainty in women regarding their mothering which is women's self-comparison with other women who are mothers. The comparison issues are diverse, and -according to the participants utterances- include providing children with extra-curricular activities, starting to teach a foreign language, cooking healthy and varied foods, being informed about everything in the preschool, and taking children to the park every day. One participant expressed her worries on providing her child a healthy nutrition by comparing herself with other mothers:

> For example, *(I wonder if)* I am able to feed Artin properly, because I'm not a skillful mother, see, the mothers around me are all ones who cook a thousand and one kinds of food, they are weird in a way, like their freezers are full, they prepare pickles, menemen *(scrambled shakshuka)* is made, etc. I mean, I don't do any of that at all, that subject makes me feel like, concerned I mean, when it comes to expected motherhood, it's also there, for example, you have to feed your child very well, you have to cook a wide variety of food etc. And I don't do it, since I can't do it, I don't do it and I am not able to do it, so both applies together. For example, we were talking with a friend the other day, *(she said)* I cook a wide variety of soups, she started counting, there is onion

> soup, celery soup and what not soup on and on. At that moment, I felt bad because I only cook lentil soup for Artin and also prepare tarhana *(dried rue-based soup with tomatoes and onions)*, then I ask myself if I am not able to feed this child, I wonder if he is not getting enough nutrition as such. (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 112)

The same participant mentions the change in her mentality regarding being a perfect mother, and she objects having her identity being solely a mother:

> I mean, it is important to realize this at the moment, that there is no such thing as a perfect mother, I say this easily right now, but this is a very difficult stretch for mothers, all of their clothes must be clean, that they should give them a bath every day, put them to sleep regularly, feed them regularly. You should be happy, you shouldn't yell, but it just doesn't happen *(like that)*. Even when you assume that the work is shared between two human beings, a mother, and a father, equally, it does not happen even then. So, I think it's about accepting that a little bit, saying as good as it gets, and this is what I kind of mean when I talk about being relaxed. So do as much as you can, so what, let him drink lentil soup every day, you may add into it something different, or I don't know, maybe you did not iron his cloths, so what, let him wear them as is, what would happen, nothing etc. is what I mean. Let me say that until they reach that point, I think women do like, I mean, they suffer … I say, I wish I had done this since his infancy ... I mean, that perfect motherhood thing according my own criteria has put a lot of pressure on me, so because this, it is such a difficult thing to do, you are only a mother at that point, you cannot be anything else. So, in order for me to conform to those standards then, I had to be only a mother in actuality. There you will be ironing, giving baths, preparing the food, doing this, and doing that, and even just taking care of your child's basic needs takes a lot of your energy. (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 113)

Also, social media groups have a negative effect on this perpetual self-comparison, as one participant pointed:

> Look all this social media is such a crippling thing, this motherhood on the social media. I used to be a member of a mothers group, I left, I even unsubscribed from Facebook, I think those women were good for me, I mean, but one still compares, compares a lot. *(In what way was it good for you?)* There were such different personalities. A friend of mine made me a member there. They were all modern mothers, who are all educated etc.., it was good for me in that sense. Because I was sharing some concerns that I couldn't share with my sister with them for example … but sometimes their motherhood felt so strict, I'm not that much of a perfectionist. And you're always comparing yourself somehow, that's a bad thing. *(About which subject were you comparing yourself with others?)* Nutrition, for example, not eating

> sugar, not eating packaged food. I don't do it like that, I even offer them myself sometimes. So, things like that. But I don't know, everyone's course is difficult, and I was observing that as well, so for all who are there actually, everyone has a difficult period. But they are such interesting and creative types though. So, like this, they always produce something at home etc., some are working, some are academicians, some are stay-at-home. This is a place where there are maybe 450 women or so like this. At home, they keep baking sourdough bread and what not, they ferment things, they knit, and they even knit for their children. I mean, I don't do stuff like that, I only make my own yogurt, the yogurt that I feed to kids, that's all. (Interview no.6, Appendix F, 114)

When mothers are getting into contact with each other in search of ideal mothering, it is sometimes the case that their children's and families' uniqueness and special cases are ignored by others and also by themselves, and this causes confusions for mothers, and in turn result in feeling of incompetence (Aktaş, 2019).

Some participants sincerely expressed their regret of not being educated well. They mentioned the difficulties mainly in supporting their children with their coursework, in answering their questions, not having a profession and the financial results of it. One participant talked about the difficulties in supporting her child in his education in this way:

> I wish I had an education; I think I could be more helpful then. I mean, I am an elementary school graduate. The things I know are very different. My child brings up a question right now, and I get stuck, my spouse is a high school graduate, but he is working, he never concerns himself with any of her lessons, he works very hard. For everything, I say I forgot, see I don't know how many years have passed, my daughter, I really don't know *(the answers)*, I wish, I say, that I had gotten an education, then I could help her better as much as I can, but I can't do that, I don't think I am even able to. (Interview no.19, Appendix F, 115)

Another participant considered the possible effects of being more educated as having different attitudes toward her child:

> For example, if I had been educated more, maybe I would say, for my child, would I take care of my child differently, would I give her more things, this is the way I think of things. I don't know, most probably, I guess I would have acted differently than this. For example, I can't set many rules right now, and

> it had to be set from the very beginning *(if I do set any rule)*, and since I couldn't do that, it didn't happen. We just played together by ourselves. With Kemal's starting school, our life got a routine as well. Because I didn't set a bedtime much before that, we were as we are. For example, if I had been a different, well-educated mother, I say maybe I would have acted differently, I always think about that, so what I always wished to be the case is only that. (Interview no.17, Appendix F, 116)

4.2.4.1.4 Protectivity, emotionality and sensitivity

Four participants expressed that they were very protective toward their children. This protectivity emerges in different forms regarding behaviors and point of view of women as mothers. One participant uttered the uniqueness of mother's protectivity which cannot be compared with others':

> So, motherhood, you already know that you are a mother, you know that there is no one else but you, so you stand there just as a mother like an angel, she is a little angel herself anyway, you protect (take care of) her, no one else can be like a mother. (Interview no.16, Appendix F, 117).

Another participant actually shared the same view but expressed it in a more solid way by uttering the secondary role of father in this issue: "As if I am there with Baran, as his bodyguard, and the father is the associate person *(bodyguard)* like" (Interview no.5, Appendix F, 118).

Two different participants mentioned the issue of protectivity as being reflected in their behaviors toward their children. The first participant talked about protectivity together with the concept of mercifulness and her compassionate behaviors toward her children:

> I don't know, when asked what motherhood is, first came my mother *(to my mind)*, then I switched to that, what came to my mind was, that is, a mother figure, after that, of course, that all-loving, compassionate person, self-sacrificing, and then I and the way I turned out *(as a mother)* came to mind. I don't know, I guess compassion, I'll call it compassion, that is, sacrifice, because everyone does sacrifice things, many do, father does it, grandmother also does it, but I suppose I wonder if my mother is the most understanding *(compassionate)*, I don't know. *(What do you mean when you say compassion, can you think of an example that fits exactly?)* So, for example, in the process of disciplining children, during their education period, not

> being able to accept anything *(harsh)* or not being able take any harsh words, that's what came to my mind (Interview no.6, Appendix F, 119)

On the other hand, the second participant admitted that she sometimes behaved toward her children more rigidly due to the protectivity:

> Well, actually, for example, in all conscience and when you look around, for many cases, I am more like, let's say that, I would not have had many abrupt reactions. After I became a mother, maybe out of a protective instinct, especially towards your kid, for some things, it just so happened that I *(reacted to)* things more like with harsh 'no's or severe reactions (Interview no.4, Appendix F, 120).

Regarding the last example, Ruddick (2002) states:

> In protecting her child, a mother is besieged by feeling, her own and her children's. She is dependent on these feelings to interpret the world (p.69) … In protective work, feeling, thinking, and action are conceptually linked; feelings demand reflection, which is in turn tested by action, which is in turn tested by the feelings it provokes. Thoughtful feeling, passionate thought, and protective acts together test, even as they reveal, the effectiveness of preservative love. (p.70)

Being more emotional and sensitive is a prominent personal trait which was uttered by eight participants, and one participant told:

> Being a mother... being a mother is emotionality, especially for me, the first thing that comes to my mind is the emotionality, sometimes I even say that I couldn't get out of the puerperium, I get emotional over everything, I cry at the smallest thing or what not... In an instant, I become tearful etc., but this all happened after giving birth, before that there was no such thing. I mean, I wasn't *(behaving like that)* as much, of course, as a person, when I saw something emotional in an occasion, I would have been moved in any case, but after *(I had)* the child, I became even more emotional. I may also get emotional when I feel happy, and when I hear good news, my eyes fill with tears right away. (Interview no.3, Appendix F, 121)

4.2.4.1.5 Self-sacrifice

The word "self-sacrifice" can be considered as the term being often expressed during the interviews. Becoming mother is conceived to a large extent as devotion and self-sacrifice, and nine participants focused more on this concept during the interviews. One participant talked about the issue of self-sacrifice by exemplifying and

appreciating the case of her sister-in-law, and expressed that she favored such a self-sacrifice which includes considering the high benefit of children:

> I like my sister-in-law's thing very much … She researches very well, she doesn't work, she quit her job after she had a child. But she did not shut herself down at home, I admire her in that sense, for example, her child has speech delay … she researched, went, found, takes her to therapy, does her things at home ... she says that, unless I strive, this child would do nothing at all, she says. I appreciate it very much. Since it is very difficult, her day goes like this: she takes her to therapy, she picks her up from therapy, she takes her for a swim class, that is, she goes in and out of the house ten times. That's why I applaud her. For example, in motherhood, that is the thing, I love that. If the mother doesn't do it, nobody would really do so. *(What exactly is the thing you mean when you say I love that?)* I love the thing, I mean, I like dealing with the child, being active, being one step ahead of the child, not letting the child be, but discerning *(the kid)*. (Interview no.6, Appendix F, 122)

Another participant uttered the concept of self-sacrifice when talking about becoming mother but without imposing a huge meaning to that aspect: "Sacrifice, but I don't care that much about that portion, you have to make sacrifices in everything in life anyway" (Interview no.1, Appendix F, 123).

One participant shared her burnout due to intense self-sacrifice in all areas of her life to be able to take care of her children, and she also expressed the need of family support for a healthier struggle with this situation:

> You make sacrifices, in a very critical manner, in your professional life, you make serious sacrifices from your life, you also make serious sacrifices in private life, for example, you cannot do stuff even for your physical needs. For example, the simplest thing, you are going to get your hair dyed, going to get your hair dyed, from beginning to end is a three-hour job, so you cannot do that. You have a very serious problem with time. Sometimes you find it very difficult to even take care of yourself. So, when there are two children, I think there should be support from the family or such. Working and caring *(for kids)* at the same time is very arduous, I am experiencing that, right now. (Interview no.7, Appendix F, 124)

Another participant criticized this intense and socially imposed self-sacrificing behavior and attitudes of women as mothers:

> Look, I actually realized this somewhat after this daycare. There is a big sacrifice thing imposed on us, you see, this is a mission, I did it too much in the first year, I mean you make too many sacrifices and stuff, and you don't let yourself go with the flow like that. Actually, I think it's a very stressful thing. Yes, this task requires a very serious sacrifice, but it is necessary to distinguish something. In the previous example, that is, that diaper on that child can stay, say, for another minute, why don't you leave in the meantime and go to the toilet? Why are you inflicting this torture on yourself? Really, that sacrifice thing that is imposed on us is too much of a torment. (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 125)

Although this attitude -at first glance- seems for the best interest of children, it results in burnout for women, and turn into a source of power through which children -even when they become grown-ups- are being repressed by their mothers.

4.2.4.2 Structural aspect

The major determinants for the conception that becoming mother is a set of particular personal traits and feelings are mothers themselves as loving, compassionate, and protecting worriers and socio-cultural context with its expectations regarding motherhood (see Table 13). The perception of women regarding this lived experience is both positive and negative, and as being illustrated through the utterances of participants (see section 4.2.4.1), the focus in on women's feelings and personal traits associated with motherhood and the reflection of socio-cultural context on these feelings and traits.

Porter (2008) asserts that "recognition of emotions is important in mothering research because emotions inform mothers' thoughts and actions" (p. 189). Although participants expressed both positive and negative feelings and attitudes regarding becoming mother, no one pronounced feelings of (maternal) ambivalence [„the coexistence of negative and positive emotions in mothers towards their children" (Tuval-Mashiach & Shaiovitz-Gourman, 2014, p. 357)] on the contrary of Brown's

(2010) statement as: “Motherhood experiences of twenty-first-century mothers are strongly infused with ambivalence, which is largely located in the social conditions and expectations of contemporary motherhood” (p.121). There might be a number of reasons for that like mothers might have not this feeling of ambivalence, being unwilling to utter this during the interview due to personal and/or cultural reasons and being unaware or unable to name the feeling. On the other hand, despite the participants uttered many complaints regarding the burden and difficulties of becoming mother, I cannot say that belongingness to the identity of being a mother is overtly questioned. Moreover, there were no participants who uttered negative feelings for their children.

Table 13. Dimensions of Variation for Category D

	Dimensions of Variation			
Category D	Major determinants	Forms of involvement	Women’s perception of lived experience	Outcomes of lived experience for women
A set of particular personal traits and feelings	mother, socio-cultural context	mothers as loving, compassionate, and protecting worriers reflections of socio-cultural traits	positive negative	feeling of fulfilment emotions felt for the first time

4.2.5 A dynamic interaction with others

In this section, Category E (becoming mother as a dynamic interaction with others) is treated under two sub-categories which are “extended family” and “larger society”.

4.2.5.1 Extended family

In this section, Category E1 (becoming mother as a dynamic interaction with extended family) is elaborated by presenting its referential aspect through illustrative excerpts from the interviews and structural aspect through the relevant referrals to the dimensions of variation.

4.2.5.1.1 Referential aspect

The dynamic interaction with the extended families emerges in the forms of appreciation, changing and supporting relationships, and interferences as being uttered by 18 participants.

Nine participants underlined the appreciation aspect of regarding the interaction with extended families. First, becoming mother meets the expectations of extended family members after the expectation of getting married is met, and the ‘grandchildren’ become an object of pride; which also means that the birth of a child as a social capital strengthens the mothers' social position in family (Aytaç, 2021; Çarkoğlu & Kalaycıoğlu, 2013). One participant described this as a relief for the family:

> So, in a way, people may feel relieved. At some point, people want to see it, so look, she has children, her career is progressing, etc. I mean people have some specific templates in their mind, and then, they put checkmarks across each item like this also took place etc., that is the thing in my opinion, I mean, in life, *(they think)* both in professional life, see that she has a job, and all’s well there, and on the other hand, she has a family, she has a child, etc., from their point of view, yes, it seems that all the things that they have expected to happen, happened, so she is a person who can fit on the template. (Interview no.10, Appendix F, 126)

Handling the household and the childcare meticulously is appreciated by the members of the extended family, and this appreciation is expressed mostly by

making a comparison with the former life of women. One participant mentioned this appreciation as follows:

> My mother says that, she says you have changed a lot, you are not like the old İlkay at all. In her eyes, I just became more like a housewife, the one who can manage the housework. I mean, she didn't even think I would ever get married, I did get married, then as a matter of fact they were blown away *(with happiness)*, İlkay got married. Then finally I had a kid when I was 34 years old, which was a big development for them. Then again, as I said in their eyes, me taking care of my home, being that involved with my child etc., in their eyes, now I am a good woman, in their eyes, I have become a good mother or something. (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 127)

This appreciation by family members makes women feel good with a sense of fulfillment as one participant shared this along the astonishment on the side of the extended family regarding her mothering:

> Indeed, we expected this from you, that is fine, but perhaps we did not expect such a motherhood, you are such a compassionate mother who empathizes with your children. You know, maybe we were deceived by the facade, thinking maybe she would wander here, wander there, but really, so we would not even consider that you would be staying home, and what then, spend time with your child, or play games with him, or that you will put yourself in the second place, they were saying, of course I took things like that, but they do say you have a really beautiful *(way of)* mothering, and that I like very much. (Interview no.13, Appendix F, 128)

One participant admitted that the appreciation of her family becomes mixed with the feelings of sorrow and pity since she has a challenging life in terms of childcare and maintaining the household:

> Well, let me put it like this, on my own mother's side, how can I say, I was my father's etc. the most favorite child, let me say. You know, my father and I were very close, also had similar personalities. When my father daydreamt, he used to include me in them, saying, let’s start a farm together, so that we can grow this and grow that. You know, after I got married, on top of that, there is more, I wouldn’t want to call it love mixed with pity, but like, she is on her own, then they are aware that I need help with three children living far away, or because I have succeeded on my own, my spouse is not a very supportive person, you know, here is my daughter, *(her situation)* could have been much different, so they both pity and sadden. (Interview no.8, Appendix F, 129)

After the child is born, closer relationships are established with the extended family in which the children are the center of attention, and the frequency of meetings especially with grandparents and expectations for these meetings increase as four participants mentioned.

One participant mentioned the frequent visits to grandparents by also adding the conflicts because of the expectations about this regular visits regardless of the changing routines of the child:

> For example, there are more frequent visits naturally. For instance, like, both maternal and paternal grandparents want to meet up, so there are more regular visits, for example, there are expectations on all sides. When I say I can't come this week, it creates a bit of sorrow, since they want to see their grandchild. We see each other every week, we take him to the paternal grandmother. My mother lives close to us, we can meet with her at shorter intervals since she is close by ... of course, at that period, you have conflicts with the family …. or say, her paternal grandmother wants to see the child at the weekend, but she needs to go to sleep at that time, for example, there were such problems. Especially during that sleep training for a month, we were supposed not to go anywhere, because the child went to bed at seven o'clock or at half past seven latest, it was like a *(training)* camp at that time, like, they couldn't understand at that time, so why don't you come to us or such *(questions)*, so we had a little conflict then. At that time, we were saying that you have to comply with us because I will do it like this, we decided to do it. Fortunately, my spouse supported somewhat during that time, so we were able to get through that period without any problems because he supported it. (Interview no.1, Appendix F, 130)

Because of the childcare provided by grandmothers -mainly by the mother of the mother-, some women start to have a more intimate relationship with their own mothers, as one participant uttered:

> With my family, I didn't have a relationship like, I mean, close, I used to call my mother once every 15 days before Ali. Besides, I left their side at the age of 17 to go to university, then I always went to that house as a guest, and that’s it, I don't know, like this, life put me in one place, and them at another place let’s say, our lives did not intersect much … so our relationship was very disconnected. … But after this baby was born, I lived in the same house with my mother for two years ... I mean, I had never lived in the same house with my mother before since my mother worked in the factory during my childhood and youth. We were together with my mother for two years, and in

> the first year of this, were together day and night, so our relationship leveled up, this happened with my sister as well a little bit. Now we talk almost every day. (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 131)

Kölemen (2021) noted that: "It is perfectly natural to expect care from a (grand)mother, while motherhood is seen as a job without retirement. That is, it is believed that the mother is in charge of serving her children until she herself needs care" (p.166); however, grandmothers' support for childcare can lead to conflicts between grandmothers and parents (usually mothers) about childcare and upbringing as the same participant expressed below, but she also added that she still felt grateful to her mother because of her self-sacrificing support to her:

> But now, for example, while raising Ali, there are big differences between me and my mother and we clashed a lot in the first year, for example. The first thing that comes to my mind is the topic of clothing. My mother would dress us in many layers, then I would peel them off. Well, I was more bookish like, saying things like do not do like that, but like this. In terms of nutrition, for example, I naturally don't give anything like junk food, I'm still trying to be careful. But for example, both my mother and Hasan *(the spouse)* were more relaxed on that topic compared with me. For example, my mother always tended to make the child cry less, I was on the "let him cry" thing. So that's that … Actually, my mother and I had a lot of conflicts about raising children for that one year, we even had fights, but it didn't matter, because it was all done devotedly, so she took care of that child for a year anyway. (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 132)

Another participant stated that her mother even became more protective of her after she herself had a child:

> My mother has always been protective anyway, but now, for example, she makes her motherhood felt even more, maybe even more than before, all in the name of supporting me. I mean, *(her saying)* probably you haven't even slept, you haven't been able to cook, you may have something to do, so in that sense, for example, I can say that she makes her presence felt to me even more. (Interview no.1, Appendix F, 133)

Ten participants mentioned that there are many interferences and -these are far more than the utterances of support- by extended family members regarding their

children's rearing like self-care, breastfeeding, nutrition, clothing, education, women's decisions for their children's care, and women's attitudes and behaviors towards their children.

One participant had suffered by the harsh criticism of a relative about the situation that she turned back to work short time after the birth:

> I experienced this a lot with Suna, by my aunt-in-law, for example, she said that you are leaving this little child to her grandmother, she is suffering here, she said you are cruel, in a way. It's like she's hindering on top of everything else, meaning she never looks from that side, from another window *(point of view)*. Unfortunately, I had to do that *(return to work)*. (Interview no.4, Appendix F, 134).

Interferences are more visible when parents-in-law (mainly the mother-in-law) come to visit for longer periods in which they interfere the routines and rules of the house, and agitate the order the women try to provide in the house. One participant told this like this:

> Not in the past, but for example, now, the paternal grandmother sometimes comes to stay with us for 10 to 15 days, the order of the house changes completely. At that time, for example, then the children will become acting differently and my spouse's attitude will change, maybe this is a bit normal, there is a person in the house who does not live here all the time, the family order would change regardless of whoever comes, but when that person is *(someone's)* mother, it is definitely much different. As soon as I am late to do something, Mother gets up immediately. For example, I want my sons to do some things themselves, they have to collect their toys, they have to make their beds, now the grandmother does not allow these. What is she doing then, she is trying to change their clothes as soon as they come home from school. Anyone can do this, but I want the kid to do it *(himself)*. He needs to learn some things both for his development and in order to be able to survive in the future. (Interview no.20, Appendix F, 135)

Sometimes, the interferences emerge in the form of accusations regarding the child-rearing of the women, as one participant told:

> My father-in-law said this, if this child stays with us for one day, he will talk the next day. However, when I was working, when there was no vacancy at the daycare, he stayed there, but you cannot utter this because they are our elders. 2-3 months later, it's my mother-in-law talking this time, someone else's child is 8 months younger than him, but he speaks, then either you do

> something to this child or you can't make him talk, see there is a problem with you ... this hurts one deeply, after that you find yourself in the opposite sides with your spouse. (Interview no.5, Appendix F, 136)

In more conservative families, some male members of the extended family (in this study, this was also by the members of family-in-law) try to manipulate the decisions regarding the daughters' education, however one participant told how she opposed these manipulations:

> Her uncles etc. *(saying)* she doesn't need an education, there is no need, she is a girl, after all it was done to me, since our grandfather was also like this, my grandfather interfered with everything, my spouse was not intervening, I threw myself forward in everything, they think of me as nasty, but I threw myself forward against the external factors because I did not want my daughter to be interfered with under no circumstances. (Interview no.19, Appendix F, 137).

One participant expressed how the interferences of others made her feel unconfident regarding her own mothering, and how these negative interferences motivated her to search for accurate knowledge regarding parenting to feel more confident about this:

> My spouse has a nephew, and she was living in Avcılar, she was saying some things *(giving me some tips)* for my child, she was saying, do it like this, just this way do this like that, do that like this. OK, I, in turn, was doing all that, but I was saying, why don't I know all this, to myself, of course … I wasn't feeling well, since I was not sufficient enough for my child. I was wondering if I'm not adequate for my child due to their reaction. As they say, maybe that caused all that. Take for example the neighbors, as you know, *(they say)* you need to burp, nurse, do this, do that, just then I started to research information for myself, to figure out what I could do, so that I could feel myself more independent, I kept saying, I don't want to be dependent on anyone and I don't want anyone to interfere with me. (Interview no.13, Appendix F, 138)

As it can be discovered from the data, the negative interferences come mostly from the side of family-in-law. Women living with an extended family experience this intervention more, and they wish to live as a nuclear family to realize their own childcare and family ideals (Uluğtekin, 2002). One participant told how she reconstructed her mothering after she moved away from extended family (with

whom she used to live together in the same house) and got rid of the extreme interferences she had been experiencing:

> I did not experience the feeling of motherhood in either of my two children because they were always *(there)*, I was only breastfeeding, looking after, but whenever I showed affection to my child, they found it strange, you don't show affection to the kid in front of your elders, my mother-in-law, my sisters-in-law, 10-person house, I recently left, it's been 6 years since I moved to my own house. I couldn't take my child on my lap, love and care for him next to my father-in-law. That's why I couldn't connect with my child in any way … it's like I became a mother again with my youngest child ... When everybody has an opinion to suggest, it doesn't work out, make him wear this, make him drink that, he should eat this, everyone does. I say, I cannot tell this to my children, but it is as if I gave birth to this child as if it is my first time. I felt like this child is my child, take it like this, from the day of his birth until now he is with me, this child's actions reflect me. I can raise a child the way I choose. (Interview no.19, Appendix F, 139)

Beyond the child rearing issues, sometimes family elders expect a certain lifestyle for women after they become mothers. One participant exemplified this with her mother's reaction to her:

> *(How is it received when you go out with your friends, etc.?)* It is not welcome at all, you are a mother, how come you go out. Even my mother told me that once. I'd told them, I will call you, and that day, I was out with friends, it was approaching 11.30 to 12. I called my mother then on the way home, she'd said, are you returning home at this hour, you are a woman with children now, how come you return home at this hour, so I got very irritated. It's not something I can do very often anyway, and I know that doing this is the right thing, but now how am I going to explain this. (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 140)

One participant put a recommendation forward for extended family members who are so keen to intervene with everything when a child comes to the world:

> For example, instead of criticizing mothers, fathers etc., I don't know, take that child for an hour, care for her and let the mother rest, so instead of criticizing or, I don't know, when the baby was born, I would want this very much so. What happened, mother-in-law and sisters-in-law came *(to visit)*, but they focused on the child, if they would have taken over the burden of the house, and leave the mother alone together with the child, it would have been the best help, the other is not help, the other is to separate the mother from the child. For example, at that time, I started to change my child's diaper, my first child's diaper after, maybe 15-20 days or later if not even later, for my first

> diaper change. I was thinking to myself, will I be able to change it because they wouldn't let me do it, I wasn't given that chance. *(Is it because you cannot do so?)* Maybe that's it. Or they were very enthusiastic, because a new baby after all, that mistake was made a lot, meaning elders make that mistake a lot. Do you want to help or for others who come to the house, if you want to help the mother, take over the burden by helping with the housework. Let her spend time with her baby or let her sleep and rest. Because she needs these very much, she badly needs to sleep and to rest. (Interview no.20, Appendix F, 141)

Another participant also mentioned this support issue, and shared the relieving experience she had in this sense:

> I think it is impossible to raise children in a nuclear family, as an example even when you go to the toilet, ultimately someone, I could tell someone, even your 90-year-old grandmother when it came to that, take over patting so I can go to the toilet, it was a very comforting thing for me, presence of someone *(else)*, to take care (of the baby) etc. it is a very reassuring thing. (Interview no.10, Appendix, 142).

4.2.5.1.2 Structural aspect

The major determinants for the conception that becoming mother is a dynamic interaction with extended families are mothers themselves, members of extended family and socio-cultural context (see Table 14). The perception of women regarding this lived experience is both positive and negative, and as being illustrated through the utterances of participants (see section 4.2.5.1.1), the focus is on changing and sometimes challenging relationships with extended family members and the appreciation, support, and interferences from them on women's child-rearing and living as mothers on which the reflections of socio-cultural traits can be traced.

Table 14 Dimensions of Variation for Category E1

Category E: A dynamic interaction with others	Dimensions of Variation			
Category E1	Major determinants	Forms of involvement	Women's perception of lived experience	Outcomes of lived experience for women
Extended family	mother, extended family members, socio-cultural context	mothers as rebels appreciation, support and interferences from extended family reflections of socio-cultural traits	positive negative	feeling of fulfilment and being appreciated improved relationships with family struggle with conflicts

4.2.5.2 Larger society

In this section, Category E2 (becoming mother as a dynamic interaction with larger society) is elaborated by presenting its referential aspect through illustrative excerpts from interviews and structural aspect through the relevant referrals to the dimensions of variation.

4.2.5.2.1 Referential aspect

Becoming mother is conceived as a dynamic interaction with larger society as being expressed by 15 participants. The dynamic interaction with larger society emerges in the forms of support, interferences, and social relationships.

According to the utterances of seven participants, becoming mother brings a respect in larger society which starts during pregnancy, and continues when the child is born, especially when the child is a baby. Members of the society become more

attentive regarding giving place in public transportation, in hospitals, in shopping, etc. One participant described this and her pleasure as below:

> So, for example, I don't know, may it be, say, I'm on the bus or in a gathering, since I am a mother, for example, may they live long *(I am very thankful)*. For example, I go to a hospital with the child in my arms, I'm a mother, they give me priority. Before I became a mother, I definitely didn't have such a priority, so the things that motherhood gives, somethings, they are really precious, say here I am, riding a bus. For example, before I became a mother, I used to stand for hours *(during the ride)*, but now I am a mother, I can sit down easily when I get on the bus. (Interview no.13, Appendix F, 143)

On the other hand, some participants said that the people's attitudes have changed in Turkey in a negative way when compared with the past, and they dissented from the previous view, as one participant claimed by comparing with abroad:

> This is appreciated better abroad, did you know that, abroad, if you are a mother, if you have a child with you, you definitely have immunity. During the passport control line, everyone directs you to the front of the row, the passport police call you *(first)*. After that, when you go to someplace, everyone gives you a seat … not here, meaning here even when you are pregnant, and it is very difficult for a pregnant person to stand since their back hurts, they cannot stand long, you take the subway while pregnant. I remember doing this, appealing, I am pregnant, I need to sit down, at the platform, saying, because I need to sit down, I need someone give me a seat, I can't stand long, even when you verbalize this, you cannot find a seat, that is how it is in Turkey. (Interview no.7, Appendix F, 144)

She also added and complained about some people's inconsiderate attitudes toward young children's age-related behaviors:

> In Turkey, if you are this, when you try to do something with two children on your own, you struggle. So, for example, there are those who love children and are cognizant of children, but there are also many others who do not tolerate children. Then we are on the plane, the kid is doing this with his foot, the lady in the front seat turned back and said he is hitting my seat, I said, let's change places if you'd like, he is hitting my seat, she said. I said, this is a 2-year-old, you make him listen if you can. I also say, my son, don't kick, but he doesn't understand, 2-year-olds don't, it feels like a game. The plane is delayed, the plane did not take off, he is bored. I said that I can only change places with you, a 2-year-old doesn't understand. Know what I mean? Such troubles as an example. (Interview no.7, Appendix F, 145)

Another participant who is mothering twins, expressed her feelings about the remarkable effect of twins when she is outside with them, and she interpreted the utterances of people about taking care of twins as not supportive rather disturbing:

> I think children dominate there a lot, no one notices the mother and the father, they do this, especially when they are twins, they draw attention, they ask are they twins and such. At first, I was very uncomfortable when *(they were still)* babies. They would say, may Allah give ease, every time, I would get irritated, I mean, I would feel *(that they should)* either say something motivating to do not even speak *(to me)*, I mean, they would say it as if meaning you ate the quince (you are up sh.t creek without a paddle), I didn't like it at all, and now *(they say)*, gee, at least they've grown up, and stuff like that. (Interview no.6, Appendix F, 146)

According to 12 participants, and beside the difficulties of rearing a child, there are some challenging factors outside the nuclear family life like people's interferences mostly in inconsiderate ways. This interferences by larger society members are about many things such as breastfeeding, basic childcare issues like clothing and nutrition, child guidance and discipline, and childcare and educational decisions of mothers for their own children. This can be asserted that when a child comes to the world, then it becomes a focus of public concern and intervention, however, as Dudu-Karaman and Doğan (2018) also found, mothers were intervened, and their mothering was questioned at many points by extended family and the larger society, regardless of their education level, age difference, whether they work or not.

Once a couple got married, a social pressure begins on them for having a child without considering their wish, or economic, practical and mental readiness, as one participant told:

> I was feeling *(ready)*, so as I said, especially in my marriage, yes, I can have children now, my marriage has no strain. I thought so both in financial terms and psychologically, I scheduled and thought about it, let me put it like this, then the people around me *(started saying)* things like "why don't you have children, are you infertile?" or things like that, in my third year. (Interview no.4, Appendix F, 147)

However, having a child is not sufficient for some people, so the pressure continues as the expectation for the second child:

> Women's work is very difficult, for example, about motherhood it may be, what is being done to me a lot these days, it may be the second child talk. It's too much, everyone whether they have a say in it or not, only the intensity is changing. Some say, are you thinking about it, but they bring up the subject, some say it's time now, look, he's *(the first child)* grown now, in short, it started to bother me a lot. (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 148)

One participant reproached these measureless interferences by saying:

> You will get married, marry, marry, then have children. And now, for example, for Mahmut, when will he be circumcised, now these questions, questions always keep coming, you know. At the end, I say, die die die, I mean *(they are)* pressuring you as if everything were timed. Maybe we are somewhat different, maybe Özlem won't be like that. Özlem and her generation will be more unrestricted. (Interview no.9, Appendix F, 149)

One participant who has a child with special education needs mentioned the interference from others regarding her child's needs:

> Now then, when getting this special needs report, *(they say)* the child has no problems, no, she does, I am aware of this, they say no, there is nothing, but when I went *(to get it checked)*, it found something *(they had a diagnosis)*, so I know my child the best. My spouse has been very supportive, he has never called something B, when I said it was A, our kid, since what is different about him, because our child speaks more slowly, he is walking and running while sidling. I am aware of that. Or there is a problem with his motor functions, he is having trouble *(with that)* or he cannot stand on one leg. I was aware of these. See, I bring the children side by side, I make comparisons, there is always a problem with my child. (Interview no.18, Appendix F, 150)

One participant mentioned the unfounded interpretations of others regarding her child's speech delay by relating it to her childcare decisions, and she openly reflected her mixed feeling about this interference with her gestures during the interview:

> *(How long have you been away from work after Eylem was born?)* 8 months, I looked after him for 8 months, at 8 months, a caregiver *(took over)*. Then he started nursery when he was 1-year-old. *(You made a grimace when you said caregiver)* ... Well, what happened was, he started talking at the age of 2, people around us *(said)*, he spoke late, why did he speak late, he interacted with a lot of people, the child was *(with)* a caregiver, his grandmother, nursery, daycare etc., they say he was delayed a bit when shuffling between different people. In other words, if only one person was involved, if his

> mother had taken care of him, he would talk earlier, therefore his development would be faster, they were saying, so maybe that's reason a bit of for the grimace on my face. (Interview no.3, Appendix F, 151)

One participant said that she felt offended because of a fellow mother in her two-year-old child's nursery class made a quick judgement on her child's behavior:

> Müge had bitten a kid, I was really sorry, his mother said something like, she said, ah, are you going to take Müge to a pedagogue or to a psychologist, you should take her, she said. For example, this made me feel very heartbroken. Because in what she said, and in the way she said that etc., there was something *(bothersome)* in the phrasing that she used, a style. Meaning, you are not able to take good care of this child, this child has psychological problems, that's the reason she is biting my child in a way, am I making this clear? Otherwise, if she says it with good intentions, okay I will accept it. Thus, this saddened me dearly . (Interview no.7, Appendix F, 152)

On the other hand, one participant expressed her need to be appreciated as a woman and a mother instead of constant criticisms:

> After all, everyone wants everything that they do to be appreciated, especially as a woman, whether it's a meal that you prepare or a dress that you wear, for example, you feel the need to be approved of your motherhood as well. So yes, you are really trying to be a good mother to our children, such words maybe, because you went on that journey for the first time, too, you weren't a mother when you were born or you weren't a mother when you were young, you go on to the motherhood journey after you get married and have a child ... But the opposite happens. I mean, what kind of mother are you, criticism happens more. (Interview no.8, Appendix F, 153)

Five participants mentioned the changing and improved social relationships in the larger society where the child is a socialization tool and where the members of it have a positive view towards the child and family. These social relationships can emerge in different ways. There may be relationships that arise between women as mothers, as well as relationships with shopkeepers and people who are met in everyday life but without any former relationships. One participant said that the child attracts the attention of others in social places:

> The child is like a socialization tool. What I mean is, the way everyone sees you becomes a bit altered if you have a child, you see, even when you are eating out somewhere, it makes a difference whether you eat out as two

> people or you eat out while the child is with you. In other words, when you have a child, you attract more attention, treats were offered, for example, I am very surprised by these. (Interview no.1, Appendix F, 154)

Another participant mentioned the easiness of socialization among fellow mothers:

> For example, she puts her child on a swing, you *(have yours on the other one)* are swinging *(your kid)* etc. Aaaa, how old is she, you enter *(the dialogue)* right away, you eat, drink *(together)*, if you start discussing private matters, you can get into it, you will become totally absorbed. (Interview no.8, Appendix F, 155)

One participant considered the positive effect of children on the people as a hopeful thing for the society which provides an agreement ground beyond social classes and political views, and create happiness:

> You know how it is, as if a child brings out the love in people. Let me give you an example, for example there is a tea seller at the place where we get on the shuttle, he has been there for four years, I have been bringing Artin to the nursery for two years, I used to see that person there before that, but I did not know his name nor would I say hi, but here it is. Every morning for *(the last)* two years without exception, he interacts with Artin, I say, how are you brother, he says, I'm fine, and I can understand his political views from the music he listens to, from when he says something from time to time etc., he is a person with whom I may never communicate under normal circumstances, and also, see for something like this happening, why would you even get into a communication with a man who sells tea on the street, but now with that man, we go our separate ways with well-wishing each other every morning etc. So as such, this is a good thing. That's the happiness that I, motherhood, being a mother and of course that child bring to the society, it’s like that. It even makes me have such hope for the society, that is, seeing that love for the children etc. (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 156)

Apart from the influence of the child, the view to the mothers and the expectations and interventions in this context were also among the statements of the participants. One participant shared the reactions of others which she observed when she attended a boat tour with her children:

> I think it was last year, of course Toprak was younger, they said this for example, people sitting across me during a ferry trip, oi! look at that woman, she got out with her two children, having an excursion etc., but they said this with admiration, it was not negative. Of course, now as a single woman, you may go freely, you have only a handbag, but with children, these are much different, that’s why people *(reacted)* like how did you brave to get on the

> ferry etc. ... Unfortunately, that's the thing in society, given that you are a mother, you're not going to roam, you're going to stay put, maybe because of that, people's views are different. (Interview no.4, Appendix F, 157)

On the other hand, the reactions and expectations of people are sometimes negative and disturbing, as one participant told:

> Recently, for example, I had difficulty with my friends whom I knew for 3-4 years, had problems like this, I couldn't take care of myself when my children were small because I devoted myself to them, you know, it's their food, breakfast etc. I couldn't spare time for self-care. Recently, and after our children have grown up, I started to make time for myself, following this people's reactions really saddened me. Sumru wasn't like this before, she would go out with a ponytail, or wear a cardigan and go. Recently, yes, because my children have grown, I love to take care of myself. It is very wrong to for them judge this any differently, see they mean something like, let me speak freely, I would not pull any punches, now that Sumru has raised her children, she is taking care of herself, but she is looking around *(not satisfied with what she has, may cheat)*, it is perceived that way, may it be it cloths or apparel. It wasn't like this before, it became like this now, it's really wrong… so one doesn't become a bad mother by going out, by taking care of oneself. She also needs to go out and clear her head, but due to whatever people encounter in their own family, whatever their thoughts are, those people assume that everyone they see acts similarly. (Interview no.11, Appendix F, 158)

4.2.5.2.2 Structural aspect

The major determinants for the conception of becoming mother is a dynamic interaction with members of larger society, and socio-cultural context (see Table 15). The perception of women regarding this lived experience is both positive and negative, and as being illustrated through the utterances of participants (see section 4.2.5.2.1), the focus is on new social relationships with the members of larger society, and interferences from them to women's child-rearing as mothers through the reflection of socio-cultural traits.

Table 15 Dimensions of Variation for Category E2

Category E: A dynamic interaction with others	Dimensions of Variation			
Category E2	Major determinants	Forms of involvement	Women's perception of lived experience	Outcomes of lived experience for women
Larger society	members of larger society, socio-cultural context	social relationships inferences and support from larger society members reflections of socio-cultural traits	positive negative	feeling of being respected and appreciated new social relationships with others struggle with social pressure regarding child-rearing issues

4.3 Women's reflections on their learning experiences as mothers

The findings in this part are corresponding to the following research question: What kind of variation is there in women's ways of reflecting on their learning experiences as mothers? Three categories of description (some with sub-categories) have been identified through the data analysis. Women's learning experiences as mothers are reflected as:

- Acquisition of parental knowledge and skills
    - *Parental knowledge and skills through other mothers*
    - *Parental knowledge and skills through experts*
- Construction of parental knowledge and skills
    - *Self-experience*
    - *A reciprocal process with children*
    - *Making use of former experiences*
- Transformation of self

Sources of learning, objects of learning, acts of learning, and outcomes of learning experiences of women as mothers constitute the critical aspects in how they reflect on their experiences. These critical aspects compose the dimensions of variation in women's reflections on their learning experiences as mothers, and accordingly show the structural relationship between the categories. The tabular presentation for dimensions of variation and the structural meanings of these dimensions for each of the categories can be seen in Table 16.

In Table 17, categories of description and referential / structural aspects of women's reflections on their learning experiences as mothers are presented as a whole, which can be considered as a tabular summary of the findings for the second research question. The column for referential aspect shows the meaning of each category whereas the column for the structural aspect shows the critical aspects for each category of description which are consistent with the dimensions of variation presented in Table 16.

In the following parts, the 'discovered' categories of description for women's reflections on their learning experiences as mothers are explained and elaborated one by one with illustrative excerpts by emphasizing both the referential and structural aspects and reflections of women on their learning experiences as mothers are discussed within consideration that the process of becoming mother is comprised of continuous learning and relearning experiences, and that these experiences are shaped both personally, socio-culturally, and through a reciprocal relationship with children.

Table 16. Dimensions of variation in women's reflections on their learning experiences as mothers

	CATEGORIES OF DESCRIPTION					
	Acquisition of parental knowledge and skills		Construction of parental knowledge and skills			Transformation of self
DIMENSIONS OF VARIATION	Parental knowledge and skills through other mothers	Parental knowledge and skills through experts	Self-experience	A reciprocal process with children	Making use of former experiences	
Sources of learning	own mothers, mothers-in-law, fellow mothers, mothers in social media groups	child's teacher, school counselor, books, mother education seminars, internet sources	instincts, everyday life experiences	interaction with children	own childhood, former childcare/parenting experiences, her own mother's mothering	lived experiences
Objects of learning	childcare, guiding the child's behaviors, child's health and nutrition	child-rearing, guiding the child's behaviors, sleep training	easing the everyday life, dealing with emergencies, problem solving skills	having quality time with the child	correcting misparenting behaviors, achieving imagined parenting	no intended object of learning
Acts of learning	observing, conversing, asking, taking as a model, reading	asking, listening, being participant reading	doing, experiencing, managing crisis, trial and error, spontaneity, self-reflection	observing, playing, co-learning, developing empathy	recalling past experiences, inferring from lived experiences, self-reflection	experiencing, reasoning, self-reflection, inferring from confrontation with reality
Outcomes of learning	self-confidence in taking care of own child, improved relationship with the child, comparing herself with other women's mothering, comparing her child with other children	understanding the significance of the knowledge on childcare and development, re-regulating the everyday life, therapeutic benefit, a new perspective on childrearing	acquisition of unexpected/unintended knowledge and skills, crisis management, better internalization of what has been learned	understanding the effectiveness of play, better communication with the child, recognizing the children's uniqueness, developing new educative skills	replication of/ differentiation from own mother, promoting gender equality in child-rearing, problem solving skills, better relationship with the child, less worries	being determined, patient, organized, domestic, empathetic, socially sensitive, finding inner peace, having a new grasp on becoming mother

Table 17 Referential aspect / structural aspect of women's reflections on their learning experiences as mothers

Categories of Description		Referential Aspect	Structural Aspect
Category A Acquisition of parental knowledge and skills	A1 Parental knowledge and skills through other mothers	Women's learning experiences as mothers are reflected as acquisition of parental knowledge and skills through interaction with other mothers.	The focus is on information exchange with other mothers regarding various aspects of child-rearing by observing, conversing, querying, taking as a model, and reading.
	A2 Parental knowledge and skills through experts	Women's learning experiences as mothers are reflected as acquisition of parental knowledge and skills through experts.	The focus is on having direct and indirect contact with experts regarding various aspects of child rearing by asking, listening, being a participant, and reading.
Category B Construction of parental knowledge and skills	B1 Self-experience	Women's learning experiences as mothers are reflected as construction of parental knowledge and skills through self-experience.	The focus is on making use of instincts and everyday life experiences to deal with everyday and emergent childcare and rearing issues by doing, experiencing, managing crisis, trial and error, spontaneity, and self-reflection.
	B2 A reciprocal process with children	Women's learning experiences as mothers are reflected as construction of parental knowledge and skills through a collaborative /reciprocal relationship with children.	The focus is on interaction with children to have quality time with them by observing, playing, co-learning, and developing empathy.
	B3 Making use of former experiences	Women's learning experiences as mothers are reflected as construction of parental knowledge and skills through making use of former experiences.	The focus is on women's self-reflection on their own childhood, on former childcare and parenting experiences, and on their own mothers' mothering so as to correct their misparenting behaviors and achieve the imagined parenting.
	C Transformation of self	Women's learning experiences as mothers are reflected as transformation in personal traits and attitudes and having a new grasp on becoming mother.	The focus is on transformative effects of women's lived experiences as mothers on their personal traits and attitudes and on their conception of becoming mother.

4.3.1 Acquisition of parental knowledge and skills

In this section, Category A is treated under two sub-categories which are “parental knowledge and skills through other mothers” and “parental knowledge and skills through experts”.

4.3.1.1 Parental knowledge and skills through other mothers

In this section, Category A1 is elaborated by presenting its referential aspect through illustrative excerpts from interviews and structural aspect through the relevant referrals to dimensions of variation.

4.3.1.1.1 Referential aspect

Women’s learning experiences as mothers are reflected as acquisition of parental knowledge and skills through interaction with other mothers by 12 participants. Women’s own mothers are among the primary sources for parenting knowledge and skills mostly in the beginning of the mothering process, and especially if the woman has no previous experiences with babies as can be seen in the following utterances by two participants: “First, of course, my mother, my own mother, in more practical matters, such as giving the child a bath, changing the diaper, changing clothes etc., which were incredibly difficult tasks for me, because I did not know anything” (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 159) and:

> For the first time, my mother was with me anyway, my mother always taught me, for example, I did not know *(how to)* swaddle a baby ... my mother always showed me how, that I will hold it like this, then do it like that. For example, when I held Mutlu in my arms for the first time, I couldn't manage to hold her *(properly)*. Then, my mother was showing ways, I did not know how to breastfeed *(nurse)*, mom would go, my daughter, do it like this, my daughter do it like that. (Interview no.16, Appendix F, 160).

For one participant, her mother-in-law is a more regarded figure in learning how to parent her children when compared with her own mother:

> My mother is far away, and I know my mother very well, so I can't see my mother very tactically, but for example, I like the attitude of my mother-in-law, “talk with the child for everything and do not lock horns with the child”, it was very instructive for me, I can't do it all the time, mothers also get angry, she has endless patience, that has been very instructive to me. Towards Mahir and Ufuk, always, for example, even though Mahir and Ufuk sometimes shout “I don't want you”, she sits them across from her and talks with them, it seems so incredible to me. (Interview no. 6, Appendix F, 161)

In the study of Johnston & Swanson (2004), conducted on 98 mothers of preschoolers, friends and young relatives -especially the ones with whom the participants had a shared context- come first regarding asking for and receiving social and emotional support. On the other hand, in the same study, it is found that parents and parents-in-law are considered as secondary sources regarding support due to the change in the expectations and implied request for transmission of the parenting practice and values to the adult child (who is the new parent). However, in the current study, women’s own mothers were considered, and expressed as -almost- the primary source of knowledge and support.

Other than the own and in-law mothers, women who have mothering experiences are a reference in the learning process of becoming mother also. These fellow mothers are sisters, friends, relatives, and neighbors who have mostly older children. One participant pointed the importance of this fellowship:

> When I feel *(the presence of)* a problem with a child, I ask my friends, there is something like this with Müge, there is something like that with Mehmet, whether you have experienced something similar etc., the best communication is with peer mothers anyway. For example, it is very useful even in choosing a doctor. You know, there is a saying that only the people who fell from the donkey can really sympathize with the people that fall from the donkey, it really does happen. (Interview no.7, Appendix F, 162)

However, one participant reproached the fellow mothers for not telling the challenging parts of becoming mother:

> I mean, frankly, I didn't sit down and read books etc., I didn't read much about different schools *(of thought)* etc.. I talked to a few of my friends who gave birth before me during my pregnancy, but there too, maybe in the name of not to frighten the pregnant person too much, they do not tell me about all those difficult points. (Interview no.10, Appendix F, 163)

One participant noted the insufficiency of institutions like public health centers which aim to support the mothers in child-rearing issues especially in the first year of the child, and she added the complementary function of fellow mothers:

> From my connections, I, that is, for my first child, I was not a person who even knew when to start solid food, I asked around, of course health centers etc. also instruct on this, but there was not much explained there, they tell you add such and such to their diet, but do not explain to you how to give them *(to the baby)*, their explanation is insufficient. That's why, they give you a paper stating to give my child half the yolk of an egg, but whether to give it like this or how, they do not explain, you don't know how to do it, *(you learn it)* when you see it from people around you, from my aunt-in-law, from another of my neighbors etc., when you see them *(do it)*. (Interview no.19, Appendix F, 164)

Although mothers are open to getting advice and support from other mothers, including their own, they are uncomfortable with it when those are received in the form of an intervention (LaCoste-Nelson, 2005).

One participant who had her first child in the age of 14 mentioned her sufferings during her first mothering process, and observations and experiences after she migrated from the village to Istanbul. As she told, she has encountered many mother figures which have either negative or positive effects on her mothering:

> Afterwards, when we came to Istanbul, then you see, this is done like this, that is done like that, I was looking *(around)*, and seeing for example someone holding *(a kid)* by the hand, buying things for her, a doll maybe, why was I not able to buy stuff for Feride, I was asking to myself, I never experienced this at the village, for instance. My mother-in-law, my sisters-in-law *(being family)* they wouldn't even consult me about it, they would take the kid and go. Then I came to Istanbul … Feride did not call me mother anyway, she called me Setenay, she would call my mother-in-law mother. After that, she calls me that now, when she started primary school, the teacher told her, she is your mother. After that, I realized that this is my daughter, I think I made her suffer so much. But I'm not like that to others *(children)* … I was forcing my will in front of the elders; you will do this, and you will do that this way. Of course, all these was because we used to see it that way

> *(around us)*, I got married in 93, since I used to see it that way, I would say, Feride, you have to do this, too, but later I learned that everything was different. We didn't have to comply with everything. I thought it was compulsory … but I came here, I say, I came to Istanbul and I've learnt what motherhood is little by little. There was an older acquaintance, Sevil. Sevil was saying, you're pressuring too much, motherhood is not something like that, she was saying don't do it, she was saying don't constrict the girl. (Interview no.12, Appendix F, 165)

Fellow mothers in social media groups are also a resource especially when seeking specific and practical information about childcare. For example, mothers of premature babies, twins, children with special needs, etc. can more easily reach fellow mothers with same conditions through social media. One participant gave details of a Facebook group she appreciates, and mentioned how she made use of this group:

> There is a group called BMMR, a Facebook group called Baby Making Maintenance and Repair. It was great help for me in the puerperium and in the first 6 months, I learned a lot of information from there… I trusted that group so much because the managers of that group are so well educated, they are knowledgeable about this topic, for example, *(a place for)* those who are raising children, for example, there were also political posts. It is a group with very strict rules, where such serious and good discussions take place, and such serious discussions about the agenda. Here, for example, it is strictly forbidden to give the names of drugs, it is forbidden to start by addressing as ladies, girls, or mothers, how are you. Because this is a parent group. It's a group that also includes people who don't have children or those who identify themselves with a gender other than men and women etc., it is a such group, principled, more democratic *(compared to others)* etc., I've learnt a lot from it, from that group, especially sleep *(training)*, breastfeeding *(nursing)*, and Artin had a serious eczema problem during the first 6 months, like an allergy, then I came to the conclusion that it was eczema through there *(Facebook group posts)* so I as good as raised Artin with it, I can say that. Now I don't check it out that much, but during the first year, for example, I looked at that group *(posts)* very often. (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 166)

Through these online communities where the mothers can communicate and learn from each other, they find a sphere where they share their expertise on mothering with each other, where they can get an affirmation about their mothering, and which

they use as a coping strategy for the challenging aspects of mothering (Aktaş 2019; Gürçayır-Teke, 2014; Kinser, 2010; Kölemen, 2021).

At this point, I want to mention two important concepts which are the 'community of learners' and 'community of practice', both fitting women as mothers to a great extent. As a part of such a community, women share common ground regarding many aspects of their lives and their children's lives. Marton and Trigwell (2000) describe these communities and the learning experiences which occur accordingly as follows:

> In everyday life people participate in purposeful activities, they rely on and support each other, and they make use of rich material, intellectual, and linguistic resources. They make use of tools—physical and conceptual. They are part of "learning communities", an expression that implies an interest in considering learning as a product, or a by-product, of participation in social practices…. Learning community thus refers to a group of people participating in a shared social practice, which changes as the members learn, and the members learn as the practice is changing. Actually, the community will change its way of behaving in ways that cannot be reduced to what individuals learn. The community learns as a whole. (p.384)

4.3.1.1.2 Structural aspect

The focus in this sub-category is on information exchange with other mothers regarding various aspects of child-rearing via observing, conversing, asking, taking as a model, and reading (see Table 18). Outcomes of this learning experience are self-confidence in taking care of own child, improved relationship with the child, comparing herself with other women's mothering, and comparing her child with other children as being illustrated through the utterances of participants (see section 4.3.1.1.1).

Table 18 Dimensions of variation for Category A1

Category A: Acquisition of parental knowledge and skills	Dimensions of Variation			
Category A1	Sources of Learning	Objects of Learning	Acts of Learning	Outcomes of Learning
Parental knowledge and skills through other mothers	own mothers, mothers-in-law, fellow mothers (sisters, relatives, neighbors, friends), mothers in social media groups	childcare, guiding the child's behaviors, child's health, and nutrition	observing, conversing, asking, taking as a model, reading	self-confidence in taking care of own child, improved relationship with the child, comparing herself with other women's mothering, comparing her child with other children

4.3.1.2 Parental knowledge and skills through experts

In this section, Category A2 is elaborated by presenting its referential aspect through illustrative excerpts from interviews and structural aspect through the relevant referrals to dimensions of variation.

4.3.1.2.1 Referential aspect

Women's learning experiences as mothers are reflected as acquisition of parental knowledge and skills through experts by seven participants. As children grow, and their needs change and get more complicated, women as mothers start to seek information through different sources including experts. Acquisition of parental knowledge and skills through experts is actualized through direct and indirect contacts. Education programs on particular topics, long-term education programs for mothers, school counselors, and the teachers of the children are direct sources for acquiring parental knowledge and skills.

Işık (2015) asserts that the increase in awareness of the importance of childhood, especially in middle-class households, the conscious and planned birth of the child, the increase in the psychological value of the child, the effect of the developmental psychology, as well as the consumption-increasing strategies of the market that wants to benefit from these changes have led to a child-centered culture. On the other hand, the demands and risks of the rapidly changing world make raising children more challenging than before, which forces parents to be more conscious and educated.

One participant mentioned the important influence of the sleep training education on re-regulating her life after her child was born:

> So, happy child, happy mother, sleeping child is a happier child. And it sure is. In my opinion, the sleep training, during that period, made a substantial impact, in terms of my recovery, that is, the settling down of the hormones, getting an organized life with the child and maintaining the routine. (Interview no.1, Appendix F, 167)

Another participant who was attending the mother education program of Mother Child Education Foundation (Anne Çocuk Eğitim Vakfı – AÇEV) underlined the contribution of the education program on her point of view regarding child-rearing issues, and the importance of the educators' attitudes in this learning process:

> And when it comes to educational environments like this, honestly, after I attended this training, you see, I did not know that it was so important to give my child toilet training, how necessary it was, I'd assumed it was a normal process … and I can easily ask *(about these)* to the teachers I took the course with, you know, their communication etc., is very good indeed. They are genial people, you can talk *(with them)*, even facial expressions may make you pull away when you enter some setting, *(but)* our teachers speak sympathetically, and reassure us. I like it. (Interview no.19, Appendix F, 168)

Moreover, teachers and school counselors are also among important direct expert resources. One participant mentioned her learning experience on which the counselor in her child's school was effective:

> When I was at Feride's school, the school counselor told me, you are pressuring Feride too hard, don't do that like this, I've always told Feride, you will not do this like that, I was looking at Feride with one eye, then she would sit and keep quiet. This is how it is affecting *(her)* in the exams, this causes that, the school counselor talked to me, and I saw that things were getting on track, I used to push her saying, you will act like this in front of you elders, you will do this like that. Of course, this is because how we experienced it that way *(back in the past)*, I got married in 93, since I used to see it that way, I would say, Feride, you have to do this, too, but later I learned that everything was different … that's when I realized it, that it is necessary to talk everything through. (Interview no.12, Appendix F, 169)

Books are the prominent source for reaching the expert knowledge indirectly, however the contents of some books may not suit to the needs of expectant or new mothers, whereas others do fit and help more as one participant stated:

> I read a lot of books when I was pregnant with Mahir and Ufuk, then I regretted it a lot because I read the twin book(s). There are many scenarios about this in them. I've read the book on expecting twins, here *(in the book)* are the complications in pregnancy etc., since twins are always born prematurely. Due to all these, I got very depressed, or it made me *(like)* this at that moment. Naturally it's more about childbirth and care after *(their)* birth. Then I started reading this, there is a woman, a psychologist, her books, saying listen to your child, etc., but I do not remember her name, no matter, what she says makes sense to me, for example, and there is no one else. But everything else is along the way. (Interview no.6, Appendix F, 170)

4.3.1.2.2 Structural aspect

The focus in this sub-category is on having direct and indirect contact with experts regarding various aspects of child-rearing by asking, listening, being a participant, and reading (see Table 19). Outcomes of this learning experience are understanding the significance of the knowledge on childcare and development, re-regulating the everyday life, therapeutic benefit, and a new perspective on childcare and development as being illustrated through the utterances of the participants (see section 4.3.1.2.1).

Table 19. Dimensions of variation for Category A2

Category A: Acquisition of parental knowledge and skills	Dimensions of Variation			
Category A2	Sources of Learning	Objects of Learning	Acts of Learning	Outcomes of Learning
Parental knowledge and skills through experts	child's teacher, school counselor, books, seminars, mother education programs, internet sources	child-rearing, guiding the child's behaviors, sleep training	asking, listening, being participant, reading	understanding the significance of the knowledge on childcare and development, re-regulating the everyday life, therapeutic benefit, a new perspective on childcare and development

As revealed from the study, support for re-regulating the life after the child, especially in the first months, expansion in point of views regarding childhood and child-rearing, gaining insights for handling with various sensitive periods of childhood like starting school, adolescence, etc. are among the contributions of directly and voluntarily communicated experts. However, it can be -to an extent- interpreted that one of the reasons for this search of expertise may be also grounded in the discourse of ideal motherhood which transforms the motherhood into an expert area by taking it from its relational position between the mother and child (Balta Paker, 2009; Baştürk-Akça, 2015; Maher, 2008).

4.3.2 Construction of parental knowledge and skills

In this section, Category B is treated under three sub-categories which are 'self-experience', 'a reciprocal process with children', and 'making use of former experiences'.

4.3.2.1 Self-experience

In this section, Category B1 is elaborated by presenting its referential aspect through illustrative excerpts from the interviews and structural aspect through the relevant referrals to dimensions of variation.

4.3.2.1.1 Referential aspect

Women's learning experiences as mothers are reflected as construction of parental knowledge and skills through self-experience by six participants. Learning through self-experience is most of the times incidental, and happens without recognizing it as one participant uttered:

> But here is the thing that goes, no one goes to school for this post. So, there it is, it is a slightly different situation. For example, in my case, I think I'd learnt, but I'd learnt without realizing that I was learning. Maybe I don't have time to think about it. I don't remember before *(now)*, I seriously don't remember. In short, it's a very quickly adopted pattern, but hopefully we're adopting the right thing. (Interview no.6, Appendix F, 171)

In this point, I want to refer Kolb (2015), and his description for experiential learning. Kolb (2015) describes the role of experiences in learning as follows:

> Learning is the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience. This definition emphasizes several critical aspects of the learning process as viewed from the experiential perspective. First is the emphasis on the process of adaptation and learning as opposed to content or outcomes. Second is that knowledge is a transformation process, being continuously created and recreated, not an independent entity to be acquired or transmitted. Third, learning transforms experience in both its objective and subjective forms. Finally, to understand learning, we must understand the nature of knowledge, and vice versa (in Part I: Experience and Learning).

Practicing the knowledge transmitted through formal sources like books and seminars are not always fitting for the routine of a household and social needs of a family, and also most of the times does not redress emergent and unique cases, however one participant mentioned that she has learned to modify what she learned

according to these needs, and so started to feel more comfortable regarding her mothering practice when there is a need to be flexible about the routine of the child:

> For example, initially, *(everything)* for the child is regulated, timed, such as the bath time etc. needs to be scheduled, because the child needs to get used to a routine. But, after a period of time, you know, maybe when you adapt to work again, meaning you work at the same time, there are other things *(to do)*, there are responsibilities to the family, etc.; so sometimes you may find it difficult to do everything according to the rules, like being flexible for timing etc. For example, if the child is going to sleep, then you will not go anywhere, or if she is sleepy, for example, you will not invite anyone. We had such a period for a while, but then I looked, it doesn't work, you know, it doesn't go on like this, I started to be more flexible after that. For example, if you ask my mother as well, I guess I went through a period of one year with a lot of rules, *(all was)* according to my own rules. Then, for example, I started to become more easy going, so what if he doesn't have a nap today, what can I do, may it be like this today, let him play outside, he can go to bed early or perchance we may get up a few times at night, because when she didn't sleep *(nap)*, sometimes her sleep schedule was getting disrupted, but since I learned these, for instance, myself, received instruction on sleep *(training)*, read a little, I modified it a little in my own way, I learnt how to modify as well, actually. (Interview no.1, Appendix F, 172)

Another participant expressed her disagreement on being dependent to a specific child-rearing approach, and she referred to the importance of self-experience and self-recognition:

> And you know how it is, like I follow this school, that school, I discovered that it should not be the case by also talking to my friends. Indeed, all the kids were raised according to a book published during our childhood, babyhood, then it turned out to contain wrong information, and since this is known, I had an assumption that the mother would learn and realize things by actually experiencing it, without accepting anything as absolutely right or wrong … Consequently, I have not read much about what will follow after the birth. I hadn’t even read about, take for example during the breastfeeding, I don’t know, what to do about possible infections like mastitis, I had no idea about that issue and it happened, so I can't say that I was very prepared in that respect, but I learned by doing, it is the case before giving birth, as I said after the birth also, I wasn't that kind of person who follows a book etc.. (Interview no.10, Appendix F, 173)

Beyond the theoretical knowledge, one participant also rejected to conform to child-rearing suggestions coming from others by emphasizing each child's uniqueness, and declared that she prefers to rely on her instincts:

> For example, my sister consults books much more like that etc., I prefer to raise them according to my instincts. Do you know why, they told me this, ah, he is on your lap, he would get used to it. No, I held him because this is my son, they are growing up oh so fast, because I won't be able to experience these again, so this is my life, this is my son, let me do however I want. Because I find this, you know, like in some research books, at this age this happens, yes it may be applicable when it is related to the disease, because there may be a cause, such as a microbe and so on. But every child's development is different, I want to raise him with my instincts … That's why I am not in favor of raising my child based on a few experiences *(of others)*. (Interview no.5, Appendix F, 174)

4.3.2.1.2 Structural aspect

The focus in this sub-category is on making use of instincts and everyday life experiences to deal with everyday and emergent childcare and rearing issues by doing, experiencing, managing crisis, trial and error, spontaneity, and self-reflection (see Table 20). Outcomes of this learning experience are acquisition of unexpected/unintended knowledge and skills, crisis management, and better internalization of what has been learned as being illustrated through the utterances of participants (see section 4.3.2.1.1).

Feminist theorists consider the lived experience of women as a sphere of adult learning and knowledge construction. However, maternal learning and parent education are most of the times organized around formal learning activities which may lack of considering the "contextual, social and emotional factors that potentially influence maternal ability or behavior" (Fowler, 2002, p.158). Therefore, professional attention is also needed to be given to informal and incidental learning experiences which play an important role when becoming mother (Fowler, 2002).

Table 20. Dimensions of variation for Category B1

Category B: Construction of parental knowledge and skills	Dimensions of Variation			
Category B1	Sources of Learning	Objects of Learning	Acts of Learning	Outcomes of Learning
Self-Experience	instincts, everyday life experiences	easing the everyday life, dealing with emergencies, problem-solving skills	doing, experiencing, managing crisis, trial and error, spontaneity, self-reflection	acquisition of unexpected/unintended knowledge and skills, crisis management, better internalization of what has been learned

4.3.2.2 A reciprocal process with children

In this section, Category B2 is elaborated by presenting its referential aspect through illustrative excerpts from interviews and structural aspect through the relevant referrals to dimensions of variation.

4.3.2.2.1 Referential aspect

Women's learning experiences as mothers are reflected as construction of parental knowledge and skills through a collaborative / reciprocal relationship with children by nine participants. Reciprocal relationship with children is both a way and a reason of construction of parenting knowledge and skills. The women as mothers observe their children in this reciprocity which then helps to build empathy with children, and in turn to know and understand them better. By trying to see the life through the children's eyes, they construct a better communication with them, and recognize the uniqueness of their children. Moreover, this reciprocal relationship establishes a ground for learning together and learning from each other on the sides of women and

their children. One participant described this process also as “growing together” while she is learning with and from her child:

> Well, I was more mature for my age previously, but still I grow up with the child, I guess they call it growing up with your child, I learn again with him, while I am explaining *(things to)* him, I am learning, too. Since he asks so many different questions, I learn with him. Say we are trying to do something, thanks to him, there are new things I try to do, he sees, for example, he says let's make a clown at home; practical things like handicrafts, hobbies, I try to do some more research, how can I do it, what can we do tonight, what can we do to pass the time, like this I'm researching and asking daily, what can be done, whether it's baking a cake together, what can be done together, we are trying to spend time together in a better way. (Interview no.3, Appendix F, 175)

One participant described this learning process as a result of observing the communication between their children and herself:

> I realized this, as I talk to the children and explain things to the children, they can understand, look still, I'm a mother, see my daughter is almost six years old, still, I still learn these things, our learning process continues, so if I talk or do like this, hmmmm if I react negatively, the way my children respond is really different, I mean, also through these kinds of things I observe myself as well. (Interview no.13, Appendix F, 176)

Another participant exemplified an incidental learning experience, and underlined the effect of small acts on the relationship between the mother and the children like playing:

> One day I told them, come on, I'm the bad guy - we were doing stuff - I said I'm going to demolish your constructions or what not, they enjoyed it so much, that their mother is *(acting out as)* a bad guy, they keep telling me, mom, come on, let's play the bad guy. Even this impressed me so much, that they do not forget anything that we did through playing, it's incredible. Consequently, I wish I could improve myself in that respect. For example, I read to them all throughout the evening, but I do not play games *(with them)*. (Interview no.6, Appendix F, 177).

In addition, the temperament of the children is a factor when constructing a mothering practice, and this practice may change for women’s different children:

> A mother's mothering may also change according to the child, somewhat according to her point of view at the moment. Since every child has a

> different disposition, you cannot act the same way with every one of them, this I learned by experience or by recognizing myself. (Interview no.8, Appendix F, 178).

Another participant exemplified this with her child's temperament and the effect of it:

> Özlem was very contrary when teething etc., she still is, still somewhat so, apparently this is her disposition, it's innate, her temperament, you can't change it. Maybe you can ask *(around)* little, but of course you learn basic things like this, but living is very very different, you know, as they say when you go to a Pilates class, it starts there, not with these etc., I mean, you judge *(things)* with your own patience by what you have experienced. The child raises you; the child as well has an influence (Interview no.9, Appendix F, 179)

There is also an aspect which participants stressed in their utterances that the application of technical knowledge in books, TV programs, etc. regarding child-rearing is not always pertinent to all children, and one participant related this situation to the child's 'living' and 'feeling' existence rather than being a technical thing, and the relationship between the child and the mother:

> What is said on the screen or shows etc.. if you approach the child that way, this happens. It's not always like that … Well, it's not so, since *(the kid)* is alive, she's not emotionless or something technical, so there is no such thing as if you do this, you'll get that. Maybe it takes time for you to get it, the child keeps it in, maybe what she learned will come out years later … In other words, if you say, I'll do that, too, then I'll get such a reaction, I will find a solution this way, if you anticipate this, you may experience disappointment. See, the practical methods I've encountered in the books I read or in something I watched etc., I tried to apply with my daughter a lot. But there was disappointment or when you couldn't do that much, you start to wonder, am I distressed or is the child not normal. So you need to go with the flow I guess, I mean, I'm a person who has a problem in setting up boundaries, but if you can set limits without making the child suffer, like in order the child can grow up, she needs to go to sleep early, for her sake, if you can set those limits, going with the flow depends on your own personal relationship with the child, I would say. (Interview no.8, Appendix F, 180)

4.3.2.2.2 Structural aspect

The focus is on interaction with children to have quality time with them by observing, playing, co-learning, and developing empathy (see Table 21). Outcomes of this learning experience are understanding the effectiveness of play, getting to know the child better, better communication with the child, recognizing the child's uniqueness, and developing new educative skills as being illustrated through the utterances of participants (see section 4.3.2.2.1).

Table 21. Dimensions of variation for Category B2

Category B: Construction of parental knowledge and skills	Dimensions of Variation			
Category B2	Sources of Learning	Objects of Learning	Acts of Learning	Outcomes of Learning
A reciprocal process with children	interaction with children	having quality time with the child	observing, playing, co-learning, developing empathy	understanding the effectiveness of play, getting to know the child better, better communication with the child, recognizing the child's uniqueness, developing new educative skills

The discourse of ideal motherhood transforms the motherhood into an expert area by taking it from its relational position between the mother and child (Balta Paker, 2009; Baştürk-Akça, 2015; Maher, 2008), and a single form of 'good' motherhood is imposed by patriarchal ideologies and through their socio-cultural traces where the diversity in thought, emotions and performances of mothers is ignored, and even marginalized (Holmes, 1997). Therefore, to see -from the study data- that mothers

still trust, enjoy, and rely on their reciprocal relationship between themselves and their children to make sense of their mothering practice is promising to unsettle the discourse of ‘ideal motherhood’ which ignores the uniqueness of mothers, children, and -more broadly- families.

4.3.2.3 Making use of former experiences

In this section, Category B3 is elaborated by presenting its referential aspect through illustrative excerpts from interviews and structural aspect through the relevant referrals to dimensions of variation.

4.3.2.3.1 Referential aspect

Women’s learning experiences as mothers are reflected as construction of parental knowledge and skills through making use of former experiences by 18 participants. These former experiences are insights from women’s own childhood, previous childcare experiences, former parenting experiences, and inferences from their own mothers’ mothering either as replicating it or differentiating from it.

4.3.2.3.1.1 Insights from women’s own childhood

Three participants expressed that, certain insights from their own childhood have effect on their mothering practice, so they had constructed a new parenting knowledge different than what they had been exposed to when they were children.

One participant uttered her sensitivity regarding extra-curricular activities for their children because she had upsetting experiences on this issue when she was a child:

> For example, I am sending them to different activities at the moment, like my elder son to a baglama class, and the younger one is going to coding. Others

> are against this, for example saying, don't send them, why are you sending them, I say, I don't want any support from you. I want my own children to, yes, I had my own dream when I was a kid at the elementary school. I took folk dance then, I was going to borrow the costume from my uncle's daughter, my aunt-in-law gave the costume to someone else just so that she wouldn't give it to me. It stayed with me, but I said to myself, when I have children in the future, if there is such a thing, I will send my own children. (Interview no.11, Appendix F, 181)

Another two participants pointed out the gender equality issue as one of their emphasized concerns when they raise their children, and this concern has its origin in their own childhood memories and experiences, as can be seen in the following utterances respectively:

> I get angry about this men versus women thing. *(All is)* different for brothers, when brothers are come home, all their needs are taken care of by the sisters. That, I didn't do, I never did, because I was the youngest, there were my older sisters, that's why, I was even getting into many clashes to defend my sister. Since I was sorry for my sister. My sister was doing my mother's duty in a way, so all my brothers' burden was on my sister. You cook the food, he can go and put it on his plate and eat it, come on, this would upset me very much. I mean, I don't like this differentiation of human beings, inequality between men and women, I don't like that. You should regard each person as a human being. Ahmet Mehmet Hasan, each a person, human, meaning Allah gave everyone, unless they have a specific illness etc., similar capabilities, everybody should be able to maintain their lives, you shouldn't put the burden on anyone else … Now I, since *(the kids are)* male, am also trying to *(teach them)* with respect to women, for them not to oppress women. You each are also a living being, Allah has given you all hands and arms, it is not necessary for me or another woman to serve you all the time. Everyone should be able to meet their own needs as fitting to their age. (Interview no.20, Appendix F, 182)

> We are three siblings as I told you, as you know, they are a bit more fond of their sons. They *(parents)* may not do this, or that, so as not to hurt them *(sons)*. So, I have two siblings, an elder brother, and a younger brother. For example, my mother *(aimed to make)* them more comfortable, my father the same way, they *(brothers)* would work for example, they would do something for themselves, while when I worked, I was always building up savings, I am a person who knew scarcity, I am a person who also knew abundance. You know, my mother never hurt their feelings, she was doing everything they asked for, then their everything would arrive in front of them all prepped and ready to go, I would get angry with my mother, okay, so they are your children, still they have to get their own water, they have to pick this glass up and bring it here themselves. Yes, even though I was young at that time, my

> observations are very accurate. For example, always imagining these, I was doing things like, for example, when I have children, regardless of them being male or female, after certain things pass and when they could meet their own needs, I wanted to teach them *(all)* these things. Always with these thoughts I went down this road and did things on my own. I was even keeping a diary writing it will be this way. (Interview no.11, Appendix F, 183)

Insights from their childhoods have effect on the mothering practices of women so that they construct a new and a more progressive parenting knowledge and practice different than they had been exposed to when they were children. In this respect, gender equality was one of the emphasized concerns which the participants uttered.

Contrary to the formal parent education, in terms of incidental learning, "there are no limits to what can be learned or the sources of learning, as learning is always situated within and influenced by a social and cultural context" (Fowler, 2002, p.159), and the origin of women's incidental learning experiences regarding mothering even date back when they are being mothered (Fowler, 2002). Moreover, the mothering practices of some participants to teach their children -in this context, their 'sons'- gender equality can be considered as a resisting acts to the patriarchal motherhood, and even named as feminist mothering practices although those women are -most probably- not describing themselves as feminist, because of O'Reilly's (2007) description of feminist mothering:

> Feminist mothering is thus determined more by what it is not (i.e., patriarchal motherhood) rather than by what it is. Feminist mothering may refer to any practice of mothering that seeks to challenge and change various aspects of patriarchal motherhood that cause mothering to be limiting or oppressive to women. (p.796)

4.3.2.3.1.2 Previous childcare experiences

As six participants mentioned, previous childcare experiences have important contributions when constructing the knowledge and skills necessary to raise a child. These experiences involve providing occasional or more systematic care to

nephews/nieces, little siblings, and children of close friends/relatives, and professional childcare work as two participants had. However, this experience is sometimes not a 'joyful' one but gained through economic disadvantages which removes the older sisters from educational life and load the responsibility of taking care of the younger siblings and relatives as one participant shared:

> I had siblings younger than me. I studied until the 5th grade, I wanted *(to go on)* studying very much, I cried a lot, but we really did not have the financial means. We were living in Istanbul Sarıyer, we did not have the financial means, my mother really wanted to send *(me to school)*, but she could not send me. I started working at a young age of 13, I worked because that house needed extra income. I was taking care of my sibling, my mother was going to work. Honestly, see, my mother would get sick, I would try to do some things, so like what else to tell, as I said, at some point my aunt was taken ill, I had to take care of my aunt's children, I've always done this, kept taking care of other people, hence I, regarding the feeling of motherhood, I was more like that. (Interview no.13, Appendix F, 184)

Although previous childcare experiences have positive effect on women when they have their own children, it is the case that not everyone, especially in big cities where nuclear family forms are dominant, has this experience in their lives since the extended family members are not always nearby. In the same manner, one participant said that she lacked such an experience, and this resulted in her feeling totally oblivious regarding the knowledge and skills about taking care of a child when she was pregnant:

> No baby was raised around me. That's until I turned 34. Somehow, people would have at least a niece, or I don't know, one of your friends would have a baby, this would happen, that would happen, I got pregnant with pretty much zero knowledge on this subject. That is, I had it in neither practical nor theoretical sense. I mean, I am also the first one to have a child in my close circle of friends. Despite my age, by chance such a thing happened, so I was really clueless about a lot of matters. (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 185)

4.3.2.3.1.3 Former parenting experiences

Previous childcare experiences also include former parenting experiences. According to six participants' utterances, through these experiences, worries about being

adequate as a mother, about some health issues, some (experienced) emergency situations decrease to a great extent compared to the process of the first child. On the other hand, even though mothers become more experienced as their child grows, they return to the experience of learning and becoming a mother when a new child comes into their life. This time, old experiences become a tool, and sometimes a ground for learning.

One participant related her suffering regarding breastfeeding process in her first child, and her changed attitude in the second child:

> Well this: I won't be enough, I don't have enough milk for my baby, at the beginning in that first motherhood, for example, I didn't experience it with Mahmut. Okay, if it's not enough, you can supplement with formula when it's not enough. But I couldn't do that for Özlem at the beginning, I distressed myself so much etc.. It shouldn't be like that. It *(milk)* didn't come for the first three days, but it didn't come during Mahmut either. I had not known that, ah what are we going to do, her jaundice is getting worse et cetera, et cetera. (Interview no.9, Appendix F, 186)

One participant mentioned her understanding and relief from anxiety regarding health issues through the experiences with her first child:

> For example, I was panicking a lot with Mehmet, it never happened like that with Müge. Since you've lived through *(these)* with Mehmet, you know *(what to expect)*. I was afraid of everything that happened to Mehmet, when he got a fever, I would think he might die, I was afraid of everything *(happening to)* him. But I am calmer and more relaxed with Müge. (Interview no.7, Appendix F, 187).

Another participant focused on her attitudinal change regarding the housekeeping issues:

> You know, at the beginning, when the house is a little messy, you get uncomfortable, but now after the second child *(laughs)*. Yes, naturally, for example, I didn't allow much in the first one, but after the second one I realized that it is easy to cooperate after you appease them too. Or tidying up an average sized clutter takes a maximum of half an hour essentially, you realize that, so there is no need to break hearts, no need to prevent the child either. (Interview no.8, Appendix F, 188)

Same participant added that she gained a problem-solving ability through the experiences with their children:

> You gain the ability to find solutions more quickly. For the first child, for example, somehow an emergency situation or something, you have to do something, suddenly something happens, if you do not find a solution, it is a crisis, that is, it is as if your finding solutions thingy gets stronger, you can look at things from a broader perspective, as it were." (Interview no.8, Appendix F, 189).

4.3.2.3.1.4 Inferences from own mothers' mothering

Although various sources are used to learn about motherhood, for many people, their mothers' motherhood, consciously or unconsciously, willingly or unwillingly, finds its reflection in their own motherhood, which supports the view that motherhood is something learned, not instinctual. In general, the similarity issues expressed by 13 participants can be summarized as prioritizing children, self-sacrifice, loving profoundly, trying to do everything perfectly, trying to meet the wishes of children without delay, all the while postponing their own wishes and needs.

One participant talked about a behavioral aspect of her mother that she appreciated and stated that she saw similar aspects in herself:

> So, I think we are similar in many ways, so frankly I appreciate this side of my mother. Besides, she was very calm at certain points, now as she gets older, this at least decreases in relation to herself, so I don't know, in our childhood, even in such extreme cases, she was a person who could keep her calm and do things, and at many points she could be more patient than I see myself being able to, but at other points her patience was running out very quickly. And I see similar things in myself, too. (Interview no.10, Appendix F, 190)

Another participant appreciates her mother's sociability and well-groomed side along with all the socially expected motherhood traits, and considers her as her role model:

> Initially, everyone takes their mother as an example, I think. You see, my mother was such a devoted mother who cared for her children and doted on them, but at the same time she was very social, fancy, well-groomed. In other words, my mother was a housewife, but also someone who has a social life as

> much as such a businesswoman, and who balances the two evenly, I think my mother is an exemplification primarily. (Interview no.1, Appendix F, 191)

On the other hand, the same participant also explained that she started to do the things that she criticized in her mother:

> I think even at the point where you'd criticized your mother, eventually you find yourself doing it. For example, my mother was a meticulous woman, so her house should always be clean and tidy, she even used to tell me, you are very messy, she said. For example, I can give this as an example. For instance, she told me, after getting married and having children, I've never expected that you would be this neat etc.. I find myself clearing up everyone's mess, I am trying to tidy up the house. Before the guests arrive, then it should be decent etc.. In that respect, I became like my mother actually. In reality, I used to criticize, saying never mind, let it go, I can't let it go after the child *(myself)*. Compared to the past, I care about things that I never cared about before. (Interview no.1, Appendix F, 192)

Another participant approached the subject in terms of her feelings due to her own mother's behavior in her childhood, the unintentional reflections of these behaviors on her own child, and the regret it brings:

> This may be considered a very private detail, but my mother, for example, was not a person who could express her love that well, I remember very well, for example, when my aunts were visiting, she used to say, my daughter is this beautiful, that talented. But for example, we were together, there was not a peep from my mother. In our eyes, it's always my aunt's daughter, my cousins are more beautiful more like that, when did I realize that, say, after a long long time actually, everyone has their own beauty, everyone has their own mind, they have a talent, but when I had her, I realized that with my daughter too, I also keep on pointing the negatives etc., but never mention the positives, nothing of the sort. It is something that hurts and disturbs me a lot, but a person brings a lot from one's childhood … How you were treated, even if this bothers you, even if you want to behave completely the opposite way, it is engraved within you so deep, getting over that takes some time, needs practice I suppose. In short, I experienced something like that. (Interview no.8, Appendix F, 193)

Another participant talked about the strong resemblance to her mother, but stated that she realized that this replication was not the right thing in some aspects:

> Similarity... I mean… not neglecting basic-care, giving love and affection, etc., in those matters we are already like, like that, we are the same, so if that child has that need, it is the first priority, so at that moment, for example, he has a full diaper and you have to go to the toilet, let's say, which comes first, changing his diaper and things like that, like thinking about him before

> yourself maybe, but now I don't think that's right thing to do. In other words, everything stops, time stands still and meeting his needs at that moment, that is, the whole life is determined according to that. My mother was such a mother, my mother was still more such a mother even than me. (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 194)

It is remarkable that there were no participants who told any progressive mothering practices regarding their mothers. Only one participant mentioned the social side of her mother, however she also put the emphasis on how good she was in housekeeping. There were working mother stories, however they were long-suffering ones because of poverty, unavailable husbands, multiple children so on. Moreover, the participants uttered that they were gradually becoming like their mothers with their self-sacrificing, child-centered mothering which are signs to not only replicating their mothers' mothering, but also reproducing the patriarchal motherhood ideology within generations.

In addition to the replication of mothering, there are also points where women want and try to differentiate from their own mothers' mothering. In their statements about this, eights participants compare the era of their mothers' motherhood with today, and they criticized their mothers' excessive self-sacrificing behavior, the fact that they did everything themselves so not letting their children be self-sufficient, and their laxity in setting rules. Accordingly, they expressed that they do not want to reflect these traits on their own mothering.

One participant pointed out the changing meaning of child-rearing when compared with her mother's period:

> After all, motherhood in their day is very different from motherhood today as well. During motherhood in their day, the child is raised as if she was growing in a pot. Now it is not like that, you are dealing with the child's every single thing, you engage, you inquire into the psychology of the child. In their time, there was no such thing. (Interview no.7, Appendix F, 195).

One participant mentioned the excessive self-sacrificing behaviors of her mother, and the effects of these on her self-confidence. She also added how she reversed this situation for her children:

> My mother would not do such to a child, she would always self-sacrifice, I do not do it. My mother always *(said)*, I'd do it, and did *(everything)* instead of the children *(doing them)*, don't lift that my girl, I'll do it, you go sit down, the same way with her sons, too and I don't do this to my children, they know their own responsibilities, if their room is to be tidied up, they do it, the food, if the table is set together, it will be cleared up together ... Since my mother used to do everything herself, I was feeling useless. Since she wouldn't let me go and pay an invoice, or go for grocery shopping even, I used to feel like that. I'm doing *(letting)* it now, when I give it to my child, my child can go and pay *(the invoice).* We didn't know how we can live without my mother … Let me ask my mother about everything, this is how everything is. Let me ask my mother for everything, for all things like this, let me ask my mother. At the moment, the child asks my opinion, but he does it himself. He will always ask my opinion, but I say he should stand on his own feet. It is not clear what will happen to whom when, therefore I feel myself strong. (Interview no.19, Appendix F, 196)

Another participant uttered that she is much more cautious on setting up rules for her children contrary to her own mother:

> For example, my mother has this, I, as such, do not have it. I'm a little stricter, I mean for things like, I don't like to have my children eat junk food outside, I don't do any such thing, my mother would buy *(junk food)* during our *(childhood)* period, too, she would prepare stuff. For example, my children have a *(set)* TV time, they have a play area, given that, my mother gets a bit upset with me like this, you do not let the children be *(set them free).* And I reply to that saying, this is not about being free, it is so that their routine settles, and they know their schedule, a little in that fashion. My mom says sometimes, you didn't take after me, she says you are a bit crueler as a mother, that's the way she is doing this. Actually, this is not cruelty, I am doing it to clear a good path for them. (Interview no.11, Appendix F, 197)

One participant clearly expressed her motivation to differentiate her mother's aggressiveness even if this may bring difficulty to her child-rearing in terms of discipline and managing challenging behaviors of her child:

> My mother, such as for the smallest thing, used to *(react)* in exasperation, that, I can't do it to my son ... For example, my son and I, the other day, were outside on the street all day, wandering around, he is a child who loves being outside so much so that he'd rather be outside all day then do anything else. At last, the time is 10 o'clock, he has a single scoop of ice-cream on cone in

> his hand, he is licking it but does not want to go home, he is crying at the building's lobby, licking, my son, come on, no no no, but how stubborn, so stubborn, this is what I did, I just held him by the ear so lightly, and I said you naughty you, I took him upstairs while he was crying and shrieking, then I cried, I cried, why did I hold your ear, why did I pull it, mommy's little one, I am sorry, my son, my heart's center *(sweetheart)*, and there was no such thing in our mothers' time. I would fall down, hurt my knee here, on top of that, I would get a trashing from my mom. Maybe since we are not like that, our children are not afraid of us, we cannot discipline as such. But I also say, yes, when we compare it with the ways in my mother's time, no, my friend, let me live according to my instinct, stop that, don't do that, but this child will do it anyway right now, of course he will do things, still I do not want to become like our mother. (Interview no.5, Appendix F, 198)

Another participant stated her effort for self-development by being open to novelties regarding mothering contrary to her mother, and to construct a different mothering from her own mother's.

> Look, let me go back a long time, maybe I did not see these in my mother, now my mother, see, was not a mother who was into improving herself or like this, open to innovations. Maybe *(she was limited)* with the circumstances of that time, but here it is, I did not see that in my mother, but some things I did not see in my mother, some deficiencies, I saw those in myself, like let me do this like this, do that like that, I can be a better mother, hence I strive. (Interview no.13, Appendix F, 199)

4.3.2.3.2 Structural aspect

The focus is on women's self-reflection on their own childhood, on former child-care and parenting experiences, and on their own mothers' mothering (see Table 22) so as to correct their misparenting behaviors, and achieve the imagined parenting. Outcomes of this learning experience are replication of or differentiation from own mothers, promoting gender equality in child rearing, better problem-solving skills, better relationship with the child, and worrying less as being illustrated through the utterances of the participants (see section 4.3.2.3.1).

Table 22. Dimensions of variation for Category B3

Category B: Construction of parental knowledge and skills	Dimensions of Variation			
Category B3	Sources of Learning	Objects of Learning	Acts of Learning	Outcomes of Learning
Making use of former experiences	own childhood, past childcare experiences, former parenting experience, her own mother's mothering	correcting the misparenting behaviors, achieving the imagined parenting	recalling past experiences, inferring from lived experiences, self-reflection	replication of/ differentiation from own mother, promoting gender equality in child rearing, problem-solving skills, better relationship with the child, worrying less

4.3.3 Transformation of self

In this section, Category C is elaborated by presenting its referential aspect through illustrative excerpts from the interviews and its structural aspect through the relevant referrals to dimensions of variation.

4.3.3.1 Referential aspect

Many learning experiences in motherhood are transformative in various dimensions, so in this part, I would like to give a brief description of the transformative learning theory. As a theory of adult learning, transformative learning theory attempts to describe and analyze how adults learn to make sense of their experience, and transformative learning involves reflectively transforming the believes, attitudes, opinions, and emotional reactions that constitute our meaning schemes (Mezirow, 1991). Regarding the acquisitions coming out through the transformative learning process, Mezirow (1991) states that:

> Evaluation of gains made as a result of transformative learning should attempt to map the learners' initial meaning perspective and compare it with his or her later meaning perspective. Differences analyzed should include changes in interests, goals, awareness of problems, awareness of contexts, critical reflectivity and action, openness to alternative perspectives, ability to participate freely and fully in rational discourse, and willingness to accept consensual validation as a mode of problem solving in communicative learning. (p.226)

Women's learning experiences as mothers are reflected as transformation of self by 15 participants. Transformation of self has been treated as transformation in personal traits and attitudes, being empathetic to other mothers, and having a new grasp on becoming mother.

4.3.3.1.1 Transformation in personal traits and attitudes

Women's learning experiences as mothers are reflected as transformation in personal traits and attitudes by 11 participants. There are various utterances by the participants which reveal the transformative aspect of becoming mother on women's self, and all of these are positive expressions; women feel to a great extent content with the person they have transformed into regarding personal trait and attitudes. These can be summarized as becoming determined, patient, more organized and domestic, flexible, socially sensitive, and as finding inner peace. These transformations on self point out the experience- and learning-based character of becoming mother, and these have been related mostly about maturation.

Regarding being determined, one participant expressed the reactions of her family because of the changes in her attitudes:

> Let me put it this way, for example, I used to have a hard time making decisions, now my decisions are quicker and clearer, for example, I would change my mind very quickly, for example, now I am not like that. My family, for example, they are too much sometimes, they even said, after becoming a mother, you became very know-it-all, I heard that, yes, because I am not the Ayfer whom they were used to, like as it used to be the case in the

> past, I am not telling them that we can meet there as well, in the decisions I made, such things may have happened. (Interview no.4, Appendix F, 200)

One participant uttered the concept of ‘finding inner peace’ and described it in her own words as below:

> I feel calmer. So, I definitely found the inner peace, I say. (*How is that?, How would you describe it, the thing you call the inner peace?*) I mean, there is always a fight with oneself for every person in this world, or rather, I have this, well Nuray, why did you do it like this, now I understand that, for example, doesn’t matter how flawed a person is, s/he's actually an awesome person. I think of Mahir and Ufuk, for example, what I would consider as a flow in myself, I wouldn’t consider the same thing as that big of a flaw in them. So, I realized it was an nonsensical point of view. But I don't want to go too far, I don't want to say I became complete when I become a mother or such, but maybe it was a completion in a way, in terms of stopping the (inner) struggle. (Interview no.6, Appendix F, 201)

Regarding being patient, one participant mentioned her increased patience toward children: “Other than that, how can I say, I am not a very patient person in some matters, towards children, towards my children at least, I can be more patient, I notice that.” (Interview no.10, Appendix F, 202). Another participant mentioned her -more- patient attitude toward others:

> It's like you're getting more serious when you become a mother, when calling this getting more serious, I mean more sedate, for example, I used to be more impulsive, I would blaze up right away when someone said something, that thing, I don't give that thing *(reaction)* anymore, it's as if, somehow, the motherhood calms people down a bit, hence now I'm not doing it that much per se. (Interview no.17, Appendix F, 203)

The requirements of taking care of a child bring changes in everyday life which result in transforming the women regarding their household habits and routines. One participant expressed her transformation to a more organized and domestic person by making a self-comparison:

> I was a disorganized person. What I mean is not only in the physical sense, messy, but also in lifestyle, I would come and go as I please. Under no circumstances I could be considered a tidy, orderly, or disciplined person. But now I am, I am more organized. For example, I live my life more according to a plan. What can I give as an example, I take care of housework a lot more,

> I could never be considered a domestic person in the past, but now, I may be becoming one somewhat … I mean, most probably, compared to other women, I may be messier still, but compared to how I used to be, definitely not as much. Still, if someone would drop by my home for a visit, they might say that it is untidy. (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 26)

Another participant mentioned her transformation in terms of being flexible in child-related issues:

> I mean, I have rules, but I can relax some rules or adapt them in my own way, so it is not case ever for me to leave them completely uncared for or unattended, but on the other hand, it is so much such a thing like , their every move, where they are going, what are they doing etc. that controlling thing, by nature, I am controlling normally, but for example, after I had kids, I realized that too, I mean, being strict about hygiene etc. matters, I relaxed my attitude willingly, so if he picks something that fell on the floor and puts it in his mouth, unless it is animal excrement, or his own poop, I do nothing. I don't know, he takes pebbles in his mouth, licks them, then takes them out. I mean, you'll choke, ah my son etc., I'm not doing things like that, let's say, I know that if he is at the stage to be able to eat a hazelnut, he would eat that hazelnut, there is no such thing for sure that he will choke on that hazelnut. I also know what to do in case it gets stuck in his throat, I'm good at some of the first aid stuff. (Interview no.10, Appendix F, 204)

Through the experiences of becoming mother, the women become more aware and sensitive to social issues, and more charitable, as one participant uttered:

> As a person, your compassion is increasing relatively, frankly speaking, not just for your own child, also outside, how to put it, when you see a child in need of help, that automatically draws your attention. As I was saying, for me, especially before I had a child, I loved them *(children)* from afar, I used to say, oh how cute he is etc., but asking let me hold him, let me caress him, never happened, neither being fond of children, neither towards children, nor for animals. – even though I worry that something like that *(would happen)* in parentheses, but- You don't want to harm a living thing, even if that may be a puppy, or a kitten, if you see it's been hit on the side of the road, your heart aches, it's more intense than before. (Interview no.8, Appendix F, 205)

4.3.3.1.2 Being empathetic for other mothers

As six participants shared, the lived experience of becoming mother changes a woman's perception of understanding and valuing other mothers' effort while child-rearing, starting with her own mother. The woman begins to realize how the rules,

warnings and coddling of her mother emerged. This awareness is reflected positively on the woman's relationship with her mother after she becomes a mother herself. This situation also brings feeling of regret to the women because of their inconsiderate attitudes in the past toward women who are mothers.

One participant expressed in detail how she was totally unaware of the efforts of her mother when she was younger, especially before she had her own children:

> I was not aware of what my mother was going through, not aware at all. After I became a mother, my attachment to my mother etc. got stronger even more. Well, you don't realize then, you're young, you're working, your interests are very different. I wasn't aware of the *(goings-on of)* home either, what was going on at home, what was being talked about, I wasn't following those either, in short, I became aware of all that after I got married and had a child... I am able to understand my mother like that, the things she experienced while raising us, then the periods she lived through, I understand these by witnessing myself, I realize the number of difficulties she had to endure, I mean, all the things she did for us, how much she sacrificed. After I had a child, of course, I said, if even I experience this, what about my mother with 7 children in a village of the Black Sea region, I am from Rize, my mothers' *(parents)* were *(living)* in a village, under those circumstances, it is extremely hard to raise 7 kids, mother-in-law, sisters-in-law all in the same house, I can now relate to the things she lived through very well, as they also say, the value of the mothers is understood after you have a kid *(of your own)*, that is truly what happens. Before that, there was no awareness, so I wish someone had woken us up *(to this fact)* at that age, you understand afterwards, this is my perspective now, my son does not understand me at this moment, meaning does not understand possibly. (Interview no.20, Appendix F, 206)

One participant uttered empathy toward her mother-in-law's behaviors to show affection to her son (participant's spouse) as if he were a child:

> Well, it's like this, my mother-in-law still pets my spouse as if he is still a child. She was jealous earlier. And now I'm wondering, what if Eylem was at that age, and I would probably behave similarly, there is such a thing, so bizarre, of course, but I acknowledge that. (Interview no.3, Appendix F, 207)

Another participant stated her self-evaluation about her previous reactions and views on other mothers busyness:

> Frankly, I wasn't doing that. As a matter of fact, we went to my cousin's place once, we're going to go somewhere, the kids were small, younger than my daughter now, their preparations etc. All right, I was single at that time, all right, that time I would say grab the kid, go out, but it doesn't work like that,

> first you dress them up, and get their food. (Interview no.15, Appendix F, 208).

One participant focused more on the emotional aspect of being a mother, and mentioned the mutual feelings shared by mothers:

> For example, you understand the mother-child relationship. In the past, I, I had nephews, I loved my nephews, but it was fleeting, I couldn't know the emotions their mothers' felt, that's what you fail to grasp, the feeling of motherhood. But now, for example, I understand very well, I couldn't know what anyone *(felt for)* their child in the past, now for example, I know. Because as they say all the time, only people who themselves had fallen from the roof understand those who fell from the roof. So now then, only a mother understands a mother, one does not understand her emotions if they themselves are not a mother, for example, I don't know if you are a mother, but that feeling, only a mother can understand. The things they feel, experience, for example her offspring getting sick, or a mother whose child dies, that for example, I do not know, if you would experience these as I did, but for sure a mother would be more, like feels that deep in her heart, really feels it. Motherhood is such a feeling. (Interview no.17, Appendix F, 209)

4.3.3.1.3 Having a new grasp on becoming mother

As half of the participants pointed out, the women develop a new grasp on motherhood through their lived experiences which begin during pregnancy and extend beyond. Within this new grasp, two aspects are prominent that the motherhood they have been experiencing is different than imagined, and that it is different than what has been told and culturally imposed.

Eight participants stated that there are differences between what is fictionalized about becoming mother before the child is born and what is noticed afterwards. Among the unexpected turn of events are the intensity of the practice of motherhood which spread to the whole life of women especially in the first year, the dimension of emotional labor, and the transformation of the perception on childhood and child-rearing. Hence child-rearing is beyond a technical thing and each child's own holistic development, emotions and psychology are also important and this induces unpredictability for mother's lived take on her expectations.

One participant stated that she did not expect the intensity of motherhood that occupies a woman's life 24/7, and how much this situation changed her life:

> In other words, after becoming a mother I think, one realizes how difficult a mission this actually is by experiencing it. Because in my opinion it is very difficult to predict its intensity beforehand. Therefore, the thing that changed was actually that, in the first years it being such an intense thing, for a person the amount *(it affects)* her life, no matter how many times a person declares, I do not change my life, such a thing cannot happen *(that is not possible)*. (Interview no.10, Appendix F, 210)

Another participant underlined the emotional labor of mothering: "Motherhood, like this, always, she carried us in her womb, did a lot for us, I, too, used to think like that in the past, now more than that, I know about its emotional extent as well" (Interview no.6, Appendix F, 211).

Moreover, while there is a re-conception about the definition and perception of motherhood, this situation brings with it a new perspective on the phenomenon of childhood as one participant uttered:

> For example, I used to think that I could guide my child more promptly, that I could do something without locking horns, and that I could do it while being more relaxed. Of course, after I became a mother and became involved in this, I saw that it was more difficult." (Interview no.4, Appendix F, 212)

Another participant explained how she realized that child-rearing is beyond a technical one-size-fits-all, and that each child's own holistic development, emotions and psychology are also part of the equation:

> At first, when you don't know *(how it actually is)*, you look at it as if it's a technical thing, you say, okay, you feed it, you breastfeed, pick it up, you think that's all folks, that's all, like all about meeting their needs, that's how you assume what the workload is, but we learn later on, that making them eat, drink, or putting them to sleep, is only a small part of it. In fact, the psychology of that child and, how can I say, his soul and emotions, it is more difficult to keep these in balance, frankly, it can be easier *(you assume)*... But especially after a certain age, after the age of two and a half or three, he is no longer a child but an individual, that is, a unique individual, you can't bend him toward the paths you want, or how can I say, you cannot look at the kid from a technical aspect, that every child is special, for that kid, I can't do with my son what I did with my daughter, or I can't do with my youngest what I did with the middle child. You know, you take shape according to them,

> because it's such a thing that, it’s not the same, you can't offer the same things. One child is happier to be squeezed and to be cuddled, while the other is uncomfortable *(with those)*. The other one, for example, when you talk nicely, when you talk lovingly *(is happier)*, but when the other one grows up a little bit, especially if you don't have limits, if you don't have rules, he may trespass, meaning it all depends, there is not a single thing I can mention for sure that *(applies to all)*, because you may hurt a child if you try to approach every one of them the same way, that is. Like, you may need to be crystal clear with one of them, that’s how he understands, the other understands better if you approach him from a little more emotional side, so it's very different. (Interview no.8, Appendix F, 213)

What is experienced is different from the imagined and fictionalized motherhood, however this is also caused by what other people tell (or not tell) about motherhood, including those who are mothers, and what is culturally imposed as five participants implied. Things such as the happiness about motherhood, which is said to begin as of pregnancy, the intense love to be felt for the child, and the feeling of devotion are uttered very often. On the other hand, the physically tiring aspects of pregnancy, birth and the first months, and its reflections on the life of women and relations with the spouses are not emphasized. As Miller (2010) states:

> The predominant feeling in the narratives right after the birth is that the birth is not what women think. After some thought, they come to the conclusion that the experts did not prepare them adequately or in the proper way. But it's not just the experts who hide what giving birth can really look like. The pact of silence that some women feel surrounded by from the moment of preparation for childbirth involves not only healthcare professionals but also friends and family. (p.155-156)

One participant exemplified this case during interview as follows:

> Because, like this for example, always what I heard, it is very standard, the magnificent love *(I felt)* when I first held it in my arms, and such descriptions that you keep hearing from people around you, for instance, that is not how it is in my opinion, the motherhood. *(Did you feel such a thing?)* No, I didn't, for example, nobody told me this at that moment. I gave birth by cesarean section and I was in serious pain, so I was in bed, the moment I took Artin in my arms for the first time, there was no such gushing *(emotions)* when I took him in my arms for the first time. Because I was hurting and when I held him in my arms, my pain increased a little bit … Just then, the poetic side of all this is being mentioned mostly, meaning more precisely the part of that love and this happiness is being mentioned a lot, but on the other hand, the

> problems a mother may experience is not being mentioned that much for example, and I saw this clearly. (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 214)

Another participant complained about the illusive representation of having a child and being a mother in social media:

> So now, for a person who has never been a mother, it is not easy anyway, for even for your child, it is not easy to change your living conditions completely, it is presented to you as such thing, like a very fancy, magical world, painted in powder pink, you also follow it on the internet, blogger mothers etc.. Initially, I was looking *(at those things)* at my daughter *('s time),* following, now I don't at all. But this thing is presented like such a world. Apart from that, your little baby has a lot to expectations from you, it is at the beginning of her life, such an arduous journey. … (*You said, a fancy world is being presented, a magical world is being presented, what kind of world is the presented world?*) It's as if like the baby is a machine, it will never cry, it will adapt completely to your conditions under the most favorable terms for you, then you are looking at photos from Instagram etc., you find all those little, tiny clothes etc. very charming. But all the time, for example, when Özlem was born, she had colic, she cried unbelievably continuously for seven months, she didn't sleep during those seven months. (Interview no.9, Appendix F, 215)

One participant emphasized the relationship with the spouse which could be affected by the new-born child, and implied that people are unwilling to share their negative experiences until someone lives the same:

> Of course, everyone's experience is actually very unique in this regard, I mean, in some of them, the mother develops postpartum depression, and in some, such things can happen to the father. One of my colleagues here, who experienced this as a mother, mention that, the first three months may be extremely difficult, but this is temporary, that's why do not do such things etc. but other than that, details, what are these difficulties, I know she advised me so, since it was hard for her as a person who herself had postpartum depression, but the bottom line, it is not only developing postpartum depression. Apart from that, there may be 1000 different complications, there may be many troubles in the family and so on. In other words, no one talks much about these things, only after it happens, while talking to others, *(they say)* yes we also had such experiences, as an example, when my sister got divorced as well, they actually lived like this for a year etc., you hear of these experiences, and in fact how straining things can get especially with respect to the couple's relationship, not many people mention this. (Interview no.10, Appendix F, 216)

Despite the devoted image of mothers which is imposed by the socio-cultural context on women, other two participants pointed out the importance of women protecting or re-gaining their personal spaces in their lives, and not give up on themselves. The first participant mentioned her being far away from working life for a long time, and her regret and new grasp about this case:

> Actually, you dedicate too much from your own life, in short, we should not have to give up much from our own life. You know, motherhood is a new addition to our life, but you should be aware of yourself while keeping up with it, you should not forget *(about)* yourself. Because, after a while, *(for me)* 14 years have passed at that, I want to go back to working life again, but everything has changed so much, computer programming, work methodologies and so on, we forgot so many things, where can we start again, my age, you know at the entrance level, there is age requirement for hiring staff. (Interview no.20, Appendix F, 217)

The second participant uttered the importance of perceiving and sharing the childcare as a social issue, which she realized more accurately after her child started to attend nursery school:

> Definitely, the liberation of mothers as women, with respect to the things she wants to do as a woman is an extremely important thing, also, you really feel relieved, too, you know, it is very overwhelming to look after that child all the time, so a person cannot take care of a child 24/7. Even if you do, I think you are not doing well, meaning this is not healthy, what is healthy, as a matter of fact, is, the child's care, education etc. processes *(responsibilities)* to be shared by the community, apparently this is such an important thing. (Interview no.2, Appendix F, 218)

There are several discourses regarding the child-mother relationship, and one is dealt with also the "woman beyond the child" aspect in this relationship. It brings forth the idea that to raise happy children, the mothers need to be happy, too; and within this perception, women can find and have joy, pleasure, and meaning beyond their children and their house which in turn benefit both woman and child (Elvin-Nowak & Thomsson, 2001). Some of the mothers are successful to achieve this, some are struggling with it and expanding their personal spaces gradually when their children grow older, and others feel more stuck but still defend their rightfulness for their

needs and wishes. Here, the most effective factors are economic conditions and opportunities of the family, the support of spouse in childcare and household chores, and the number of children. Moreover, it should be acknowledged that "bringing up a child is a community thing" (Sawyer, 1999, p.19).

4.3.3.2 Structural aspect

The focus in this category is on transformative effects of women's lived experiences as mothers on their personal traits and attitudes and on their conception of becoming mother (see Table 23). Outcomes of this learning experience are being more determined, patient, organized and domestic, socially sensitive, finding inner peace, being empathetic for "own" and other mothers, and having a new grasp on becoming mother as being illustrated through the utterances of participants (see section 4.3.3.1).

Table 23. Dimensions of variation for Category C

Category C: Transformation of self	Dimensions of Variation			
	Sources of Learning	Objects of Learning	Acts of Learning	Outcomes of Learning
Having a new grasp on becoming mother	lived experiences	no intended object of learning	experiencing, reasoning, self-reflection, inferring from conflicts and confrontation with reality	being determined, patient, organized and domestic, being empathetic for 'own' and other mothers, being socially sensitive, finding inner peace, having a new grasp on becoming mother

4.4 Outcome Space

Outcome space is the overall exhibition of the findings of the study. In phenomenographic studies, outcome space provides a holistic and collective grasp on study participants' ways of experience of the phenomenon to be studied (Åkerlind, 2005). On the other hand, a visual presentation of simply names of the categories of descriptions is not sufficient to depict the richness of the findings (Collier-Reed & Ingerman, 2013), so it is illustrated through various forms like tables, images or diagrams which show the relationships between the categories (Yates et al., 2012).

4.4.1 Outcome space for conceptions on becoming mother

According to this study, five categories of description (one category with two sub-categories) have been discovered which represent the conceptions of women who are mothers on becoming mother. These are:

- A multifaceted process
- A life changing experience
- A struggle with diverse difficulties
- A set of particular personal traits and feelings
- A dynamic interaction with others
    - *Extended family*
    - *Larger society*

The outcome space (see Figure 2) depicts the conceptions of women who are mothers on becoming mother by showing the cumulative involvement of the major determinants which are effective in constituting the participants' ways of experiencing the phenomenon. To remind, these major determinants are mother

herself, her child(ren), her spouse (the father), members of extended family and larger society, and socio-cultural context.

The colors in the diagram represent participant women's positive or/and negative perceptions of lived experience. Blue color in the diagram represents the positive perception, red color represents the negative perception, and the blue-red stripes represent the perception which is both positive and negative regarding the particular lived experience. Moreover, the size of the shapes is proportional to the number of utterances (not the participants) regarding the conceptions.

In conception of 'becoming mother as a multifaceted process', mother and child; in conception of 'becoming mother as a set of personal traits and feeling', mother and socio-cultural context; and in conception of 'becoming mother as a life changing experience', mother and father are the major determinants. The array of the shapes representing these conceptions are one under the other because the determinants are different from each other for these three conceptions except the mother, and I aimed to prepare a diagram which is getting complicated horizontally to show the cumulative relationships.

Shape for the conception of 'becoming mother as a dynamic interaction with others' which is formed by interaction with extended family (mother, socio-cultural context, and members of extended family) and by interaction with larger society (members of larger society, and socio-cultural context) is placed next to the shape for 'a set of personal traits and feelings' since they have a mutual determinant which is 'mother and socio-cultural context'. 'Becoming mother as a struggle with diverse difficulties' which includes all the determinants except the child is represented next to 'a dynamic interaction with others.'

When we take a holistic look at the findings, we can see and claim that the reciprocal relationship between the mother and the child in the multifaceted process of becoming mother, the changing responsibilities and priorities, and the changes in everyday life as the outcomes of becoming mother as a life changing experience, and the dynamic interactions with extended family and larger society have influences on personal traits and feelings of women as mothers. Moreover, the dynamic interactions with others, the changing responsibilities and priorities, and the changes in everyday life influence the struggle with diverse difficulties of becoming mother. These explanations also clarify the meanings of the arrows in the Figure 2.

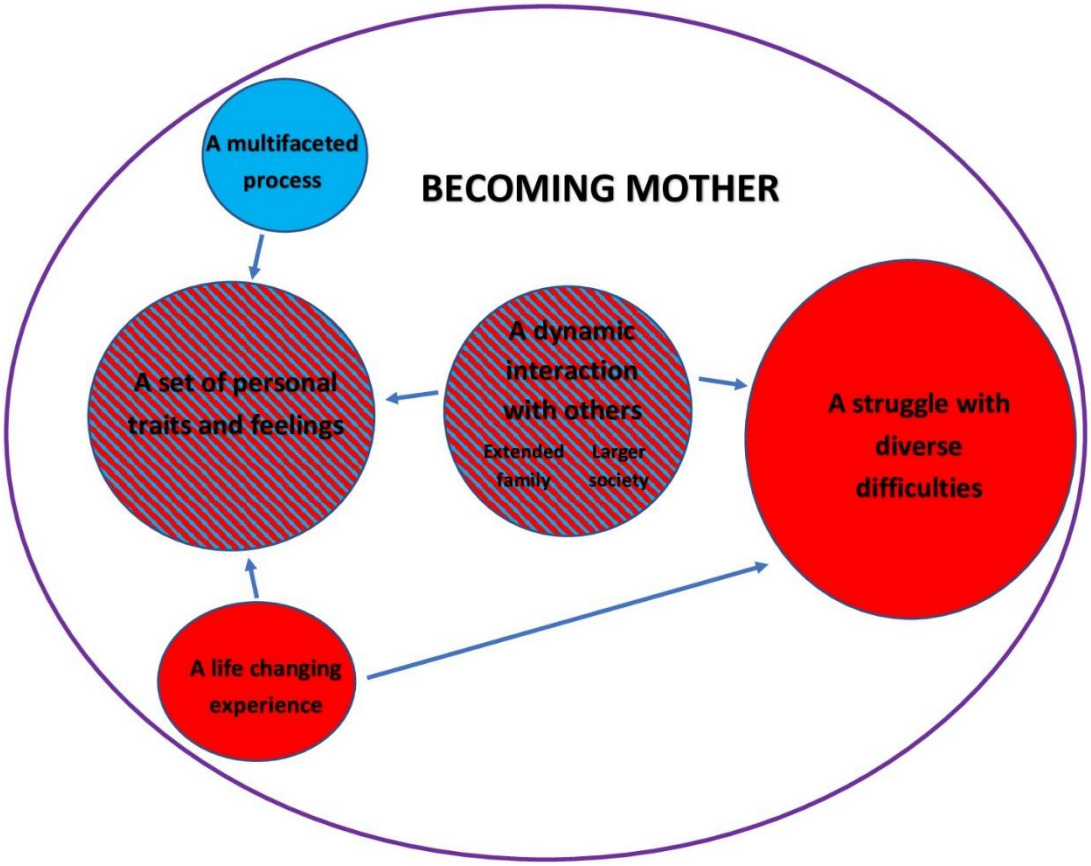

Figure 2 Outcome space for conceptions on becoming mother

For this outcome space, the illustrated relationship between the categories is referring to the diverse and cumulative involvement of different determinants. Although the

scope of the categories is expanding regarding the major determinants, this expansion does not result in the structural inclusions of the former categories, so the depicted hierarchy between the categories is horizontal.

4.4.2 Outcome space for women's reflections on their learning experiences

According to this study, three categories of description (some with sub-categories) have been discovered for women's ways of reflecting on their learning experiences as mothers. These are:

- Acquisition of parental knowledge and skills
    - *Parental knowledge and skills through other mothers*
    - *Parental knowledge and skills through experts*
- Construction of parental knowledge and skills
    - *Self-experience*
    - *A reciprocal process with children*
    - *Making use of former experiences*
- Transformation of self

The outcome space (see Figure 3) depicts the women's reflections on their learning experiences as mothers. The names of categories and sub-categories of descriptions are presented in a diagram within round shapes, and the size of the shapes are proportional to the number of utterances (not the participants) about the conceptions. Regarding their placement in the diagram, the shapes for acquisition of parental knowledge and skills and for construction of parental knowledge and skills are placed in the upper side of the diagram, side by side. These two categories of description with their sub-categories are representing two simultaneously, and to a great extent, conscious processes which start as early as women plan to have a child. The third category which is 'transformation of self' has its place in the lower side of the diagram by its own since this is a more spontaneous and gradual process of which outcomes are much more related with women's self rather than solely with the child

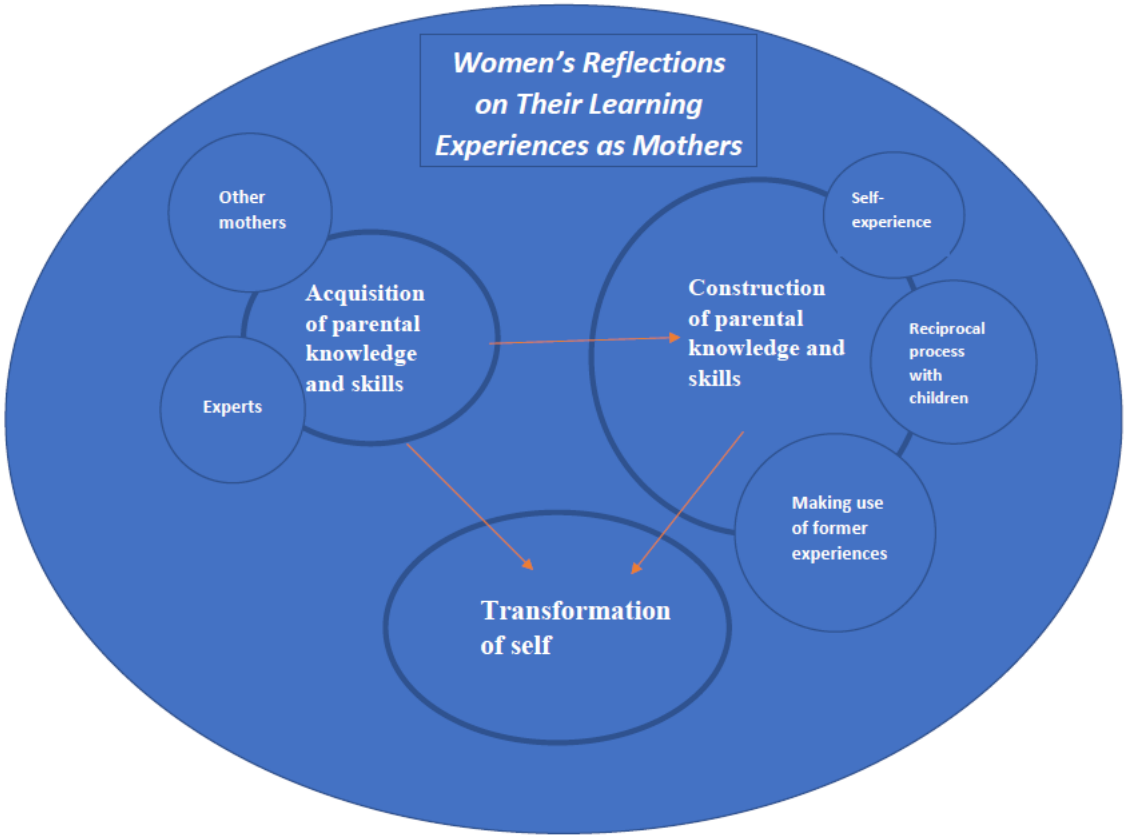

Figure 3 Outcome space for women's reflections on their learning experiences as mothers

Through a holistic look at the findings, we conclude that the process of acquiring parental knowledge and skills through other mothers and experts have influences on the women's own construction of parental knowledge and skills, and women's transformation of self as mothers. In the same way, the process of constructing parental knowledge and skills has influence on women's transformation of self as mothers. These explanations also clarify the meanings of the arrows in the Figure 3. For this outcome space, the illustrated relationship between the categories is portraying their influences on each other and their temporal feature of emergence, and the depicted hierarchy between the categories is circular.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, summary of the study and the findings, reflections on conducting a phenomenographic research, overall implications for adult learning and education, limitations of the present study, infered further research opportunities, and concluding remarks are presented.

5.1 Summary of the study and findings

In this study, phenomenography as a qualitative research methodology was used to investigate the variations in conceptions of women who are mothers on the phenomenon of 'becoming mother' and their reflections on their learning experiences as mothers. The aim of the study is to reveal and describe women's varying ways of experiencing the phenomenon of becoming mother in two aspects: 1) the conceptions on becoming mother, and 2) the reflections on learning experiences regarding becoming mother. The sample of the study consists of 20 women who are mothers with various characteristics like age, educational level, working status, and number of children (see Table 7). The data for the study were collected through semi-structured and audio-recorded interviews, and the phenomenographic data analysis procedure was followed to evaluate the interview data (for the analysis steps see Table 6).

The first research question posed, which is "what are the conceptions of women who are mothers on the phenomenon of becoming mother?", led us to five categories of description (one category includes two sub-categories) that have been discovered through the data analysis. Becoming mother is conceived as:

- A multifaceted process
- A life changing experience
- A struggle with diverse difficulties
- A set of particular personal traits and feelings
- A dynamic interaction with others
    - *Extended family*
    - *Larger society*

The woman herself, her child(ren), her spouse, members of the extended family and larger society, and socio-cultural context are major determinants which are effective in constituting the participants' ways of experiencing the phenomenon. These determinants' forms of involvement, women's positive and/or negative perceptions of lived experience, and outcomes of lived experiences for women constitute the critical aspects in conceptions of the participants. These critical aspects compose the dimensions of variation in conceptions, and show the structural relationship between the categories accordingly (see Table 8 and 9).

As corresponding the second research question which is "what kind of variation is there in women's ways of reflecting on their learning experiences as mothers?", three categories of description (some with sub-categories) have been discovered through the data analysis. Women's learning experiences as mothers are reflected as:

- Acquisition of parental knowledge and skills
    - *Parental knowledge and skills through other mothers*
    - *Parental knowledge and skills through experts*
- Construction of parental knowledge and skills
    - *Self-experience*
    - *A reciprocal process with children*
    - *Making use of former experiences*
- Transformation of self

Sources, objects, acts, and outcomes of learning experiences of women as mothers constitute the critical aspects in how they reflect on their experiences. These critical aspects compose the dimensions of variation in women's reflections on their learning experiences as mothers, and show the structural relationship between the categories accordingly (see Table 16 and 17).

5.2 Reflections on conducting a phenomenographic study

For this study, the utilization of phenomenography is considered crucial from an educational researcher's point of view since almost all the other qualitative research methods have roots in other social sciences like philosophy, sociology and so on, but phenomenography has been first utilized in educational sciences for learning studies. As Kettunen and Tynjälä (2018) describe:

> Phenomenography provides a systematic way of analyzing qualitative research data and makes it possible to uncover the qualitatively different ways in which various phenomena are experienced or understood. It helps researchers describe the aspects that make one way of experiencing a certain phenomenon qualitatively distinct from another, and to illustrate the underlying structure of variation across a group of participants. (p.8)

So, based on the view that motherhood and mothering practices do not have a single description, and that those are not conceived and experienced in a singular way by women, phenomenography -because its concern is to reveal the variations in lived experiences of a particular phenomenon - was decided as the research approach for this study.

Data analysis process of this study was truly time consuming as expected. Due to the demands of the phenomenographic analysis, I needed to turn back to the raw data many times, I read and re-read the whole transcriptions repeatedly, and I re-organized categories many times. 'Reiteration' was the keyword during the data analysis. However, I am very glad that I conducted all of the steps of this study

personally which pulled me totally in the research and made me feel confident about the accurate and purposeful use of the collected data. I can assert that categories of descriptions which have been discovered in the data meet Marton and Booth's (1997) three criteria when evaluating the quality of 'emerged' categories of description:

i. Each category points a distinct way of experiencing it.
ii. There is a logical relationship between the categories.
iii. The number of the categories is reasonably few for introducing the variation in the data.

On the other hand, for the analysis of the data, the important thing and the main aim was to discover the variation in the utterances, not to find out the mostly uttered conceptions. Although -when reporting the findings- I have mentioned the number of participants who uttered a particular conception and even depicted this in the outcome spaces regarding the size of the shapes, this does not mean that any given utterance is superior/inferior to others.

Lastly, I want to mention gender issues and phenomenography very briefly. According to Hazel, Conrad, and Martin (1997), phenomenography and feminism can go side by side for several reasons. First, for both phenomenography and feminist research, process is equally important as the content, and experiences are core for learning. Moreover, the subjects' way of experiences in studies are evaluated without trying to make them fit to the predictions of the researcher in both approaches (Hazel, Conrad, & Martin, 1997). But still, there are some conflicts regarding gender issues that gender has not been treated and considered as a particular issue in phenomenographic research studies beyond being a variation in the sample. Hazel et al. (1997) pointed the lack of 'emotions' in phenomenography

which deals almost only with the cognitive, although “feeling and thinking are intimately related, even inseparable” (p.221), and accordingly stated:

> if a significant aspect of experience, such as emotion, is missing from the experience as it is interpreted by phenomenography, then this is significant for those who see emotion as integrally related to the way people come to know and understand the world around them. (p.222)

Because the conceptions and learning experiences regarding mothering cannot be examined and evaluated by ignoring or excluding the aspect of feelings, using phenomenography for this study is also in a distinct position to broaden the scope of phenomenography.

5.3 Implications for adult learning and education

Pang (2003) defines learning as “a change in the learners’ capability of experiencing a phenomenon in the world around them” (p. 153). In the same manner, as women as mothers learn more and more regarding how to parent their child(ren) in various domains like physical care, psychological and emotional support, pedagogical support and so on; their understanding of mothering, and their self-perceived positive impact on their children are improved.

Feminist theorists consider the lived experience of women as a sphere of adult learning and knowledge construction. However, maternal learning and parent education are most of the times organized around formal learning activities which may lack the consideration of “contextual, social and emotional factors that potentially influence maternal ability or behavior” (Fowler, 2002, p.158). Therefore, professional attention is also needed to be given to informal and incidental learning experiences which play an important role in becoming mother (Fowler, 2002).

Although there are many educational programs with formal learning activities for mothers, -and we cannot completely ignore their effects-, it is debatable to what

extent these programs -with their content and format- correspond to the learning needs and demands of the mothers. If an adult education program for mothers is not designed as being sensitive to diverse characteristics of women and the socio-cultural context to which they are associated with (by will, by force, by necessity, by kinship, etc.), and aims to transmit the idea of a structured and unquestionable form of mothering, what is left to those women after the education is the feeling of being out of norm and alienated.

Many mothers believe that they can learn best from other mothers. In other words, they trust and internalize the information more if the person who delivers the information has similar experiences with them. This does not mean -of course- adult educators should be mothers, however adult educators need to be aware of that perspective and show empathy toward this perception. On the other hand, most of the women in this study mention the feeling of unconfidence, uncertainty, and the feeling of guilt mostly because of the interferences of the extended family members and some other fellow mothers. Thus, there is a need to build empathetical settings for 'learning together and from each other' to validate women's experiences and skills as mothers. This can have such an implication that adult educators can organize informal learning settings where mothers at a similar stage in their motherhood, more experienced mothers, and expectant mothers would be brought together in different composition (same stages together; less and more experienced together, intergenerational meeting etc.) where listening to each other and empathy is encouraged, and possible harmful suggestions -and also reactions- are regulated and moderated by adult educators through expert knowledge.

At this point, I want to mention a very important concept which is the 'community of learners' and 'community of practice' because women as mothers -to

a great extent- share a common ground with a lot of aspects regarding their and their children's lives. Marton and Trigwell (2000) describe these communities and the learning experiences which occur accordingly as follows:

> In everyday life people participate in purposeful activities, they rely on, and support, each other and they make use of rich material, intellectual, and linguistic resources. They make use of tools—physical and conceptual. They are part of "learning communities", an expression that implies an interest in considering learning as a product, or a by-product, of participation in social practices…. Learning community thus refers to a group of people participating in a shared social practice, which changes as the members learn, and the members learn as the practice is changing. Actually the community will change its way of behaving in ways that cannot be reduced to what individuals learn. The community learns as a whole. (p.384)

As a prominent feeling of being a mother which was expressed during the interviews, 'worries' of women as mothers need to be worked on to provide them with the coping strategies with various types of these worries so as to be able to have a more pleasant and peaceful experience of being a mother. An utterance from one of the pilot interviews of this study is symbolically very meaningful to depict this issue:

> I feel my heart beating outside…. I mean, my heart is outside of my body… you can protect the heart within your chest, which is protected after all, but when you feel your heart beating outside, it's open to all kinds of dangers.

During the study, fathers were not mentioned by mothers when talking about their learning experiences. There were no expressions regarding co-learning the practice of parenting. Therefore, adult education programs and learning activities designed for mothers may also include alternative contents like co-parenting. Parent education programs are prepared, organized, and presented separately for mothers and fathers. There might be some explanations regarding the socio-cultural context, or some practical reasons like need of childcare during the education, etc., however more educational programs should be designed which would target both mother and father at the same time to promote co-parenting and an equal sharing of the household chores.

Moreover, prenatal educations should include more preparatory information for postpartum period, and adult educators need to work with medical experts to increase the effectiveness of family health centers *(aile sağlığı merkezleri)* especially for new mothers. Re-regulating and strengthening the life of women while and beyond child-rearing, and coping strategies with the imposition of intensive mothering should also be included in topics of empowering mother education programs.

On the other hand, the reality is that it is inevitable to reproduce the present gender characteristics and roles again and again in such a climate where the division of child-raising labor is so strict that the women voluntarily or involuntarily undertake almost all the responsibility regardless of their working and/or marital status. Therefore, there is a need to seek and share the ways of good practices in which raising a child and women's self-actualization beyond their "mother" identity are possible at the same time. This in turn carries the high possibility in itself for non-sexist child rearing practices, and a change in society for a more egalitarian living.

Because of the increasing use of social media tools, it can also be suggested that adult educators and related experts use social media tools effectively to build and use democratic, sensitive to diversities, rational, and interactive learning platforms, and encourage a more efficient and healthy use of social media regarding mothering (and fathering) accordingly.

I also want to add another point of view when talking about the conceptions and experiences of women as mothers. I am very much impressed by an expression of a mother during a pilot interview of the study. She said: "You are raising a child, you are in an experience, like the scientist discovers, you discover that child, in my

opinion, every mother is also a scientist". I think the perspectives, insights, experiences and 'discoveries' of mothers are very important, and can be very useful when working on the issues of children's development and education, and teacher's education and professional development.

5.4 Limitations of the study and suggestions for further studies

Although there was an attempt to reach a variation in sample, some demographic characteristics which might (or not) provide more variation in responses were lacked in the sample of the study. For example, all the stay-at-home mothers were primary, middle, or high school graduates. There were no non-working mothers with a bachelor or higher degrees. Moreover, there were no employed white-collar mothers in the sample, on the other hand all the working mothers in the sample were working in a public university in Turkey in various (academical and non-academical) positions, and almost all the utterances regarding their experiences on working conditions as mothers were positive. Regarding the age of mothers, although there were mothers over 40 years old, the youngest one was 28 years old. I wonder if there were younger participants, would their experiences add variation to the findings.

Another limitation is that the participants were women who were working in a university (in various positions) and whose children were attending the university preschool, women who were the participants of a Mother Education Program, and women who responded to the call of their children's teachers to participate in the study positively. These characteristics might mean that all the participants in one way or another, and to varying extents, have an association and a positive attitude in education and school. Moreover, all the mothers were living in İstanbul although many of them were born and grown up in other cities of Turkey. So, the conceptions

and learning experiences of women as mothers who are from different regions of Turkey might be investigated and be compared regarding the effect of socio-cultural context.

On the other hand, after the analysis of the data, I have realized that the conceptions on fatherhood and childhood are also among important determinants of the sense of motherhood, and the mothering practices. Therefore, further studies which investigate mothers' perceptions on fatherhood and childhood (and the changes in these perceptions after becoming mother) might provide significant data regarding how the motherhood ideology is reproduced, and trace the possibilities for a more emancipatory and collaborative parenting discourse and practice.

Because this study has been conducted with women in intact families, the support (or the lack of support) of the father has been uttered in almost all issues mothers have raised. Therefore, replicating this study with single mothers might reveal different results. Moreover, as Sara Ruddick (1989) raised the issue, mothering is not limited to women. This study can be replicated with single fathers who are primary caregivers of their child(ren), and the findings can be compared with the findings of studies conducted with single mothers.

5.5 Concluding remarks

As Andrea O'Reilly (2019) suggests: "any understanding of mothers' lives is incomplete without a consideration of how becoming and being a mother shape a woman's sense of self and how she sees and lives in the world" (p.14). This study has put emphasis on women's conceptions and learning experiences in the phenomenon of becoming mother, and revealed their feelings, struggles, interaction

manner with others, how they make sense of their learning as mothers, how becoming mother transforms them, and in what way.

Mothering practices are as diverse as fingerprints, and the ways that women experience, conceive, and make sense of motherhood are also varied in relation with the women themselves, their children, the spouses, extended families, larger society, and socio-cultural context. Becoming mother is gradual, and experience- and learning-based, includes both positive and negative feelings, and not something only between the mother and the child. Mothering experience as a reciprocal relationship with child is mostly positive and nourishing. Problems and difficulties emerge when other parties (spouse, extended family members, members of larger society, and the institutions of socio-cultural context) get involved not as supporting -as the women need and demand- but as interfering agents, and when the gap between what is forced to do (what is expected) and what is reasonable to do (at the same time by keeping the physical and psychological health) as a mother is getting wider. But women need -as they expressed- to be appreciated as a woman and a mother instead of being the target of constant criticisms of others.

On the other hand, due to the highly increased standards of being a “good” mother, there is an expectancy for a 24/7 effort with ‘pleasure’ through it. The woman has to be successful as a spouse, as an employee, as a mother and as a daughter (of her own parents) with her physical appearance, diligence, self-sacrifice, kindness, endurance and so on.

Although the women themselves experience becoming mother as a gradual process, the reality is that the woman is considered as ‘mother’ by ‘others’ immediately after the birth with all the powerless responsibilities; and whereas being a mother becomes the only identity for many of the women and cover all their lives,

this is not the same with men. Fatherhood is only a part of their full identity. The issue needs to be considered beyond the issue of father involvement, that is, what a woman needs is not necessarily someone to take care of her child and she will do the housework (there can be alternatives for that), but what she needs is a balanced life. She wants to take care of her child, to take care of her home and herself, and to spend time with her spouse, and her friends. On the other hand, father involvement is always evaluated and encouraged within the best interest of the child, and fathers are being motivated from that perspective. Thus, most of the time, the father's participation does not take place in a more egalitarian setting.

Another important issue is that child-rearing needs the support of the whole community. As the extended family gave way to the nuclear family, the importance of kindergartens and preschool institutions becomes more evident. In addition to its benefits for children, this is very important now that women do not stay at home (regardless of their working status), do not stay away from working life, and take time for themselves.

Becoming mother is spiritually enriching and transformative for women in many positive ways if they can experience and enjoy the mutual and supportive learning opportunities in the family and the society, if they have support and acceptance for self-experience and self-reflection regarding their mothering, and if they have personal space and time to strengthen their sense of self as a separate individual from their children and household. What is demanded by women who are mothers is actually -and most of the times- not a total return to their 'old' life, this is not entirely possible because of the self-transformations they have experienced, but having a life as a mother, while endeavoring for their self-actualizations socially, economically, and culturally in tandem.

I -as a feminist woman, as a mother, as an early childhood education and adult education expert, and as the researcher of this study- can conclude that the difficulties and challenges that the women face are actually related to the motherhood as an institution and patriarchal ideology, and not exactly related to mothering practice, which in itself has the potential to transform the women, families -and also the society- in a more progressive and hopeful way.

APPENDIX A

CONSENT FROM ETHICAL COMMITTEE

T.C.
BOĞAZİÇİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
İnsan Araştırmaları Kurumsal Değerlendirme Alt Kurulu

Sayı: 2017 /60

5 Ekim 2017

Işık Sabırlı
Eğitim Bilimleri

Sayın Araştırmacı,

"Kadınların Anne Olarak Dönüştürücü Öğrenme Deneyimlerine Dair Fenomenografik Bir Çalışma" başlıklı projeniz ile ilgili olarak yaptığınız SBB-EAK 2017/63 sayılı başvuru İNAREK/SBB Etik Alt Kurulu tarafından 5 Ekim 2017 tarihli toplantıda incelenmiş ve uygun bulunmuştur.

Doç. Dr. Ebru Kaya

Yrd. Doç. Dr. İnci Ayhan

Dr. Nur Yeniçeri

Doç. Dr. Mehmet Yiğit Gürdal

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Bengü Börkan

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS IN ENGLISH

Age:

Educational Status:

Your job:

Number of children:

Maternal age in your first child:

Married / single:

Age/Gender of Children:

1) What does “becoming mother” mean to you?

2) Were you thinking this way before your child was born? Have your thoughts on motherhood changed over time? What was effectice? Can you give a concrete example?

3) How and where did you start learning about mothering?

4) When you think about before and after motherhood, what effect did this process have on you?

5) How has becoming a mother affected you as an individual in society, working life and family?

6) When you think of your own mother and your own mothering, do you see similarities and differences? How does this situation make you feel and/or think?

7) Do you experience differences between the mother you want to be and the mothering you do?

8) Are there any differences between the mothering that is expected of you and the mothering that you do or want to do?

9) What did this interview make you think about motherhood / yourself? When you thought about this interview, were there any things you thought/expressed about motherhood for the first time?

10) Is there anything you would like to add about what we talked about?

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS IN TURKISH

Yaş:

Eğitim Durumu:

Mesleğiniz:

Çocuk sayısı:

İlk Anne Olma Yaşı:

Evli/Bekar:

Çocukların yaşı / Cinsiyeti:

1) "Anne olmak" sizce ne demektir?

2) Çocuğunuz doğmadan önce de mi böyle düşünüyordunuz? Annelikle ilgili düşünceleriniz zaman içinde değişti mi? Ne etkili oldu? Somut bir örnek verebilir misiniz?

3) Anneliği nasıl ve nerelerden öğrenmeye başladınız?

4) Annelik öncesini ve sonrasını düşündüğünüzde, bu sürecin size nasıl bir etkisi oldu?

5) Anne olmak, birey olarak sizi toplum içerisinde, çalışma hayatı içerisinde ve aile içerisinde nasıl etkiledi?

6) Kendi annenizi ve kendi anneliğinizi düşündüğünüzde benzerlikler ve farklılıklar görüyor musunuz? Bu durum size ne hissettiriyor ve/ya düşündürüyor?

7) Olmak istediğiniz annelikle, yaptığınız annelik arasında farklılıklar yaşıyor musunuz?

8) Peki sizden beklenen annelikle, yaptığınız ya da yapmak istediğiniz annelik arasında farklılıklar var mı?

9) Bu görüşme size annelikle ilgili / kendinizle ilgili ne düşündürdü? Bu görüşmeyi düşündüğünüzde annelikle ilgili ilk kez düşündüğünüz / ifade ettiğiniz şeyler oldu mu?

10) Konuştuklarımızla ilgili eklemek istediğiniz şeyler var mı?

APPENDIX D

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION and CONSENT FORM

Institution supporting the research: Boğaziçi University
Title of the Study: A Phenomenographic Study of Women's Transformative Learning Experiences as Mothers
Project Coordinator: Prof. Dr. Özlem ÜNLÜHİSARCIKLI
E-mail address: [redacted]
Phone: [redacted]
Name of the researcher: Işık SABIRLI
E-mail address: [redacted]
Phone: [redacted]

Dear Participant,

I am a thesis student at Boğaziçi University, Department of Educational Sciences, Adult Education Doctorate Program, I am conducting a thesis under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Özlem Ünlühisarcıklı under the title of "A Phenomenographic Study on Transformative Learning Experiences of Women as Mothers". The aim of this study is to examine the phenomenon of "motherhood" by listening to; learning experinces, the way of being effected from these experiences and different practices of motherhood with the own expressions of women who experienced motherhood. Within the scope of the study, one-on-one interviews will be conducted with a certain number of mothers. The interviews will last for 40 minutes on average, and a voice recorder will be used to prevent any loss of information during the interviews. Records will not be shared with anyone. The real names of the mothers participating in the study will not be mentioned in any part of the thesis. This research is carried out for a scientific purpose and the confidentiality of participant information is essential. The audio recordings will be kept in a way that will not fall into the hands of third parties during our research project and will be deleted when the research is over. The results of this research can be used in scientific presentations without revealing the identity of the participants. As long as the work continues, we may

need to contact you again when necessary, from the contact information you have given us in this form. This is also subject to your consent.

Participation in this research is completely optional. No fee or similar reward will be given for participation in the research. In the event that you participate, you will also have the right to withdraw your consent at any stage of the study without giving any reason. In such a case, the recordings of the interviews up to that point will be deleted.

If you would like to receive additional information about the thesis work, please contact Işık SABIRLI or get in touch with Prof. Dr. Özlem ÜNLÜHİSARCIKLI. You can consult Boğaziçi University Human Research Ethics Subcommittee (INAREK) regarding your rights as a participant in this research. If you agree to participate in this study, please sign this form and return it to us in a closed envelope.

I, (name of participant) ..... read the above text and fully understood the content and aim of the study that I am being asked to attend along with my responsibilities as a volunteer. I had the opportunity to ask questions about the study. I understood that I can leave this study whenever I want and without having to give any reason, and that I will not face any adverse attitude if I quit.

In these conditions, I agree to participate in the research in question voluntarily, without any pressure or coercion.

I have / do not want to have a copy of the form (in this case, the researcher keeps this copy).

Participant's Name- Surname: ....
Signature: ....
Phone number:..... .....
Date (day/month/year):...../...../.....

Researcher's Name-Surname: Işık SABIRLI
Signature: ....
Date (day/month/year):...../...../.....

APPENDIX E

KATILIMCI BİLGİ ve ONAM FORMU

Araştırmayı destekleyen kurum: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi

Araştırmanın adı: Kadınların Anne Olarak Dönüştürücü Öğrenme Deneyimlerine Dair Fenomenografik Bir Çalışma

Proje Yürütücüsü: Prof. Dr. Özlem ÜNLÜHİSARCIKLI

E-mail adresi: [redacted]

Telefonu: [redacted]

Araştırmacının adı: Işık SABIRLI

E-mail adresi: [redacted]

Telefonu: [redacted]

Sayın Katılımcı,

Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Anabilim Dalı Yetişkin Eğitimi Doktora Programı tez öğrencisiyim, Prof. Dr. Özlem Ünlühisarcıklı danışmanlığında "Kadınların Anne Olarak Dönüştürücü Öğrenme Deneyimlerine Dair Fenomenografik Bir Çalışma" adı altında bir tez çalışması yürütmekteyim. Bu çalışmanın amacı, annelik deneyimini yaşayan kadınların, bu süreçteki öğrenme deneyimlerini, bu deneyimlerden nasıl etkilendiklerini ve farklı annelik pratiklerini kendi ifadelerinden dinleyerek "annelik" olgusunu incelemektir.

Çalışma kapsamında belirli sayıda anne ile birebir görüşmeler yapılacaktır. Görüşmeler ortalama 40 dakika sürecek, görüşmeler sırasında herhangi bir bilgi kaybı olmaması için ses kayıt cihazı kullanılacaktır. Kayıtlar kimseyle paylaşılmayacaktır. Çalışmaya katılan annelerin gerçek isimleri tezin hiçbir bölümünde geçmeyecektir. Bu araştırma bilimsel bir amaçla yapılmaktadır ve katılımcı bilgilerinin gizliliği esas tutulmaktadır. Ses kayıtları araştırma projemiz süresince üçüncü şahısların eline geçmeyecek şekilde muhafaza edilip araştırma sona erdiğinde silinecektir. Bu araştırmanın sonuçları katılımcıların kimliği belirtilmeden bilimsel nitelikte sunumlarda kullanılabilir. Çalışma devam ettiği müddetçe gerekli hallerde sizinle yeniden bizlere bu formda vermiş olduğunuz iletişim bilgilerinden ulaşmamız gerekebilir. Bu da sizin onayınıza bağlıdır.

Bu araştırmaya katılmak tamamen isteğe bağlıdır. Araştırmaya katılım karşılığında herhangi bir ücret ve benzeri türden ödül verilmeyecektir. Katıldığınız takdirde çalışmanın herhangi bir aşamasında herhangi bir sebep göstermeden onayınızı çekme hakkına da sahipsiniz, böyle bir durumda o ana kadarki görüşme kayıtları silinecektir.

Tez çalışması hakkında ek bilgi almak istediğiniz takdirde lütfen yukarıda iletişim bilgileri verilmiş olan Işık SABIRLI veya Prof. Dr. Özlem Ünlühisarcıklı ile temasa geçin. Bu araştırmada katılımcı olarak haklarınızla ilgili olarak, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Alt Kurulu'na (INAREK) danışabilirsiniz.

Eğer bu çalışmaya katılmayı kabul ediyorsanız, lütfen bu formu imzalayıp kapalı bir zarf içerisinde bize teslim ediniz.

Ben, (katılımcının adı) ....., yukarıdaki metni okudum ve katılmam istenen çalışmanın kapsamını ve amacını, gönüllü olarak üzerime düşen sorumlulukları tamamen anladım. Çalışma hakkında soru sorma imkanı buldum. Bu çalışmayı istediğim zaman ve herhangi bir neden belirtmek zorunda kalmadan bırakabileceğimi ve bıraktığım takdirde herhangi bir ters tutum ile karşılaşmayacağımı anladım.

Bu koşullarda söz konusu araştırmaya kendi isteğimle, hiçbir baskı ve zorlama olmaksızın katılmayı kabul ediyorum.
Formun bir örneğini aldım / almak istemiyorum (bu durumda araştırmacı bu kopyayı saklar).

Katılımcının Adı-
Soyadı:.....
İmzası:.....
Telefon No:.....
Tarih (gün/ay/yıl):...../...../.....
Araştırmacının Adı-Soyadı: **Işık SABIRLI**
İmzası:.....
Tarih (gün/ay/yıl):...../...../.....

APPENDIX F

QUOTES IN TURKISH

1- Anne olmak, birisini yetiştirmek ve büyütmek ve sorumluluğunu almak, aslında büyük oranda ve ne bileyim yani şey gibi de değil sonuçta, sanki çok sonu da olmayan bir süreçmiş gibi gözüküyor yani, hayat boyu devam eden bir şeymiş gibi gözüküyor. En azından Türkiye'de bu böyle daha çok.

2- Hani çok güçlü olmak zorunda olduğun bir hastalık gibi, kronik bir hastalık gibi aslında, çünkü bu ömür boyu sürecek. Çocuğumuz evlendiğinde ki annemden de biliyorum evlendiğinde çocuğu olduğunda yaşlandığında bile yaşıyorsun, Allah ömür versin ömür boyu onun sorumluluğu sende, yani büyümekle alakalı değil yani, hani çünkü annelik annelik, annelik ömür boyu süren bir şey.

3- Bence biyolojik falan bunlar hep hikaye, ben böyle düşünüyorum, gerçekten hani sevmek yani tabii ki bir bağ var ama yani o bağı hamilelikte ben öyle bir şey hissetmedim, ilk doğduğu zaman da hani böyle dünyanın en iyi duygusu gibi gelmedi bana açıkçası……Şöyle, yani tabii ki de çok farklı bir şey, yaşadıkça artan. Şimdi ilk mesela hamile oldum, o zaman bir diyordum hep anne oldum, nasıl bir his falan. Aslında hep mesela okuduğum annelik, işte anne olmak hamile olmak falan, o hisleri hissetmedim çok hamilelikte sanki. Acaba ben yeterince hissetmiyor muyum gibi bir şeyler vardı. Sonra doğdu çocuk, hani ilk böyle öpücük falan, orada da bir şeyler hissediyorsunuz ama gene sanki o doyum noktasına çocuğa emek verdikçe ulaşıyorsunuz. Ben öyle hissettim daha çok, öyle söyleyebilirim tecrübelerimden, böyle düşünüyorum. O yüzden eskiden düşündüğümden tabii çok daha farklı bir şey, her gün artan bir sevgi, bir emek.

4- Annelik bende ne zaman başladı biliyor musunuz? Mehmet 6 aylık olduktan sonra başladı, yani ilk 6 ay kendi şeyinizde oluyorsunuz, vücutsal olarak, yani şey bile emzirmek bile öğrenilebilen bir şey yani, öyle içgüdüsel olarak olmuyor. O emzirmenin taktiği var falan, o emzirme bile başlı başına bir problem. Siz endişeleniyorsunuz, endişelendikçe vücudunuzdaki kimyasal ve hormonlar değişiyor, o değişince, o kadar bir kısır döngü içerisindesiniz ki, süt kesiliyor falan falan.

5- Doğum biraz sıkıntılıydı kilolu olduğu için, kilolu bebek olunca biraz sorun oldu işte biraz daha stres, çocuğa da yansıtmışımdır belki diyorum, acaba o zaman yaptığım stresimi, doğumdan sonraki zorluklardan dolayı ilgilenememişimdir. Belli bir süreden sonra anne olduğumu anlamıştım. Çünkü kendimle ilgilenmekten, çocukla başkaları ilgileniyordu, o yüzden. Biraz kabullenmek zaman aldı bende. Yani onu kucağıma aldığımda sanki bütün hayatım şey olacakmış değişecek gibi, çünkü ona bağlı yaşayacaksın artık işte dedim. İşte dedim ya beni siz duydunuz, onu kabullenme süresi var bence, taşırken dünyada olmadığı için daha onları düşünemiyorsunuz, karşı gelmek yok zıtlaşmak yok, o tarz yani, orada anlamıyoruz bence….İlk 3-4 ayda falan anca ben şey yaptıydım bence. 6 ayda zaten yoluna girdi her şey, gazıydı bilmem ne, belli sorunlarımdan kurtuldum 6 aydan sonra tamamen.

6- Karışmaya başladım, ay öyle yapmayın ay şunu denemeyin, gazı var, hani biliyor diye annem de kayınvalidem de büyük diye. Ama sonradan durun bakalım dedim, karışmaya başladım, işte o zaman bence annelik başlıyor. Hani hamilelikte taşırken ben pek anlamadım, pek bir şey anlamadım, olduktan sonra ve bu kendime geldikten sonra anladım artık her şeyin bana bağlı olduğunu, anneye bağlı olduğunu.

7- Anneliği, hadi al bunu doğurdun şimdi annesin oluyorsunuz ya, o birazcık değişik bir durum. Çünkü her şey yani, mesela bütün her şey için okul okuyoruz, dört sene beş sene doktora yapıyoruz bilmem ne, burada pat diye oluveriyorsunuz. Birazcık zor bir şey yani kötü bir şey.

8- Çok büyük bir emek, karşılıklı bir emek verme süreci. Karşılıklıdan neyi kastediyorsun? Yani Artin için de bence büyük bir süreç, yani o da bence böyle sürekli bir değişim halinde, ben de bir değişim halindeyim.

9- Çocukla bilfiil vakit geçirdiğinizde, çocukla bir ortak dil oluşturduğunuzda o bağ oluyor ve bence bu doğumla da alakalı bir şey değil, paylaşmakla alakalı bir şey.

10- Anne olmak çok yorucu, çok yıpratıcı bir şey ama çok da keyifli bir şey. Şey yapıyorsunuz, enerji alıyorsunuz. Onların konuşmaları size çok iyi geliyor, yani böyle bir şeyleri var. Böyle nasıl söyleyeyim, hayatı algılamaya çalışırken sarf ettikleri cümleler falan çok eğlenceli.

11- Siz emek veriyorsunuz, biraz büyüyor, işte bebek oluyor çocuk oluyor yürümeye başlıyor, bir gün size bir gülücük atıyor, durduk yerde seni çok seviyorum diyor. Yani bu gibi şeyler mesela beni çok şaşırtan, çok mutlu eden, yani bu işin ne kadar kutsal bir şey olduğunu bana hatırlatan noktalar. Yani böyle örnek verebilirim….. Ben o yüzden yani kesinlikle anne olmanın sadece doğurmak olduğunu düşünmüyorum, yani bana göre sizin onunla yaşadığınız tecrübe, o gittiğiniz yol, yaşadığınız maceralar, beraber kurduğunuz dünya, ben böyle düşünüyorum. Ama çok şükür ki doğurabildim, o da güzel bir duygu yani, her zaman da şükrederim.

12- Çocuğu da daha çok tanıyorsunuz, karakterini anlıyorsunuz nelerden hoşlandığını nelerden hoşlanmadığını, yani annelik bir süreç, bir tecrübesizlik dönemi kesin oluyor her şeyi böyle kuralına göre yapmanız değil hatalar da yaptığınız aslında. Yani mesela o kural bazen çocuğunuzla işlemiyor, işte bunları öğrenince…

13- Parmak izi gibi

14- kişiler arasında nasıl herkesin ev silmesi farklıysa annelik de farklıdır diye düşünüyorum, ki görüyorsunuz bunu

15- Herkesin karakteri ile de alakalı anneliği yaşama biçimi. Bence dolayısıyla böyle kimseye tavsiye vermek, o da öyledir bu da yanlıştır demeyi de doğru

bulmuyorum ama olmak isteyenin olacağı kendi yolunu bulacağı çok güzel bir deneyim.

16- ne bileyim ben annelik çok başka bir duygu, yani anlatılmaz yani yaşanır denir ya öyle bir şey.

17- Çok farklı bir duygu yani, tarifi var mı, tarif edilemez yani anneliğin tarifi olmaz ki hani anneliği nasıl, insan anne oldu mu anlayabiliyor.

18- Öncesinde şöyle söyleyeyim, dertlerim tırnağımı ten rengine mi boyayayım, kırmızı mı boyayayım. Ondan sonra, işte saçımı içe doğru mu kıvırayım dışa doğru mu kıvırayım, saçımın rengini ne renk yapayım. İnsan biraz da kendisine dönmek de istiyor.

19- Tabi sorumluluğumuzu şeyinizi arttırıyor, artık kendiniz için yaşamıyorsunuz orası kesin bir şey. Yani onu diyorum, çocuk sahibi olmak, bir anne bile olsanız, bir kadına çok şey yükleniyor, kolay kabul edilebilecek bir şey değil.

20- Sorumluluk sahibi oluyorsun yani her şeyle ilgili sorumluluk sahibi olabiliyorsunuz ama yeri geliyor erteleyebiliyorsunuz, yani çok değişik bir şey, yani o anda işte olursunuz kaldıramazsınız yapmak istemezseniz bir kenara koyabilirsiniz dosyanızı ama çocuk öyle bir şey ki hasta da olsanız yorgun da olsanız uykusuz da olsanız gecenin kaçı olursa olsun eğer bir istekleri varsa anında cevap verebilmek içgüdüsüyle hareket edilebilen bir durum yani, ertelenmeyen bir şey……yani birçok şeyi erteleyebiliyorsunuz. Yani misafir gelecek yemek yapacaksınız onun bile saatini erteleyebiliyorsunuz, geçiştirebiliyorsunuz, ama çocuklarla öyle olmuyor, biri anne afedersin çişim geldi, biri susuyor, biri o hani kalk otur böyle, nasıl diyeyim. Bütün sorumluluk eğer sizdeyse ve eş de paylaşmıyorsa ve 1 değil 2, bir çocuk da zordur gerçi yani, anne ile oynamak ister.

21- işte önceden bir alışverişe gittiğimde mağaza mağaza dolaşırdım kendime bakardım şimdi gidiyorum Mesela şuna 50 lira mı vereceğim aman bunu alacağıma kızıma şunu alayım oğluma şunu alayım gibi, değişti yani.

22- Ha bir de şöyle düşünüyorsun. Yani boş ver gidip ben niye dışarıda paramı vereyim ki, ona verene kadar çocuğuma bir şey alırım, ben onu da düşünüyorum belki iyi yapmıyorum ama bilmiyorum, ama düşüncem öyle. Ne gereği var kendim de evde kahvemi yapıp pişirip içebilirim yani. Eşim diyor kahveyi dışarıda içelim Mutlu ufak beraber gideriz. Düşünüyorum öyle, yok diyorum, neden, hani niye oraya gidip parayı vereyim ben sana yaparım diyorum dışarı ortamı da yaratırım balkonda otururuz balkonumuzda içeriz hani gitmeyelim diyorum. Yani şimdi anne oldun mu inan ki ben her şeyinden, kendinden kısıtlıyorsun, ben yapmam çocuğuma yapayım, çocuğum giysin, çocuğum yesin, ben zamanında yedim yemesem de olur ama o yesin, zamanla değişiyor yani.

23- Ekonomik olarak örneğin var, hani ekonomi var şu an daha önce kendi çalıştığında bütün maaşı kendime harcarken şu an bile bir telefon alırken yeni modele hiç gerek yok, bunu da Baran'ın geleceği için şöyle yapsam ve

Baran'ın şu eksikliğini kapatsam ya da Baran'a şunu alsam daha mutlu olur falan. Şu an öncelikler herkes için muhakkak öyledir, daha çok şey yapmaya çalışıyorsunuz, hani plan, nasıl anlatayım. Bu da Baran için, bu Baran için benim için değil, hani ben bir reklam vardı ya olmasa da olur, benim için o olmasa da yaşayıp gidiyorum ama Baran için muhakkak gerekli, eğitimi için ekonomik olarak daha çok onu düşünüyorsunuz dediğim gibi artık.

24- Tabii bu kadar şey olduğunu bilmiyordum açıkçası. Hayatınızı bu kadar, hani, her şeyi o eline alıyor, her şey onun için, işte hamilelik süreci çok farklı zaten, alışıyorsunuz uykusuzluğa falan, işte doğduğu zaman, onun için işte ne iyi gelir, işte ilk gıdaya hangi şeylerle başlasam nasıl büyütebilirim işte yürüdüğü zaman, beslenmesi olsun eğitimi her şeyi düşünüyorsunuz şimdi. Şimdi mesela açıkçası çocuklarım için elimden geldiği kadar koşturmaya çalışıyorum, oğlum kursa gidiyor İngilizce kursuna 2 senedir, dörde gidiyor. Haftanın 2 günü onu koştur koştur yetiştirmeye çalışıyorum evde onların düzenine göre yemek programını ders çalışma programını, işte gezi programını, şey olduğu sürece, vakit zaman olduğu sürece hepsini onlar okuldayken yapmaya çalışıyorum. Yani şöyle söyleyeyim onların dersleri için telefondan bakıyorum işte sorular hazırlıyorum onlara, oğluma kızıma yine aynı şekilde, gidiyorum kırtasiyeden çıktısını alıyorum. Mesela nasıl şey yapabilirim neler yapmalıyım, onları her şeyine göre internetten bakıyorum işte Müfredata bakıyorum Eğitim Üzerine bakıyorum nasıl gidiyor Öğretmenine soruyorum Fatma Hanım'a, çocuk gelişim kitapları okuyorum, öyle söyleyeyim, Doğan hocanın Çocuk kitaplarını okudum. Yani açıkçası annelik çok farklı, fedakarlık isteyen Özveri ne bileyim Karşılıksız Sevgi her şeyi çocuklara göre yapıyorsunuz.

25- Önceden tabii daha gençtik diyorum, yani çocuktan önceye gençlik diyorum, çocuk olunca evli olduğumu anlıyorum. Gençlik daha başına buyruk, canın ister bugün yemek yemezsin, canın ister dışarıda yersin, uyursun bir saat fazla hani yemekten sonra, ama çocuk olunca öyle olmuyor. Şimdi yani istediğimiz gibi ne uyuyabiliyoruz hani bugün yemek yemesem diye geçiştiremiyoruz çünkü çocuk!!… Şimdi rahat değiliz tabii ki çocuk olduktan sonra, rahat değiliz, rahatlıktan biraz önce dediklerim, yemek olsun gezmek olsun. Gidilebilecek yerler, gidilebilecek yerler değişiyor, yani oyuncak bir şey var mı çocuğun zaman geçirebileceği. Zaten istediğimiz bir yeri hemen düşününce hemen çocuk ne yapacak orada ya anneme bırakırız onun gidemeyeceği bir yerse, gideceği bir yerse de bir park arıyoruz.

26- Böyle dağınık yaşayan bir insandım. Yani hani hem fiziksel olarak dağınık, hem de şey, yani nerede sabah orada akşam gibi biraz. Böyle ne bileyim düzenli disiplinli tertipli bir insan değildim yani kesinlikle. Ama şimdi öyleyim, daha planlıyım. Mesela hayatımı daha planlı yaşıyorum. Ne bileyim, evle daha fazla ilgileniyorum, hiç evcil bir insan değildim şimdi biraz daha bir tık daha evcil bir insan oldum…….Yani muhtemelen birçok kadına göre hala dağınığımdır ama kendime göre, eskiye göre değilim yani. Yani biri evime gelse falan dağınık der.

27- Şöyle, mesela sosyal olarak tabi ki de çocuklu ailelerle daha çok birlikte oluyorsunuz. Yani mesela bekar arkadaşlarım da var çok yakın olduğum, ama onlarla görüşme, ortak noktalarımız biraz daha tabi yavaş yavaş ayrışıyor işte Mesela Berfin'in akranlarıyla daha çok görüşmeye başladık, böyle yaşıt çocuklar. Yine öyle mesela büyük arkadaşlarımın çocukları daha büyük, işte üniversiteye giden, onlarla beraber olma zamanımız biraz ayrışmaya başladı. Hani planlama açısından, yani onların da öyle tabi, herkesin TEOG sınavı var üniversite sınavı var vesaire. Mesela arkadaş ilişkileri açısından bir fark olmuş olabilir, toplumsal açıdan baktığımda.

28- Ben eskiden çok çalışırdım, yani mesela eve giderdim, doktora zamanında falan da öyle. Gerçekten eve gidip, evliyken de Batuhan da çalıştığı için, biz yemekten sonra oturur bilgisayarlarımızı alır, bilgisayarın başında oturur işlerimizi çalışırdık. Yani gerçekten böyle günde 2-3 saat çalışırdım öyle diyim size, ofiste çalışırdım, bir de akşam evde çalışırdım. Evlenene kadar diyeyim, evliliğin bir süresini atabilirim belki, gerçekten çok çalıştım, yayınlar olsun o olsun bu olsun yani. Şimdi Berfin olduktan sonra bunların hepsi durdu ve şöyle oldum aslında, ben ofiste daha planlı olmayı öğrendim.

29- Eve gidiyoruz yemek, 6 gibi falan evde oluyoruz, yemek üstüne uyku banyo gibi şeyleri koyarsanız, uyuması da yine pek kolay olmuyor tabi bu aralar gene, yani bizim on buçuğa kadar falan beraber geçen bir zamanımız oluyor. İşte on buçuktan sonra da bir saat kalıyor zaten kendinize dönük işleri yapmak için ya da ertesi günü planlamak için. Çok da geç yatamıyorum, çünkü gece de bazen uyanıyor ya da erken kalkıyor. Yani böyle bir hayat, kendimizi ona göre planladık tabi.

30- *(Çocukların gece kalkmaları)* var hala, niye bilmiyorum, ama uyanıyorlar, akşam uyanırsalar anne diye uyanırlar yani baba diye kaldıramazlar, kalkmaz yani. Ancak akşam yemek yerken beraber, ya da yemekten sonra biraz oyun olarak, ama onun dışında sabah öz bakımları ile ilgili hiçbir şey yok. Evin diğer işleri hepsi bende…….Annelerimiz, yani bakış açısı farklı, değil mi yani çamaşır elde yıkıyordu elde yıkanmıyor daha kolay diye düşünüyor yani o yüzden gerekli hissetmiyor yani.

31- Karadeniz erkeklerini biraz bilirsiniz erkek liderdir kadınlar işsel olarak fiziksel olarak daha güçlüdür ama kocam O zaman çok dışarıda hayatı vardı derneklere falan giderdi Benimle çok fazla şey yapmazdı. Ben de bu durumu kabul etmediğim için çok çatışma yaşardık…….Çok fazla savaştım ben Yani Annemlerin gibi yaşamamak için çok savaştım Çünkü öyle bir hayat düşünmüyorum, kadın evde durur erkeğin hizmetini yapar Ben öyle bir hayat istemiyordum eşimle evlendik, neden, ortak bir hayatı paylaşmak için. Eşim de bazı hobilerini yerine getirebilir Ben de, yani birbirimize bağımlı değiliz ortak bir hayatı yaşamak için bir araya geldik. Yani Ben kimsenin kölesi bakıcısı falan olmak istemiyorum yani çok savaştım ama, mesela Eşimin geç gelmeleri ile çok savaştım Çünkü şu anda bakıyorum Eşimin kardeşi var evlenmemiş beni eleştiriyorlar gibi geliyor bana, yani eşime karşı tutumumdan dolayı ya da eşim işte kadın taraflı oldu gibi söylemlerden dolayı beni eleştirdiklerini fark ediyorum.

32- ben öyle full time annelik düşünemiyorum yani, o noktada da 6 aydan sonra aslında gündüzleri ayrılıyor olmak, sabah ve akşam ve hafta sonları veya yaz tatilleri full time beraber oluyor olmak bana yetiyor, o noktada daha farklı bir ah çocuğuma keşke kendim baksaydım keşke kendim büyütseydim gibi fantezilerim yok. Bence öyle olsa daha kötü olurdu çünkü o zaman esas sabır daha da zorlaşıyor. Çünkü insan bir taraftan bir iş hayatı varken, bir taraftan evde de bir bebek ve çocukla bir şekilde ilgilenmek onun her türlü sorunu ile ilgilenmek zaten çok ciddi bir koordinasyon şeyi gerektiriyor ama yani 24 saati de bir arada geçirmek, geceleri bile emzirmek için uyanırken insanı psikolojik olarak çok zorlayacak bir şey yani yapan ve bundan zevk alan insanlar…

33- Ben açıkçası çocukların evet ilk 6 ay 1 sene hatta 2 senelik dönemde, insanın hayatını çok ciddi dönüştürdüğünü ve başka bir şeye döndürdüğünü düşünüyorum. Ama sonrasında yavaş yavaş eskiden olduğu gibi olmaya, eğer dönmezse kendisi ile ilgili şeylerini kaybedebileceğini düşünüyorum. Ve ben hala tam olarak eskisi gibi bir hayatım yok aslında öyle düşünürsek.

34- Benim eşim hakikaten çok iyi bir baba. Yani geceleyin kalkar, çocukların sütünü yapar eder. Yani bir kadın kadar çocuklara bakar, o halde bile annelik gibi olmuyor. Annelik apayrı bir şey, bir kere devamlı 24 saat plan halindesiniz

35- Yani bak bizim tırnak içinde, dışarıdan da insanların söylediği, tırnak içinde Türkiye toplumuna göre çok iyi bir ilişkimiz var, şey anlamda, hani o, ebeveyn olmuşuz ve işte ilişkimizi, çocuğun bakımını falan, sözde, eşit yapıyoruz, ama öyle değil, kesinlikle öyle değil. Yani benim rolüm kesinlikle çok daha fazla ve bunun sebebi, bir sebebi benim, ama bir sebebi de tabi ki erkek yani. Yani mesela şu örneği vereyim, sabah Hasan erken kalkıp kahvaltıyı hazırlar, sonra bizi uyandırıyor, biri mesela bunu duyduğunda, sabah kalkıp kahvaltı hazırlayan bir erkek falan, ama ne oluyor kahvaltı sofrasında şey diyorum mesela, Hasan bak iki gündür masaya ceviz koymuyoruz, ceviz de koysak. O mesela benden kaynaklanıyor, benden kaynaklı olmayan kısmı şu, diyelim Hasan'ın vakti kalmış Artin'i giydirme vakti, yani çünkü servise yetişmemiz gerekiyor. Ne giydireyim? Eşeğin körünü giydir, yani dolaptan al bir kıyafet giydir, yani hava durumuna bak. Ya anladın mı ya, söylersen yapar ama mesela kendisi, yani bütün organizasyonu sen yapacaksın işte çarşaflar ne zaman değişecek, çamaşır makinesine çamaşır atıyor ama ne zaman atılacak, kendiliğinden çok olmuyor yani hiç olmuyor değil, ama, biz bugün mesela seyahate çıkacağız ama bütün o seyahatin organizasyonunu ben yaptım.

36- Bana çok yardım ediyor o konuda hakikaten hakkını yiyemem ama şöyle iş bölümünde çok yardımcı yani evde örneğin, hani Baran ile ilgiliyse, ben çantasını hazırlıyorum, yani Baran'ın şeylerinde yok, bire bir zaten kendim yükleniyorum, o konuda dört dörtlük baba da olsa kim, herkes için diyorum, yine de ben kendim yapıyorum çamaşırlarını kendim ütülüyorum hazırlıyorum her şeyi koyuyorum kapının önüne koyuyorum sabah kalkıp öpüyorum gidiyorum, 7de geliyorum, yine de uyandırıyorum. Örneğin bak şu şu hazır bak bunu da yap Baran'a şunu giydir bak bugün serin biraz bunu da

yap ama babaya bunu bıraksam maalesef baba bu konuda Baran ile ilgili ama şunu da yapayım eğer rahatsız olur mu bunu da yapsam şunu da yapsam o konuda pek düşünceli değil diyeyim. Yardım eder, ev işi, kurmaya ya da ben işte Baran'ı yatırıyorsam mutfakta bir şeyleri toplamıştır evde Baran ile ilgili her şeyi ben yürütüyorum ya da ben altını değiştirirken Kazımcığım sütünü ısıtır mısın ama hiçbir zaman dur sütünü de ben alayım, Gülsüm Baran'ın uyku saati geldi asla yok bunlar, yok o kısım. Ben de hafta sonu tamam yapıyor ama arıyorum ne yapıyorsunuz kahvaltı yaptı mı ne yedi ne yedirdin. Onu ben belki acaba göremediğim için mi çok müdahale ediyorum örneğin bugün bana diyor ki ben buna ne giydireceğim. Halbuki akşamdan ben götürdüm koltuğun üstüne koydum hani bunları giyecek ya da hadi bulamadın ya da bilmiyorsun çekmecesinden havanın durumuna göre bir tane seçmek varken ona bile ben buna ne giydireceğim veya ne yedireceğim.

37- Annelik böyle bir şey herhalde, annesi bilir.

38- Baba hiçbir şeyde durmuyor. O sadece getir götür, taşımada, öyle bir plan yok. Onun dünyasında o yok. Zaten erkek dünyasında yok öyle bir şey, onu idrak edemiyor erkekler, ona kalsa, işte bir kadın bulalım yap, olmuyor öyle bir şey yok yani, zannediyor ki o profesyonel olarak her türlü hizmeti alır, öyle bir şey yok.

39- Yani yardım görüyorum ama şey yok ya erkeklerde, bugün ne yiyeceğiz şeyini onlar düşünmüyor, ya da bugün çocuklar sağlıklı, yani bugün çocuklar sebze yesin mi diye erkekler düşünmüyor……..Mesela ben dersten geç çıkacak olsam ya da kız kıza buluşacak olsam, Orhan ya Pizza söyler ya da annesine götürür çocukları, ama evde yemek varsa eğer, yedirir, gayet güzel yedirir, üstlerini değiştirir, ısıtır verir ama hiçbir şey yok, ama hazırı sunmak. Ya da mesela çamaşırı ben yıkarım, o asar da katlar da, ama sabahları ben erken çıkarım o giydirir çantalarını hazırlar o götürür. Dolayısıyla bence o zincirde annenin yemeği hazırlaması, annenin market alışverişini yapması ya da şey yapması bittiği an, o takılacak bir süreç. Mesela en basitinden pazara gider ne alınacağını bana sorar, bir tek onu alır. Yani onların bütün planlaması kadında, ev için. Sırf ev için de değil aslında, tatil planları falan da genellikle böyle ya da çocukların eğitiminde, yani, eğitim dediğim işte araştırıyorum ben mesela şu kursa mı götürecek bu cimnastiğe mi götürsek falan diye, o taşıyor.

40- Yani diyorum ki mesela iki tane sebze al, sonra gidiyor geliyor diyorum ki bu sebzenin zamanı değil ki veya bu ıspanaklar kartlaşmış, fasulye yok muydu?

41- Yani hani onlar için mesela erkek yardımcı. Ama işte sofrayı topluyor, gibi, böyle sofrayı topluyor da mutfağa bırakıyor falan gibi. Hakikaten çocuk bakımı konusunda da yani kadınlar çok acayipler ya, eşlerine kocalarına vermiyorlar o çocuğu, sanki adam onu şey yapacak öldürecek yani. Mesela Sibel, isimler geçmeyecek diye rahatlıkla söylüyorum, çocuğu hastalanmıştı. O da burada izin alamadı, eşi izin aldı 5 gün. Çocuğu yani hiç yedirmemiş diyor, zayıflatmış diyor, peşinden koşmuyor ki benim gibi diyor, işte ne olacak diyor, tabi anne değil. Ben dedim ki aslında onun yaptığı daha doğru olabilir mi, sonuçta hasta çocuk, yemek yemek istemeyebilir, sen niye

peşinden koşturuyorsun ki falan, çok zayıf ama öyle bildiğin gibi değil, yani o öyle falan gibi bir şey üretiyor. Ne güzel işte bak adam fırsat hazır öğrensin bu işler nasıl yapılıyor falan, bunlarla çok sık karşılaşıyorum iş yerinde bu tarz şeylerle.

42- O müdahale alanı genişlemeye başladıkça da babanın olaydaki dahili azalıyor bence, o bir sorun ama bir yerden sonra şeyi görüyorsunuz yani evet buna ben müdahale etmesem de aslında çok daha yaratıcı çözümler bulabiliyorlar daha ilginç şeylere gidebiliyor benim o kontrolcü şeyimden çıkıp daha iyi aslında çocuk için iyi olabilecek şeyler yapılabiliyor filan. O yüzden de büyüdükçe insan o şeyleri rahatlatabilirse bence o dengesizlik bir parça yok olmaya başlıyor……..çocuklar artık kendilerinin ne hissettiklerini düşündüklerini şey yaptıklarını acıktıklarını bilmem nelerini her şeyi söyleyebiliyorlar yani bence anne için çok rahatlatıcı bir şey zaten, mükemmeliyet değil mesela orada daha hayatta kalma meselesine bile dönüşebiliyor çok küçüklerken bence……. bence büyüdükçe oradaki şey de azalıyor risk faktörü çok azalıyor yani ve çocuklar dediğim gibi kendileri ile ilgili zaten her şeyi söyleyebilir ve yapabilir hale geldikleri için annenin orada endişe etmesini gerektirecek hiçbir şey kalmıyor ortada, o noktada da baba aktif olarak sürekli dahil bence olabiliyor kendisini de daha rahat hissediyor orada. Aman bir şey yanlış yapar mıyım diye de, bence çünkü çiftler arasında o tür şeyler oluyor bence, daha çok babaların aslında belki maruz kaldığı bir şey olabilir bu.

43- Yani şöyle söyleyeyim dünyanın en güzel duygusu ama en zor mesleği diyeyim, o bir gerçek

44- Anne olmak. Benim anne olmak deyince ilk aklıma gelen şey, kötü bir şey olabilir de, zorluk geliyor, yani çok zor bir iş geliyor

45- Bir yılım dolmadan Çocuğumu kucağıma aldım şu an düşünseydim biraz beklerdim kesinlikle biraz beklerdim, evliliğim oturmadan daha, çocuk kucağıma geldi bocaladım gerçekten bocaladım, o çocuğa yani, nasıl, çocukla büyüdüm, beraber büyüdüm çocukla

46- Hani kayınvalide tarafında da dediğim gibi ilk çocukta biraz sıkıntı oldu. Klasik Türk ailelerinin isim koyma şeyi, ne yazık ki ondan dolayı ilk başlarda ben geceleri uyuyamıyordum, gereksiz ağlamalar falan

47- İlk çocuğumda normal doğumdu çok lohusa depresyonuna girdim bu çocuğa nasıl bakacağım kimse yanımda yoktu eşim çok yardımcı oldu eşim gerçekten yardımcı oldu çünkü eşime dedim yani ben bu çocuğa nasıl bakacağım eşim dedi yani nasip dedi kısmet olursa her şekilde bakarız neden öyle yapıyorsun. Eşim olmasaydı gerçekten çıkabileceğimi düşünmüyordum.

48- İlk başta herkes geldi gitti, o şoku atlatıyorsunuz, fotoğraflar şöyle böyle, başlıyor çocuk bir süre sonra huysuzluk şeyini göstermeye, nedir o, işte ben de o sırada çok yalnız kaldığım zamanlarda, evden hemen çıkamıyorsunuz ilk başta bir 40 günlük 2 aylık süreçte. Sürekli emzirdiğin dönemi oluyor çünkü. Şey diyeceğim, çok bunalımlara girmeye başladım da böyle hep ağlıyordum o

dönemde. 28 yaşındaydım halbuki ilk doğurduğumda, demek yani daha çocukmuşum ben. Zaten ruhen daha böyle çocuksuyum, naifim şeyim, sanki acaba hani yetemiyor muyum, çocuğumu sevmiyor muyum, ben niye diğer anneler gibi değilim, derken. …….. Eşim Deniz subayı. Çok zorlu bir süreç geçirdim….Buraya geliyordum, atıyordum kendimi, daha çocuk 2 aylıktı, ben getiriyorum sürekli böyle Bahar partisi falan, kendi çarelerimi bulmaya çalıştım. Ama ilk başta kendim evet depresyondaydım ilk başta şey yaptığımda. Ama kendime çaremi bulmaya çalıştım……. ben çok kilo almıştım bir de. Yani bebeğiniz doğuyor o şoku atlatıyorsunuz falan ama o kilolarla baş başa kalıyorsunuz, sürekli göğsünüzden ayrılmak istemeyen bir bebek, dişinizi fırçalamaya bile vaktiniz olmuyor.

49- Ben sürekli işte vergi daireleri olsun bankalar olsun müşteriler olsun hep böyle çalışmayı seven bir insandım dolaşıyordum, ofis başı bile çalışmayı sevmezken evde kendimi bir anda işte çamaşır bulaşık yemek çocuk içinde bulunca bir zaman sonra bunaldığımı falan hissettim onun sonrasında ise diğer çocuklar, yüküm daha da artıyor zor yani……..yani evlendikten sonra direkt her şeyin içine düştüm ev yükü, eş yükü, çocuk oldu anında, yani birden böyle bir olgunlaştım sanki, ya da büyük bir yük verildi bana olgunlaşmak zorunda kaldım, her şeye yetişmek zorunda kaldım.

50- Mesela çok geceler ağladığımı biliyorum ben yalnız, psikolojik olarak kendimi kötü hissediyordum, bazen intiharı düşündüğüm bile oldu. İkinci çocuğumda mesela çok iyi hatırlıyorum büyük oğlum okuldan geldi onun ihtiyaçlarını gideriyorum, ikinci oğlum bağırsağı çok iyi gelişmediği için gaz sancıları oluyordu ben sürekli kucağımda falan, camın dibine gitmeye korkuyordum ben kendimi atabilirim bir anlık şeyle diye. Bende şöyle bir özelliğim var, insanlardan yardım istemeyi falan sevmiyorum her şeye kendim yetmeyi seviyorum ağırlıklı olarak hep kendim, annemler falan yanımda ama yardım istemeyi sevmiyordum.

51- Bir de çok misafir geldiği için ben çok rahatsız olmuştum ben o zaman o yüzden şimdi çok iyi anlıyorum misafir kabul etmeyen bazen öyle şeyler oluyor ya hak veriyorum öyle olması gerekir ve anlayışlı olunması gerekir. Ya bir insan mesela kendi halinde olması lazım o zaman, mesela kayınvalidemlerin yanımda olmasını -duymasınlar- istemezdim, niye, şimdi ben lohusayım tamam onlara bir şey demiyorum dikişlerim var alttan mesela ben kayınpederimin yanında, gelirdi otururdu yani, hani ben o haldeyken bile hizmet ettim, o haldeyken bile, çok işte insanların anlayışlı olması gerekir. Mesela ben misafirleri hep ağırladım. Hani gelme de diyemezsin işte o anda diyorum ya annem olsa bir yemeğimi gelir yapardı, kayınvalidem getiriyordu ama benim kadar ilgilenmiyordu Anladınız mı o yüzden işte hepsi psikolojimi etkiledi bunlar. ……O yüzden lohusalıkta fazla gitmemek gerekiyor anlayışlı olmak gerekiyor.

52- En büyük desteği insan aslında eşinden alabilir, annesinden kardeşinden de alabilir ancak psikolojik desteği insan en çok eşinden alabilir

53- Yani her şeyi artık hani kendini düşünmüyorsun yorulmayı düşünmüyorsun yoruluyorum tabii yorulmaz olur musun, Sabah 7.40da kalkıyorum akşam

12'ye kadar hiç kesinlikle yatma oturma uzanma olmuyor. Mutlu'yu gönderdim Suat şimdi uyanmıştır. E Suat'la bir de kahvaltısı yemeği, evi toparla evi düzenle yani iş bitmiyor. Bazen onu da diyorum bugün yapmayacağım diyorum boş ver hani ama sonradan böyle evin bir şeyine bakıyorum, bir çocuk sonuçta, bir şeyler alıyor evin içerisinde geziyor kırıntılarını görüyorsun rahat etmiyorsun, hani mesela biri geldiği zaman şey diyorum hani ilk evlendiğim dönem evin şekli ve şemali ile şu anki farklı oluyor şu an ister istemez dağılıyor yani dağıtmamaya çalışıyorum toparlıyorum zaten de ama oluyor yani, mutlaka eksik kalıyor.

54- O anda doğdu güzeldi ondan sonra böyle bir, çok uykusuz kaldım, Bir de biraz böyle ben titiz bir insanım, Her konuda, Hani eşim de sağ olsun destek oldu bırak uyu falan derdi ama ben hiç öyle bırakıp uyuyamazdım sürekli yani bıraksam da yatsam da kafam Aklım hep oradaydı yani, ondan sonra böyle bir hiç uyumuyordu gece gündüz, bir uyanıyordum, geceyle gündüz bir olmuştu artık, beyin dinlenmiyor yenilenmiyor, bir bakıyordum dışarı, sabah olmuş geceyi yaşamadan……. Gece dinlenmiyorsun, yorgunluk, sonra çok ağlardı, biraz çok etkilenmiştim, hani o anneliğimi yaşayamadım bile yani, sevemedim bile…... hemen hemen 1 yıl sürdü *(böyle)*

55- Ama mesela şu son zamanlar şeyim oldu, vücudumda demir bitmiş, tabi peş peşe doğum yapınca bir sürü şeyle de uğraşınca, vücutta mineral falan kalmıyor. Son zaman şeyin üzüntüsünü yaşamaya başladım, yani fiziki olarak çocuklara yetemiyorum, çocuklar oynamak istiyor, gücüm yok, devamlı yatar pozisyonda falan mesela o beni çok şey yapmaya başladı. Bir de yaş ilerledikçe hakikaten insan enerjisi tükeniyor galiba, ablamın çocuğuna göstermiş oldum yeğenime göstermiş olduğum sabrı, enerjiyi kendi çocuklarıma gösteremiyorum. Mesela bu da beni rahatsız ediyor.

56- İzin dışında hiçbir sıkıntı yaşamadım aslında diyim. Yani şöyle, şimdi izin almak durumundasınız, iş yerinde sizin belli bir işleriniz var, yanınızdaki arkadaşınıza da mahçup oluyorsunuz yine ateşi çıkmış demekten ya da müdürünüze gitmekten çekiniyorsunuz. Bunlar sizi rahatsız ediyor, bu durumda ne yapıyorsunuz işinizi tamamlamak için hızlanıyorsunuz çünkü çocuk yuvada bekliyor siz de almak zorundasınız. Ve maalesef ki şey oluyordu, biz iki sekreter çalıştığımız halde hep o günlerde tekim, arkadaşım yok, tesadüf, yani kime bırakıyorsunuz, böyle kalıveriyorsunuz, donuveriyorsunuz.

57- Bir de hayat koşulları insanı, çalışan anne olduğunuz zaman hakikaten çok zor. Zaten şu anda Türkiye ortamında bir gün içerisinde bir sürü olumsuz şeyler yaşıyorsunuz, ondan sonra eve gidiyorsunuz. Mesela şey de beni çok üzdü, onu da paylaşmak istiyorum. Çocukları aldım eve gittik, ellerini yıkıyorum falan böyle, -Mehmet- anneciğim bana kızdın mı, hayır oğlum niye kızayım, işte, oynayalım mı, oğlum biraz sonra oynarız bir dinleneyim ben, siz oynamaya başlayın geleceğim diyorum, gidiyor geliyor, anneciğim bana kızdın mı, anne ben senin sözünü dinliyorum anne, anne Müge mi senin sözünü dinlemiyor Müge'ye mi kızdın, hayır oğlum sana da kızmadım Müge'ye de kızmadım, niye kızayım ki kızacak bir şey de yapmadınız,…….nereden çıkarttın dedim. Anneciğim kötü bakıyorsun

dedi, aynaya gittim baktım hakikaten kötü bakıyorum. Niye, çünkü o gün o kadar şey olmuş ki işle ilgili, o kadar sıkıntılar olmuş ki, kafada tabii onu kestirip atamıyorsunuz……. O kadar üzüldüm ki, yani duygularıma daha bir hakim olup ama yapamıyorsunuz insansınız makine değilsiniz yani şey oluyor zor oluyor.

58- Yani acaba benim iş hayatımdaki negatiflikler mi etkiledi, yani sabır konusunda ona tanıdığım müsaamalar mı azdı, bilemiyorum ki yani herhalde onların etkisi ile duygusallığınızı bir yana bırakma şeyiniz oluyor ama mesela şeyken, bazen Tanya diyor "Anne sen cumartesi pazar daha farklısın", yani istemeden muhakkak şey yapıyorsunuz, işteki yaşantımızla ilgili gerginliğinizi yorgunluğunuzu yansıtabiliyorsunuz çocuklara.

59- Şöyle, ona çok üzülüyorum çünkü akademisyenlik de 7/24 iş gerektiriyor ya, o birazcık zor, yani kafamda mesela var bu paper'ı akşam okuyayım, ofiste yapamadım, ama çocuklar uyuduğunda zaten o kadar enerjim bitmiş oluyor ki……. o çok değişik bir motivasyon gerektiriyor, ona da halim kalmıyor. O birazcık üzüyor. Eskiden daha çok gece vakit geçirirdim, daha iyi çalışırdım. Onun dışında ben birazcık verimsizim bence, daha verimli olabilirdim, ama bence bu çocuklarla ilgili olabilir sanki ama bilmiyorum yani onu çok düşündüm. Yani o kolay bahane, paper'ımı da uzun süredir basamadım ama iki tane de çocukla uğraşıyorum falan diye kendimi öyle avutuyorum birazcık yani.

60- Mesela bir hocam var, kendisi doktora hocam, burada beraber çalışırız şimdi projelerde. Bana diyor ki Helin artık yeter, Berfin dört buçuk yaşında hadi artık onu bırakabilirsin falan. Hiç bırakmadım Berfin'i daha. Aslında bir kere bıraktım, ama onu da hiç böyle istemeyerek. Kardeşimin…bir tane kızı olmuştu, onu görememiştim ve araya bir zaman girecekti. Onlar Ankara'da yaşıyordu o zaman da işte o dönemde babasıyla kayınvalideme bırakıp hani bir gece 2 gece ayrıldık, sanırım 3 yaşında falandı o zaman, ilk ayrılmamız, ondan beri hiç bırakmadım. Yani kendi annemde bile hiç kalmadı. Hep yani evde kalır, beraber kalırız, beraber uyuruz, öyle biraz bir bağımlılığımız var. O da benden başka hiç kimseyle uyumak istemez, çok zor uyur, başkasıyla, babası ile bile hiç uyumak istemez. Onunla bile pek başaramıyoruz bu işi.

61- Pek aktif koymuyor daire başkanımız da, şimdi mesela çocuklar büyüdü, Mahmut da 3 yaşına geldi biraz daha şehir dışına kongreye göndermeye başladı. Belki biraz düşünüp o da şeyden belki biraz düşünerekten, orada şey hani çocukların önceliği diyerekten biraz geri çekmişti bizi. Şimdi daha ön plana koydu. *Size sorarak mı bunu yapıyordu?* Yok, hani sormadan yapıyordu önceden, ama gidebilirsin hazırlıklı ol falan diyordu. Ben her zaman açıktım, o zaman annemi kayınvalidemi devreye sokarım, beni şey yapabilirsiniz, düşünebilirsiniz diyordum ama hani o süreçte çok şey olmadı, şu anda daha yeni bu sene güzel güzel gönderiliyoruz dışarıdaki etkinliklerden şey oluyoruz, birazcık farkında olmadan, evet sekteye uğramış olabilir üst taraftan iyi niyetli.

62- Şöyle söyleyebilirim, mesela amirim de kadın olduğu için ve anne olduğu için, mesela Artin hastalandığında vesaire olduğunda ben çok rahat izin

alıyorum, yani bu annelik ile ilgilidir herhalde. Yani onun dışında, burada anne olduğum için çok ekstra artı veya eksi bir şey olmadı ama işte izin alma konusunda mesela daha çekinerek izin aldığım durumlarda şimdi hani Artin mevzu olduğunda çok rahat izin alabiliyorum.

63- E tabi daha çok dışarı çıkardık, sinemaya giderdik her cuma günü. Ondan sonra işte arkadaşlarımızla yemekler. İşte Berfin biraz böyle, ağlayan, ortam değiştirmeyi çok sevmeyen bir çocuk olduğu için, o 6 ay sürecinde, biraz kolik durumları vardı, evimize çok fazla kişi çağıramadık. Aslında bizim evimiz çok fazla gelen giden misafir olan bir evdi. Biz çok fazla bir yere gidemedik, yani bir dönem arkadaşlarımızdan hafif bir kopuş oldu mesela, öyle şeyler……ama işte böyle oluyordu yani, arkadaşlarımız davet ediyor, biz hep böyle olumsuz olumsuz, bizimle gelmiyorlar artık mesela bir dönem küstürmüştük yani. Ben de diyordum ki Berfin'in uyku problemi var gerçekten gelirsek biz onun uyku düzeni bozulacak, işte uyku eğitiminden sonra, o yüzden bizim bu saatte onu uyutmam lazım yani bu saatte ben sizinle katılamayacağım, akşam da 7'de işte evde olmamız lazım ancak işte o arada bir şey yaparsak yapabiliriz ya da bize gelebilirsiniz, ben uyuturum. Bunda da öyle işte, biz o dönem hiç arkadaşlarımızı ziyarete gidemedik…. işte anlayan oluyor anlamayan oluyor bazen. Öyle yani.

64- Farklı oluyor yani, dediğim gibi ilk evlendiğin zaman istediğin yere eşinle gidiyorsun, düğün olsun veya herhangi bir şey olsun gidiyorsun ama çocuğun olduğu zaman gidemiyorsun, en basit soğuk oluyor yağmurlu oluyor kar oluyor üşür hasta olur, ben de diyorum boşver gitmeme gerek yok yani gidebilirsin ama ben gelmem çünkü çocuk hasta olur. Bazen eşim gidiyor ben gitmiyorum bazen onu da göndermiyorum hani beraber kalalım, hadi bir şey olursa yanımda olursun, öyle hani, değişiyor değişmiyor diye bir şey yok yani.

65- Kime bırakacağım ki, Mutlu durur Mutlu'ya güveniyorum bırakıp gidebilirim ama Suat, durmuyor, birazcık, hatta eltim var mesela onun yanında bile durmuyor, ya ne istiyorsan hani ben sana yaparım diyor, Suat'ı bırakma diyor, durmuyor çünkü.

66- Mesela yeni yeni çıkıyorum şimdi arkadaşlarımla akşam, ama mesela 9-9 buçukta dönmek durumunda kalıyorum çünkü telefonla aranıyorum "Anne neredesin", uyku belirtileri başlıyor ve istiyor yani, o yüzden ben de kıyamadığım için genelde o yönlerini söyleyebilirim.

67- Çok büyük değişim yarattı, yani inanılmaz bir değişim yarattı. Öncelikle zaten beni sosyal olarak çok değiştirdi yani…. işte biliyorsun aktivist bir insanım, politik faaliyetler yapıyordum hala yapıyorum, ama tabii ki onlar bir bıçak gibi kesildi. Yani sosyal hayatım çok fazla etkilendi. Özellikle ilk bir yıl, öyle söyleyeyim. Sonra bir yıldan sonra işte işe başladım, bir yıl ben izin kullandım. Ondan sonra biraz daha, hani eskisi gibi daha böyle birazcık daha, hiçbir zaman eskisi gibi olmadı ama, birazcık daha sosyal, işte çocuk bakmak dışında da işler yapan bir kadın oldum. Ama yani hala da işte Artin öncesindeki İlkay'la, Artin sonrasındaki İlkay'ın hayatı bambaşka yani artık, sosyal açıdan.

68- Hafta sonları falan arkadaşlarımla, yani evli iken de yani arkadaşlarımla program yapabiliyordum, ya da hafta sonları görüşebiliyordum, ama hepsi tek tek tek tek çıktı hayatımdan yani. Öbür türlü çünkü bir çocukken, yani çanta gibi yanınıza alıyorsunuz çıkıyorsunuz ama çocuk sayısı arttıktan sonra isteseniz de yani …. üçünü beraber götürmek zor. Afedersiniz götürseniz de çocukla her yere gitmek yani karşı taraf için zor, çok yakın samimi arkadaşın olduğu zaman gidersin de böyle konu komşuya falan o tür, hani keyfi böyle çok samimiyetin yoksa da açıkçası çekiniyorsun yani.

69- *Eşinize tek bırakabiliyor musunuz çocuklarınızı?* Üçü birden çok nadir, o da nedir mesela yani, market *(gülüyor).* Yani muhakkak yapan vardır ama bizde olmuyor, olmadı yani. Yani öyle olduğu için de istemeseniz de eşinize karşı kırgınlık oluşuyor, öfke oluşuyor. Konuştuğun zaman biraz inançtan dolayı, biraz da inançtan değil de yapısından dolayı kadın evde çocuğuna bakar, dindarlıkla bağdaştırmak istemiyorum bunu yani işte kadın dediğin evde oturur çocuğuna bakar, yani gezmek veya da arkadaşı ile sosyal faaliyette bulunmak, onlar bize göre değil, bizim yaşantımız olamaz. Ama kendisi çıkıyor arkadaşları ile yani dönem dönem çıktı, evet yani yeri geldi mesela kombine maçlara da gitti ya da cumartesi falan arkadaşları ile sinemaya gitti yeri geldi Bowling oynamaya gitti, çocuklar olduktan sonra devam etti. Yani bu benim şanssızlığım belki de, yani anlayışsızlığı… konuştuk ama çok çözüm olmadı.

70- Gerçekten hani iyiliğine sohbetine güvendiğim gece de olsa saat kaç olsa da arayabileceğim samimiyetine güvendiğim insanlar, arkadaşlarım var. Onu oradan sağlıyorum en çok.

71- *Çocukları Eşinize bırakıp dışarı çıkabiliyor musun?*
Çıkıyorum Evet. birkaç senedir onu da uyguluyorum, mesela arkadaş gruplarımız var toplanıyoruz böyle, ya bir kişide toplanıyoruz, Ya birlikte güzel bir mekanı gezmek için çıkıyoruz Haftada bir kere falan, baba duruyor evde bazen babaanneye gidiyorlar vakit geçirmek için. Şu anda eşim gerçekten çok uyumlu bir eş diyebilirim.

72- Arkadaş çevrem var, zaten şey yapıyoruz kendimizi haftada bir defa ya dışarı çıkıyoruz canlı müziklere falan gidiyoruz ya da kahve içmelere falan dışarı çıkıyoruz. İşte kuaföre falan gidiyorum…... O da diyor hani seni ben bu şekilde mutlu görünce ben daha çok mutlu oluyorum bunu çocuklarına da yansıtıyorsun sen.

73- Aslında biliyor musunuz biz çocuklar olmadan önce daha az geziyorduk. Çocuklarla daha fazla gezdik, yani hiçbir zaman onu şey yapmadık, sorun haline getirmedik eşimle ve şöyle söyleyeyim her istediğimiz yere de gittik.

74- Yani şey tabi çok acı. Bütün kendinize zaman ayıramama hikayesi, o da olumsuz bir şey mesela, eskiden kendime çok zaman ayırırdım, kendinizi geliştirmek için yaptığımız şeyler falan onların hepsi tamamen bitti gitti. En basiti işte sinema, kitap, kurslar, spor hepsi bitti; şimdi o yüzden mutfakta zaman geçiriyorum o bir tek kafamı dağıtıyor. Bence yeterli motivasyona da

sahip değilim. …Unuttum galiba yani, o bir gözümde büyüyor. Aslında beş dakika içinde kafamı dağıtacağını unuttum bir dışarı çıksam. Bir de evde hep işler var yani, ondan da aslında.

75- Mesela günlük bir rutinimiz de anlatayım ben: sabahleyin altı buçuk yedi gibi kalkıyorum, kahvaltı hazırlıyorum. Çocuklar kalkıyor, çocuklar kendileri yiyorlar yiyemiyorlar falan. Ondan sonra, eşim her sabah duş alır. İşte onun kıyafetlerini hazırlıyorum, çocukların kıyafetlerini hazırlıyorum, giydiriyorum ediyorum falan, şey yapamıyorsunuz yani, kendinize bir şeyiniz olmuyor, vaktiniz olmuyor. Saçımı burada tarıyorum, dişimi burada fırçalıyorum mesela. O şeyleri yapamıyorsunuz, yetişmiyor. Anlatabiliyor muyum? ……..Mesela insan istiyor ki, mesela önceden kitap okumayı çok seven bir insanım, insandım. Kitap okumayı özlüyorum, öyle bir zamanım yok mesela. Belki de bilmiyorum benden mi kaynaklı. Eşim de çok okuyan bir adam, eşim hayatını devam ettiriyor. Ben ama ettiremiyorum. Şimdi arada çocuklar kendi kendine oynarken bir şeyler okumak istiyorum, şöyle göstereceğim -anneciğim şu kitabı al şuraya koy, bizimle oyna. Kesinlikle ikisi de kitap okutturmuyor, okuyamıyorsunuz yani ensenize çıkıyorlar, atlıyorlar, ama benim de dinlenmem lazım, benim dinlenecek vaktim yok. Ama babaya bir şey yok, baba okurken okuyor, hiç babanın kitaplarına dokunmuyorlar. Ama kesinlikle benim kitap okumama müsaade etmiyorlar. Mesela ben bunun çok şeyini hissediyorum, şeyim yok, nasıl söyleyeyim deşarj olacak bir alanım yok. Kitap okumak bir deşarj alanı, çünkü ondan keyif alıyorum ben, hiçbir keyfimi yaşayabilecek bir alanım yok.

76- Bir dönem anlamıyorsunuz, ama sonradan biraz biraz geçiyor, bakıyorsunuz hiçbir şey yapamıyorsunuz, kısır döngünün içine girmişsiniz, ama hala daha bir şey yok. Kendi adınıza bir rahatlama alanı yok, hiçbir şey yapamayınca bu kez tükenmiş, dibe doğru gidiyorsunuz yavaş yavaş. Hani kendim için hiçbir şey, ne dinleniyorum ne geziyorum ne şunu yapıyorum ne rahat rahat afedersin yemeğimi de yiyemiyorum. Ben de insanım artık demeye geliyor.

77- Burada mesela benim en çok gözlemlediğim mesela arkadaş çevremde bir çoğunun ailesi yakında. En azından bir hafta sonu mesela bir akşam bile hani çocukları bırakıp hani rahat sinemaya gidiyorlar, tiyatro programı, gezme falan. Hani onlar açıkçası benim için bir nefes aldırma olurdu, yani şehir dışında herkes, hiç kimse yok gibi, insan bazen hiç bir şey yapmadan sessiz kalmak istiyor. Hiçbir şey yapmadan boş boş.

78- Bakıcı kreş parası falan bunun için değer mi değmez mi falan diye kendine baktığın zaman biraz kendine zaman ayırmak biraz öğle arası çıkıp dolaşmak falan belki rahat rahat yemek yiyebilmek, başka insanlarla anne değil de anne kıyafetini çıkarıp bir birey olmak baktım kendime iyi geldiğini fark ettim… daha böyle evde sürekli ağlayan bir tipe dönüşmüştüm mesela.

79- Eşim onu alıp çıktığında, ne bileyim erken yattığında falan kendime vakit ayırmayı seviyorum. Elimden geldiğince bir saat de yarım saat de olsa kendi odama geçip eşime çocuğu verip kendime vakit ayırıp kafam dinlendiği

zaman çocuklara daha iyi, rahat bakıyorum yani, eşime söylüyorum bugün çok rahatsızım diye.

80- Bir de bence anneliğin en kötü tarafı 7/24 evde işiniz olduğu için çocuk yanınıza geldiğinde o an o işi bırakıp, mesela mutfakta tamam oğlum -hadi oynayalım-, tamam oğlum -kitap okuyalım-, her zaman erteliyorum ona çok üzülüyorum, tamam şu işim bitsin de yapayım diyorum, o beni biraz üzüyor.

81- Durumumuz daha iyi olsaydı böyle evimde bir yardımcı olmasını isterdim… Çünkü anneler evde çok fazla zaman harcıyorlar çok fazla yoruluyorlar bedensel ve ruhsal olarak, çocuklarına sağlıklı bir şekilde zaman ayıramıyorlar. Ben isterdim ki hani onlarla uğraşmak yerine sağlıklı bir şekilde oğlumla ilgileneyim, her şeyini ben göreyim isterim, ama yorulduğun zaman onu yapamıyorsun Çünkü artık bıkıyorsun yani ah bir oturayım dur oğlum bir yatayım sürekli bir itelemek zorunda kalıyorsun……. ev işleri ile uğraşmak istemiyorum. Kendimle, kendimi dinlemek istiyorum kitabımı okumak çocuklarım geldiği zaman çocuklarıma vakit ayırmak istiyorum onların günlük yaptıklarını dinlemek istiyorum ama onlara zaman bulamıyorsunuz.

82- Mesela ben daha hiç çocuklarımı alıp da okula gelmiş insan değildim. Hepsi, hep çalıştığım için hep bakıcı da var onlar getirip götürüyor ben çalıştığım için. Anasınıfına geliyor en küçüğü bakıcı getiriyor hiç çocuklarımı okula getirmiyorum. O benim için de ayrı şey.

83- Ben üç çocukla bu zamana kadar hiç ayrılmadım hiç bırakıp da bir yere gitmişliğim olmadı. Hep çocukla gittim. *İster miydiniz?* Çok… eşimle vakit geçirmek isterdim. Keşke bir gün, bir günlük bile, yarım saatlik yani 1 saatlik.

84- Sadece 3 ay 1 haftalıkken anneme bırakmak zorunda kaldım. O beni çok yıprattı işte, çok kısa bir zamandı ve yeni evlendiğimiz için de şey de yoktu, ücretsiz izin alma lüksüm yoktu…. Annem Hisar'da olduğu için işyerinden gidip emzirip geliyordum aralarda, o aralardaki sütü götürüp öğlen bırakıyordum, yani öyle geçti ama, hani o koşuşturma çok fazla oldu. Hani yıldım mı? Hayır, çok da güzel geçti ama gönül isterdi ki ücretsiz izin alayım daha rahat rahat. Mesela Toprak'ta da onu tattım, çok güzeldi. Hem resmi izinler çoğalmıştı, hem de tabi devlet memurluğunun verdiği izinler, ücretsiz izinler, onlar da çıktı. Yani Toprak'a 7-8 ay dolu dolu baktım.

85- Benim ailemin çok yardım edebilecek şeyi yoktu ama diğer tarafta onlar torun sevgisinden torun hasretinden dolayı değil, bakarız sen git gibi yani. Aslında onun yerine bizim kiramızı ödeseler, yardımcı olsalar, yani sen bak çocuğuna gibi, çünkü emziriyorum yani..

86- Çocuk okula başladıktan sonra, daha böyle dışarıda, sosyalleştiler. Bir de büyüdüler farkındalar bazı şeylerin, bazen maddi imkânsızlıklar oluyor açıkçası dışarı çıkıp bir yere götüremiyorum ve eşim işte oluyor, işte sen bizi hiçbir yere götürmüyorsun işte babam da sürekli çalışıyor biz niye o zaman yaşıyoruz falan gibi böyle sitem ediyorlar. O zaman böyle hiç, çok çaresiz

kalıyor insan yıpranıyorsunuz, tamam çıkartıyorum bir parka şuraya buraya yakın yerlere onların eğlenebileceği yerlere götürmeye çalışıyorum ama yine de ister istemez üzülüyorsun maddi konular oluyor.

87- Tarık yuvaya başladığı zaman yani ikisi birden yuvada olduğu noktada Ayhan bana diyordu ki artık ablayı herhalde şey yapabiliriz ne gerek var falan, hayır dedim en az onlar 15-16 yaşına gelene kadar. Çünkü ben evde hiçbir şey yapmıyorum. Artık ne yemek yapıyorum, temizlik yapıyorum, çünkü yani her şeye yetişmeme imkanı yok. Eğer onları yapacak olursam başka şeyler yapamayacağım, bu mesleki yandan da beni etkileyecek. Her gün geliyor hafta içi, yatılı değil 9 dan 6 ya kadar…..Sonuçta dediğim gibi hem mesleki hayatım hem sosyal anlamda bir takım şeylere yetişebilecek bir hayatı istiyorum. Bunun için evet bunu karşılayabilecek gelirimiz var Allah'tan, sonuçta öbür türlü imkan olmazdı böyle bir şeye, ama öyle olursa ya tabiri caizse bokun içinde yaşayıp onları yapacağız ya da sonuçta ben oturup bütün gün temizlik yemek..

88- Şey oluyor, yani aileden birisinin olması lazım. Çocukla ne yapacağınızı, ne edeceğinizi bilmiyorsunuz. Düşünsenize, bir varlık kendini ifade edemiyor, ağlıyor, neden ağladığını bilmiyorsunuz, kestiremiyorsunuz. Zaten bir doğumdan çıkmışsınız, ondan çıkmış olmanın kadında verdiği bir psikolojik şey var

89- Zamandan insan diyor ya, gerçekten korkuyorum, gündemdeki şeyler, teknoloji bazen diyorum keşke böyle olmasaydık, eskiden hani kendi başımıza büyümüşüz ya, hani kendi başına büyüyen nesil daha iyiymiş. Şu anki çocuklara bakıyorum, şimdiki nesilden gerçekten eskiye göre çok büyük bir fark var, fazla bir umudum da yok açıksası,….. eskiden bizim bir şeyimiz yokmuş ama bak annem bile ilgilenmediği halde mutluymuşuz. Şu andaki çocuklar bana mutsuz geliyor, bilmiyorum……..Ben o zaman mesela hatırlıyorum abilerim bana bir tane büyük kamyon almıştı bir tane de Barbie bebeğim vardı onun dışında hiç oyuncağım yoktu benim, bir de biz hep dışarıda oynardık hep akşama kadar her şey oyuncak,…… şu anda bilmiyorum bakıyorum şu anda çocuklar evcilik fazla oynamıyorlar, daha çok böyle teknoloji. Biz eskiden böyleydik. Yani bilmiyorum Benim yaşım da çok değil mesela çok eskilerden değil yani Ama ben onların hepsini yaşadım. Yaşadığım için de mutluyum mesela onu hissediyorum, acaba bilmiyorum Şimdiki Çocuklar böyle 5 yaşında düşünün mutlu olurlar mı, onu bilemiyorum ama biz mesela çizgi oynardık seksek oynardık yolda, akşama kadar top oynardık, o yıllarımı çok iyi hatırlıyorum mesela, aile ilişkilerimden bak annemle olan ilişkimden daha çok iyi hatırlıyorum oyun dönemini. Çünkü dışarıda işte büyümüşüz Annemle çok fazla şeyimiz yok, gelmişiz yemeğimizi yemişiz uyumuşuz.

90- Tabi biraz da teknolojik aletler, teknolojinin gelişmesi bunlar da çocukların hayatını çok etkiliyor……Şu anki zamana baktığımızda da her şeyi çabuk tüketiyoruz. O yüzden de hiçbir şeyden memnun olmuyorlar. 3 yaşında çocuk memnun olmuyor işte. Şu anda mesela geleceği korkutuyor beni, beş sene sonra ne olacak? Hatta seneye ne olacak ne isteyecek daha, biliyor her şeyi çünkü. Bocalıyoruz işte…. televizyonu açıyoruz telefonu veriyoruz o arada

çocuk kaybolup gidiyor, zaman olarak çok farklı şimdi, teknolojik aletlerden teknolojik gelişimden kaynaklı bence.

91- Yani hakikaten kaldırabilecekseniz ikiyi.. çocuk çok güzel, çok zor ama hakikaten, ben sabrımla psikolojimle her şeyine yetebileceksen iki derim….Yani tek çocuk biraz prenses evlilik gibi bir şey oluyor, hem anneliği tatmış oluyorsunuz hem şey oluyorsunuz, 2 çocuk gerçekten zor, çok çocuk oluyor 2 çocuk.

92- Mesela çocuk düştüğünde ben demiyorum kızmıyorsam ya da kırdığında kızmıyorsan arkadan birisi "Ayy nasıl düştü" yani o öyle demese ağlamayacak, mümkün değil zaten, hemen silkeleyip kalkar mesela. Toprak ağlamaz derim ben mesela tepki olarak ama, birinin etkisiyle hemen bozuluyor o sihir işte.

93- Babalık konusunda benim babalarda genel gözlemlediğim, Hasan'de de olan şey şu, bu çocuk gelişimi konusunda kendilerini değiştirme dönüştürme geleneksel öğrenmişliklerimizden çıkma konularında çok vasatlar, yani hiç çaba harcamıyorlar, yani Hasan bir tane bile kitap okumamıştır bununla ilgili. Kitapla mı çocuk büyüteceğiz diyor mesela, ben anlatıyorum mesela bu seminerleri falan anlatıyorum ona, sürekli böyle bulduğum bir şeyler gönderiyorum falan. İşte mesela yemek sıkıntısı yaşıyoruz, onunla ilgili ideal olanı gönderiyorum işte bak oku falan diye, okumuyor ama yapmıyor, bana diyor ki sen de fazla okuyorsun diyor, o yüzden böyle takıntılısın diyor. ……Yani o böyle çok içgüdüsel ve anlık davranıyor, mesela tırnak yemesini hiç problem etmiyordu. Ben de ona ha bire diyordum, bak tırnak yemek şuna işaret tırnak yemek bu olabilir şu olabilir.

94- Yani böyle nasıl söyleyeyim, onu belki ben doğru yapıyorumdur çok emin değilim bundan. Artin sonuçta bir erkek çocuğu ve ben de feminist bir kadınım. Onun mesela toplumsal cinsiyetten mümkün olduğunca şey yetişmesini istiyorum, ama eşim bu konuda daha rahat, yani böyle daha işte onun pipisi ile ilgili bilmem ne falan öyle espriler yapabiliyor ve ben bu konuda çok sinirleniyorum. Mesela bu tarz konularda böyle benim takıntılı olduğum alanlar var mesela. Biraz daha o konuda mesela rahat olabilirim, çünkü mesela eşimin yaptığı açıklama aslında beni ikna ediyor. Mesela bizim ev içindeki paylaşımımız bölüşümümüz, mesela Artin'e sorsan evde kim yapıyor yemekleri, baba yapar der. Ya da böyle diyor ki o görüyor zaten merak etme diyor, ama ben böyle şey oluyorum işte o konuda mesela böyle şey oluyorum antenlerim sürekli açık böyle, biraz asabiyim o konuda, biraz o konuda mesela rahat olmak isterim.

95- Ya da böyle bazı kurallarım var. Yemek masada yenecek kuralı mesela, çok esnemiyorum bazı kurallarda, o bizim ev içinde gerilim yaratıyor. Yani bazen kitabi bilgiye sanırım fazla şey yapıyorum ya, fazla bağlı kalmaya çalışıyorum. %50 %50dir hani benim haklı olduğum yerler ve eşimin veya Artin'in haklı olduğu yerler. Yani mesela evde üç yıldır neredeyse hiç televizyon açılmıyor, yani sıfır televizyon, onu ben kazandım mesela, o benim şeyim, mevzim. Ama böyle arada televizyon açık olduğunda bile ben

böyle tepki gösterebiliyorum, anlatabildim mi, yani rahatlıktan kastım ne olacak yani biraz izlesin falan yani.

96- Sevgi, koşulsuz bir sevgi… Yani hiç daha önce duymadığınız değişik bir sevgi

97- Anne olduktan sonra evet toplum olarak gerçekten o çocuk kucağımdayken etrafın bakışı benim çok hoşuma gidiyordu, evet çok hoşuma gidiyordu çünkü çocuğum kucağımda bir anneyim, bu benim, bu küçük şey benim, yani çok güzel bir duygu, toplumun bakışı olsun şey olsun hep, onu sahiplenmek.

98- Nasıl anlatayım, yani anne dediğiniz zaman gurur duyuyorum gurur verici. Anne her şeydir, yani eşinin annesi oluyorsun çocuklarının annesi oluyorsun yani bir evde bir kadın varsa o annedir.

99- Anne olmak çok güzel, dünyanın, Rabbimin mevlamın bayanlara verdiği en güzel şey bence, en güzel hediye, ona o kadar çok şükür etmemiz gerekir ki. Yani aslında kadın olmak bence ayrıcalık, ve çok güzel, Rabbime şükür etmemiz gerekir Çünkü anneliği tadıyoruz, gerçekten dünyanın en güzel şeyi diyebilirim.

100- Bir de yaş ilerleyince, maalesef Türkiye'de, diğer ülkelerde nasıl bilmiyorum, bizim ülkede yani 35 Yaş olsun, hemen başlıyorlar kobay fare gibi onu test bunu test. Öyle olduğu zaman endişeniz ekstra bir katlanmış oluyor. Yani o çok tedirgin ediyor anneyi, orada başlıyorsunuz, yok şeker yükleniyor yok o testi yok bu testi, kobay fare gibi onun duygusu mesela insanı çok rahatsız ediyor. Mesela yurt dışında yaşayan arkadaşlarım hiçbir şekilde bu ultrasonlar multrasonlar yapılmıyormuş.

101- Şimdi mesela hep çevreden şey demişlerdi bana, çok telaşe memuru oldun, en çok eleştiri aldığım odur, anne olduktan sonra, öncesinde daha relaxdım, ki hep bu negatif işte çok telaşesin niye bu kadar panik yapıyorsun mesela. Aslında ruhende bende vardır, ama demek ki daha fazlalaştı ki çevrendeki insanlar da bunu görüp, yani en çok duyduğum odur mesela.

102- Şey diyorsunuz yani 20'li yaşlarda iken, daha doğrusu anne olmadan önce, bugün varım, yarın olmasam da olur. Hani derler ya kendine dikkat et hasta olma öyle yapma böyle yapma karşıdan karşıya geç amaan zaten ölmeyecek miyiz? Ama şu anda maalesef şöyle düşünüyorum, Allah'ım ne olur bana şey ver ki (*ağlamaklı oldu orada*), Yani ben olmasam bu dünyada evet Baran'a bakan birileri olur ama benim benim benim olmam lazım. Umursamıyorsun çünkü sadece kendi hayatınız var, evet siz olmasanız aileniz üzülür arkadaşlarınız vesaire ama şu anda tamam kendi hayatınızı geçebilirsin ama eşlik etmem gereken önemli bir hayat var. Onu büyütmem lazım.

103- Annelikten önce kendim için yaşıyordum kendi isteklerimdi, şimdi onlar olduktan sonra hep onların gelecekleri ile ilgili bir gelecek kaygısı oluyor.

104- Hani şu var, mesela gerçekten annelik zor, nasıl zor, şu an Mutlu'yu düşünüyorum, hani haberlerde çocuklara şöyle oldu böyle oldu mesela ben bunları düşündüğüm zaman çok kötü hani şunu söyleyeyim bazen çocuğumu Mutlu'yu hani amcası biri kucağına aldığı zaman direkt aklıma kötü şeyler geliyor direkman çağırıyorum Mutlu gel diyorum, hani kızıma bir şey yaparlar bir şey olur. Yani bilmiyorum çok kötü bir şey, ben o haberleri hiç duymak istemiyorum hani genelde zaten interneti haberleri izlemek istemiyorum, çünkü hep çocuklar ile ilgili şeyler oluyor yani çok kötü ben uyuyamıyorum o çocuklarla ilgili haber duyduktan sonra benim psikolojim kesinlikle bitiyor ve Mutlu'ya olan düşkünlüğüm daha farklı oluyor böyle. Bazen düşünüyorum hani ortam kötü bir tane doğurdum hani ikinciyi neden yaptım?

105- ben sanki burada olmamalıyım, ben kızımın yanında olmalıyım gibi, kendi kendime kötülük yapıyormuşum gibi geliyordu, çünkü çok küçük bıraktım, anneme bıraktığım halde.

106- Çok üzüldüğüm bir şey, emziremedim, süt verdim yine sağdım da, ona çok üzülüyorum. Yani tek çocuk olsa da bunlar olabilirdi, ama ikiz olunca öyle oldu, ama olsun oldu ya.

107- Eşim de yanımda olmadığı için evde 12 lerde falan gelirdi yani Çok karmaşık duygular içerisinde geçiyordu yemek yapmaya uğraşıyorsun evi toparlamaya uğraşıyorsun e çocuk inanılmaz ilgi bekleyen bir canlı, her şeyine senin yetişmem gereken bir canlı, duygu patlamaları yaşıyorsun. Hani çocuğumu mu ihmal mi ediyorum acaba Hani onları yaparken çocuğumu mu ihmal ediyorum ona yeterince annelik yapamıyor muyum şeklinde, yani duygu patlamaları da yaşıyorsunuz.

108- İlk başlarda ben mükemmel anne olmaya çalışmışım, çok yanlıştı, çocuğa daha az vakit ayırarak. Halbuki öyle değil, bırakın ev olsun, siz yeter ki onu dışarı çıkarın, daha çok onunla ilgilenin. Ben zaman zaman günlük yarım saat bir saat televizyona bırakıyordum ki işlerimi yetiştirmek adına, uyuduktan sonra yapabilirsiniz, ben onu dinlenme ile kapatmaya çalışıyordum. *Mükemmel annelik neyi kapsıyor sizce?* İşte o bloggerlar, her şeyi böyle tam, yardımcıları var falan, bir şekilde böyle rüya gibi bir annelik, her işleri tam. Yani öyle olmuyor işte, eşinizin sizden bekledikleri var, işte ben onu yapmaya, her iki işi aynı anda yapmaya çalıştım, hem çocuk hem eş hem ev falan derken…. Ama siz bitiyorsunuz orada işte, o değil işte mükemmel anne olmak, yani sabırlı olmak, çocuğu dinlemek onunla çok şey paylaşmak.

109- Yani ben anneliğimden şüphe duymuyorum, ama yani böyle engel de olamıyorum. Hani çocuktan kaynaklı bir şey. Biraz fazla çabuk sinirleniyorum ama sabır yani bir şey söylüyoruz 10 kere söylemekle bir kere söylemek arasında biraz fark oluyor tabi ki, işte o hoşuma gitmiyor, üzülüyorum sonra, ağlıyorum, biraz daha hani, ondan gidip de özür dileyesim geliyor,….. öyle olmamak isterdim, daha sabırlı olmak isterdim, hem kendim üzülüyorum bağırdığım için hem de onu üzüyorum ağlıyor, yani o da üzülüyordur. *Sizi sabırsız kılan şeyler ne olabilir?* Sonrasında

başka işim olacaktır, annenin işi bitmiyor, evde o yoğunluktan hani hemen dediysem yapılsın istiyorum ki akışı devam ettirelim gibi düşünebilirim.

110- Çok sinirlenen bir insanım, hani isterdim ki böyle daha sakin olayım kendi kendime kararlar alıyorum, mesela kursta da alıyoruz kendi kendimize kararlar, ama bazen olmuyor, yani böyle, hani pedagoglar da diyor ya çocuğa bağırmayın etmeyin diye hani insanın bir noktası var bir noktadan sonra sürekli çocuk size 3 saniyede bir anne anne anne anne anne derse kendine ayırdığın bir saatim var yani, yani işte bir iğne oyası oyarım ya bir şey yaparım ya bir saatim var benim kendime ayırdığım, anne anne anne dediğinde insan huzursuz oluyor o zaman da olmak istediğim gibi bir anne olamıyorum.

111- Mesela şey konusu: bağırma, sinirlenme, işte öfkelenme, mesela bu konuda çok kendimden şikayetçiyim, asla istemiyorum öyle bir şey olmasını, asla istemiyorum, ama oluyor….. Yani şunu fark ettim aslında, benim o kadar sinirlenmemin sebebi sadece anne kimliğini almam, yani İlkay yok, çünkü Artin'den önceki İlkay çok başkaydı, belki öyle olmasaydı, o açı o kadar fazla olmasaydı bu kadar zorlanmayabilirdim, ama Artin olduğunda birden ben böyle anne oldum, ama diğer İlkaylar'a ne oldu, işte bir şeyler yazan okuyan eylemlere giden arkadaşları ile buluşan, böyle bir insan vardı, kendi zevkleri olan falan, yani ona bağladım. Çok sıkıldım, çok bunaldım falan. Şimdi mesela değişti o, ben biraz daha şimdi şey yapıyorum artık, eşimle mesela artık haftayı planlıyoruz, onun yapmak istedikleri benim yapmak istediklerim, Artin'siz şeyler yapıyoruz falan, yani ben sadece anne değilim, işte ben aynı zamanda şu anda mesela atıyorum seçim çalışması yürüten, bununla ilgili çalışan bir kadınım.

112- Mesela ben Artin'i yeterince besleyemiyor muyum böyle, çünkü becerikli bir anne değilim, yani böyle etrafımdaki anneler bin bir çeşit yemek yapan falan şöyle acayipler yani buzlukları doludur, işte turşular kurulur, menemenler yapılır falan filan. Yani ben hiç yapmıyorum mesela, o konu beni şey yapıyor, geriyor yani, beklenen annelik deyince o da var mesela çocuğunu çok iyi beslemelisin çok çeşit yemek yapmalısın falan. Ben de yapmıyorum, yapamıyorum da, yapmıyorum da beceremiyorum da yani ikisi bir arada. Geçen gün mesela bir arkadaşla konuşuyorduk işte, ben çok çeşitli çorba yaparım, bir saydı işte yok soğan çorbası, kereviz çorbası bilmem ne çorbası falan. Ben o an kendimi kötü hissettim, çünkü ben bir tek Artin'e mercimek çorbası yapıyorum, bir de tarhana yapıyorum, acaba diyorum ben bu çocuğu besleyemiyor muyum, çok mu acaba gıdasız kalıyor falan.

113- Yani şu anda şeyi fark etmek önemli herhalde ya, mükemmel anne yoktur falan bunu böyle şu an kolay söylüyorum ama bu anneler için çok zor bir süreç, bütün kıyafetleri temiz olmalı, işte her gün banyosu yapılmalı, düzenli uyumalı, düzenli yemeğini yemeli, işte mutlu olmalı, bağırmamalısın, ama olmuyor işte yani. Bunların hepsini iki insan evladının, bir annenin ve babanın, ki işlerin eşit paylaşıldığını düşün, ona rağmen olmuyor. Yani sanırım onu biraz kabul etmek ya, olduğu kadar demek, yani o rahatlıktan da kastım o biraz, yani olduğu kadar olsun ya ne olacak, yani

mercimek çorbası içiversin her gün onun içine bir şeyler katarsın hani, ne bileyim, işte kıyafetlerini ütülememişsindir aman ütüsüz giysin ne olacak bir şey olmaz falan gibi yani. O mertebeye diyeyim, ulaşana kadar kadınlar bayağı bence şey yapıyorlar yani, acı çekiyorlar……Keşke diyorum bunu bebekliğinden beri yapsaymışım…….Yani benim kendi kriterlerimdeki o mükemmel annelik şeyi beni çok baskılamış, yani çünkü o böyle o kadar zor bir şey ki onu yapmak, orada sadece anne oluyorsun başka bir şey olamıyorsun. Yani orada benim o standartları yakalayabilmem için gerçekten sadece anne olmam lazım. İşte ütüsünü yapacaksın, banyosudur, yemeğidir falanıdır filanıdır derken sırf öz bakımı bile çocuğun, senin ciddi enerjini alıyor götürüyor.

114- Ya hep bu sosyal medya çok sakat bir şey, sosyal medya anneliği. Eskiden bir tane Anneler grubuna üyeydim oradan çıktım, Facebook'u kapattım hatta, yani bence bana iyi geliyordu o kadınlar yani ama insan yine de karşılaştırıyor çok karşılaştırıyor. *(Nasıl iyi geliyordu?)* Böyle değişik tipler. Benim bir arkadaşım beni üye yaptı oraya. Hepsi böyle okumuş modern anneler falan o anlamda iyi geliyordu. Çünkü o ablamda falan paylaşamadığım o kaygıları onlarla paylaşıyordum yani…..ama bazen de ağır geliyordu onların annelikleri, o kadar ben mükemmeliyetçi değilim. Hep karşılaştırıyorsunuz ya işte kendinizi, o kötü bir şey. *(Ne konuda karşılaşıyorsunuz?)* Beslenme mesela, şeker yememe, işte paketli gıda yememe. Ben öyle yapmıyorum veriyorum hatta bazen kendim yani. Öyle şeyler yani. Ama bilmem, herkesin süreci zor, bir de onu görüyordum yani orada aslında, herkesin bir zorlu süreci var aslında. Onlar ama böyle bir enteresan yaratıcılıkla tipler. Böyle işte evde hep bir şeyler üretiyorlar falan, bazısı çalışan bazı akademisyen bazısı evde. Bu böyle 450 kadının falan olduğu bir yer. Evde hep işte mayalı ekmeklerini falan yapıyorlar, fermente ediyorlar, örgü örüyorlar, olmadı çocuğuna da örgü örüyorlar. Yani ben onları yapmıyorum işte, bir tek yoğurdumu yapıyorum, çocukların yoğurdunu o kadar.

115- Keşke okusaydım daha yardımcı olabilirim diye düşünüyorum yani, ben ilkokul mezunuyum bildiğim şeyler çok farklı, çocuğum şu anda ortaya bir soru getiriyor ben bocalıyorum, eşim hani lise mezunu ama çalışıyor hiç muhatap olamıyor dersleriyle, yoğun çalışıyor. Ben her şeyde, unuttum diyorum hani kaç yıl geçti kızım, hiç bilmiyorum, keşke diyorum okusaydım daha iyi yardımcı olabilseydim, elimden geldiğince ama olamıyorum, olabildiğimi de düşünmüyorum.

116- Mesela daha çok mesela eğitimli olsaydım belki çocuğuma diyorum daha farklı mı bakardım daha çok şey mi verirdim, o yönden düşünüyorum. Bilmiyorum mesela daha böyle farklı davranırdım herhalde. Mesela şu anda fazla bir kurallar koyamıyorum o da en başından olması gerekiyordu, yapamadığım için olmadı. Çünkü öyle kendi halimize oyun oynadık, şey yapardık. Kemal'in okula başlaması ile bizim hayatımız da düzene girdi aslında. Çünkü o daha önceden hani uyku saati koymadım, kendi halimizdeydik. Mesela daha farklı, eğitimli bir anne olsaydım belki diyorum daha farklı davranırdım, hep öyle düşünüyorum, olmak istediğim sadece o var yani.

117- Yani annelik, anne olduğunu biliyorsun zaten, senden başka hiç kimsesinin olmadığını biliyorsun yani sadece bir anne olarak bir melek olarak sen duruyorsun orada, o zaten küçük bir melek sen ona sahip çıkıyorsun hiç kimse anne gibi olamaz.

118- Hani Baran'ın yanında sanki koruması gibi ben varım baba da yardımcı şeymiş gibi.

119- Ne bileyim, annelik nedir deyince önce annem geldi, sonra dönüştüm şey geldi aklıma, böyle yani anne imajı, ondan sonra tabi ki bütün o bildiğimiz sevgi dolu merhamet dolu insan, fedakar, sonra ben ve benim dönüştüğüm o yol geldi aklıma. Bilmiyorum ki galiba merhamet, yani merhamet diyeceğim herhalde, yani fedakarlık, çünkü herkes yapıyor, yani yapar, baba da yapar babaanne de yapar ama sanki en merhametlisi annem mi acaba, bilmiyorum. *(Merhamet derken neyi kastediyorsunuz tam olarak örnek gelir mi aklınıza?)* Yani mesela çocukların eğitimi sürecinde disipline edilmesi sürecinde hiçbir şeye dayanamamak, hiçbir sert söze dayanamamak gibi geldi aklıma.

120- Şöyle, aslında hep vicdanen ve böyle çevrenize baktığınızda birçok olayda şeyimdir çok fevri çıkışlarım olmazdı mesela diyeyim. Anne olduktan sonra belki koruma içgüdüsü ile özellikle çocuğunuza karşı, bazı şeyleri daha böyle sert hayırlar ya da sert tepkiler verdiğim oldu.

121- Anne olmak.. anne olmak duygusallık, bana has olan direkt aklıma gelen duygusallık, bazen hatta diyorum ben lohusalıktan çıkamadım her şeyde duygulanıyorum, en küçük bir şeyde ağlıyorum falan….Bir an gözlerim doluyor falan ama bu doğumdan sonra oldu, öncesinde öyle bir şey yoktu. Yani o kadar değildim yani, tabii ki insan olarak bir şey görünce duygusal bir ortamda illa ki duygulanırdım ama, ya çocuk olduktan sonra daha bir duygusal oldum. Mutlu olacağım zaman da duygulanabiliyorum güzel bir haber duyduğumda hemen gözlerim doluyor.

122- Eltimin şeyini çok seviyorum…… O çok iyi araştırıyor, o çalışmıyor işi bıraktı çocuğu olduktan sonra. Ama kendini eve kapatmadı, şu anlamda çok takdir ediyorum, mesela çocukta konuşma geriliği var……araştırdı, gitti, buldu, terapiye götürüyor, evde şeylerini yapıyor….diyor ki ben çabalamazsam hiçbir şey yapmaz bu çocuk diyor. Onu çok takdir ediyorum. Çok zor çünkü, onun günü şöyle geçiyor: Terapiye götürüyor, terapiden alıyor, kızı alıyor yüzmeye götürüyor, yani on kere eve girip çıkıyor. Onu o yüzden takdir ediyorum. Mesela bunu seviyorum işte ben annelikte. Bunu anne yapmazsa kimse yapmıyor gerçekten. *(Bunu seviyorum dediğiniz tam olarak ne?)* Şeyi seviyorum yani, çocukla uğraşmayı, aktif olmayı, çocuğun bir adım önünde olmayı, çocuğu bırakmayı değil de fark etmeyi seviyorum.

123- Fedakarlık, ama çok önemsemiyorum o kısmı, her şeyde hayatta hep fedakarlık yapmak zorundasınız zaten.

124- İş hayatında ciddi bir şekilde fedakarlık yapıyorsunuz, hayattan çok ciddi fedakarlık ediyorsunuz, özel hayatta da çok ciddi fedakarlık ediyorsunuz, mesela fiziki ihtiyaçlarınızı bile şey yapamıyorsunuz. Mesela en basiti, saç boyatacaksınız, saç boyatmak için gitmek gelmek üç saatlik bir iş, yani onu yapamıyorsunuz. Zamanla ilgili çok ciddi bir problem yaşıyorsunuz. Öz bakımınızı bile yapmakta çok zorlanıyorsunuz bazen. Yani iki çocuk olduğu zaman bence aileden falan destek olması lazım. Hem çalışıp hem bakmak çok yıpratıcı oluyor, ben şu an onu yaşıyorum.

125- Ya ben bunu aslında biraz bu kreşten sonra fark ettim. Bize yüklenen çok büyük bir fedakarlık şeyi var, misyonu var ya, ben onu ilk bir yıl çok fazla yaptım, yani çok aşırı fedakârlıklar yapıyorsun falan, ve böyle kendini bırakmıyorsun yani oluruna. Aslında bence o çok stresli bir şey. Evet bu iş çok ciddi bir fedakarlık gerektiriyor ama şeyi ayırt etmek lazım. Az önceki örnekte, yani o çocuğun altındaki bez yani bir dakika daha durabilir, sen o arada gidip niye tuvaletini yapmıyorsun? Niye kendine bu eziyeti çektiriyorsun öyle? Gerçekten bize yüklenen o fedakarlık şeyi fazla eziyet ettiriyor.

126- Yani bir şekilde insanların içi rahatlamış olabilir. Bir noktada insanlar görmek istiyor yani bak çoluk çocuk sahibi oldu, kariyeri de ilerliyor falan filan….. Yani insanların kafasında belirli şablonlar var ve işte bu da oldu şeklinde bir tik atma şeyi bence o yani, hayatta hem mesleki anlamda işte bir işi var orada da iyi gidiyor işler, bir taraftan da işte ailesi var işte çocuğu da var filan falan, onların açısından evet yani olması gerekenler oldu gibi yani, o şablona oturulabilen bir insan.

127- Annem diyor ki, sen diyo çok değiştin, hiç eski İlkay değilsin. Onun gözünde ben daha ev kadını oldum böyle, evini çekip çevirebilen. Yani o benim evlenebileceğimi bile düşünmüyordu, evlendim, o zaman zaten böyle bir havaya uçtular, İlkay evlendi. Sonra işte 34 yaşında çocuğum oldu artık nihayet, o da onlar için büyük bir değişimdi. Sonra bir de hani onların gözünde dedim ya evim ile ilgilenmem, çocukla bu kadar ilgilenmem falan, onların gözünde artık ben iyi bir kadın, onların nezdinde, iyi bir anne falan oldum.

128- Gerçekten de yani biz senden tamam bekliyorduk ama böyle bir annelik beklemiyorduk belki de, çok böyle merhametli çok böyle çocuklarınla empati kuran bir annesin. Hani Tamam biz belki dış görüşüne aldandık Bugün orada Gezer bugün burada gezer diye belki ama gerçekten de yani biz seni böyle evde oturacaksın işte aman çocuğuna zaman geçireceksin ya da oyun oynayacaksın ya da işte kendini ikinci plana atacağın kesinlikle aklımıza gelmiyor diyorlardı, bu tür şeyleri aldım tabii ki de ama gerçekten de çok güzel bir anneliğin var diyorlar ki bu da benim çok hoşuma gidiyor.

129- Yani şöyle diyeyim, benim kendi annemin tarafında nasıl diyeyim babamın falan en çok sevdiği çocuğuydum diyeyim. Hani biz karakter olarak da çok yakındık babamla. Hadi babam hayal kurarken benimle beraber kurardı seninle çiftlik kuralım, şunu yetiştirelim bunu yetiştirelim diye. Hani evlendikten sonra ekstradan, daha çok artık hani sevgi ile beraber acımak

demeyeyim de hani, yalnız işte, işte gurbet yerde üç tane çocukla yardıma muhtaç olduğumun farkındalar ya da tek başıma başardığım için, eşim benim çok destek veren bir insan değil, hani işte benim kızım daha farklı olabilirdi, hem acıyorlar hem üzülüyorlar yani.

130- Mesela daha sık ziyaretler oluyor tabi. Mesela işte anneanneler babaanneler dedeler işte görüşmek istiyorlar, yani daha düzenli ziyaretler oluyor mesela, beklentiler oluyor. Bu hafta gelemiyorum dediğimde biraz hüzün yaratıyor, işte torunu görmek istiyorlar. Her hafta görüşüyoruz, babaanneye götürüyoruz. Benim annem yakın oturuyor, zaten onunla daha kısa aralıklarla görüşebiliriz yakın olduğu için……tabi o dönem çatışmalar yaşıyorsunuz aile ile işte….ya da işte görmek istiyor babaannesi çocuğu hafta sonu, ama uyuması lazım o saatlerde mesela, böyle sorunlar oldu. Özellikle de şu uyku eğitimi sırasında 1 ay bizim hiçbir yere gitmememiz gerekiyordu, çünkü saat yedide falan yedi buçukta en geç yatıyordu çocuk, çok o zaman kamp gibiydi yani, mesela o dönem anlayamadılar yani, niye bize gelmiyorsunuz falan, mesela o dönem biraz çatışma yaşadık o dönemde, biz de diyorduk ki bize uymak zorundasınız çünkü bunu yapıcam yani, buna karar verdik. Neyse ki eşim biraz destekledi o dönemde, yani o desteklediği için de atlatabildik o dönemi sorunsuz.

131- Benim ailemle şey bir ilişkim yoktu, sıkı fıkı yani, işte annemi 15 günde bir arardım Artin'den önce…. Ben zaten işte 17 yaşında üniversiteye gitmek için ayrıldım onların yanından, sonra hep o eve misafir olarak gittim ve böyle işte ne bileyim, böyle hayat beni başka bir yerde konumlandırdı onları başka bir yerde falan, böyle çok kesişmiyordu hayatlarımız….. yani çok kopuktu ilişkimiz.……Ama bu bebek olduktan sonra, annemle aynı evde iki yıl yaşadım….. Yani benim çocukluğum ve gençliğimde de annem fabrikada çalıştığı için aslında ben annemle hiç aynı evde yaşamamışım. 2 yıl biz annemle hatta onun bir yılı geceli gündüzlü birlikteydik böyle, yani ilişkimiz level atladı yani, ablamla da biraz öyle oldu. Şimdi neredeyse her gün konuşuyoruz.

132- Ama şimdi mesela Artin'i büyütürken annemle aramızda büyük farklar var ve çok çatıştık ilk bir sene mesela. İlk aklıma gelen giydirme konusu. Annem kat kat giydirirdi, ben de soyardım. İşte ben daha böyle kitabiydim işte, öyle olmaz böyle olur falan. Beslenme konusunda mesela tabi ki ben işte böyle abur cubur falan vermiyorum, işte hala dikkat etmeye çalışıyorum. Ama mesela annem de Hasan da daha o konuda benden rahatlardı. Mesela annem çocuğu daha az ağlatma eğilimindeydi hep, aman ağlamasın, aman şey yapmasın, ben de bırak ağlasın falan şeyindeydim. Öyle yani…. Aslında annemle biz bayağı çatıştık o bir yıl çocuk yetiştirme hakkında, kavga ettiğimiz de oldu falan, ama şey olmadı, çünkü çok fedakârca bir şey, yani bir yıl boyunca o çocuğa baktı yani.

133- Annem her zaman korumacıdır zaten, şimdi de yani mesela yine anneliğini de tabii daha çok hissettiriyor eskisinden daha da belki çok hissettiriyor, bana destek olmak adına. Yani sen uyumamışsındır, yemek yapamamışsındır, işte işin vardır yani o manada mesela daha çok varlığını bana hissettiriyor diyebilirim.

134- Suna'da çok yaşadım bunu, yengem tarafından mesela, ya bu küçücük çocuğu bırakıyorsun anneannesine, burada acı çekiyor hani sen gaddarsın demişti. O da üstüne köstek oluyor gibi, yani hiç o taraftan, başka pencereden bakmıyor yani. Maalesef ki yapmak zorundaydım.

135- Eskiden değil de mesela şimdi babaanne bazen bize gelir kalır bir 10 gün 15 gün evin düzeni tamamen değişir. O zamanlar mesela o zaman çocuklar da değişir eşimin tutumu da değişir belki o biraz normal, evde sürekli yaşamayan bir insan var, kim gelirse aile düzeni değişir ama anne olunca biraz daha farklı oluyor kesinlikle. Ben bir şey geciktirdiğim anda Anne hemen kalkıyor. Mesela ben oğullarıma hani bazı şeyleri kendilerinin yapmasını istiyorum, oyuncaklarını toplaması gerekiyor yatağını toplaması gerekiyor, şimdi babaanne bunlara da izin vermiyor Bu sefer ne yapıyor okuldan geldikleri anda üstlerini değiştirmeye çalışıyor. Bunu herkes yapabilir ama ben çocuğun yapmasını istiyorum. Hem gelişim açısından hem hayatını ileride de sürdürebilmesi için bazı şeyleri öğrenmesi gerekiyor.

136- Şey dedi kayınpederim, bu çocuk bizde bir gün kalsa ertesi gün konuşur. Halbuki ben çalıştığımda kreş çıkmadığında orada kalıyordu, ama büyükler diye bunu telaffuz edemiyorsunuz. 2-3 ay sonra yine kayınvalidem, başkasının bilmem ne çocuğu bundan 8 ay küçük ama o konuşuyor, o zaman siz bu çocuğa bir şey yapıyorsunuz ya da sen konuşturamıyorsun, işte sende problem var….. insanın canını acıtıyor o, bu sefer eşinle karşı karşıya kalıyorsunuz.

137- Amcaları falan okumasın yani okumasın ne gerek var kız çocuğu, bana yapıldığı için, yani dedemiz de öyleydi, dedemiz her konuda karıştı, eşim karışmıyordu, her konuda ben attım öne, beni kötü biliyorlar ama ben kesinlikle kızıma karışılmasını istemediğim için ben attım, dışarıdaki faktörlerden kendimi.

138- Eşimin bir yeğeni vardı işte Avcılar'da oturuyordu çocuğum için bir takım şeyler söylüyordu şöyle yap böyle işte şunu şöyle yap bunu böyle yap diyordu Tamam ben de yapıyordum ama ben bunu niye bilmiyorum diyordum kendi kendime yani tabii……kendimi iyi hissetmiyordum yani çocuğuma yeterli gelmiyordum. Ben çocuğuma yeterli gelmiyor muyum acaba diyordum onların tepkisiyle yani Onların söylediği kadarıyla Belki onun verdiği şeyler işte, komşular bilirsiniz yok gazını çıkar emzir şöyle böyle derken ben kendime hep böyle bilgi, yani ne yapabilirim diye araştırma içerisine girdim ki kendi kendime böyle yeterli hissetmek için hep dedim ki ben kimseye muhtaç olmak istemiyorum ve kimsenin bana karışmasını istemiyorum.

139- İki çocuğumda da annelik duygusunu yaşamadım çünkü hep onlar, sadece emziriyordum bakıyordum ama çocuğumu sevsem bile yadırgıyorlardı, büyüklerin yanında sevilmez çocuk, kayınvalidem görümcelerim 10 kişilik ev, ben yeni ayrıldım 6 yıl oldu kendi evime geçtim. Çocuğumu kucağıma kayınpederinin yanında alıp sevme onun yanında ilgilenme yok, o yüzden

çocuğumla hiçbir şekilde bir bağ kuramadım….. küçük çocuğumla sanki yeniden anne oldum….Herkes bir fikir verince yapılmıyor şunu giydir şunu içir şunu yedir diye herkes. Ben diyorum, Ben çocuklarıma söyleyemiyorum da bu çocuğu sanki ilk defa doğurdum. Bu çocuk benim çocuğum gibi hissettim Hani doğumundan bu zamana kadar benimle, bu çocuğun hareketleri beni yansıtıyor istediğim gibi bir çocuk yetiştirebiliyorum.

140- Senin arkadaşlarınla çıkman vb nasıl karşılanıyor? Hiç hoş karşılanmıyor, sen annesin nasıl çıkarsın.. Hatta annem de bir kere söyledi onu bana. Ben sizi arayacağım demiştim, o gün de arkadaşlarla dışarıdaydım, böyle saat 11.30 12'ye geliyordu, annemi o zaman eve dönerken aradım, sen bu saatte eve mi dönüyorsun, sen artık çocuklu kadınsın, nasıl bu saatte eve dönersin demişti, sinir oldum yani. Zaten çok sık yapabildiğim bir şey değil ve doğru olanın bunu yapmak olduğunu biliyorum ama şimdi ben bunu nasıl anlatacağım.

141- Mesela anne babaları falan eleştirmek yerine sen ne bileyim al o çocuğu bir saat bak anne dinlensin yani hani eleştirmek yerine ya da ne bileyim bir çocuk doğurduğu zaman ben onu çok isterdim. Ne oldu kayınvalideler görümceler geldi ama çocuğun üzerine yoğunlaştı evin yükünü alsa onlar anneyi çocukla baş başa bıraksanız en iyi yardım olur, diğeri yardım değil diğeri anneyi çocuktan ayırmaktır. Mesela o zaman ben çocuğumun altını, ilk çocuğumun altını bir 15-20 gün sonra mı artık daha sonra mı ne değiştirmeye başladım. Ben kendi kendime düşünüyordum acaba değiştirebilecek miyim çünkü bana izin vermiyorlardı, o fırsat bana verilmedi. Yapamazsınız diye mi? Belki de o. Ya da onlar da çok heveslendiği için yeni çocuk falan, o yanlış çok yapıldı yani büyükler o yanlışı çok yapıyor. Sen yardım mı etmek istiyorsun ya da eve gelenler, yardım etmek istiyorsan anneye Ev işlerinde yardım et yükünü al. Bırak o çocuğu ile zaman geçirirsin ya da uyusun dinlensin Çünkü bunlara çok ihtiyacı var uyumaya dinlenmeye çok ihtiyacı var.

142- Çekirdek ailede çocuk yetiştirmek bence imkansız, yani tuvalete bile girdiğiniz zaman sonuçta birine, yani 90 yaşındaki anneannenize bile sırasında bir patpat yap da tuvalete gideyim diyebiliyordum, bu benim için çok rahatlatıcı bir şeydi, her an birinin olması, ilgilenecek vesaire aslında çok rahatlatıcı bir şey.

143- Yani mesela ne bileyim ben bir işte otobüste olsun ya da bir toplulukta olsun anne olduğum için mesela sağ olsunlar işte bir hastaneye gidiyorum kucağımda çocukla, anneyim bana öncelik tanıyorlar bu tür şeyler anne olmadan önce kesinlikle öyle bir önceliğim yoktu yani anneliğin verdiği şeyler bazı şeyler gerçekten çok güzel yani işte bir otobüste gidiyorum mesela anne olmadan önce saatlerce ayakta giderdim ama şimdi anneyim otobüse bindiğim zaman çok güzel oturabiliyorum yani.

144- O yurtdışında daha iyi hissediliyor biliyor musunuz, yurtdışında anneyseniz yanınızda çocuk varsa kesinlikle dokunulmazlığınız var. Pasaport sırasında herkes size en ön sırayı veriyor, pasaport polisi sizi çağırıyor. Ondan sonra bir yere gittiğinizde herkes size yer veriyor… burada yok, yani burada

hamileyken bile, hamile bir insanın ayakta durması çok zor oluyor çünkü beli ağrıyor, ayakta duramıyor, metroya biniyorsunuz hamile.ben hamileyim oturma ihtiyacım var diye peronda ben şey yaptığımı biliyorum, oturmam lazım biriniz bir yer verin ayakta duramıyorum dediğim zaman, yani dile getirdiğiniz zaman bile yer alamıyorsunuz, Türkiye'de öyle.

145- Türkiye'de şeysiniz, iki çocukla tek başınıza bir şey yapmaya kalktığınızda zorlanıyorsunuz. Yani mesela çocuk sevip çocuğu bilen de var, ama çocuğa hoşgörüsü olmayan da çok var. Şimdi uçakdayız, çocuk ayağı ile şöyle yapıyor önceki hanım döndü koltuğuma vuruyor dedi, dedim isterseniz yer değiştirelim, koltuğuma vuruyor dedi. Dedim ki bu 2 yaş, dinletebiliyorsanız dinletin. Ben de diyorum oğlum vurma anlamıyor, 2 yaş anlamıyor, oyun gibi geliyor. Uçak rötar yapmış, uçak kalkmıyor, sıkıldı. Dedim ki ancak ben sizinle yer değiştirebilirim, 2 yaşında bir çocuk anlamıyor. Anlatabiliyor muyum? Böyle sıkıntılar mesela.

146- Bence çocuklar çok domine ediyor orayı, kimse anneyle babaya bakmıyor, şöyle yapıyor, hele ikiz olunca çok dikkat çekiyor, a ikiz mi falan diyorlar, ilk başta çok rahatsızdım bebekken. Allah kolaylık versin derlerdi, her seferinde, sinir olurdum, yani hani ya konuşma ya motive edici bir şey söyle diye hissederdim, yani ayvayı yemişsin sen gibi söylerlerdi, ondan hiç hoşlanmazdım, tabii şimdi de aa ama büyümüşler neyse ki falan gibi şeyler.

147- Ben hissediyordum, yani dediğim gibi özellikle evliliğim anlamında evet artık ben çocuk yapabilirim, benim evliliğimde bir sıkıntı yok. Hem maddi anlamda öyle düşünmüştüm, manevi anlamda da bunu hani hazırlayıp düşünmüştüm ki şöyle söyleyeyim artık çevremdeki insanlar "ya niye çocuk yapmıyorsunuz, kısır mısın" falan gibi böyle şeyler, üçüncü senemde.

148- Kadınların işi çok zor, mesela annelikle ile ilgili şey olabilir, şu sıralar çok fazla bana yapılan şey, 2. çocuk muhabbeti olabilir. Çok ya, böyle ilgili ilgisiz herkes, yani sadece dozu değişiyor. Kimi diyor ki düşünüyor musun, ama konuyu açıyor, kimi diyor ki artık vakti geldi bak artık büyüdü, yani o beni mesela böyle çok rahatsız etmeye başladı.

149- Evleneceksiniz evlen evlen evlen, sonra çocuk sahibi ol. Şimdi mesela Mahmut'ta işte ne zaman sünnet olacak, şimdi bu sorular, hep bir sorular geliyor yani hani. En sonunda diyorum ki, öl öl öl, yani her şey vakitliymiş gibi bir şekilde sizi baskı altına alıyor. Belki hani biz daha şeyiz, Özlem belki öyle olmayacak. Özlem ve nesli daha serbest olacak.

150- Şimdi işte bu özel gereksinim raporu alırken işte çocuğun hiçbir şeyi yok, hayır çocuğumun var, Ben bunun farkındayım, Hayır yok diyorlar ama gittiğimde işte çıktı yani Ben çocuğumu en iyi ben tanıyorum. Benim eşim çok destekçi oldu Bana her konuda beni hiçbir zaman A dediğime B demedi hiç, çocuğumuzun Çünkü farkı nedir daha yavaş konuşmasından benim çocuğumu Öyle yan yan gider koşuyor Ben onun farkındayım Ya da motorlarda sıkıntı var çok zorlanıyor ya da tek ayak üstünde duramıyor Ben bunların farkındaydım Yani çocukları yan yana getiriyorum kıyaslama yapıyorum gözümde, hep benim çocuğumda problem var.

151- *(Siz ne kadar işten ayrı kaldınız Eylem doğduktan sonra?)* 8 ay, 8 ay ben baktım, 8. ayda bakıcı. Sonra yaşında da yuva, kreşe başladı. (*Bakıcı derken yüzünüzü ekşittiniz biraz)*…. ya nasıl bir şeydi yani 2 yaşında konuşmaya başladı çevreden işte geç konuştu, niye geç konuştu, çok insanla muhatap oldu çocuk, bakıcıydı anneanneydi, işte kreşti, biraz geciktirdi diyorlar sürekli farklı insan değiştirince. Yani bir kişi olsa bir annesi baksa çabuk konuşur işte gelişimi daha hızlı olur diyorlardı o yüzden belki biraz da yüzümdeki ekşilik.

152- Müge bir çocuğu ısırmıştı hakikaten çok üzüldüm, onun annesi şey dedi, ay dedi siz dedi bu Müge'yi bir pedagoga mı götüreceksiniz psikoloğa mı, götürün dedi. Mesela o beni çok üzdü. Çünkü söylemiş olduğu şeyde, üslubunda falan yani öyle bir şey vardı ki, üslubu vardı ki. Yani sen bu çocuğa iyi bakamıyorsun, bu çocukta psikolojik olarak sıkıntılar var, o yüzden benim çocuğumu ısırıyor gibi, anlatabiliyor muyum? Yoksa, iyi niyetli olarak söylese, eyvallah kabul ederim. Mesela o beni çok üzdü.

153- Sonuçta insan her yaptığının beğenilmesini ister ya hani, özellikle de bir kadın olarak, yaptığın bir yemek olsun veya giydiğin bir kıyafet olsun, bu mesela yaptığın anneliğinin de bir onaylanma ihtiyacı hissedersiniz. Yani evet sen gerçekten çocuklarımıza iyi bir anne olmaya çalışıyorsun, bu tür sözler yani belki de, çünkü o yolculuğa sen de ilk defa girmişsin, doğduğunda anne değildin veya gençken anne değildin, evlendikten sonra çocuk sahibi olduktan sonra annelik yolculuğuna giriyorsun…..Ama tam tersi oluyor yani sen nasıl bir annesin, eleştiri daha çok.

154- Çocuk sanki bir sosyalleşme aracı. Yani çocuğu olana herkesin bakış açısı biraz daha farklı olmaya başlıyor, yani bir yerde yemek yerken bile iki kişi yemek yemenizle çocukla beraber yemek yemeniz fark ediyor. Yani çocuk olduğu zaman daha çok ilgi çekiyorsunuz, ikramlar geliyordu mesela ben bunlara çok şaşırıyorum.

155- Çocuğunu mesela salıncağa bindirmiş, sen de sallıyorsun falan aaaa kaç yaşında direk giriyorsun, yiyorsun içiyorsun özeline kadar gitsen girebilirsin o kadar kaptırıverirsin.

156- Hani o böyle, çocuk sanki insanların içindeki sevgiyi ortaya çıkartıyor. Ya şöyle bir örnek vereyim, mesela bizim servise bindiğimiz yerde bir çaycı abi var, işte 4 yıldır orada abi, ben işte Artin'i 2 yıldır kreşe getiriyorum, onun öncesinde de ben o abiyi orada görüyordum ama ne adını bilirdim ne de selam verirdim ama işte 2 yıldır istisnasız her sabah o Artin'i sever ben nasılsın abi derim o bana iyiyim der ve politik görüşünü de yani anlayabiliyorum dinlediği müziklerden, arada bir şeyler söylediğinde falan, normalde hiç iletişim kuramayacağım bir insan olur o benim, bir de hani böyle şey olur ya niye sokakta çay satan bir adamla öyle bir iletişim kurasın, ama şimdi o adamla mesela her sabah birbirimize iyi dilekler sunarak ayrılıyoruz falan. Hani bu güzel bir şey mesela. O benim, anneliğin, anne olmanın ve tabi ki o çocuğun ortama getirdiği mutluluk, öyle bir

şey…..Hatta hani böyle topluma karşı belki de böyle bir ümit beslememi falan sağlıyor, yani o çocuk sevgisini falan görmek.

157- Geçen seneydi sanırım, tabii Toprak daha küçüktü, şunu söylediler mesela, tekne gezisinde karşımdaki insanlar, ya kadına bak iki çocuğu ile beraber yola çıkmış gezmeye gelmiş gibi. Gıpta ile söylediler, negatif değildi. Tabii ki şimdi tek bayan olarak elinizi kolunuzu sallayarak gidersiniz, bir çantanız olur, ama çocukta onlar daha farklı şeyler, insanlar onun için ya nasıl cesaret ettiniz falan gibi, tekneye nasıl binmeye cesaret ettiniz falan gibi…. Toplumda maalesef şey bu, annesiniz ya gezmeyeceksiniz oturacaksınız, belki ondan dolayı insanların bakışları farklı.

158- Son zamanlarda 3-4 senelik tanıdığım arkadaşlarımla mesela sorun yaşadım, şu şekilde sorun yaşadım, çocuklarım küçükken kendime bakamıyordum çünkü kendimi onlara adadığım için, hani onların yemeğidir kahvaltısıdır kendime fazla bakım için zaman ayıramıyordum. Bu son zamanlarda ve çocuklarımız büyüdü kendime zaman ayırmaya başladıktan sonra insanların tepkisi beni gerçekten çok üzdü…. Önceden Sumru böyle değildi saçını toplayıp geliyordu, işte bir hırka üstüne çekip geliyordu…..Son zamanlarda evet çocuklarım büyüdüğü için kendime bakmayı çok seviyorum…. bunların farklı yargılaması çok yanlış, hani şey anlamına getiriyor açık açık söyleyeyim ben lafımı esirgemem, Sumru şimdi çocuklarını büyüttü kendine bakım yapıyor ama gözü dışarıda, o şekilde algılanıyor giyim olsun kuşam olsun. Önceden böyle değildi şimdi böyle oldu, harbiden çok yanlış bir şey…...yani insan kendine bakmakla dışarı çıkmakla kötü anne olmuyor. Onun da dışarı çıkıp kafasını dağıtmaya ihtiyacı var ama insanlar kendi ailesinde ne gördüyse, kendi düşünceleri neyse karşısındakini de o şekilde sanıyorlar.

159- İlk tabii ki annem, kendi annem, daha pratik meselelerde, işte çocuğu yıkama, altını alma, üstünü değiştirme gibi ki onlar bile benim için inanılmaz zor işlerdi yani, çünkü hiçbir şey bilmiyordum falan.

160- İlkinde zaten annem yanımdaydı, annem bana zaten hep öğretti, bebek sarmasını mesela bilmiyordum…..annem sürekli hep gösterdi işte böyle tutacağım böyle yapacağım. Hani Mutlu'yu ilk mesela kucağıma aldığım zaman tutmasını beceremiyordum. Annem mesela gösteriyordu, emzirmesini bilmiyordum annem işte kızım şöyle yap kızım böyle yap.

161- annem uzakta benim, bir de annemi çok tanıyorum, dolayısıyla annemi çok taktiksel göremiyorum kayınvalidemin ama mesela "her şekilde karşına al konuş ve çocukla inatlaşma" tavrı çok hoşuma gidiyor, o benim için çok öğretici oldu, her zaman yapamıyorum, anneler de çünkü sinirleniyor, onda sonsuz bir sabır var, o bana çok öğretici oldu. Mahir ve Ufuk'a karşı her zaman mesela Mahir'le Ufuk bazen seni istemiyorum diye bağırsa bile alıyor karşısına ve konuşuyor, o bana çok inanılmaz geliyor.

162- Çocukta bir problem hissettiğim zaman, arkadaşlarıma soruyorum, işte Müge'de şöyle bir şey var, Mehmet'te şöyle bir şey var siz yaşadınız mı falan diye, zaten en güzel iletişim akran annelerde oluyor. Mesela doktor

seçiminde bile çok faydalı oluyor. Hani bir laf vardır ya eşekten düşenin halinden eşekten düşen anlar falan diye, hakikaten öyle oluyor.

163- Yani ben açıkçası hani oturup da kitapları falan okumadım, farklı ekoller nedir falan çok okumadım. Benden önce doğum yapmış birkaç arkadaşımla arada konuştum hamilelik süresince ama orada da hani belki çok fazla onlar hamile olan kişiyi korkutmamak adına, böyle bütün o zorlanılabilecek noktaları çok açık söylemiyorlar.

164- Çevremden, ben yani ilk çocuğumda ek gıdaya ne zaman başlanması gerektiğini bile bilen bir insan değildim, çevremde baktım hani, sağlık ocakları falan da söylüyor ama orada çok yani açıklanan bir şey yoktu, sana söylüyor çocuklarına şunları şunları karşılayacaksın ama sana nasıl vereceğini ifade etmiyorlar açıklaması yetersiz. Bu yüzden çocuğuma nasıl hani bir yumurtanın sarısını vereceksin böyle mi nasıl vereceğini sana ifade etmiyor bir kağıt veriyor, bunu sana açıklamıyor nasıl yapacağını bilmiyorsun, çevrenden görerek, yengemden, başka komşumdan falan o kişilerden görünce.

165- Sonradan biz İstanbul'a gelince hani görüyorsun şu şöyle yapılıyor bu böyle yapılıyor, bakıyordum böyle elinden tutmuş bir şeyler almış bebek almış acaba ben niye Feride'ye alamıyorum ki hani kendi kendime, köyde ben onu hiç yaşamadım mesela, hep kaynım eltilerim falan oldukları için bana bile danışmıyorlardı alıyorlardı çocuğu götürüyorlardı, geldim İstanbul'a Allah'ım diyordum, Feride bana anne demiyordu zaten Setenay diyordu, kaynanama Anne diyordu. Ondan sonra, şimdi diyor, ilkokula başlayınca öğretmen dedi o senin annen dedi. Ondan sonra anladım işte bu benim kızımmış, öyle ona çok çektirdiğimi düşünüyorum. Ama diğerlerine öyle değilim……..ben zorluyordum büyüklerin yanında böyle yapacaksın şunu şöyle yapacaksın. Bunu da öyle tabii ki biz eskiden öyle gördüğümüz için, ben 93'te evlendim, eskiden öyle gördüğüm için Feride sen de bunu yapmak zorundasın diyordum, ama sonradan öğrendim ki her şeyi farklıymış. Biz her şeye uymak zorunda değilmişiz. Ben mecburi zannediyordum onu,…..ama geldim buraya… diyorum ya İstanbul'a geldim anneliğin ne olduğunu yeni yeni öğrendim. Sevil abla vardı. Sevil abla diyordu sen çok sıkıyorsun annelik böyle bir şey değil diyordu şey yapma diyordu kızı daraltma diyordu.

166- Şey diye bir grup var, BYBO diye, bebek yapım bakım onarım diye Facebook grubu yani. O bayağı lohusalıkta ve ilk 6 ayda elim ayağım olmuştu oradan çok fazla bilgi öğrendim…O gruba ben böyle bayağı güvendim, çünkü o grubun yöneticileri falan çok, işte eğitimli, bu konuda bilgi sahibi, işte mesela çocuk yetiştirenlerin yani şöyle mesela siyasi paylaşımlar da yapılıyordu ve böyle ciddi güzel tartışmaların döndüğü, gündeme dair de böyle ciddi tartışmaların döndüğü ve çok sıkı kuralları olan bir grup. İşte mesela atıyorum ilaç ismi vermek kesinlikle yasak, hanımlar kızlar anneler nasılsınız diye hitapla başlamak yasak. Çünkü bu bir ebeveyn grubu. Çocuk sahibi olmayanlar veya kadın erkek cinsi dışında herhangi bir cinsiyetle kendini tanımlayanların da olduğu bir grup diye falan, şey bir grup yani prensipli, biraz daha demokratik falan, oradan çok şey öğrendim,

o gruptan, özellikle uyku, emzirme ve Artin'in ilk 6 ay ciddi bir egzama sorunu vardı, alerji gibi böyle, sonra egzama olduğu kanaatine vardım oradan, yani neredeyse onunla büyüttüm yani Artin'i, öyle diyebilirim. Şimdi o kadar çok bakmıyorum, ama ilk bir yıl mesela çok sık baktım o gruba.

167- Yani mutlu çocuk mutlu anne, uyuyan çocuk daha mutlu çocuk. Yani kesin öyle. Bence uyku eğitiminin o dönemde, benim tekrar böyle toparlanma, yani hormonların tekrar düzene girmesi, çocukla beraber yaşamınızı düzeninizi kurup, düzeni devam ettirme açısından mutlaka önemi ve etkisi vardır.

168- Böyle bir de eğitim ortamlarına gelince, gerçekten bu eğitime katıldıktan sonra, yani çocuğuma ben bir tuvalet eğitimi verilmesinin bu kadar önemli olduğunu bilmiyordum bu kadar gerekli olduğunu, normal bir süreç diyordum…….bir de rahatlıkla sorabiliyorum kursu aldığım hocalarımız falan hani diyalogları falan çok iyi gerçekten. Güler yüzlü insanlar, konuşabiliyorsun, bazı ortamda girdiğin zaman yüz ifadelerinde bile kendini insan çekebiliyor, hocalarımız anlayışlı konuşuyor bizi rahatlatıyor hoşuma gidiyor.

169- Feride'nin okulundayken Rehber Öğretmen bana dedi ki ya sen Feride'yi çok zorluyorsun şunu şöyle yapma, ben hep diyordum ki Feride bunu böyle yapmayacaksın bir gözümle bakıyordum Feride'ye ben, oturuyordu susuyordu. Sınavlarda da bu böyle etkileniyor şu şöyle yapıyor falan konuştu benimle rehber öğretmen, baktım işler rayına oturuyor, ben zorluyordum büyüklerin yanında böyle yapacaksın şunu şöyle yapacaksın. Bunu da öyle tabii ki biz eskiden öyle gördüğümüz için, ben 93'te evlendim, eskiden öyle gördüğüm için Feride sen de bunu yapmak zorundasın diyordum, ama sonradan öğrendim ki her şey farklıymış……..o zaman anladım ki hani, yani konuşmak gerekiyormuş her şeyi.

170- Ben kitap çok okudum Mahir'e Ufuk'a hamileyken, sonra çok pişman oldum, çünkü ikiz kitabı okudum. Orada da bir sürü şey senaryosu var. İkiz bekleme kitabı okudum, işte hamilelikte sıkıntılar falan, ikizler hep erken doğduğu için. Onlardan ben çok depresyona girdim ya da o an beni şey yaptı. O tabi daha doğum ve doğum sonrası bakımı ile ilgili. Sonra şey okumaya başladım, bir kadın var psikolog, onun kitapları, çocuğunuza kulak verin falan, ama hatırlamıyorum adını, işte o kadın çok kafama yatıyor mesela başka da yok. Ama geri kalan her şey yol üstünde.

171- Ama hani şey vardır ya hani, kimse okulunu okumuyor bu işin. Vardır ya, o birazcık değişik bir durum. Mesela benim durumumda bence öğrenmişim, ama öğrendiğimi fark etmeden öğrenmişim. Bunun üstüne kafa yoracak belki vaktim yok. Öncesini hatırlamıyorum, ciddi anlamda hatırlamıyorum. Yani o çok çabuk sahiplenilen bir kalıp ama inşallah doğru şeyi sahipleniyoruzdur.

172- Mesela çocuğu ilk zamanlarda çok kurallı saatli, mesela banyosu vesaire filan saatli falan olmak zorunda, bir düzene çocuk alışmak istiyor çünkü.

Ama işte bir dönem sonra böyle hani belki de işte siz de tekrar işe adapte olunca, işte bir yandan çalışıyorsunuz, başka işler aileye sorumluluklar vardır vesaire vesaire; e her şeyi kuralına göre yapmakta zorlanabiliyorsunuz bazen, işte saatleri esnetmek falan, mesela çocuk uyuyacaksa hiçbir yere gitmeyeceksiniz o zaman, uykusu varsa mesela ya da kimseyi çağırmayacaksınız. Biz bir dönem böyle bir dönem yaşadık, ama sonra baktım yani olmuyor hani böyle devam etmiyor, biraz ondan sonra esnetmeye başladım ben. Mesela anneme de sorsanız bir sene çok kurallı böyle hani kendi kurallarına göre falan bir dönemim geçmiştir herhalde. Sonra mesela daha rahat olmaya başladım, aman uyumazsa uyumasın bugün ne yapayım yani, bugün de böyle geçsin, dışarıda oynasın erken yatabilir ya da işte gece kalkarız birkaç kere, çünkü uyumayınca bazen uyku düzeni de bozuluyordu ama bunları mesela kendim de öğrendiğim için de, uyku eğitimi aldığım için, biraz okuduğum için kendime göre biraz modifiye ettim, etmeyi de öğrendim aslında.

173- Ve böyle bir hani ben şu ekolcüyüm, bu ekolciğim büyütmeciyim, olmaması gerektiğini de arkadaşlarımla konuşarak aslında fark ettim ve aslında bizim çocukluğumuz dönemindeki bebekliğimiz dönemindeki bir kitaba göre bütün çocuklar yetişti sonra onun yanlış olduğu anlaşılır ortaya çıkar gibi var olan bir bilgi de olduğu için hiçbir şeye kesin doğrudur kesin yanlıştır diye bakmadan aslında deneyimleyerek annenin onu öğreneceği ve fark edeceği gibi benim bir varsayımım vardı …… Dolayısıyla yani çok fazla doğum sonrasında ne olacağına dair okumamıştım. O kadar okumamışım ki yani emzirirken, ne bileyim, mastit gibi birtakım enfeksiyon tarzı şeyler olursa ne yapmak lazım o konuda hiçbir fikrim yoktu ve oldu yani dolayısıyla çok hazırlıklı olduğumu söyleyemem o açıdan ama yaparak öğrendim, doğum öncesinde öyle, doğum sonrasında da dediğim gibi yine ben böyle kitaptan falan giden bir insan değildim.

174- örneğin kız kardeşim daha çok öyle kitaplara bakar vesaire, ben içgüdülerimle büyütmeyi tercih ediyorum. Neden biliyor musunuz, bana şey dediler ay kucağında bu çocuk kucağa alışır. Hayır aldım, çünkü bu benim evladım, bu o kadar çabuk büyüyor ki bunlar, çünkü ben bir daha bunları yaşayamayacağım o yüzden bu benim hayatım bu benim evladım bırak ben nasıl istiyorsam. Çünkü şey buluyorum yani, hani bazı araştırma kitaplarında işte şu yaşta şu olur, evet hastalıkla ilgili olabilir çünkü böyle bir sebep vardır mikrop vardır vesaire. Ama bu hani gelişimi her çocuğun farklıdır, ben içgüdülerimle büyütmek istiyorum.….O yüzden hani birkaç tecrübeye dayanıp çocuğumu o tecrübeyle büyütme taraftarı değilim.

175- Ya şöyle, önceden daha böyle yaşıma göre olgundum, ama yine çocukla büyüyorum, çocukla büyümek derler belki, onunla yeniden öğreniyorum, anlatırken ben de öğreniyorum. Çünkü o kadar farklı sorular soruyor ki, onunla öğreniyorum. Yani bir şeyler yapmaya çalışıyoruz, onun sayesinde yapmaya çalıştığım yeni şeyler var, görüyor mesela palyaço yapalım diyor evde, öyle pratik şeyler el işi olsun, uğraş, biraz daha araştırmaya yöneliyorum, nasıl yapsam, bu akşam ne yapabiliriz zaman geçirmek için ne yapabiliriz, böyle günlük araştırıyorum soruyorum, ne yapılabilir, beraber

pasta yapmak olsun, beraber ne yapılabilir diye zaman geçirmeye çalışıyoruz daha iyi şekilde.

176- Şeyi fark ettim, çocuklarla konuştukça çocuklara anlattıkça onlar anlayabiliyorlarmış, bakın hala anneyim, kızım işte 6 yaşında hemen hemen, hala hala bunları öğreniyorum, öğrenme sürecimiz devam ediyor demek ki ben konuşursam ya da işte böyle yaparsam, hııı ben aksi bir tepki verirsem çocuklarımın bana dönüşü gerçekten farklı oluyor, yani bu tür şeylerle de kendimi de gözlemliyorum.

177- Bir gün ben bunlara dedim ki hadi ben kötü adamım -bir şeyler yapıyorduk- yıkacağım sizin inşaatlarınızı falan dedim, ondan o kadar büyük keyif aldılar ki, annenin kötü adam olmasından, bana diyorlar ki anne hadi kötü adamcılık oynayalım. Bu bile o kadar etkiledi ki beni, aslında hiçbir şey akıllarından çıkmıyor oyun yoluyla yaptığımız, inanılmaz bir şey. Dolayısıyla keşke orada daha kendimi geliştirebilsem. Mesela bütün akşam kitap okurum onlara, ama oyun oynamam yani.

178- Annenin de çocuğa göre anneliği değişebiliyor, biraz zamana göre bakış açısı. Her çocuğun da farklı fıtratta olduğu için hepsi ile aynısını yapamadığını yaşayarak öğrendim veya kendimden fark ederek.

179- Özlem çok uçtu diş çıkarken falan, şimdi de öyledir, biraz hala şeydir, onun mizacı imiş demek doğuştan gelen, mizaç, onu değiştiremiyorsanız. Belki biraz sorabiliyorsunuz ama şey tabi ki temel şeyleri hani böyle öğreniyorsunuz ama yaşamak çok çok farklı, hani böyle diyorlar ya pilates kursuna gidiyorsunuz orada başlıyor yani bunlarla falan değil yani, tamamen yaşadıklarınızla kendi sabrınız ile ölçüyorsunuz. Bir çocuk sizi büyütüyor, çocuğun da etkisi oluyor.

180- Ekranlarda ya da programlarda falan söylenen …. çocuğa şöyle yaklaşırsanız şöyle olur. O her zaman öyle olmuyor….. Şey değil yani canlı olduğu için duygusuz veyahut da teknik bir şey olmadığı için şunu yaparsanız şunu alırsınız diye bir şey yok. Onu almanız belki zaman alıyor, çocuk atıyor belki içinden yıllar sonra çıkacak öğrendiği şeyi….Yani illa ben de yapacağım zaman böyle bir tepki alacağım, böyle bir çözüm bulacağım dediğin zaman beklenti içine girersen, hayal kırıklığı yaşayabiliyorsunuz. İşte okuduğum kitaplarda veya izlediğim bir şeylerde teknik yöntemleri falan kızımda çok yapmaya çalıştım. Ama hayal kırıklığı oldu ya da bu kadar mesela yapamayınca acaba ben mi sıkıntılıyım ya da çocuk mu normal değil demeye geliyorsun. O yüzden biraz akışına bırakmak gerekiyor herhalde yani ben biraz sınır koymada problem yaşayan bir insanım ama o sınırı koyabiliyorsan hem çocuğu mağdur etmeden yani çocuğun büyümesi için de erken saatte uyuması gerekiyor onun iyiliği için hani o sınırları koyabiliyorsan biraz çocukla da kendi özel ilişkine bakıyor akışa bırakmak diyorum da.

181- Ben mesela şu an farklı aktivitelere gönderiyorum büyük oğlumu bağlama kursuna yolluyorum, küçüğü kodlamaya gidiyor. Onlar karşı çıkıyorlar mesela gönderme niye gönderiyorsun ben diyorum ben sizden istemiyorum

destek olsun ben kendi çocuklarımı evet benim kendi hayalim vardı ben çocukken ilkokuldayken halk oyununa gitmiştim kostümü amcamın kızından alacaktım, yengem o an kostümü bana vermemek için aldı başkasına verdi. İçimde ukte kalmıştı, ama dedim kendi kendime ileride ben de çocuk sahibi olduğum zaman eğer çocuklarımı öyle bir şey varsa göndereceğim.

182- Erkeklerle bayanlar arasındaki şeye sinirleniyorum, abilere farklı abiler eve geldi mi bütün ihtiyaçları kardeşler tarafından giderilir onu ben yapmadım ben hiç yapmadım çünkü ben en küçük olduğum için, ablamlar vardı o yüzden, hatta ablamı savunacağım diye ben değişik triplere giriyordum yani çünkü ablama çok fazla üzülüyordum. Annemin görevini ablam yapıyordu yani, bütün abimlerin yükü ablamın üzerindeydi, yemeği yapıyorsun sen, gidip tabağına koyup da yiyebilir yani o kadar da değil diye çok sinirlendiğim oluyordu. Yani ben bu insan ayrımını sevmiyorum erkek bayan ayrımını bunu sevmiyorum insanlara insan gözüyle bakacaksın yani Ahmet Mehmet Hasan insan bu bir insan yani Allah herkese özel bir rahatsızlığı falan yoksa aşağı yukarı aynı yetenekleri vermiş herkes kendi hayatını sürdürebilmeli, birine yüklenmemelisin…… Ben şu anda erkek oldukları için de bayanlara karşı, bayanları ezmemeleri için de uğraşıyorum. Siz de birer canlısınız, Allah herkese, el kol size de verdi, sürekli benim size veya bir bayanın size hizmet etmesi gerekmiyor. Herkes kendi ihtiyacını yaşına göre yapabilmesi gerekiyor.

183- Biz üç kardeşiz demiştim ya size, biliyorsunuz erkek çocuğuna biraz daha düşkün olurlar. Onu yapmasın bunu yapmasın incitmemek için. Benim de iki kardeşim var, bir abim var bir de erkek kardeşim var. Mesela annem onları daha rahat, babam da aynı şekilde, onlar çalışırlardı mesela kendilerine bir şey yapar yani ben çalıştığım zaman hep ben bir birikim aşamasındayım yokluğu da bilen bir insanım varlığı da bilen bir insandım. Hani annem onları incitmiyordu hiç, her dediklerini yapıyordu, o zaman onların her şeyi önünde hazır olarak gelsin ben anneme kızardım, tamam onlar senin evlatların da, suyunu kendi alması lazım şu bardağı kaldırıp kendileri getirmesi lazım. Evet benim o zaman yaşım küçük olsa bile gözlemlerim çok iyidir. Ben mesela hep bunları hayal ederek şey yapıyordum, mesela çocuklarım olduğu zaman kız erkek fark etmez belli bir şeylerden sonra artık kendi ihtiyaçlarını kendileri karşılayabileceği zaman bunları öğretmek istiyordum. Hep bu düşüncelerle bu yola girdim kendi kendime şey yaptım. Hatta günlük bile tutuyordum bu şekilde olacak diye.

184- Benden küçük kardeşlerim vardı. Ben 5. sınıfa kadar okudum, çok okumak istedim çok ağladım ama maddi imkanlarımız gerçekten yoktu. İstanbul Sarıyer'de oturuyorduk, maddi imkanlarımız yoktu, gerçekten annem çok istedi göndermeyi ama gönderemedi. Ben küçük yaşta 13 yaşında iş hayatına atıldım çalıştım çünkü o eve gelir gelmesi lazımdı. Ben kardeşime bakıyordum annem işe gidiyordu. Gerçekten de yani annem hasta olurdu ben bir şeyler yapmaya çalışırdım, ya böyle yani ne bileyim, dedim ya işte teyzem bir ara öyle rahatsızlandı teyzemin çocuklarına bakmak zorunda kaldım, ben hep birilerine bakmakla şey yaptım böyle, yani ben annelik duygusunu, yani daha böyle şeydim.

185- Benim etrafımda hiç bebek büyümedi. 34 yaşıma kadar yani. Bir şekilde insanların kıyısından köşesinden yeğeni olur, ne bileyim arkadaşının çocuğu olur şu olur bu olur, ben bu konuda bayağı sıfır bilgi ile hamile kaldım. Yani hem pratik olarak hem teorik olarak yoktu. Yani benim yakın arkadaş çevremde ilk çocuğu olan da benim, hani yaşıma rağmen böyle bir tesadüfen böyle bir şey oldu yani o yüzden gerçekten çok cahildim yani bir sürü konuda.

186- İşte hani o yetemeyeceğim, bebeğime sütüm yetmiyor ilk başta o ilk annelikte, mesela ben onu Mahmut'ta yaşamadım. Tamam yetmezse yetmediği yerde mama. Ama onu ilk Özlem'de şey yapamadım, kendimi çok sıktım falan. Onların olmaması gerekiyor…İlk üç gün gelmedi halbuki Mahmut'ta da gelmedi. Ben onu bilmiyordum, ay ne yapacağız sarılığı yükseldi falan filan gibi.

187- Mesela ben Mehmet'te çok panikliyordum, Müge'de hiç öyle olmadı. Çünkü Mehmet'te yaşadığınızdan dolayı biliyorsunuz. Mehmet'in her şeyinde korkuyordum, ateşlendiği zaman ölecek zannediyordum, çok, her şeyinden korkuyordum. Ama Müge'de daha sakinim daha rahatım.

188- Hani ilk başta ev biraz dağılsın rahatsız oluyorsun, ama artık ikinci çocuktan sonra (gülüyor)... Evet tabi ki mesela ilkinde çok izin vermiyordum ama ikincisinden sonra anladım ki onların da gönlünü aldıktan sonra iş birliği yapmak da kolay aslında. Ya da kaba bir dağınıklığı toplamak en fazla yarım saat aslında, onu anlıyorsun, yani kalp kırmaya da gerek yok çocuğu engellemeye de gerek yok.

189- Daha çabuk çözüm üretebilme yeteneği kazanıyorsunuz... İlkinde mesela nasıl bir çocuk acil bir şey yapmak bir şeyler etmek zorundasınız, aniden bir şey oldu çözüm bulmazsanız kriz, yani sanki çözüm bulma şeyiniz artıyor, daha bir olaylara geniş açıdan bakabiliyorsun sanki.

190- Yani birçok açıdan benzer olduğunu düşünüyorum, yani annemin bence açıkçası şey tarafını takdir ediyorum. Hem belirli noktalarda çok sakindi şimdi yaşlandıkça da o giderek kendisi ile ilgili olarak en azından azalıyor yani ne bileyim işte bizim çocukluğumuzda da yani çok böyle ekstrem vakalarda bile sakinliğini koruyup olayı şeyi yapabilen bir insan ve birçok noktada benim kendimi gördüğümden daha sabırlı olabiliyordu ama belirli noktalarda da sabrı çok çabuk taşabiliyordu. Yani ben kendimde de benzer şeyler görüyorum.

191- İlk herkes annesini örnek alır sanırım. Yani annem böyle fedakâr, işte çocuklarının üstüne titreyen onlar için uğraşan öyle bir anneydi ama aynı zamanda çok da sosyaldi, süslü bakımlı. Yani ev hanımıydı annem ama yani böyle bir iş kadını kadar da sosyal hayatı olan, ikisini güzel bir denge içinde kuran, sanırım annem örnektir öncelikle.

192- Bence annenizi eleştirdiğiniz noktada bile yani eninde sonunda siz kendinizi yapar buluyorsunuz. Benim annem mesela titiz bir kadındı yani evi hep pırıl

pırıl olsun düzenli olsun, hatta bana derdi ki sen çok dağınıksın derdi. Mesela bunu örnek verebilirim. Mesela bana evlendikten ve çocuk sahibi olduktan sonra, ben senin hani bu kadar düzenli olacağını hiç tahmin etmiyordum falan demiştir mesela bana.… Bakıyorum herkesin dağınıklığını topluyorum, evi toparlamaya çalışıyorum. Misafir gelmeden önce hani düzgün olsun falan filan, o yönden anneme benzedim aslında. Aslında eleştirirdim hani boş ver falan bırak, çocuktan sonra bırakamıyorum….. eskisine göre eskiden hiç önemsemediğim şeyleri önemser oldum.

193- bu çok özel bir ayrıntıya girecek belki ama, benim annem mesela çok sevgisini dile getirebilen bir insan değildi, ben çok iyi hatırlıyorum mesela teyzemler olsun, benim kızım şöyle güzeldir şöyle yeteneklidir, öyle derdi. Ama mesela beraberiz annemden hiç ses çıkmazdı. Bizim gözümüzde hep teyzemin kızı, kuzenlerim daha böyle güzel daha şey bunu ne zaman anladım mesela çok çok sonra aslında herkesin kendi güzelliği var herkesin kendi bir aklı var bir yeteneği var ama ben öyle olunca kızımda falan fark ettim ki ben de olumsuzlukları falan söylüyorum ama olumlu tarafını hiçbir şeyini söylemediğimi fark ettim. O çok canımı yakan, çok rahatsız eden bir şey, ama insan çocukluğundan çok şey getiriyor, ….. nasıl muamele gördüysen, sen de rahatsızlık da görsen tam tersini yapmak istersen dahi o öyle bir şey yerleşmiş ki onu açmak biraz zaman gerektiriyor, tecrübe gerektiriyor herhalde, öyle bir şey yaşadım yani.

194- Benzerlik.. yani… öz bakımını ihmal etmemek, sevgi ve şefkatini vermek falan, o konularda zaten şeyiz yani, böyle, aynıyız, yani o çocuğun o ihtiyacı varsa o birinci öncelik, yani o anda mesela o altına yapmış ve senin de tuvaletin var mesela, hangisi önce olur, onun altını temizlemek falan gibi şeyler, yani kendinden önce onu düşünmek belki, ama ben şimdi bunun doğru olmadığını düşünüyorum. Yani bütün her şey duruyor, zaman duruyor ve onun o andaki ihtiyacını karşılamak, yani bütün hayat ona göre belirleniyor. Annem öyle bir anneydi, annem hatta benden bir kat daha fazla öyle bir anneydi.

195- Zaten onların dönemindeki annelikle şimdiki annelik de çok farklı. Onların dönemindeki annelikte çocuk saksıda büyür gibi büyüyor. Şimdi öyle değil ki, çocuğun her bir şeyi ile ilgileniyorsunuz ediyorsunuz, çocuğun psikolojisine eğiliyorsunuz. Onların döneminde yok ki öyle bir şey.

196- Annem şey yapmazdı çocuğa, hep kendinden verirdi ben onu yapmıyorum. Annem hep ben yaparım hep çocukların yerine yaptı, sen kaldırma kızım ben yaparım sen git otur, oğullarına da aynı şekilde ve ben bunu yapmıyorum çocuklarıma, kendi sorumluluklarını kendileri biliyor kendi odası toplanacaksa kendi yemeği, sofra beraber kurulduysa beraber kaldırılacak……..Annem her şeyi o yaptığı için ben kendimi aciz hissediyordum. Bir fatura yatırmayı bile hani yaptırmadığı için hani bir market alışverişi ben kendimi öyle hissediyordum. Ben yapıyorum şimdi, çocuğuma verdiğimde çocuğum yatırabiliyor. Annem olmadan biz nasıl yaşayabileceğimizi bilmiyorduk…. Anneme bir sorayım her şeyde, her şey bu şekilde anneme bir sorayım. Şu an çocuk benden fikir alıyor ama kendi

yapıyor. Benden her zaman fikir alacak ama kendi ayağında dursun diyorum. Kimin ne zaman ne olacağı belli değil ki, o yüzden, o yüzden kendimi güçlü hissediyorum.

197- Mesela annemde şey vardır, bende mesela o yoktur. Ben biraz daha çok disiplinliyimdir yani şey konuda çocuklarımı hani dışarıda bir abur cubur yedirmeyi sevmem bir şey yapmam, annem bizim zamanımızda da alıyordu bize bir şeyler yapıyordu. Mesela benim çocuklarımın bir televizyon zamanı vardır oyun alanı vardır mesela annem biraz bu şekilde bana biraz kızıyor çocukları özgür bırakmıyorsun. Ben de diyorum ki bu özgürlükle alakalı değil, onların iyice düzeni oturması için hani saati zamanı bilsinler diye, o şekil biraz daha. Annem diyor bazen sen bana çekmemişsin diyor sen daha çok biraz gaddar annesinin diye şey yapıyor aslında bu gaddarlık değil onlara iyi bir yol izlemek için yapıyorum.

198- Annem en ufak şeyde örneğin sinirle şey yapardı işte ben onu oğluma yapamıyorum….. Örneğin ben geçen gün oğlum bütün gün sokaktayız dışardayız dolanıyoruz, dışarıyı acayip seven bir çocuk yani bütün gün dışarıda olsun başka hiçbir şey yapmasın. En son saat 10 elinde de bir top dondurma yalıyor ama eve girmek istemiyor apartmanın içinde ağlıyor, yalıyor, evladım hadi hayır hayır hayır ama nasıl inatçı çok inatçı şöyle yaptım sadece şu kadar hafif kulağından tuttum yani, seni yaramaz seni dedim, ben onu yukarı çıkardım ağlaya zırlaya sonra ağladım, ben ağladım, ben niye senin kulağını tuttum niye çektim anneciğim özür dilerim oğlum canımın içi, ki bizim annelerimizin döneminde böyle hiçbir şey yoktu düşerdim şuramda bir diz yarası üstüne bir tane de annemden yerdim. Belki de öyle olmadığınız için çocuklarımız bizden korkmuyor o disiplini sağlayamıyoruz. Ama ben de diyorum ki evet ben annemin zamanındaki şey ile kıyasladığımızda hayır arkadaşım ben iç güdümle yaşayayım, yapmasın etmesin ama zaten bu çocuk yapacak şu an çocuk zaten yapacak elbet yapacak annemize yine de dönmek istemiyorum.

199- Bakın çok eskiye döneyim, belki ben annemde bunları görmedim, şimdi benim annem işte kendini böyle geliştirmeyi kendine yeniliklere açık olan bir anne değildi Belki o zamanın imkânlarıyla, ama işte demek ki ben annemde onu görmedim ama ben annemde görmediğim bazı eksikleri kendimde görüp işte şunu şöyle yapayım böyle yapayım ben daha iyi bir anne olabilirim diye öyle bir çaba içerisindeyim

200- Şöyle söyleyeyim mesela, ben karar verirken çok zorlanırdım eskiden, şimdi kararlarım daha çabuk ve net mesela, çok çabuk bir de kararım değişirdi mesela şimdi öyle değilim. Ailem mesela en çok şey, anne olduktan sonra kendine böyle bir ukalalık gelmiş gibi dedikleri oldu, duydum, evet çünkü ben onların beklediği Ayfer değilim hani eskisi gibi ya olur sizin orada da buluşabiliriz demiyorum, benim verdiğim kararlarda, böyle şeyler olmuş olabilir.

201- Dinginleştiğimi hissediyorum. Yani kesinlikle iç huzuru buldum yani. *(nasıl bir şey onu nasıl tarif edersiniz iç huzur dediğiniz şeyi?)* yani böyle işte hep insanın kendisi ile kavgası vardır ya dünyada, benim vardır daha doğrusu,

işte Nuray niye bunu böyle yaptın, şimdi şeyi anladım yani, mesela bir insan ne kadar kusurlu da olsa aslında harika bir insan. Mahir'le Ufuk'u düşünüyorum mesela, benim o kendimde kusur gördüğüm hiçbir şeyi, ben onlarda o kadar büyük kusur olarak görmem. Dolayısıyla onun saçma bir bakış açısı olduğunu anladım. Yani şey demek çok istemiyorum, tamamlandım anne olunca falan demek istemiyorum ama, şey anlamında belki tamamlandı, o işte kavgayı bırakma anlamında.

202- Yani daha, nasıl diyeyim, ben bazı konularda çok sabırlı bir insan değilimdir, çocuklara karşı, kendi çocuklarıma karşı en azından, daha sabırlı olabiliyorum onu fark edebiliyorum.

203- biraz daha sanki ağırlaşıyorsun anne olunca, ağırlaşıyorsun derken mesela daha böyle ağırbaşlı, mesela çok fevri idim ben önceden, çabuk parlardım biri bir şey söyleyince hemen o şeyi ama şimdi artık o şeyi vermiyorum, biraz sanki annelik insanı sanki biraz sakinleştiriyor da aslında şimdi artık o kadar şey yapmıyorum.

204- yani kurallarım var ama bazı kuralları esnetebiliyorum veya kendime göre adapte edebiliyorum dolayısıyla hiç ilgisiz ve tamamen bıraktığım da söz konusu değil ama bir yandan da o kadar da böyle şey olarak her hareketini nereye gidiyor ne yapıyor falan filan o kontrol şeyi, kontrol eden bir yapım var normalde ama mesela çocuklar da olduktan sonra onu da fark ettim yani hijyen mijyen konusundaki o kontrollü olma durumumu isteyerek rahatlattım yani yere düşen bir şey ağzını attığında hani hayvan kakası falan olmadığı veya kendi kakası olmadığı sürece bir şey yapmıyorum. Ne bileyim ben, taşları ağzına alıyor yalıyor sonra çıkarıyor. Yani boğulursun aman evladım falan da yapmıyorum, biliyorum ki atıyorum bir fındık yiyebilecek durumda ise o fındığı yer boğulacak diye bir şey yok. Eğer boğazına kaçarsa ne yapacağımı da biliyorum ilkyardım şeyleri de bir parça hakimim falan.

205- Kişi olarak artık daha böyle merhametiniz artıyor açıkçası, sadece kendi çocuğunuza değil de dışarıda böyle nasıl diyeyim yardıma muhtaç bir çocuk gördüğünüz zaman otomatik dikkatinizi çekiyor. Diyordum ya benim için özellikle çocuk sahibi olmadan önce uzaktan severdim aa ne sevimliymiş falan derdim ama hani tutayım seveyim böyle ilgileneyim falan yoktu, çocuk sevgisi olsun veyahutta çocuklara karşı da, bir hayvana karşı da -her ne kadar korkuyorum o öyle bir şey parantez içinde ama- bir canlıya zarar vermek istemiyorsunuz bir köpek yavrusu kedi yavrusu dahi olsa yolun kenarında çarpılmış görseniz içiniz sızlıyor, daha öncekinden daha yoğun.

206- Annemin neler yaşadığının farkında değildim hiç farkında değildim. Anne olduktan sonra zaten anneme ilgim vesaire çok daha da arttı. Hani o zaman farkında olmuyorsunuz gençsiniz çalışıyorum, ilgi alanlarınız çok farklı. Ben evin de farkında değildim, evde neler oluyor neler konuşuluyor onların da farkında değildim, yani her şeyin farkına evlendikten ve çocuk sahibi olduktan sonra vardım…..Annemi şu şekilde anlayabiliyorum, bizi büyütürken yaşadıklarını işte hangi dönemlerden geçtiğini görerek anlıyorum ne kadar zorluklara göğüs gerdiğini anlıyorum yani, bizim için

neler yaptığını, ne kadar fedakarlık yaptığını. Çocuk olduktan sonra tabii ki, ben ki onu yaşıyorsam dedim annemi 7 çocukla Karadeniz'in köyünde, Rizeliyim ben köydeydi annemler, o şartlarda 7 tane çocuğu büyütebilmek çok zor, kayınvalideler görümceler bir evde, yaşadıklarını şu an çok iyi anlıyorum da zaten diyorlar ya annelerin kıymeti çocuk olduktan sonra anlaşılır diye gerçekten öyle oluyor. Ondan önce farkındalık yok yani keşke biri bizi uyandırsaydı o yaşlarda, sonradan anlıyorsun, şu anki kafam bu, oğlum da şu anda beni anlamıyor, anlamıyordur muhtemelen yani.

207- Ya şöyle, kayınvalidem hala çocuk gibi eşimi seviyor. Önceden kıskanıyordu. Yani şimdi diyorum ki ben de Eylem'i o yaşta olsa herhalde böyle davranırım, öyle bir şey var tabi ki değişik fark ettiğim şey.

208- Açıkçası şey yapmıyordum. Hatta bir keresinde kuzenimin oraya gittik, bir yere gideceğiz, çocuklar ufaktı, kızımdan daha ufaktı, hazırlığı falan. Hadi, o zaman bekardım, hadi o zaman al çocuğu çık diyordum ama öyle olmuyor işte kıyafetini giydiriyorsun yiyeceğini alıyorsun.

209- Mesela anne çocuk ilişkisini anlıyorsunuz mesela. Eskiden ben, yeğenlerim vardı, ben severdim yeğenlerimi, geçerdi, annelerinin hissettiği duygularını bilemezdim ki ben, işte onu bilemiyorsun annelik duygusu. Ama şu anda çok iyi anlıyorum mesela başka birinin çocuğuna olan şeyini bilemezdim eskiden, mesela şu anda biliyorum. Çünkü derler ya hep damdan düşeni damdan düşen anlar. Şimdi de yani anneyi bir anne anlar yani, onun duygularını anne olmayan anlamaz gerçekten, mesela bilmiyorum anne misiniz, işte o duyguyu anca anne olan anlar. Ne hissettiklerini ne yaşadıklarını, mesela evladının hasta olması evladını kaybeden bir anneyi onu mesela bilmiyorum siz benim gibi yaşar mısınız bilmiyorum ama gerçekten bir anne onu daha şey yapar, yani onu hisseder kalbinde gerçekten hisseder. Annelik öyle bir duygu mesela.

210- Yani anne olduktan sonra sanıyorum işin aslında ne kadar zor bir şey olduğunu daha yaşayarak insan idrak ediyor. Çünkü bence öncesinde yoğunluğunu tahmin etmek bence çok zor. Dolayısıyla, değişen şey esas o oldu aslında, ilk senelerde ne kadar yoğun bir şey olduğu ve insana ne kadar hayatını, her ne kadar hayatımı değiştirmiyorum dese de insan, öyle bir şey olamıyor.

211- Annelik hani hep böyle bizi dokuz ay karnında taşıdı, çok şey yaptı gibi düşünüyordum ben de eskiden, şimdi daha çok daha duygusal boyutunu biliyorum.

212- Yani mesela ben çocuğumu daha çabuk yönlendirebileceğimi, bir şeyi inatlaşmadan yapabileceğimi, daha rahat yapabileceğimi düşünüyordum. Tabi anne olduktan sonra işin içine girdikten sonra daha zor olduğunu gördüm.

213- Daha böyle mesela bilmeyince böyle teknik bir şeymiş gibi bakıyorsun, hani diyorsun yediriyorsun emziriyorsunuz kaldırır biter diye düşünüyorsun, sadece o kadar, hani ihtiyaçlarını karşılamaktan ibaret diye düşünüyorsun iş yükünü, ama sonradan öğreniyoruz, yedirmek içirmek uyutmak sadece

küçük bir kısmı. Aslında o çocuğun psikolojisini hani nasıl diyeyim onun ruhunu duygularını dengede tutabilmek daha zor, açıkçası böyle daha kolay olabileceğini... Ama özellikle mesela belli bir yaştan sonra, iki buçuk üç yaşından sonra o artık bir çocuk değil bir birey yani, kendine özgü bir birey, sen onu kendi istediğin doğrular şeklinde yönlendiremiyorsun ya da nasıl diyeyim teknik bakamıyorsun o çocuğa, yani her çocuğun ayrı özel olduğunu, yani birine, kızıma yaptığımı oğluma yapamıyorum, ortancaya yaptığımı küçüğüme yapamıyorum. Hani sen onlara göre şekil alıyorsun öyle bir şey ki, çünkü şey değil aynı şeyi veremiyorsun. Çocukların biri sevilmekten sıkıştırılmak daha mutlu olurken, diğeri rahatsız oluyor. Diğeri mesela güzel konuştuğun zaman sevgi dolu konuştuğun zaman ama öbürkü biraz büyüdüğünde özellikle senin sınırların yoksa kuralların yoksa suistimal edebiliyor, değişiyor yani, illa şu şöyledir böyledir diyebileceğim bir şey yok, çünkü çocuğa zarar verirsiniz yani aynı şekilde yaklaştığınız zaman. Hani birine net olmak böyle, ondan anlıyor, diğeri biraz daha duygusal yakınlaşmadan anlıyor, çok farklı yani.

214- Çünkü böyle mesela hep ne duyardım, çok klasik, o kucağıma ilk aldığımdaki muhteşem sevgi falan böyle tanımlamalar olur ya hani etrafından duyduğun, mesela öyle bir şey değil bence annelik. (*Sen hissettin mi böyle bir şey?)* Hayır hissetmedim, mesela o anda kimse bana şunu söylememişti. Ben sezeryanla doğum yapmıştım ve çok ciddi canım acıyordu, yani yataktayım, ilk Artin'i kucağıma aldığım an, işte ilk kucağıma aldığımda coşkun bir böyle şeyler olmadı. Çünkü canım acıyordu ve onu kucağıma aldığımda can acıma hafif daha artmıştı falan……..Mesela yani işin romantik kısmının çok fazla anlatıldığını, yani daha doğrusu o sevgi ve işte mutluluk kısmının çok fazla anlatıldığını ama diğer taraftan annenin yaşayabileceği problemlerin çok fazla anlatılmadığını mesela çok net gördüm yani.

215- Yani şimdi hiç anne olmayan bir insana, yani kolay değil ya, çocuğun için dahi olsa hayatının şartlarını komple değiştirmek kolay değil, bu size böyle çok şey olarak sunuluyor, hani çok süslü böyle büyülü bir dünya, toz pembe, internetten de takip ediyorsunuz blogger anneler falan. İlk başlarda bakıyordum kızımda, ediyordum, artık hiç etmiyorum. Ama şöyle şey bir dünya gibi sunuluyor. Onun dışında minicik bebeğinizin sizden beklediği çok şeyler var, hayatta daha en başında, çok zor bir yolculuk. …(*Şey dediniz ya süslü bir dünya sunuluyor, büyülü bir dünya sunuluyor, sunulan dünya nasıl bir dünya?)* Böyle sanki hiç hani bebek makineymiş gibi hiç ağlamayacak, sizinle en uygun şartlarda komple sizin şartlarınıza uyum sağlayacak gibi, işte bakıyorsunuz Instagram'dan fotoğraflar falan, sanıyorsunuz ki o mini mini kıyafetler falan çok cezbedici. Ama sürekli, mesela Özlem doğduğunda kolik bir bebekti, 7 ay boyunca sürekli inanılmaz ağladı, 7 ay boyunca hiç uyumadı.

216- Bir de tabi herkesin deneyimi aslında çok biricik oluyor bu konuda yani, kimisinde anne postpartum depresyona girerken kimisinde babaya böyle bir şeyler olabiliyor falan, yani anne olarak bunu yaşamış olan buradan bir meslektaşım bana ilk 3 ay çok zor olacak olabilir ama bu geçici, o yüzden sakın şey yapma falan diye bulundu ama yani onun dışında detaylar, nedir

bu zorluklar yani postpartum depresyona giren kişi olarak ona zor geldiği için bana bu tavsiyede bulundu ama yani sonuçta sadece postpartuma girmek değil. Onun dışında 1000 tane farklı komplikasyon çıkabiliyor, aile içinde bir sürü sıkıntılar yaşanabiliyor vesaire. Yani bunlara dair çok, kimse pek konuşmuyor ancak olduktan sonra diğerleri ile konuşurken evet bizde de şöyle olmuştu, mesela evet kardeşim de boşandığında aslında bir sene şöyle yaşamışlardı falan gibi deneyimler geliyor ve aslında özellikle de çift ilişkisi açısından ne kadar da zorlayıcı olduğunu çok fazla insan çok dile getirmiyor.

217- Aslında fazla adıyorsun kendi yaşantımdan fazla yani kendi hayatınızdan vazgeçmememiz gerekiyor. Hani annelik yeni bir katılım hayatımıza ama onu devam ettirirken kendinizin de farkında olmalısınız kendinizi unutmamalısınız. Çünkü bir zaman sonra artık aradan 14 sene geçti ben yeniden iş hayatına dönmek istiyorum ama her şey o kadar çok değişti ki, programlar çalışma sistemleri falan birçok şeyi unuttuk artık nereden yeniden başlayabiliriz, yaşım, girişte biliyorsunuz yaş alma eleman alma yaşları kriterleri var.

218- Kesinlikle annelerin kadın olarak özgürleşmesini, kadın olarak yapmak isteyeceği şeyleri açısından acayip önemli bir şey yani, bir de gerçekten rahatlıyorsun ya, hani böyle sürekli o çocuğa bakmak çok bunaltıcı bir şey yani bir insan 7/24 bir çocuğa bakamaz. Bakan da bence iyi değildir, yani sağlıklı değildir, sağlıklı olanı gerçekten çocuğun bakım, öğrenme falan süreçlerinin toplum tarafından paylaşılması bayağı önemli bir şeymiş.

REFERENCES

Åkerlind, G. (2005). Variation and commonality in phenomenographic research methods. *Higher Education Research & Development, 24,* 321–334. doi:10.1080/07294360500284672

Åkerlind, G. (2005a). Ways of experiencing being a university researcher. In J. A. Bowden & P. Green (Eds.), *Doing developmental phenomenography* (pp. 145–155). Melbourne: RMIT University Press.

Åkerlind, G., Bowden, J., & Green, P. (2005). Learning to do Phenomenography: A reflective discussion. In J. A. Bowden & P. Green (Eds.), *Doing developmental phenomenography* (pp. 74–100). Melbourne: RMIT University Press.

Aktaş, G. (2019). Günümüz toplumlarında anneliğin değişen biçimlerini sosyal medya kullanıcıları üzerinden değerlendirmek. *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi, 36*(2), 253-271. doi:10.32600/huefd.441402

Alexander, M. (2011). *Learning women's anti-violence work: A phenomenographic study (*Master's Thesis). Royal Roads University, Canada.

Allen, A. T. (2005). *Feminism and motherhood in Western Europe 1890-1970: The maternal dilemma.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Allen, S. M., & Hawkins, A. J. (1999). Maternal gatekeeping: Mothers' beliefs and behaviors that inhibit greater father involvement in family work. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 61*(1), 199-212. doi:10.2307/353894

Anderberg, E., Svensson, L., Alvegård, C., & Johansson, T. (2008). The epistemological role of language use in learning: A phenomenographic intentional-expressive approach. *Educational Research Review, 3*(1), 14-29. doi:10.1016/j.edurev.2007.10.003

Ashworth, P., & Ursula Lucas (2000). Achieving empathy and engagement: A practical approach to the design, conduct and reporting of phenomenographic research. *Studies in Higher Education, 25*(3), 295-308, doi:10.1080/713696153

Ashworth, P., & Ursula Lucas (1998). What is the 'world' of phenomenography. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research, 42*(4), 415-431, doi:10.1080/0031383980420407

Aytaç, F. K. (2021). Is it love? The mediating role of traditional motherhood between maternal warmth and maternal gatekeeping. *Current Psychology,* doi:10.1007/s12144-021-01880-8

Balta Paker, E. (2009). *Anne ya da değil? Annelik etme meselesi üzerine.* https://m.bianet.org/bianet/toplumsal-cinsiyet/114384-anne-ya-da-degil-annelik-etme-meselesi-uzerine. (retrieved in 02.04.2021)

Barg, R. (2004). Motherwork learning: An art-informed inquiry into mothering as a site of adult learning. *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education, 18*(2), 27–43. Retrieved from https://cjsae.library.dal.ca/index.php/cjsae/article/view/1833.

Baştürk-Akça, E. (2015). Medyada annelik temsilleri ve anne savaşları: Haftanın Annesi yarışma programının analizi. *Kadın / Woman 2000 Dergisi, 16*(2), 91-112.

Bekman, S., & Atmaca-Koçak, A. (2009). Beş ülkeden anneler anlatıyor: Anne Çocuk Eğitim Programı. İstanbul: Anne Çocuk Eğitim Vakfı Yayınları.

Berger, R. (2015). Now I see it, now I don't: Researcher's position and reflexivity in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research, 15*(2), 219-234. doi:10.1177/1468794112468475

Bora, A. (2001). Türk modernleşme sürecinde annelik kimliğinin dönüşümü. In A. İlyasoğlu & N. Akgökçe (Ed.), *Yerli Bir Feminizme Doğru* (pp.77-105). İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık.

Bowden, J. (2005). Reflections on the phenomenographic team research process. In J. A. Bowden & P. Green (Eds.), *Doing developmental phenomenography* (pp. 11–31). Melbourne: RMIT University Press.

Bozkur, B. & Taylan, A. (2020). Medyada annelik temsili: Ana akım ve alternatif medyada anneliğin sunumuna yönelik karşılaştırma. *Akdeniz Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi, 34,* 45-65. doi:10.31123/akil.781227.

Brown, I. (2010). Ambivalance of the motherhood experience. In A. O'Reilly (Ed.), *Twenty-first-century motherhood: Experience, identity, policy, agency.* (pp.121-139). Columbia University Press.

Budds, K., Locke, A., & Burr, V. (2016). "For some people it isn't a choice, it's just how it happens": Accounts of "delayed" motherhood among middle-class women in the UK. *Feminism & Psychology, 26*(2), 170-187. doi:10.1177/0959353516639615

Burç, P. E. (Eylül, 14, 2015). Popüler kültür ve annelik: anneliğin farklı görünümleri. *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyolojik Araştırmalar E-Dergisi.*

Cannella, G. S. (2008). *Deconstructing early childhood education: Social justice and revolution.* New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.

Cartwright, S. (2008). Decisions, choices and trade-offs: women's paid work and care arrangements after childbirth. In M. Porter & J. Kelso (Eds.). *Theorizing and representing maternal realities*. (pp. 136-149). Cambridge Scholars Publisher

Chodorow, N. (1999). *The reproduction of mothering.* LA: University of California Press.

Collier-Reed, B. I., Ingerman, Å., & Berglund, A. (2009). Reflections on trustworthiness in phenomenographic research: Recognising purpose, context and change in the process of research. *Education as Change, 13*(2), 339-355. doi:10.1080/16823200903234901

Collins, P. H. (1994). Shifting the center: Race, class, and feminist theorizing about motherhood. In E. N. Glenn, G. Chang, L. R. Forcey (Eds), *Mothering: Ideology, Experience, and Agency* (pp. 371-389), Routledge.

Constantinou, G., Varela, S., & Buckby, B. (2021). Reviewing the experiences of maternal guilt- the "motherhood myth" influence. *Health Care for Women International, 42*(4-6), 852-876. doi:10.1080/07399332.2020.1835917

Cope, J. S. (2004). Ensuring validity and reliability in phenomenographic research using the analytical framework of a structure of awareness. *Qualitative Research Journal, 4*(2), 5-18.

Cowdery, R. S., & Knudson-Martin, C. (2005). The construction of motherhood: Tasks, relational connection, and gender equality. *Family Relations, 54,* 335–345.

Craig, L. (2006). Does father care mean fathers share? A comparison of how mothers and fathers in intact families spend time with children. *Gender & Society, 20*(2), 259-281. doi:10.1177/0891243205285212

Çarkoğlu, A., & Kalaycıoğlu, E. (2013). *Türkiye'de aile, iş ve toplumsal cinsiyet.* https://ipc.sabanciuniv.edu/Content/Images/CKeditorImages/20200329-00030759.pdf

DeMoss, S., & Vaughn, C. (2010). Reflections on theory and practice in parent involvement from a phenomenographical perspective. *The School Community Journal, 10*(1), 45-59.

Dendle, K., Miller, E., Buys, L., & Vine, D. (2021). My home in later life: A phenomenographic study of older adults' experience of home. *Journal of Aging Studies, 57,* 1-9. doi:10.1016/j.jaging.2021.100935

Dortins, E. (2002). Reflections on phenomenographic process: Interview, transcription and analysis. *Higher Education Research and Development Society of Australasia HERDSA,* 207-213.

Douglas, S. J., & Michaels, M. W. (2007). The new momism. In. A. O'Reilly (Ed), *Maternal theory: Essential readings* (pp.619). Bradford, Canada: Demeter Press.

Dudu-Karaman, E., & Doğan, N. (2018). Annelik rolü üzerine: Kadının "annelik" kimliği üzerinden tahakküm altına alınması. *Gümüşhane Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Elektronik Dergisi*, *6*(2), 1475-1496. doi:10.19145/e-gifder.443214

Elvin-Nowak, Y., & Thomsson, H. (2001). Motherhood as idea and practice: A discursive understanding of employed mothers in sweden. *Gender & Society, 15*(3), 407-428. doi:10.1177/089124301015003005

Fenwick, T., & Tennant, M. (2004). Understanding adult learner. In G. Foley (Ed.), *Dimensions of adult learning: Adult education and training ina global era.* Berkshire, England: Open University Press.

Fowler, C. (2002). Maternal knowledge: Beyond formal learning. *Australian Journal of Adult Learning, 42*(2), 155-168.

Friedman, M. (2010). It takes a (virtual) village: Mothering on the internet. In A. O'Reilly (Ed.), *Twenty-first-century motherhood: Experience, identity, policy, agency* (pp. 353-365). New York: Columbia University Press.

Gedalof, I. (2009). Birth, belonging and migrant mothers: Narratives of reproduction in feminist migration studies. *Feminist Review, 93*(1), 81-100. doi:10.1057/fr.2009.23

Glenn, E. N. (1994). Social constructions of mothering. In E. N. Glenn, G. Chang & L. R. Forcey (Eds.), *Mothering: Ideology, experience, and agency* (pp.1-32). NY: Routledge.

Go, L., & Pang, M. F. (2021). Phenomenography in the "Lived" context of parental Learning. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 20,* 1-10. doi:10.1177/2F16094069211016160

Gouthro, P. (2005). A critical feminist analysis of the homeplace as learning site: Expanding the discourse of lifelong learning to consider adult women learners. *International Journal of Lifelong Education, 24*(1), 5-19. doi:10.1080/026037042000317310

Green, F. J. (2001). *Living feminism: Pedagogy and praxis in mothering* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation). University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Guendouzi, J. (2006). "The guilt thing": Balancing domestic and professional roles. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 68*(4), 901-909. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3737.2006.00303.x

Gürçayır-Teke, S. (2014). Dönüşen anneliğe yönelik netnografik bir analiz: Blogger anneler. *Millî Folklor, 103,* 32-47.

Hajar, A. (2021). Theoretical foundations of phenomenography: A critical review. *Higher Education Research & Development, 40*(7), 1421-1436. doi:10.1080/07294360.2020.1833844

Hazar, S. N. (2014). *Beyaz orta sınıf bir annelik fantezisi: New Momism.* Retrieved: January, 2019. https://dunyalilar.org/beyaz-orta-sinif-bir-annelik-fantezisi-new-momism.html

Hazel, E., Conrad, L. & Martin, E. (1997). Exploring gender and phenomenography, *Higher Education Research & Development, 16*(2), 213-226. doi:10.1080/0729436970160208

Holmes, A. G. D. (2020). Researcher positionality - A consideration of its influence and place in qualitative research - A new researcher guide. *Shanlax International Journal of Education, 8*(4), 1-10. doi:10.34293/ education.v8i4.3232

Holmes, C. (2006). *Born To Do it? The social construction of motherhood (*Master's Thesis). Simon Frase University, Canada.

Hooks, B. (2000). *Feminism is for everybody: Passionate politics.* Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Işık, S. Y. (2015). Küresel kültürel değişim ve 'yeni' annelik: Ankara Kamil Ocak mahallesi örneği. *Eğitim Bilim Toplum Dergisi, 13*(50), 48-75.

Jarvis, P. (1995). Learning and change. In S. B. Merriam (Ed.), *Selected writings on philosophy and adult education* (pp.110-121). Florida: Krieger Publishing Company.

Johnston, D. D., & Swanson, D. H. (2004). Moms hating moms: The internalization of mother war rhetoric. *Sex Roles, 51*(9-10), 497-509. doi:10.1007/s11199-004-5460-x

Kawash, S. (2011). New directions in motherhood studies. *Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 36*(4), 969-1003. doi:10.1086/658637

Kaya, Ö. (2008). *Mothering experiences of professional women in Turkey: Child bearing, child caring and child rearing* (Master's Thesis). Middle East Technical University, Ankara.

Kettunen, J. (2017). *Career practitioners' conceptions of social media and competency for social media in career services* (Doctoral Dissertation). University of Jyvaskyla, Finland.

Kettunen, J., & Tynjälä, P. (2018). Applying phenomenography in guidance and counselling research. *British Journal of Guidance & Counselling, 46*(1), 1-11. doi:10.1080/03069885.2017.1285006

Kinser, A. E (2010). *Motherhood and feminism.* Caliornia: Seal Press.

Kocatepe, B., & Bilgi, S. (2018). Toplumsal bir inşa olarak babalık: Annelerin yaşam öykülerinde baba imgesi, *Fe Dergi, 10*(2), 43-59. http://cins.ankara.edu.tr/20_5.pdf (retrieved in May, 24, 2022)

Kolb, D. A. (2015). *Experiential learning: Experience as the source of learning and development* (Second ed.). Pearson Education, Inc. (e-book)

Kölemen, A. (July-August, 2021). Anneler ve anneleri: Siyasi bir sorun olarak lohusalık sıkıntısı ve anne-kız ilişkisi. *Birikim, 387/388*, 163-168.

LaCoste-Nelson, F. A. (2005). *In the other room: Entering the culture of Motherhood* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertations). University of Alberta.

Larsson, J., & Holmström, I. (2007). Phenomenographic or phenomenological analysis: Does it matter? Examples from a study on anaesthesiologists' work. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health and Well-being, 2,* 55-64. doi:10.1080/17482620601068105

Linder, C., & Marshall, D. (2003). Reflection and phenomenography: towards theoretical and educational development possibilities. *Learning and Instruction, 13,* 271-284. doi:10.1016/S0959-4752(02)00002-6

Maher, J. (2008). Maternal practice versus motherguilt: Time to look at what mothers actually do. In M. Porter & J. Kelso (Eds.), *Theorising and representing maternal realities* (pp. 201-212). Cambridge Scholars Publisher.

Marton, F. (2015). *Necessary conditions of learning.* Routledge.

Marton, F. (2000). The structure of awareness. In J. A. Bowden & E. Walsh (Eds.), *Phenomenography* (pp.102-116). Melbourne, Australia: RMIT University.

Marton, F. (1994). Phenomenography. In T. Husén & T. N. Postlethwaite (Eds.), *The international encyclopedia of education* (pp. 4424–4429). Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Marton, F. (1986). Phenomenography- a research approach investigating different understandings of reality. *Journal of Thought, 21,* 28–49.

Marton, F., & Booth, S. (1997). *Learning and awareness*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Marton, F., & Pong, W. Y. (2005). On the unit of description in phenomenography, *Higher Education Research & Development, 24*(4), 335-348. doi:10.1080/07294360500284706

Marton, F., & Trigwell, K. (2000). Variatio est mater studiorum. *Higher Education Research and Development, 19*(3), 381-395. doi:10.1080/07294360020021455

Maushart, S. (2000). *The Mask of Motherhood (How becoming a mother changes our lives and why we never talk about it).* New York: Penguin Books.

Mezirow, J. (1991). *Transformative Dimensions of Adult Learning.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Miller, T. (2010). *Annelik duygusu.* İletişim Yayınevi.

Nomaguchi, K., Brown, S., & Leyman, T. M. (2017). Fathers' participation in parenting and maternal parenting stress: Variation by relationship status. *Journal of Family Issues, 38*(8), 1132-1156. doi:10.1177/0192513X15623586

Nyström, K., & Öhrling, K. (2004). Parenthood experiences during the child's first year: Literature review. *Journal of Advanced Nursing, 46*(3), 319-330. doi:10.1111/j.1365-2648.2004.02991.x

Olsavsky, A. L., Yan, J., Schoppe-Sullivan, S. J., & Kamp Dush, C. M. (2020). New fathers' perceptions of dyadic adjustment: The roles of maternal gatekeeping and coparenting closeness. *Family Process, 59*(2), 571-585. doi:10.1111/famp.12451

O'Reilly, A. (2007). Feminist Mothering. In. A. O'Reilly (Ed.), *Maternal Theory: Essential Readings* (pp.796). Bradford, Canada: Demeter Press.

O'Reilly, A. (2008). *Feminist mothering.* NY: State University of New York Press.

O'Reilly, A. (2019). Matricentric feminism: A feminism for mothers. *Journal of the Motherhood Initiative for Research and Community Involvement, 10*(1/2), 13-26. https://jarm.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/jarm/article/view/40551

Palinkas, L. A., Horwitz, S. M., Green, C. A., Wisdom, J. P., Duan, N., & Hoagwood, K. (2015). Purposeful sampling for qualitative data collection and analysis in mixed method implementation research. *Administration and Policy in Mental Health, 42,* 533-544. doi:10.1007/s10488-013-0528-y

Pålsson, P., Kvist, L. J., Ekelin, M., Kristensson Hallström, I., & Persson, E. K. (2018). I didn't know what to ask about": First-time mothers' conceptions of prenatal preparation for the early parenthood period. *The Journal of Perinatal Education, 27*(3), 163–174. doi:10.1891/1058-1243.27.3.163

Pang, M. F. (2003). Two faces of variation: On continuity in the phenomenographic movement. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research, 47*(2), 145-156. doi:10.1080/00313830308612

Pekel-Uludağlı, N. (2019). Are uninvolved fathers really incompetent and unsatisfied? Testing the mediator role of father involvement from fathers' perspectives. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology, 16*(5), 538-551. doi:10.1080/17405629.2018.1472077

Porter, M. (2008). Mothering or motherwork?. In M. Porter & J. Kelso (Eds.). *Theorising and representing maternal realities* (pp.184-200). Cambridge Scholars Publisher.

Pramling Samuelsson, I., Johansson, E., Davidsson, B. & Fors, B. (2000). Student teachers' and preschool children's questions about life - A phenomenographic approach to learning, *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal, 8*(2), 5-22. doi:10.1080/13502930085208541

Rich, A. (1995). *Of woman born: Motherhood as experience and institution.* NY: Norton & Company Inc.

Rothman, B. K. (2000). *Recreating motherhood*. Rutgers University Press.

Rubin, S. E. (2005). *A phenomenological investigation of the lived experiences of highly educated, stay-at-home mothers* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation). St. Mary's University, San Antonio, Texas.

Ruddick, S. (1989). *Maternal thinking: Toward a politics of peace.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Runesson, U. (2006). What is it possible to learn? On variation as a necessary condition for learning. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research, 50*(4), 397-410. doi:10.1080/00313830600823753

Sandberg, J. (2000). Understanding human competence at work: An interpretative approach. *Academy of Management Journal, 43*(1), 9-25. doi:10.2307/1556383

Sandberg, J. (1997). Are phenomenographic results reliable. *Higher Education Research and Development, 16*(2), 203-212. doi:10.1080/0729436970160207

Sawyer, L. M. (1999). Engaged mothering: The transition to motherhood for a group of African American women. *Journal of Transcultural Nursing, 10*(1), 4-21. doi:10.1177/104365969901000110

Sin, S. (2010). The consideration of quality in phenomenographic research. *International Journal of Qualitative Research, 9*(4), 305-319. doi:10.1177/160940691000900401

Sjöström, B., & Dahlgren L. O. (2002). Applying phenomenography in nursing research. *Journal of Advanced Nursing, 40*(3), 339-345. doi:10.1046/j.1365-2648.2002.02375.x

Sutherland, J. A. (2009). Ideal mama, ideal worker. In E. Evans & C. Grant (Eds.), *Mama PhD: Women write about motherhood and academic life* (pp.213-221). Rutgers University Press.

Svensson, L. (1997) Theoretical foundations of phenomenography. *Higher Education Research & Development, 16*(2), 159-171. doi:10.1080/0729436970160204

Swanson, D. H., & Johnston, D. D. (2003). Mothering in the ivy-tower: Interviews with academic mothers. *Journal of the Association for Research on Mothering, 5*(2), 63-75.

Taylor, Z. E., & Conger, R. D. (2017). Promoting strengths and resilience in single-mother families. *Child Development, 88*(2), 350-358. doi:10.1111/cdev.12741

Tight, M. (2016). Phenomenography: the development and application of an innovative research design in higher education research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 19*(3), 319-338, doi:10.1080/13645579.2015.1010284

Timurturkan, M. (2019). Annelik, söylem ve iktidar: Eleştirel bir tartışma. *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, 2*(47), 64-78. doi:10.35237/sufesosbil.630546

Trigwell, K. (2000). A phenomenographic interview on phenomenography. In J. A. Bowden & E. Walsh (Eds.), *Phenomenography* (pp.62-82).Melbourne: RMIT.

Tuğrul, Y. G. (2018). Dindar kadınların annelik algısı: Reçel Blog ve Müslüman Anneler blogunun karşılaştırmalı analizi. *Fe Dergi, 10*(2), 71-84. http://cins.ankara.edu.tr/20_7.pdf

Tuval-Mashiach, R., & Shaiovitz-Gourman, S. (2014). Maternal ambivalence and "Ideal mothering": Can the two go together?. In P. Bueskens (Ed.), *Mothering and psychoanalysis: Clinical, sociological and feminist perspectives* (pp. 357-374). Demeter Press.

Uluğtekin, M. G. (2002). *A sociological analysis of motherhood ideology in Turkey* (Master's Thesis). Middle East Technical University, Ankara.

Wada, M., Backman, C. L., Forwell, S. J., Roth, W., & Ponzetti, J. J. (2014). Balance in everyday life: Dual-income parents' collective and individual conceptions. *Journal of Occupational Science, 21(*3), 259-276. doi:10.1080/14427591.2014.913331

Walsh, E. (2000). Phenomenographic analysis of interview transcripts. In J. A. Bowden & E. Walsh (Eds.), *Phenomenography* (pp.19-33). RMIT University Press.

Ward, K., & Wolf-Wendel, L. (2016). Academic motherhood: Mid-career perspectives and the ideal worker norm. *New Directions for Higher Education, 176*, 11-23. doi:10.1002/he.20206

Willis, A. S. (2018) The efficacy of phenomenography as a cross-cultural methodology for educational research. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education, 41*(5), 483-499. doi:10.1080/1743727X.2017.1283398

Yates, C., Partridge, H., & Bruce, C. (2012). Exploring information experiences through phenomenography. *Library and Information Research, 36*(112), 96-119. doi:10.29173/lirg496

Zhu, Y. (2020). Learning to become good mothers: Immigrant mothers as adult learners. *Adult Education Quarterly, 70*(4), 377-394. doi:10.1177/0741713620921179