Housewife:
Woman with Multiple Identities

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A thesis presented to the

Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History
at Boğaziçi University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

May 2020

Approvals

"Housewife: Woman with Multiple Identities," a thesis prepared by İleyna Ören Kurşuncu in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts from the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University, has been approved on 15 May 2020 by:

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Declaration of Originality

The intellectual content of this thesis, which has been written by me and for which I take full responsibility, is my own, original work, and it has not been previously or concurrently submitted elsewhere for any other examination or degree of higher education. The sources of all paraphrased and quoted materials, concepts, and ideas are fully cited, and the admissible contributions and assistance of others with respect to the conception of the work as well as to linguistic expression are explicitly acknowledged herein.

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Abstract

Housewife: Woman with Multiple Identities

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Professor M. Asım Karaömerlioğlu, Thesis Advisor

This thesis examines the upper-middle class Turkish housewives with a focus on their practices and ideas. For this purpose, in-depth interviews were conducted with thirteen housewives between the age of fifty and sixty who have two children each. In this study, the housewife is approached from three different identities: professional, mother and wife. For each of these, they were given questions that revealed their daily practices as well as general perspectives. However, the main question of the thesis is whether each is satisfied with her housewifery. Although they come from the same socio-economic background and live in similar conditions, they differ in the overall satisfaction with their housewife identity and their daily routines. The intention of this study is to reveal the topics that the interviewees think both in the same way, as well as in a different way. For the former part, it is assumed that the similarity is resulted from their common socio-economic class. For each subject that the participants vary in their answers, the potential factors (educational background, hometown, level of appreciation they receive) are checked. Among these four elements (with the addition of their class), the most effective one is identified as the level of appreciation which has a direct correlation with women's overall satisfaction with their housewife roles. Moreover, the influence of this element can also be observed in the answers given to various questions. Overall, this thesis aims to contribute to the literature on housewives which stand for a population of twelve million in Turkey of 2019.

36,500 words

Özet

Ev Kadını: Çok Kimlikli Kadın

İleyna Ören Kurşuncu, Yüksek Lisans Adayı, 2020
Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü

Profesör M. Asım Karaömerlioğlu, Tez Danışmanı

Bu tez orta-üst sınıf Türk ev kadınlarını, onların alışkanlıklarına ve görüşlerine odaklanarak incelemektedir. Bu amaçla, yaşları elli ile altmış arasında değişen, iki çocuk sahibi on üç ev kadınıyla derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Bu çalışmada, ev kadını üç farklı kimlik açısından ele alınmıştır: meslek sahibi, anne ve eş. Her bir kimlik için, günlük alışkanlıklarını ve genel görüşlerini ortaya koyan sorular yöneltilmiştir. Öte yandan, bu tezin ana sorusu her bir katılımcının ev kadını olmaktan memnun olup olmadığıdır. Her ne kadar tüm katılımcılar aynı sosyo-ekonomik düzeye sahip olsalar ve benzer şartlarda yaşıyor olsalar da, ev kadını kimliğinden duydukları memnuniyet ve günlük alışkanlıkları birbirinden farklıdır. Bu çalışmanın amacı, katılımcıların aynı ve farklı düşündükleri konuları ortaya çıkarmaktır. Aynı fikirde oldukları alanlar için bu benzerliğin, paylaşılan sosyo-ekonomik çevreden kaynaklandığı varsayılmaktadır. Katılımcıların farklı görüşte oldukları konular için ise, potansiyel faktörler (eğitim geçmişi, memleketi, ailesinden gördüğü takdir seviyesi) kontrol edilmektedir. Bu dört unsurun en etkilisi (sınıf da dahil olmak üzere), kadınların ev kadını rolüyle memnuniyetiyle doğrudan bağlantısı olan takdir seviyesi olarak belirlenmiştir. Ayrıca, bu faktörün etkisi birçok soruya verilen cevapta gözlemlenmektedir. Genel olarak bu tez, 2019 Türkiye'sinde on iki milyonluk bir nüfusu işaret eden ev kadınları üzerine yapılan çalışmalara katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

36.500 kelime

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To my daughter, Berrin

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my thesis advisor, Prof. M. Asım Karaömerlioğlu, for his support during the writing process of this thesis and contribution to its content. This thesis would not be finalized without his patience and long-term commitment. I also want to express my appreciation in my initial advisor, Prof. Duygu Köksal who gave me the inspiration to study on housewives and encouraged me to go deeper in this area.

I would like to pay my special regards to all the participants (Çiğdem, Ezel, Fatma, Handan, Nilgün, Nuran, Nurcan, Raziye, Sara, Semra, Şaziye, Şenay and Şükran) that accepted my request to contribute to this thesis. This study would not be as such without their support. They did not hesitate to reveal their private lives and share their sincere opinions.

I want to show my deepest gratitude to my family (my father-Suavi, mother-Sibel, grandmother-Şaziye and husband-Ömer) who did not give up encouraging me to complete this study. They gave all their support during the years I was working on this thesis.

Finally, I am very much indebted to my little daughter, Berrin, who showed me how amazing it is to be a mother. Her birth enabled me to have a maternity break and led me to understand how valuable, demanding and intense stay-at-home mothering is. This experience motivated me to complete this thesis for honoring housewife mothers.

Housework is work which deserves to be rewarded for its own sake, and not just for keeping women out of the paid labor force. The position minimally involves being a housekeeper, maid, laundress, cook, waitress, practical nurse, elementary school teacher, seamstress, chauffeur, administrative assistant, and so on. (Bose, 1980, p.69)

1

Introduction

The role of housewife is a family role: it is a feminine role. Yet it is also a work role. (Oakley, 1987, p.1)

§ 1.1   Background of the Study

This master thesis focuses on the notion of being a housewife. Regardless of the geography one lives in, each and every person know someone who is a housewife. They are all over the world. This thesis has been written with the purpose of rediscovering the world of housewives, which people have a tendency to think that they know from top to bottom. However, most people are outsiders to their universe, and there is much to understand and explore about it. Majority of people define a housewife as a woman who spends all the day in her house, takes care of children, does the housework and holds the domestic/familial responsibilities. In reality, these people, in a sense, underestimate the whole literature and identity by simplifying as such. There is absolutely much more than it is assumed.

This thesis actually owes its subject to a course given by its initial advisor, Duygu Köksal. The course was focusing on the late Ottoman and Republican women in social, political and economic terms. It created an

opportunity to witness the entire journey the Turkish woman experienced throughout decades. At the end of the course, one of the major learnings was that the identity of 'housewife', despite the changing conjunctures, has managed to survive. Until then, I have known many housewives in my social network, but have never thought of their lives, worlds and feelings. As I was articulating on their world, I started to explore new notions of that grand universe.

The initial plan was to select housewives as a subject to a term paper. Instead of an overview of the literature, the real stories of housewives were to be discussed. For in-depth interviews, six housewives from upper middle class were selected. They were holding either high school or university diploma. They were living in financial welfare. They all had two children who studied in prestigious schools and were then having qualified jobs. They were living in urban areas and benefiting social and cultural activities. In sum, they were surrounded by similar socio-economic conditions.

The study had surprising results in the sense that three women were strongly satisfied with their housewife roles whereas the other three were regretful for being a housewife. The result was highlighting the fact that women with same socio-economical background could differentiate in their self-perception. Living in similar conditions does not guarantee similar exercise of housewife identity. The major learning from the study was that appreciation raised by the family members played an important role in the level of satisfaction with their identity. There had to be additional factors behind those different perspective. The results of that study led me to focus on the topic of housewife in my thesis.

Before organizing a new set of questions, the literature review was done. There are, though not much, reasonable number of studies conducted on the topic of housewife in global scale. The second half of twentieth century witnessed an increasing number of studies focusing on the identity of housewife, its evolutionary process and the changing conjunctures. Some scholars examined the area from economic perspective whereas some preferred taking the social and cultural aspects as the major focus in their studies. Some academics perceived housewives as

mothers and wives, while others chose to consider them as professionals. Several works dealt with the historical account of the identity, such as the question of how and why it has evolved throughout the time. There were some studies that were centered around either specific time frames or geographies. All those various sources were included in the reading list for a comprehensive study.

As a result of the literature review, the majority of the sources belonged to the international scholars who mostly worked on their own geographies. The major contribution to Turkish context was done by two scholars, Ferhunde Özbay and Sencer Ayata. Due to the limited studies in Turkey, the international debates and arguments had to be applied to Turkish context. The interviews conducted in global researches contributed significantly to the process of structuring the set of questions in this study. Moreover, the arguments and theories of the scholars read during the literature review were benefited in evaluating and commenting on the answers given by the interviewees. In sum, the foreign studies and researches were significant media to deepen the Turkish context.

The main statement of my thesis emerged out of *More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave* by Ruth Schwartz Cowan. She examines the story of housewife with respect to technological advancements and highlights the scientific as well as professional dimension of housework in her book. In her narration, she categorizes women in two sects: rich and poor. For her, rich 'refers to people who could, in any given time or place, afford to live decently or comfortably' whereas poor symbolizes 'those whose household income derives from employment but is not large enough to achieve what is commonly regarded as the decent or the comfortable standard'. Here is her argument that gave an inspiration to this thesis:

> While it is no doubt true that every family is unique, it is also true that, at any given time and place, families living within the range of a certain standard of living confront similar material conditions in their homes and similar public attitudes about what distinguishes a good or a decent home from one that is neither. In any given time or place, depending upon the class to which we belong, women tend to

organize their kitchens in more or less the same way and to read the same magazines, newspapers, and books. If our work is housework, then no matter how different we may be from each other, our work processes will be fairly similar. (Cowan, 1983, p.153)

On the other hand, it was not the case in the initial study. Although all the interviewees in the first study were considered in the same socio-economic class, there was a great variance in their stances. Therefore, I decided to check Cowan's argument in broader population: The topics on which they agree as well as disagree would be identified and thus the extent of the effect of the socio-economic class would be revealed. For the topics that class would not work, there have to be other alternative factors that could shape the answers in the similar way. In other words, if they differed in their perspectives despite their common class, there had to be some other elements behind this diversification. In the following part, the generation of these elements will be discussed in detail. In sum, the main purpose of this thesis became to see in which aspects women vary in their answers despite the shared class background and which topics they differ in their perspectives together with the alternative reasoning behind these differences.

§ 1.2   Description of the Study

For the study, thirteen in-depth interviews were conducted; each took around two hours. Before determining the participants, several criteria were set for the selection process. The main criterion was that they had to be from upper middle class. They all needed to be living in a similar social and economic environment. The financial gaining of the husbands should be in line with one another.

The second metric was the age range of the interviewees: It was designed to be between fifty and sixty. Thus, all the interviewees experience the same life phases in the same period of time. In this way, it was ensured that the social dynamics each woman in the study was exposed to are similar. Thus, time-related social and cultural motives cannot be addressed for the difference in the responses of the participants.

The third criterion was that they needed to be mothers. Regardless of the number of the children they had, the motherhood experience was a must to be asked questions about parenting. By coincidence, all interviewees have two children. The children of all have already graduated from their universities and participate in business life. Only one of the interviewees had two sons, seven of the interviewees have two daughters and five of them have one daughter and one son.

Having finalized the selection criteria, the list of attendees was organized. Six of them have been already in the list due to the previous study. Therefore, seven more people had to be generated. As it was the case in the previous work, I tried to reach to the friends of my mother and the mothers of my friends. There was a possibility that they might not want to share some of the details of their lives. However, they could feel obliged to tell the truth as I have had connections with their families. It did not create a problem because the former concern could also occur if the random interviewees were included. Therefore, I did not hesitate to target those familiar profiles.

Their educational background was diversified: Six of them graduated from high-school, four of them holds a university degree and three of them did not pursue their education after middle-school.

Another variable in the profiles of the participants is their hometowns. Four of them are from the metropolis (Istanbul) whereas the rest come from smaller cities: four from Bursa, one from Balıkesir, one from Gaziantep, one from Muğla, one from Konya and one from İzmit. It should be noted that almost half of the latter group now live in Istanbul; however, they stayed in those smaller cities till they got married. As they spent their childhood as well as adolescence in the cities they were born in, the hometown of each interviewee should be taken into account in the assessment of their responses. The way the metropolis can be differentiated from smaller cities is that the latter ones have more traditional values and practices with a more patriarchal structure. Therefore, it is not irrational to say that a woman coming from smaller city has the chance to get an exposure to the conventional practices and traditional values more than an average metropolis female.

The third variable that is critical for the entire study is the level of appreciation each woman receives from her family members. Hays highlights how the moral reward is important in mothers' perspectives through referring to the sample population she included in her study: "Their answer to the question of why they make this tremendous investment is contained in the logic of intensive mothering itself. For them, the joy of sharing, the love they feel, and the love that children promise to return are sufficient reward" (Hays, 1996, p.130).

For an objective assessment, the participants were not asked for grading these levels. Instead, as a separate initiative, one of the children of each respondent was contacted and asked for their declaration on the degree of their appreciation. In more detail, each was requested to consider herself/himself, her/his sibling as well as father all together and to grade their overall performance in expressing their appreciation. The scale is between zero and ten.

Table 1.1 Appreciation Level Received by the Interviewees

Name	Appreciation Level (Out of 10)
Çiğdem	3
Ezel	6
Fatma	7
Handan	9
Nilgün	4
Nuran	8
Nurcan	7
Raziye	6
Sara	8
Semra	5
Şaziye	7
Şenay	9
Şükran	2

For this table, the mean is 6,23; median is 7; mode is 7. Taking these values into consideration, the results are as such:

Çiğdem, Ezel, Nilgün, Raziye, Semra and Şükran receive a level of appreciation below the group average.

Fatma, Handan, Nuran, Nurcan, Sara, Şaziye and Şenay score above the mean.

Considering the fact that all the interviewees come from the same class, it is concluded that these three variables (educational background, hometown and level of appreciation) can be the potential factors that can create difference in preferences/perspectives of the interviewees. Therefore, in each chapter, the effects of these three factors are checked for each question in which interviewees differ in their responses. For the topics they all think in the same way, it can be concluded that the commonality in their class play an important role. It should be also noted that there are some questions that the level of appreciation can only be the outcome, not the reason behind it. In this type of cases, only the other two variables (educational background and hometown) are checked.

In this thesis, the housewife is explored in three different categories: as a professional, as a mother and as a wife. The first section regards housewife as a professional and elaborates the details of the housewifery as an occupation. The second section stresses the remarks of her motherhood, the things that differentiate her parenting from a professional woman and her positive as well as negative experiences as housewife mother. The third section considers a housewife as a wife and focuses on her marriage as well as the reflection of her husband on her housewifery identity.

In the second chapter, the historical background of the Turkish housewives is discussed. The section begins with a mention to the situation in late Ottoman Empire as it constitutes the foundation for the Turkish cultural and social history. Afterwards, the journey of the Turkish housewives is examined starting with the early Republican period and taking the story till twenty-first century. The historical review is also supported by the elaboration of three 'housewife' magazines selected from different decades that reflect the daily agenda of the housewives in that period.

In the following three chapters, the identity of housewife is discussed through three different lenses: as a professional, as a mother and as a wife. The interviewees are given more detailed questions and asked to share their perspectives as well as practices for each of these characters. For each topic, the correlation between the potential factors (educational background, hometown and the level of appreciation) and the responses reported by the interviewees is to be checked.

In the final chapter, broader questions on the housewifery are raised that reveal the overall perspectives of the women on housewifery as a general concept. Subsequently, the impact of each potential factor is discussed with respect to the entire question set.

§ 1.3 Personal Backgrounds of the Interviewees

As an introduction, the personal background of each interviewee is to be summarized. The story of how they became a housewife is important in the sense that it can show whether it was their own decision to be a housewife. As such, housewifery might be a personal preference or person could be forced to make that choice. If a woman is not satisfied with her situation, she can respectively blame herself or the one who forced her to become a housewife. In contrast, if she is pleased with her housewifery, she can give a credit to herself for choosing to become a housewife. The reason why it is important to discuss the reasoning further is that people can blame either themselves for their choice or others because of their enforcement. Therefore, it is important to reveal the background story of each interviewee.

Çiğdem, having graduated from the faculty of medicine, was asked to take care of his grandparents. At the same time, she learnt that she got pregnant and therefore decided not to pursue a professional career. Besides, his husband did not believe that she could manage to carry out both her professional and familial responsibilities. Therefore, he did not support her career ambitions.

Handan had a short time of working experience. However, by the time she had given birth to her first child, she realized that she could not leave

her baby to someone else's care. At that point, she decided not to work and preferred staying at home as a housewife.

Subsequent to her graduation from university, Şükran got married with her school mate. At first, she attempted to work; however, her husband said that she was not obliged to. As Thurer discusses in her piece, the social understanding of 'a working wife was not something to brag about: she signaled her husband's inadequacy as a breadwinner' caused her not to partake in professional life (Thurer, 1995, p.250).

Nuran essentially did not want to be a housewife. She attempted to establish her own business after having got married. However, as she got pregnant in a short period of time, she decided to prioritize her children's care and put her professional aspirations on hold for some time. She could never find the chance to realize those aspirations as her children got older.

Soon after Sara had got married, her mother became very ill and needed to be taken care of. Yet at the same time, she got pregnant. As her mother had died in a short time, she did not have anyone to look after her baby if she wanted to work. At those times, there were not many day-care centers as there are today. Having not trusted baby-sitters, she preferred to stay at home.

Nilgün, as a high-school graduate, was not supported by her family for a university education due to the existing political chaos. As such, her brothers did not let her register for a university entrance exam. It was around those times when her cousin was addressed as an appropriate groom by her family. After some consideration, she agreed with her elders and accepted to marry. As they got married and she gained his husband's support, she wanted to take the exam. However, she could not manage to receive a score enough for a degree with a part-time schedule which her husband would allow her to study at. As she was studying for the exam of the oncoming year, she got pregnant and decided to become a housewife.

Şenay, also as a high-school graduate, could not manage to pass the university entrance exam. In parallel, she received a proposal from her

boyfriend. Consequently, she decided to become a housewife and not to proceed with a university education.

Fatma, as a fresh university graduate, got married and gave birth to her first baby. Afterwards, she had a limited working experience. However, she observed that she could not manage to carry out her entire responsibilities and therefore needed to prioritize. She had to make a selection between full-time mothering and full-time professional working. Having considered the fact that his husband's earning was sufficient for the family, her child outweighed and led her to choose housewifery.

Nurcan got married at her third year at the university. Subsequent to her graduation, she got pregnant and could not find any opportunity to participate in professional life. Moreover, neither her family nor the society encouraged her to pursue a professional career as they all agreed that a woman did not need to work unless her financial status was insufficient. But still, Nurcan claimes that it was her personal decision to be a housewife as she chose her children over a potential professional career.

Raziye was working in a bank until she got married. In a short time period, due to her husband's job, they had to move to another city in which they did not have anyone to look after the children. Therefore, she preferred to stay at home for her babies.

Ezel, graduated from middle-school, immediately got married as a result of her family's decision. She was never asked for her preference.

Semra was working until she got married. As his husband received an offer for a position outside the city they were living, they had to move and there were not many job opportunities for her. Yet at the same time, she got pregnant. After giving birth to her first child, she could not leave her with a babysitter. Therefore, she decided to take a maternity break for some time. However, she could not succeed proceeding with her professional career and had to be a housewife for the rest of her life.

Şaziye got married as she completed her middle-school education. Therefore, she was not given the opportunity to continue her academic life and thus became a housewife.

2

Historical Background

'Housewife' can be an umbrella term for 'wife' and 'mother'. Women's expected role in society is to strive after perfection in all three roles. (Oakley, 1987, p.9)

§ 2.1 Literature Review

For the story of Turkish housewife, it is reasonable to rewind the story to the Ottoman period because the Turkish cultural context was very much shaped through Ottoman social values and norms. In the Ottoman culture, based on the Islamic belief that supported the male and female segregation, harem was addressed as the sole platform for the female members of the society. In this respect, harem was an entirely feminine world with an original set of codes and conducts which laid the ground for many intellectual debates.

However, through the end of the nineteenth century, Ottoman women did not want to be limited with harem. Instead, they decided to struggle for their own rights and liberties. The magazines such as *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* and the organizations like *Terakki-i Muhaderat* were the media through which they spread their ambition over the society. Their

primary aim was to gain their own social and economic independence as well as visibility in the public space.

Tanzimat reforms introduced through the end of nineteenth century, together with the scarcity of labor force caused by the constant wars, resulted in higher feminine visibility in the public sphere for the lower-class women. However, although 'laboring women may have constituted a category remote from the stereotypes of women as voiceless, submissive members of Ottoman society', women in general were expected to exercise their role of wife and mother at the beginning of twentieth century Ottoman world (Vardağlı, 2013, p.61). Their profession was to be a housewife, and they were assigned with the domestic and familial duties. "Family was designated as the moral unit of society and the domestic division of labor between the sexes was designed according to traditional gender roles, with the husband as breadwinner and the wife assigned the domestic chores of a housewife" (Çakır, 2007, p.67).

Although the notion of family had been existing in the society for centuries, Young Turks, at the beginning of the twentieth century, attributed a special meaning to it. Under the influence of Ziya Gökalp, they define the family as the nuclear of the society in which women should be educated and socialized in order to raise 'civilized' children. Women were gradually provided with some educational opportunities, together with social activities conducted under particular organizations. But still, their main mission was to organize the household chores and be the organizational executive of their homes.

Özbay discusses over the internal organization within the Ottoman family and the household of early twentieth century. Upper class families benefited from slaves or servants; therefore 'the mistress of the house did not actually participate in housework but was in charge of managing the establishment generally and directing the actual housework'. For lower classes, the domestic chores were shared among the female members of a household. Regardless of the classes, 'domestic labor was hard, labor intensive and unrelenting' in the overall Ottoman houses. "Above all, women's place was seen as at the heart of the house. This meant that

despite the dominant position of men, women's labour was both visible and important" (Özbay, 1999, p.559).

As the Turkish Republic was established upon the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the female sect of the society was highlighted. The modernization of the society was associated with the extent to which females were included in the public sphere. Their involvement in the educational and social platforms was supported as the part of the Westernization process. Therefore, they were encouraged to have a certain degree of education and a plausible profession. The Republican state, either for tactical purposes or sincerely, was introducing a number of legal as well as practical reforms in the social and educational aspects.

Nevertheless, those initiatives taken in the first decades of the Republic did not lead to a significant improvement in the female attendance to the educational and professional environments. Therefore, many women needed to stay at their houses surrounded by domestic duties. In other words, willingly or compulsorily, 'they showed their enthusiasm about the construction of the new society through changes in their role, through being modern housewives and in the reordering of their houses' (Özbay, p.561).

As the families get smaller in size and were transformed into a nuclear type in time, the division of labor among female members of the family dissolved. Consequently, woman, being both a mother and a wife, was assigned to hold all domestic responsibilities. "Now only the wealthiest upper-class families could afford resident servants. This change was connected to the decrease in numbers of children per family as well as in attached relatives and others living in the household" (Özbay, p.563).

The shrinking size of the family also depreciated the physical importance of kitchen and bathroom because there were not a lot of family members that required enormous amount of cooking or washing.

Housewives were confined to spending most of their day alone in these dark, small kitchens and bathrooms, while housework began to be more time-oriented. It became important to start the work after the men left the flat and finish it before they came home. Thus,

domestic labor lost both its communal form and visibility. (Özbay, 1999, p.563)

"After 1950s, refrigerators and washing machines appeared in middle-class flats and houses. This led to a moderate increase in the size of kitchens and bathrooms in new flats" (Özbay, 1999, p.563). The television was introduced in the 1970s and the dishwashers entered houses in the 1980s. Those two innovations played important roles in women's daily lives. The former contributed to their leisure time activities whereas the latter supported them in household chores.

Moreover, woman managed to gain a solid visibility in the public sphere. She was no longer restrained to the domestic frame: She was out in the shopping center and expected to achieve a delicate balance between price and quality. She was driving to drop the children to school and pick them up. She was actively contributing to the philanthropic activities.

Women became visible not only socially but also professionally. The female participation in labor force, though not in a striking level, has increased due to the educational opportunities provided.

By the 1990s, housewives started to receive a significant degree of support from cleaning ladies for their household chores. The population who migrated from rural to urban areas created a critical workforce for that business. Professional women benefited those ladies much more than housewives, but still there was a huge demand from housewives for deep cleaning of their houses. Housewives preferred to spend their time and effort for more value-added activities such as cooking, which gets more attention from the family members than any other housework.

Sencer Ayata, in his article *The New Middle Class and The Joys of Suburbia,* highlights men's limited support to women for household chores as such: "Men usually come home late and tired. The majority say that they do not contribute to household chores, at least not on a regular basis. Their participation in housework may include tasks like preparing salad and fruit juice, cooking Sunday breakfast, and making a barbecue, especially when guests are invited" (Ayata, 2002, p.33).

"There is an intricate relationship between women's taste and men's success: the income earned by the husband or family is transformed into family prestige by means of women's skills in homemaking, and the display of household goods." The reason is that the house was transformed into a new concept:

> The house is not just a place where one escapes from the world, but is also an opening onto it. Since the entertaining of friends at coffee mornings, women's gathering, bridge sessions, dinner and weekend parties takes place at home, the house is always on display. (Ayata, 2002, pp. 34-35)

As a result, housewives needed to spend much time, effort and money for the design of their houses which became an active platform for their social lives.

Although number of professional women increased in time, there is still a significant number of housewives in Turkey. Since 2008, the population of housewives has been always above 11 Million (Ünker, 2017). When the ratio of housewives (11.000.549) to the total number of females (41.433.861) in Turkey as of October 2019 is calculated, the result is 26% ("İşsizlik rakamlarını," 2020) ("Türkiye'deki kadın nüfusu," 2020). In other words, each female out of four is housewife. The domestic activities such as cooking, laundry, dish washing are conducted by women by 91% ("Türkiye'de istihdamda," 2017). The children between the age of zero and five are looked after by their own mothers by 86% ("TÜİK, Aile Yapısı Araştırmasını", 2017). For household chores and babysitting, men spend 53 minutes in average whereas women do 4 hours 53 minutes ("Türkiye'de istihdamda," 2017). All these numbers show that there is a huge burden on women's shoulder across the society and there is a solid population of housewife in Turkey which we should investigate further.

§ 2.2 Reviews of the Magazines

Magazines for housewives are also instrumental in understanding the daily agenda of the readers. Therefore, three magazines are selected

to be examined in detail. Each magazine belongs to different decade so that it would create an opportunity to compare and contrast the agendas in the period of publish.

In the magazine called *Ev Kadın*, which was an important publication of the second half of the 1940s, the major focus was on the stitching and embroidery. Given the fashion and home textile trends, the readers were provided with the tactics for stitching those pieces. In each issue, there was an article series called *Raising Healthy Children (Gürbüz Çocuk Yetiştirmek)* where the mothers were given some advices for raising a mentally and physically healthy children. Each and every issue had *Female Poems (Kadın Şiirleri)* part where the readers were sharing their own poems. There was also a part called *Letters to Sister Gönül (Gönül Abla'ya Mektuplar)* through which women could ask advices for their romantic/private issues. The magazine had also *Letterbox (Mektup Kutusu)* section where the readers could consult on any subject. The magazine also included a part for recipes and daily menu to support women in their kitchens. The magazine also had a series of stories called *Don't I Cry (Ben Ağlamaz mıyım)* which aimed to address women's romantic feelings. Last but not least, women could find beauty hints and practical suggestions for their daily routines.

Weekly magazine *Ev Kadın*, which was first published in 1979, enlarged its scope and included sections with the aim of supporting women in their emotional/private spheres. There were many articles that gave advices to them for their leisure-time activities, their relations with the husbands and children, their good looking and healthy being. As per usual, there was a food section which helped women to cook new recipes. In addition to that, it provided women with tactics and methods to contribute to the household economy. As it mentioned fashion trends of the time, women could find descriptions for stitching those models.

Monthly magazine *Ev Kadını* was being published with the editorship of Duygu Asena, famous feminist writer, in the late 1980s. The content was very much beyond a 'housewife' magazine. It had a
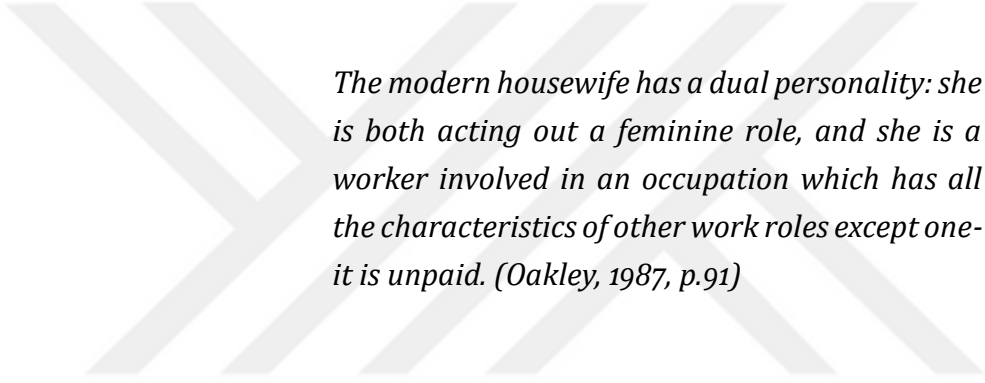
multidimensional scope; it talked about social, economic, cultural problems and needs of women. It introduced a new dimension to child-parent relations. In previous magazines, this relationship was mostly handled from a physical perspective. On the other hand, women were hereafter given advices for their relationship with their children. Woman and household were no longer perceived just as physical entities, both were considered from emotional perspective as well. Woman was handled beyond her domestic environment, her cultural and social lives were also examined and supported in the articles. There was a particular part called *Social Life (Sosyal Yaşam)* where women were provided with various information such as their social security, potential business opportunities or their relations with mother-in-law's. As it was the case in the previous magazines, there was a section called *Sister Fatoş (Fatoş Abla)* where women could ask for advices for their private matters.

When the content of these three magazines are compared, it can be concluded that the focus shifted from more physical content to social/economic/cultural one. At the beginning, the physical appearance of the women as well as their houses were getting more attention than their social/psychological issues. However, in time, the content moved into the opposite direction which ended up with a significant focus to the emotional spheres of the woman.

3

Housewife as a Professional

> *The modern housewife has a dual personality: she is both acting out a feminine role, and she is a worker involved in an occupation which has all the characteristics of other work roles except one- it is unpaid. (Oakley, 1987, p.91)*

I n this chapter, housewife is considered as a professional, thus the focus is centered around the physical and psychological aspects of the identity. The interviewees are asked to provide their own definition of the term, their perspective on the identity, the credentials of their domestic services, the effects of the technological advancements on their performances and their comparison of themselves with the professional women. The responses to these questions are critical in the sense that it reveals the way they perceive their own identity. They will show whether these women enjoy their housewife identity.

§ 3.1 Definition of the Housewife Role

After each participant explains her own history of being housewife, they are asked for their own definition of housewife which will be instrumental in understanding whether a woman praises or underestimates the concept.

For Semra, housewife is a person who spends her entire time for her family and thus forgets to leave room for her own self. Ezel thinks similarly with Semra and says that one cannot create free time for herself as she is dealing with domestic duties. Raziye, Şenay and Çiğdem think that being a housewife is to deal with each and every detail of both the house and the family. Çiğdem also notes that it should not be a lifestyle, however she confesses that she was not previously thinking as such. Sara says that it is a multi-dimensional concept one cannot easily define. Şaziye uses the similar words for her definition.

Depicting a happy family portrait, Nurcan defines a housewife as a person who always cares about and does the best for her children and home. The family should be and is always the first priority of a housewife's agenda. In Fatma's mind, a housewife is a managing director of a household. It includes not only the activities like cooking and cleaning but also the critical decision-making processes that addresses the economic and social welfare of a family. Handan says that housewifery is an extensive duty that is centered around both the family and the house.

Şükran underlines the daily routine of a housewife and lists the activities she does every day. Although both Nuran and Nilgün define it as a lifestyle, they differ in their emphasis. Nuran has a positive perspective on the concept and depicts it as a lifestyle through which a woman experiences joyful times with her children as well as her husband. On the contrary, Nilgün portrays it as a miserable life and undesirable faith determined by either one's family or financial status.

Overall, while some interviewees emphasize the negative aspects of the identity such as inability to spend individual time and having multiple responsibilities, others prefer to use positive terms such as happy family portrait and their intense focus on the family members as well as the

house. There is not a certain effect of the potential factors on the responses of the interviewees.

§ 3.2 Housewifery: Occupation or not

The next question is to reveal whether they consider housewifery as an occupation. There is a number of understandings in the literature as well as in the society. Some recognize it as a real job such as doctors, lawyers, teachers whereas others underestimate the concept and do not categorize it as a real occupation. As an example, here is the expression of an interviewee in Oakley's research:

> If I was asked to put my occupation on a form I wouldn't put 'housewife', I'd put 'mother'. I would hate to think of myself just being a housewife. I think that's why I'm so frustrated: I really cannot come to terms with the fact that I am. I think 'housewife' is a terrible label. (Oakley, 1987, p.125)

The examination of an individual perspective is very critical as it gives a hint about person's positive or negative perception on her own housewifery.

Chodorow, in her book *The Reproduction of Mothering*, differentiates the woman and the man from economical perspective as such:

> Though men and women participate in both the family and the non-familial world, the sexual division of labor is such that women's first association is within the family, a relational institution, and men's is not. Women in our society are primarily defined as wives and mothers, thus in particularistic relation to someone else, whereas men are defined primarily in universalistic occupational terms. (Chodorow, 1979, p.178)

In this research, the interviewees are interestingly divided into two: Half of them recognize it as an occupation while the rest do not. For Semra and Sara, it is the combination of multiple professions rather than one. It was similarly mentioned by one of the interviewees in Oakley's research: "The hardest job in the world. You're never just a housewife. Into that category comes everything…" (Oakley, 1987, p.100). Ezel and Handan,

emphasizing its complexity, conceptualize it as the most difficult profession in the world if exercised deservedly. Fatma, Şaziye, Raziye and Şenay bring a different approach to the subject and defend that it needs to receive a recognition as a profession although the society is not giving credit.

On the other hand, the rest presents different arguments for their contrary stance. From Nurcan and Nuran's perspective, it is the woman's voluntary service without any expectation. Nilgün, Şükran and Çiğdem underestimate the housewife role and do not recognize it as a profession. For Çiğdem, it is the synonym of being 'unemployed'. Despite their different reasonings, they all complain about marking 'housewife' box as a profession on the forms and surveys.

In sum, eight of the interviewees consider the housewifery as an occupation. Two of them, though do not accept it as a profession, still praise the concept. On the other hand, three of the interviewees despise it. It should be noted that these three women are among the ones who receive an appreciation at a level below the group average. That might be the reason behind their underestimation.

§ 3.3 Wasting the Diploma

While most of the occupations require a particular degree and education, housewifery does not do any. One needs to graduate from law school for becoming a lawyer, or from medicine school to become a doctor. On the other hand, the educational range of housewifery is very broad in the sense that it is extended to a primary school graduate as well as PhD degree holder. There are numbers of contemporary housewives with bachelors' diplomas. While these degrees do not constitute any problem for becoming a housewife, there is a constant debate on the issue: Is it to throw a diploma into bin, or does a diploma mean much more than an occupation?

L. Dement, elaborating on the issue, claims that there are 'two opposite poles of opinion concerning the value of higher education as a preparation for the demands life makes upon wives and mothers': The first

category considers being a housewife as a university graduate irrational, while the other group of people believes that the university degree provides an entirely different vision to an individual, which she can reflect on both her children and personal life (L. Dement, 1960: 28). "Her higher cultural level, her social talents, her self-confidence, and her ability to organize her work contribute directly to her effectiveness as a wife and mother. Not least important, her background of knowledge and her established interests provide a basis for her own future growth" (L. Dement, 1960, p.32).

In this research, though all interviewees agree that a degree is not an obstacle for a housewife role, they diverge in their reasoning. Almost half of them believe that a woman ruins her educational efforts when she chooses to become a housewife. Şükran, Raziye, Çiğdem, Ezel and Semra assert that a woman with a university degree should definitely work.

On the other hand, the rest of the interviewees believe that the diploma is an important asset which a person can benefit for different aspects/spheres of her life such as the child-bearing periods as well as her interpersonal relations. Handan tells that one's educational background can contribute significantly to her own children's education. Sara also notes that a university graduate should not be criticized but respected for her own rational decision.

In conclusion, the majority of the interviewees believe that diploma holders should be free to choose to become a housewife if they are willing to do so. They should not be forced to attend to the professional life. When we examine the five women in the group who strongly want their daughters to work, they all receive an appreciation at a level below the group average. They might believe that they did the wrong thing by being a housewife because of the fact that they are not appreciated by their family members.

§ 3.4 Credentials of Housewife

There are some universal credentials and criteria for particular professions. Is there any particular set of principles also for a housewife role?

For example, Oakley discusses that 'the house-proud' housewife 'is the woman with an 'obsessive' interest in keeping a perfectly clean, tidy house' (Oakley, 1987, p.94). "Extreme concern with the physical appearance and cleanliness of the home is, thus, a possibility inherent in the situation of women as housewives: a logical consequence of the 'successful' performance of the housewife role" (Oakley, 1987, p.95). In parallel, the interviewees are asked to list their own success factors.

The only interviewee who can not specify any criteria is Raziye since she equates housewifery with a massive failure. In other words, a housewife can never be deemed as successful in any condition. All the other participants list the daily responsibilities of a housewife as the competencies for the role, including the cleaning, cooking, child-caring. Its emotional dimension--the importance of having good relationship with the children as well as the husband--is also highlighted. From their perspectives, paying special attention to each family member is as important as covering the domestic chores. The job specification of a housewife is not limited to the ordinary housework. Establishing a healthy functioning relationship between the children and husband is much more difficult assignment than a simple cleaning or cooking task.

For Nurcan, Şaziye, Fatma and Nuran, the top-level success corresponds to a portrait of happy family. Nuran highlights the importance of individual loyalty and respect shown to the family members. Çiğdem, Ezel and Nilgün's 'successful' housewife is the one who is good at planning her daily schedule and knows what to do at the right time. For them, organization, time management and execution skills are very critical. Sara and Semra think that the real achievement for a woman is not to forget about herself and manage to reserve an individual free time in addition to her domestic responsibilities. Handan believes that a successful housewife should handle all the responsibilities 'deservedly'.

In sum, the respondents mention both the physical and the psychological aspects of an ideal housewife. They do not limit themselves with either one, instead they believe in the necessity of both at the same time.

§ 3.5 Housework: Natural Responsibility or Burden?

Having shared the major competencies for the role, the next step is to understand the individual perspective on the housework they do. Question is that whether they consider housework as a natural responsibility or a burden. The answers will reflect their self-evaluation of being housewife. For example, in Oakley's research done with forty-two housewives, there are two different approaches: "In one, the housewife seeks satisfaction in house-work: the housewife role is part of her self-image. In the other, the motivation is instead to acknowledge the possibility of dissatisfaction and to accord more priority to the roles of wife and mother than to the role of housewife" (Oakley, 1987, p.97).

Except Raziye and Şükran, all of the respondents accept housework as their natural responsibility. Şenay and Nuran conceptualize it as their life style and recognized their efforts as an individual contribution to their families. Naming herself as the Minister of Interior of the family and her husband as its Minister of External Affairs, Sara has internalized her domestic duties. Semra, though she does not enjoy household chores, justifies the housework by arguing that it is the natural result of the division of labor within the family.

It is important to note that the two women who consider the housework as a burden are among the ones who receive an appreciation at a low level compared to the rest of the group. The belief that they cannot receive the reward of their efforts probably makes them think in this way. It can be also suggested that because of the fact that they carry out the responsibilities unwittingly, their family members become inclined not to appreciate them openly.

§ 3.6 Appreciation or Financial Reward

Domestic labor is considered 'invisible' in the sense that it does not have particular job specification like other occupations. There is a great deal of works that neither the children nor the husband realizes or recognize in daily routine. Moreover, it is 'unvalued' in the sense that a housewife,

unlike other professional women, does not receive any salary for her domestic effort. It is 'unpaid' because entire domestic responsibilities are assigned to a housewife by the system itself and thus her burden is legitimized as her 'share' in the family structure. Oakley discusses the issue as such: "The modern housewife has a dual personality: she is both acting out a feminine role, and she is a worker involved in an occupation which has all the characteristics of other work roles except one – it is unpaid" (Oakley, 1987, p.91). Carrying out the 'unvalued' and 'unpaid' duties, housewives may feel more motivated if they are given with a salary and an appreciation. In order to understand which reward would be more effective, the interviewees are asked to prioritize one among two. Would they prefer to hear an appreciation or earn money for their efforts?

Except Raziye and Ezel, all the interviewees prioritize an appreciation over a financial reward. Raziye and Ezel think a housewife should be treated as other professionals and thus supported by both the financial and moral reward. Hays points out the same perspective as such: 'When you add to the cost of hiring someone to care for the child while the mother is away plus the cost of assuring that the child receives the best paid care possible, the high price of appropriate child rearing becomes clear' (Hays, 1996, p.122). It is important to note that these two women are among the ones who come from smaller cities and receive an appreciation at low levels. Not their hometown but the level of appreciation they receive might be the reason of their choice: As they cannot receive any appreciation from their family members, they would like to compensate it with a certain amount of financials.

As mentioned above, other interviewees value appreciation from family members a lot more. For example, Semra, although she had been thinking that financial reward was much more important in the past, now believes that appreciation means above all. Receiving appreciation from the family makes women believe that their domestic work is neither invisible nor unvalued. Except Çiğdem, all the women express that they receive a fair amount of appreciation from their family members and it lessens their tiredness as well as gives energy for further efforts.

In parallel to the answers of the majority of the respondents, Hay highlights how the moral reward is important in mothers' perspectives: "Their answer to the question of why they make this tremendous investment is contained in the logic of intensive mothering itself. For them, the joy of sharing, the love they feel, and the love that children promise to return are sufficient reward" (Hays, 1996, p.130). All interviewees believe that their daughters become aware of these invisible tasks when they get married and have their own household under their responsibility.

§ 3.7 Technological Advancements

Cowan argues how technological advances contributed to housewife's daily routine:

> The washing machine, the dishwasher, and the frozen meal have not been causes of married women's participation in the workforce, but they have been catalysts of this participation: they have acted, in the same way that chemical catalysts do, to break certain bonds that might otherwise have impeded the process. (Cowan, 1983, pp.208-209)

On the other hand, there is an opposition to this stance that asserts these advancements only changed the content of the housework. It neither lessened the burden of the housewife nor saved time for those women. An example of the studies that argue for this stance is conducted by Bittman, Rice and Wajcman. In their article, they discuss on the results of The Australian 1997 Time Use Survey (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1998b) which 'provides detailed information on time spent in housework and an inventory of household appliances':

> The analysis of this data show that domestic technology rarely reduces women's unpaid working time and even, paradoxically, produces some increases in domestic labor. The domestic division of labor by gender remains remarkably resistant to technological innovation. (Bittman, Rice and Wajcman, 2004, pp.401–423)

In the first place, in line with the former perspective, all of the respondents believe that the technological advancements really help them and

save time for other activities. They all agree that the most helping devices are washing machine, dishwasher and vacuum cleaner. There are two interesting answers given by Sara and Nurcan: food processor and Vileda(mop). In terms of the most difficult domestic work, there are different answers: For Sara, Handan, Şaziye, Nilgün, Raziye and Nurcan, it is to clean the carpets and windows. While Şenay is very reluctant in using vacuum cleaner, ironing seems difficult to Semra, Nuran and Çiğdem. For Fatma and Ezel, none of the domestic work is not that difficult.

Interestingly, Şükran is the only one who does not love cooking and considers it as the most difficult responsibility of a housewife. For their favorite work, unlike Şükran, eight of the interviewees address cooking and six of these eight also recognize it as their most valuable work. The reason may be that cooking is one of the most creative activities within the domestic work range. The origination as well as the execution of cooking entirely depends on the individual responsible for the process. Through the foods they cook, they have the platform to show their capabilities and reveal their authenticity. Moreover, it is a way to hear instant and frequent appreciation from the family members. If they appreciate the food, it takes place right after the meal finishes and it may happen three times in a day.

On the other hand, Fatma, Handan, Çiğdem and Nilgün point out cleaning as their most precious performance. Semra notes that she does not have any particular favorite work because she dislikes any type of domestic chore. Interestingly, Çiğdem and Şükran agree that the most enjoyable domestic work is to hang out the laundry.

In sum, all women appreciate the contribution of technological advancements to their daily burden and the majority of them express that the most helping devices are washing machine, dishwasher and vacuum cleaner. Besides, the majority also like cooking at most among the daily tasks as it enables them to exercise their creativity.

§ 3.8 Domestic Labor Never Comes to an End

When the participants are asked whether domestic labor comes to an end, with the exception of Şaziye, Nilgün, Nuran and Şükran, they all believe that it is something that one cannot complete. As long as a woman stays at home, there are always things to do. Şenay says that housewifery has 7/24 working hours without any holiday or break. Cowan has a parallel perspective on the issue: "Modern household technology facilitated married women's workforce participation not by freeing women from household labor but by making it possible for women to maintain decent standards in their homes without assistants and without a full-time commitment to housework" (Cowan, 1983, p.209). Nuran thinks that one needs to know where to stop; otherwise to-do-lists would be never-ending. Şaziye, Şükran and Nilgün assert that if one knows to organize her daily schedule, she will manage to finalize her tasks.

The four women who thinks that the domestic labor cannot ever be finalized are among the ones who come from smaller cities. The dynamics as well as the life practices in the small sized cities might lead them to think in that way, but still we cannot accept it as the absolute reason behind their perspective.

§ 3.9 Cleaning Ladies

Among all participants, the only person who does not hire a cleaning lady is Ezel. She tried it for several times but was never satisfied with it. She admits that she feels tired without that lady, but she believes that her performance is much better than a typical cleaning lady. As opposed to Ezel, Handan is the only woman who receives daily service. Şenay, Nurcan, Semra and Nuran have her once in a week. Şaziye, Fatma and Şükran call a cleaning lady twice in a month, while Raziye, Nilgün, Çiğdem and Sara needs her once in a month for a deeper cleaning.

Their common motivation for deeper cleaning is to assign the lady with the work that they do not have sufficient energy to do. The two most important criteria for a good cleaning lady are her honesty and cleaning

capabilities. But yet it is also critical for the interviewees to work with a person whom they can contact easily and communicate their expectancies.

Most of the interviewees do not let the lady get involved in the kitchen and wardrobe-related tasks. For them, these two are their personal spaces which should not be touched upon by someone else.

> According to Bora, when domestic worker intervenes with tasks related with homemaking, the employer, i.e. housewife, becomes uncomfortable since the difference between homemaking and housework is blurred. According to Bora, tasks like the order of the items and furniture, decoration and kitchen work are considered as 'subjective and personal', therefore an intervention in these areas do [*sic*] not allowed by housewives. (Aksu, 2005, 128) (Ünal, 2012, pp.67-68)

§ 3.10 Comparison Between Housewife and Professional Roles

Ruth Schwartz Cowan compares and contrasts a professional job with the housewife role. In her discussion, she concludes as such:

> There are three significant sense in which housework differs from market work (in being--most commonly--unpaid labor, performed in isolated workplaces, by unspecialized workers) and three significant sense in which the two forms of work resemble each other (in utilizing nonhuman energy sources, which create dependency on a network of social and economic institutions and are accompanied by alienation from the tools that make the labor possible). (Cowan, 1983, p.7)

In parallel, the interviewees are asked to share their comments on this comparison. There are two types of perspectives: One is centered around the idea that housewife is luckier than a professional woman, the other one is the opposite. To begin with the former one, Nurcan and Şaziye think that professional woman constantly needs to struggle against time restrictions because society expects woman to handle both the professional and domestic tasks. In other words, professional women have dual hats: one as an occupation holder, another as the mother/wife of the

house. Their occupation does not liberate them from their domestic responsibilities.

From Ezel and Sara's perspectives, a housewife is free to organize her own schedule while a professional woman is forced to obey an agenda that is decided by her superiors. As a matter of fact, as it was expressed by the participants in Oakley's research, 'the 'best thing' about being a housewife is that you're your own boss, you don't have to go to work and you have free time" (Oakley, 1987, p.92). Şenay, Şükran and Nuran emphasize the fact that a housewife can spend much more time with her family than a professional woman.

When the opposite perspective-which considers the professional woman luckier than a housewife- is examined, Fatma, Çiğdem and Handan say that housewifery requires 7/24 working hours while a professional woman works for a limited time period. Nilgün argues that both are exposed to a certain degree of stress in different manners: A housewife has to struggle against boredom and emptiness whereas a professional woman needs to fight against time while delivering her professional assignments. Semra says that a housewife, due to a passive husband in a daily routine, undertakes the whole domestic responsibilities that put extra emotional and physical burden on herself.

Raziye complains that a housewife is not given the right to have any excuse. In other words, while the society is very respectful for any excuse of a professional woman, a housewife is not allowed to refuse any invitation or duty. Society justifies this difference as such: a housewife is at home all day long, thus she should always be ready and motivated for any type of service.

In summary, some women see themselves luckier than professionals as they can manage their own schedule, have enough time to spend with their families and do not have dual hats as the professional women do. Others see themselves unfortunate as they have 7/24 working hours, do not receive enough support from their husbands as they are at house all day long, need to fight against boredom and loneliness at home. They are also not allowed to have any excuse for any issue. In this discussion, there

is no correlation between any of the potential factors and the responses of the interviewees.

Oakley's definition of housework combines the interviewees' perspectives as such:

Housework differs from most other work in three significant ways: it is private, it is self-defined and its outlines are blurred by its integration in a whole complex of domestics, family-based roles which define the situation of women as well as the situation of the housewife. (Oakley, 1987, p.6)

§ 3.11 Professional Life: Stressful or Not

Assigned with both domestic and professional tasks, professional woman seems to be exposed to a greater degree of stress than an average housewife. On the other hand, there is an argument which suggest that 'housewives have more symptoms of depression than do working wives' (Iglehart, 1980, p.319).

The majority of the interviewees believe that the main factor behind the degree of stress in a person's life is the individual mindset rather than the occupation. In other words, a housewife may have a much more stressful life than a professional woman. But still, six of the respondents also make a differentiation between the stress levels of housewives and professionals.

Şenay, Çiğdem, Şükran and Şaziye believe that a housewife is exposed to lesser degree of stress. Given the fact that a professional woman holds double burden – both at house and office, the level of stress she suffers is much higher than an average housewife. They agree that 'employed mothers' involvement with household tasks and child rearing activities cause an overwhelming effect on the women's daily routine, increasing their feelings of agitation (Umberson and Gove, 1989)' (Özbeklik, 2006, p.46).

On the other hand, Handan and Semra think that it is more stressful to stay at home and deal with any type of all-day long duties. Housewife does not have a defined job specification that enables her to be

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considered as successful. She can never reach to an end in her to-do list; there is always other things to do and more way to go for a better performance. As such, Hays underlines the stress and burden housewife mothers have to be exposed to: "In sum, ensuring that the requirements of good alternative care are maintained consistently not only produces a good deal of anxiety among mothers; it is also obviously a labor-intensive process" (Hays, 1996, p.120). Şükran and Nilgün also highlight the role of the attitudes and expectations of the family members. For them, the level of satisfaction and appreciation one receives is very correlated with the degree of stress she faces.

In sum, all of the interviewees believe that what matters is one's individual character and perspective on life. It is not rational to generalize the housewifes as less or more stressful than the professionals. Whether a woman is stressful is not about her occupation but related to her mindset. Among the interviewees who want to make a comparison between two identities, there are two different perspectives on the issue: four of the respondents believe that housewife is less stressful in the sense that they do not hold dual hats as professionals do, whereas two of the group members believe that professionals are less stressful because they have a particular job description as well as a framed list of duties and do not have to deal with a never-ending to-do lists. Considering the entire response set, none of the potential factors has a determinant role in the discussion.

§ 3.12 Motivations of Professionals from Housewife Perspective

Professional women have different motivations for their participation to the business life. On one hand, Hays discusses:

> Most employed mothers, then, say that if they stay at home they'll go stir-crazy, they'll get bored, the demands of the kids will drive them nuts, they won't have an opportunity to use their brains or interact with other adults, they'll feel like they're going nowhere, and they'll lose their sense of identity in the larger world. (Hays, 1996, p.135)

On the other hand, the motivation for a full-time job can have a financial dimension which leads to a contribution to the family budget. The third argument focuses on a professional ambition and satisfaction.

The interviewees are asked to discuss their own argument for the topic. In order to facilitate the discussion, the respondents are given the motives listed above: financial pursuits, career goals and escape from domestic chores. For six of them (Şaziye, Semra, Nilgün, Şenay, Ezel, Sara) the most powerful trigger is the financial need. Fatma, Şükran, Nurcan and Nuran cannot prioritize financial pursuits over career goals and they weigh both motivations equal.

On the other hand, Çiğdem, Raziye and Handan believe that all three factors play a role in one's motivation for a professional life. Nurcan also makes a comparison between contemporary youth and her own generation: From her perspective, while her generation was seeking both financial and career pursuits, contemporary youth wants to pursue a professional career in order to escape from domestic environment. However, after a while, they get tired of professional life and usually search for a more comfortable alternative life through marrying a wealthy husband and preferring either to stay at home or establishing their own business.

In sum, there are three perspectives on the topic across the participants: Almost half prioritize the financial pursuits, four of them points both the financial goals and career objectives, while three of the interviewees believe that escaping from the domestic sphere also has a role in people's choice of participating to professional life. It should be also noted that there is no correlation between any of the potential factors and the responses of the women in this study.

§ 3.13 Holding Dual Identity: Successful or Not

As professional mothers hold dual identities both as a worker and mother/wife in the home, can they be evaluated as successful? Are they achieving more than an average housewife as they are dealing with the tasks of both spheres?

The interviewees express that it is not reasonable to generalize these professional mothers as successful. Their motherhood as well as professional performances should be deeply examined. In their perspective, there is a great deal of women who cannot manage to carry out dual responsibilities although they seem as if they can. Being a professional with children does not always deserve to be appraised.

Furthermore, Handan and Sara assert that a professional woman can never succeed in being a perfect mother and would be limited with an average motherhood performance. It seems as if she can manage both at the same time, but the reality is always different than her individual perception.

§ 3.14 Contribution to the Family Budget

A professional woman supports the family budget through bringing in a certain amount of her monthly salary. This contribution legitimizes her added value to the household economics. On the other hand, a housewife does not put a certain amount of money on the table. But does this mean that she does not have any contribution to the budget?

All the participants believe that they, one way or another, make a contribution to the family financials. They are economizing the budget, saving money and calculating the balance sheet. For example, Şenay never starts the washing machine before its capacity is fulfilled. Ezel is very good at balancing electricity and natural gas bills. Sara saves money in hobby and travelling aspects. In the past, Şaziye used to sew dresses in order to decrease the family expenditures. It is also interesting that none of the participants addressed their childcaring performance as a contribution to the family budget.

§ 3.15 Importance of Praise

The interviewees are asked for their comments on another argument which Yalom puts forward in her piece. She mentions Claire Booth Luce, wife of journalist and editor, who says that women will stop complaining

and be happy with their housewifery if husbands praise them (Yalom, 2002, p.369). Can a praise really avoid complaints of a housewife?

Believing in the power of praise, seven of the interviewees supported Luce's argument with particular references. On the other hand, five of them (Şenay, Ezel, Şükran, Semra and Şaziye) believe that it does not result in housewife's refrainment from complaining; but still, it may lessen her grievance. In other words, praises -to some extent- contribute to a housewife's contentment with her life.

Şenay and Şaziye say that praises are not lasting but instantly pleasing. Şenay, although constantly receives appreciation from her family members, confesses that it does not abolish her tiredness. Ezel believes that if appreciation constitutes half of the story, the other half goes to financial dimension. If she earned a certain amount of money - in addition to an appreciation- in return for her domestic performance, she would be quite satisfied with her life. Semra highlights the importance of the sincerity of an appreciation. In other words, it is not the quantity but the quality of praises that really triggers a woman's motivation.

The only person who does not value praise is Raziye. In her perspective, appreciation does not have a role. She tells that she fulfills her domestic responsibilities not as an extra effort to be appreciated but as a necessary daily routine for the healthy functioning of her family.

As a result, with one exception (Raziye), the attendees are divided into two in terms of their perspectives: seven of them believe that compliments work while the five women think that praises do not totally avoid but may lessen the grumble in some cases. It is noteworthy that the latter group consists of the women who come from smaller cities. It might contribute to their experiences as well as their perspectives.

§ 3.16 Housewife Association

In contemporary world, almost every occupation has its own associations and clubs. However, as housewifery is not categorized as a real occupation, it does not have any organization as such. Based on this, the

interviewees are asked whether they prefer to take a part in such association.

Interestingly, only half of the interviewees would like to have a housewife club. Şenay and Raziye believe that such an association may legalize housewifery as a profession. The rest of the supporters assume that it would be a great platform for group activities, discussions and creations. For Nilgün, it would support many housewives in developing their households. The opponents of such a club argue that they are satisfied with their own way and thus do not need for additional suggestions or platforms.

Examining the effect of the potential factors in this topic, there is no correlation between these and the answers of the participants.

§ 3.17 Summary

For their definition of the term 'housewife', while some interviewees emphasize the negative aspects of the identity such as inability to spend individual time and having multiple responsibilities, others prefer to use positive terms such as happy family portrait and their intense focus on the family members and the household. When they are asked whether they accept housewifery as an occupation, half of the interviewees do so whereas the rest do not. None of the potential factors have an effect on the responses given by the interviewees.

 When the question is about whether an education constitutes a barrier on being a housewife, although all agree that it is not an obstacle for a housewife role, they diverge in their reasoning. Five of them believe that a woman ruins her educational efforts when she chooses to become a housewife. On the other hand, the rest believe that the diploma is an important asset that a person can benefit for her individual as well as family spheres. It is important to note that the first group consists of the women who receive an appreciation at a level below the group average.

When they are asked for the credentials of the housewife role, the respondents list physical duties as well as the emotional dimension such as expressing love and care for their family members. In other words, all

mention both the physical and the psychological aspects of an ideal housewife. They do not limit themselves with either one; instead, they believe in the need for having both together.

Except the two of the interviewees, all of them consider housework as their natural responsibility. All interviewees believe that their daughters become aware of these invisible tasks when they get married and have their own household under their responsibility. The two women who diverge with their answers are among the ones who receive a low level of appreciation from their family members.

Likewise, with an exception of the two, all the respondents prioritize an appreciation over a financial reward for their performance. Once again, these two people receive a low level of appreciation from their family members compared to the group average.

All interviewees appreciate the contribution of the technological advancements to their daily burden and the majority of them express that the most helping devices are washing machine, dishwasher and vacuum cleaner. Besides, the majority also like cooking at most among the daily tasks as it enables them to exercise their creativity.

With the exception of the four respondents, they all believe that domestic labor is something that one cannot fully complete. From their perspective, as long as a woman stays at home, there are always things to do. The commonality among these four exceptional women are their hometown being small cities.

Except one, all of the respondents make use of cleaning ladies though the frequency differs. For them, the most important credentials of a lady are her honesty as well as her professional competencies. The majority of the women do not want these ladies get involved in their private spheres such as kitchen and dressing room.

When it comes to compare the lives of professional women with housewives, some of the respondents see themselves luckier than professionals as they can manage their own schedule, have enough time to spend with their families and do not have dual hats as the professional women do. Others see themselves unfortunate as they have 7/24 working hours, do not receive enough support from their husbands as they are at

house all day long, have to fight against boredom and loneliness at home. We cannot address any correlation between the potential factors and the responses of the interviewees in this topic.

On the topic of whether a professional woman has more stressful life than housewife, the half of the interviewees believe that the main determinant is one's individual character and point of view. Among the interviewees who want to make a comparison between two identities, there are two different perspectives on the issue: four of the respondents believe that housewife is less stressful in the sense that they do not hold dual hat as professionals do, whereas two of the group members believe that professionals are less stressful because they have a particular job description as well as a framed list of duties and do not have to deal with a never-ending to-do lists. It is important to note that none of the potential factors do not act as a determinant in this discussion.

As the respondents are asked for their opinion on the motivations of a professional mother, there are three perspectives on the issue expressed by the interviewees: Almost half prioritize the financial pursuits, four of them weigh the financial goals and career objectives equal, while three of the interviewees believe that escaping from the domestic sphere also has a role in people's choice of participating to professional life. We can observe that the potential factors are not the reason of the diversity of the responses given by the interviewees.

The interviewees express that it is not reasonable to generalize all the professional mothers as successful. Their motherhood as well as professional performances should be deeply examined in order to make a good judgment. As a matter of fact, there is a great deal of women who cannot manage to carry out dual responsibilities although they seem as if they can. Being a professional with children does not always deserve to be appraised.

They all believe that they, one way or another, make a contribution to the family financials although they do not earn and bring a certain amount of money. They tell that they are economizing the budget, saving money, calculating the balance sheet and thus contributing to the overall finance of the family.

Informed about Booth Luce's argument on the effect of the compliments on housewife's satisfaction, with one exception (Raziye), the entire group are divided into two in their comments: Seven of them believe that compliments works while the five women think that praises do not totally avoid but may lessen the grumble in some cases. We should note that the latter group consists of the women who come from smaller cities. It might play a role in their answers.

Only the half of the interviewees would like to have a housewife club as the other half argue that they are satisfied with their own way and thus do not need for additional suggestions or platforms. There is no correlation between the potential factors and the answers of the participants.

Considering the entire response set provided in this chapter, we cannot address any of the potential factors as a main determinant that shapes the responses in this study. For particular questions, women give similar answers despite the fact that they differ in their educational background, hometown or the level of appreciation they receive. On the other hand, in some cases, they reply in a diverse fashion although they have commonalities in their education, hometown or the level of appreciation they receive. Therefore, we can conclude that the potential factors play a role in some topics to some extent although there is no absolute correlation between the answers and these factors. For the topics they think similarly, it can be argued that coming from the same social class shapes their answers and thus contribute to the outcome.

4

HOUSEWIFE AS A MOTHER

> *Whatever choice a mother makes, there are always to things to worry about. (Hays, 1996, p.119)*

In addition to the housekeeping responsibility, most of the housewives also serve as mothers. The motherhood can be differentiated from housekeeping with its psychological requirements. A mother needs to meet the needs for both the physical and emotional wellbeing of her family. Considering the fact that all of the interviewees have two children, they are all experienced in mothering and thus eligible to provide details of their own motherhood experiences.

In this chapter, both the feeling and the practices of the mothering will be examined. The way they feel, the aspects they differentiate their mothering from the professional women, their tactics in parenting, preferences as well as advices to their own children will be the main topics of this elaboration. While the responses of the interviewees are being discussed, the possible effects of the educational background, hometown as well as the level of appreciation they receive on the answers will be observed.

§ 4.1 Motivation for Motherhood

Although a child is born without any consent, adults deliberately or unintentionally choose to become parents. There can be several motives behind this critical decision. Ann Taylor Allen contributes to the discussion in her piece as such:

> As Knibiehler wisely remind us, childbearing is not an industrial process that responds to economic conditions and market incentives. Nor is it a social problem that can be solved by public intervention. The decision to bear a child is more emotional than rational, and is driven by such psychological forces as the need for love, connection, and self-affirmation, the desire to re-live one's own childhood, even a longing for continuity beyond one's own death. (Allen, 2005, p. 239)

In this research, almost all the interviewees admit that motherhood is one of the major do's of a marriage. Females have been conditioned to give birth to a baby since their childhood period. Even the role-plays and games are structured in that tone: For example, the most common toy for a baby girl is usually a baby-doll. Therefore, women believe that it is the next step further in their lives which comes after marriage. "However, as stated by Nauck and Klaus (2004), for many families in Turkey, women get pregnant right after the marriage ceremony and children bring economic security as well as prestige and status especially to the wives" (Özbeklik, 2006, p.126).

Ezel, Raziye, Fatma, Şenay, Nilgün, Şükran, Çiğdem, Şaziye and Semra admit that they have given birth in an unconscious and unplanned way. However, they all admit that the society in parallel always insinuates the idea of a baby. Handan and Nuran explain their motivation with their admiration for kids and babies. Sara and Nurcan agrees Thurer in the sense that a woman instinctively desires to give birth as 'a prescription for her inner state' and pursue motherhood as a 'natural biological destiny' and considers it as the 'necessary developmental stage for all women and should supplant other identities' (Thurer, 1995, p.256). Semra tells that the hidden motivation behind a desire for motherhood is the continuity

of her own lineage. Şaziye also adds that her confidence in her husband also played an important role in her decision to become a mother.

In sum, more than half of the interviewees have had their baby unwittingly, however none of them tell it in a way that they feel regretful about the outcome. The reason might be the fact that they do not have the chance to change the past, nevertheless all seem glad to have their babies in the end. Considering the group of attendees in this study, it can be concluded that the high level of educational background does not guarantee a deliberate pregnancy. Instead, all the women who gave birth unintentionally are from smaller cities (whereas the rest of the interviewees come from metropolis). It might enable them to have the idea of pregnancy in the back of their minds.

When it comes to the rest of the interviewees, two justifies their deliveries as their love for babies where another two interviewees tell that it is the necessary step for women to attain psychological wellbeing. One of the respondents notes the motive for continuity of the family and another emphasizes the role of his husband's performance in the domestic sphere that have encouraged her to have a baby.

§ 4.2 Number of Children

One of the commonalities among the interviewees is the number of children they have. Therefore, they are asked for the reason why they prefer neither three nor one child. Raziye, Çiğdem, Şaziye and Semra indeed wanted to have only one child. Şaziye and Semra gave birth to their second child accidentally. Çiğdem and Raziye were exposed to a social pressure and they could not stand against.

On the other hand, Nilgün, Nuran, Şenay and Nurcan were essentially planning to have a third child but their husbands and children were not for it. Şükran tells that her major motivation was her first child's desire for a sibling. Fatma, Nurcan, Raziye and Sara assert that a person should definitely have a sibling; otherwise, s/he will feel lonely throughout his/her entire life. Ezel has no answer for this question. Handan and

Şenay wanted to have their second child with the intention of having a baby girl.

In conclusion, the four women in this study intended to have only one kid, whereas other four would have preferred to give birth to their third child. Three of the respondents believe in the necessity of a sibling because it saves a person from loneliness. Two women gave birth to their second child in order to have a baby-girl. One of the respondents say that she had her second baby as her first child asked for it. Considering the educational background, hometown or the level of appreciation of each interviewee, there is not any correlation between these determinants and women's planning of the number of children they desired to have.

§ 4.3 Motherhood as Duty or Self-fulfillment

Ann Taylor Allen highlights one of the striking trends of the contemporary family, 'the redefinition of parenthood from a duty to a form of self-fulfillment':

> This does not, of course, mean that today's parents do not love their children. However, they tend to integrate the child into a total life-plan- in the words of Aries, as 'one of the various components which make it possible for adults to blossom as individuals'. (Allen, 2005, p.240)

Here is Hay's perspective on the topic:

> For a number of mothers, having a child is not just a means of creating a family in general, it is specifically a way to have someone in particular to fully love and nurture. In this form of elaboration on the sense of emptiness, the something that is "missing" is the practice of "doing a lot of taking care of another person." (Hays, 1996, p.109)

Considering these arguments, the interviewees are asked whether they consider parenthood as a duty or self-fulfillment.

Raziye, Ezel and Sara think that parenting, based upon the idea of voluntarism, is a series of personal satisfactions while the rest believe that it is the combination of both satisfaction and duty. Hays expresses this blend in his own words as such: "One's natural love for the inherently

sacred child necessarily leads one to engage in child-centered, expert-guided, emotionally absorbing, labor-intensive, and financially expensive child rearing" (Hays, 1996, p.129). Nilgün says that motherhood is such a life-long responsibility that you cannot maintain unless it provides you with the moments of personal satisfaction. Şükran believes that getting pregnant is considered to be personal satisfaction whereas bringing up a baby is a duty.

In conclusion, they all agree that 'child-rearing will fulfill their emotional needs and help them to live richer and more balanced life' but still they recognize the 'responsibility' dimension of the motherhood (Allen, 2005, p.240). Except the three interviewees who consider parenting as a series of personal satisfaction, the rest believe that it has both the satisfaction and duty dimensions. For the three opponents, we do not observe any commonality among them in terms of educational background, hometown or the level of appreciation they receive.

§ 4.4 Motherhood: Attainable or Innate

Motherhood, either as a duty or self-fulfillment, is the common identity that all of the interviewees hold. There is a continual discussion about whether this identity is attainable or innate. Here is what Stern assumes:

> Their new identity may start at some point during the pregnancy, emerge more fully after the baby's birth, and then emerge full force after several more months of caring for the baby at home. Each step of this realization is valid, yet with each step something is added to the motherhood identity. (Stern, 1998, p.20)

As opposed to Stern's argument, there is another perspective which proposes that a woman has this feeling as a part of her nature.

In this research, the participants are divided into three in their perspectives. Ezel, Nilgün, Şükran, Sara and Şaziye think that it is an innate feeling that you cannot attain subsequently in the course of time. Fatma, Nurcan, Şenay, Handan and Semra suppose that it is to be developed and consolidated over time though it has an innate foundation. For Şenay, it is activated by pregnancy while Nurcan claim that the base of the

motherhood feeling is being shaped by the experiences one has gained as a mother. However, Raziye, Nuran and Çiğdem express that motherhood is a definitely acquired feeling as a woman becomes gradually experienced.

As a result, there are three different views among the interviewees: motherhood as an innate feeling, as a feeling with a foundation that needs to be further enhanced, and as a feeling acquired gradually in the course of time. Considering the entire response set for this question, we cannot choose any of the potential factors (educational background, hometown and the level of appreciation) as the main determinant for this topic.

§ 4.5 Good Mother

The term of the motherhood refers to different values and motives in each woman's mind. As a matter of fact, if it was not the situation, every woman would perform her motherhood in a similar way. Consequently, a stereotype of an ideal mother is very much shaped by an individual mindset as well as personal background. For Thurer, 'good mothering, history reminds us, is a cultural invention- something that is man-made, not a lawful force of nature. It is subject to human intervention' (Thurer, 1995, p.300).

Hays brings in a different approach to the issue: "Mothers are agents rather than automations; they actively engage in producing and reproducing, shaping and reshaping, the ideology of appropriate motherhood" (Hays, 1996, p.95). At this point, the interviewees are questioned for their own description of an ideal mother.

Before all else, all respondents emphasize the importance of an intimate relationship between a mother and her child. A good mother should feel engaged to her child and pay attention to every single issue about him/her. For the other characteristics of an ideal mother, each woman mentions different aspects.

Şaziye believes that the most important thing a good mother should prioritize is to empathize with her child. In every case, she should put herself into her child's shoes and listen to him/her carefully instead of

insisting on her own perspective. Hays expresses Şaziye's idea in a nutshell: "The good mother responds to and acts upon what the child seems to be requesting. This means that the mother allows the child to control the process of child rearing in line with his or her needs and desires" (Hays, 1996, p.113). Handan's 'good mother' should meet not only physical but also psychological needs of a child.

For Semra, a good mother should always stand behind her child both at the times of success or failure and should not forget to leave him/her personal space. Her stance is similar to what Damour advises to the parents in her book:

> When we're not taking our daughters' teenage behavior personally and we help them to stop taking us so personally, we're better parents. We can admire our daughters' successes as evidence of their terrific growth (not our goodness), and we can see their trials as proof that they are working to master the developmental strands we now know well. (Damour, 2016, p.280)

Çiğdem asserts that a good mother should spend a sufficient amount of time with her children in order to obtain an intimate relationship with them. Sara claims that a good mother should be capable to interpret the psychological state as well as personal expectations of her child. Hays discusses the issue in her work:

> A good mother will, as Spock puts it, follow the baby's lead. It involves recognizing that children are people too. You also need to respect them as individuals. Above all, this process involves listening to the child. Even though they are small, dependent, and not always articulate about what they want, children deserve to be treated with this kind of respect. (Hays, 1996, p.113)

Nuran's and Ezel's 'good mother' should be acting as a friend, an aunt, a sister and a mother. Thus, a child would never hesitate to share her secrets as well as her feelings with his/her mother. For Şükran, a good mother should care about both nutritive and mental welfare of her child. Nilgün and Şenay assert that she should establish common grounds and harmony in her relationship with her child but should never approve his/her wrong decisions. Nurcan believes that a good mother should

prepare her child's characteristics, values and mental state for the worst possible conditions. For Raziye, the most important issue is to bring up a happy child who can, without any doubt, share her/his privacy with the mother. Last but not least, from Fatma's perspective, constant support and accompaniment of a mother are credentials of an ideal profile.

Although they make different statements for their ideal stereotype, they all agree Hays in her argument as such:

> A bad mother, in other words, is a mother who neglects her kids for selfish reasons, because she is more concerned with her personal fulfillment, her leisure pursuits, her material possessions, and her status than she is with her children. (Hays, 1996, p.125)

The expressions of all interviewees can be summarized as such:

> Effective parents, in this case effective problem solvers, are those who know their children and how they will react and who are willing to put that knowledge into effect. The degree of sensitivity or awareness to a given child's characteristics and cognitions is expected to have an influence on the effectiveness of the parents (Grusec and Underer, 2003). (Özbeklik, 2006, p.37)

§ 4.6 Good Child

If there is a concept for a good mother, is there any for a good child? Should the children be considered as the reflections of mothers' attitudes? As Thurer mentions, is it true that 'child rearing had become a perilous endeavor, a virtual setup for parental blame'? Is it reasonable to claim that 'there are no problem children, only problem parents'? (Thurer, 1995, p.254).

Among the interviewees, Sara, Nuran and Şükran do not believe in the distinction of a good and a bad child. For them, a child is very much shaped by her parents from scratch. As long as the family educates him/her properly, there is no possibility for a child to be a bad person.

On the other hand, the rest of the interviewees assert that a child may end up in a bad attitude though s/he has the most ideal parents in the world. They do not ignore the role of parenting, but still they esteem the power of child temperament. They all witness a lot of 'good parent-bad child' matches. They also recognize the environmental and social factors in the formulation. Nevertheless, in this study, the general idea is that the character of the child as well as the parenting are still the two major elements in the mechanism that determine child's attitude. Last but not least, we cannot specify any particular determinant for this topic.

§ 4.7 Advantages of Housewifery in Childbearing

The most important advantage listed by all the interviewees is the intense care that they have managed to provide their children with. Each could achieve to cover all the necessities of her children. The entire daily routine was being exercised under her own control and through her own methods. She could apply her own way of child bearing, including the nutritive, the social as well as the cultural dimension. All the interviewees feel at ease in the sense that they could give the optimum level of education and great amount of love. Hays points out the same perspective in his piece:

> Quality time, even if it is of high quality, cannot make up for children's lack of a quantity of time with their mothers. Most mothers, whether they work for pay or not, are concerned about the quality of day care, but stay-at-home mothers often use this concern to explain their commitment to staying at home. (Hays, 1996, p.139)

The only exception is Çiğdem: While all the women believe that the story would be different if their children were looked after by a baby-sitter, Çiğdem strongly assures that her children would be the same as today in the case of a baby-sitter. Nurcan and Handan are very proud of their constant presence at home when the children were back at home after school. Ezel observes that the children of professional mothers are always uneasy, they cannot benefit the real mothering. Semra contributes

to the discussion by suggesting that a housewife and her children knows each other more deeply than it is in the case with a professional mother. Having witnessed every moment of their childhood, Handan was always able to monitor her children's development. Otherwise, she could never know what had happened between a baby-sitter and a child.

For all respondents with the exception of Çiğdem, a housewife mother can make a significant contribution to her child's own psychological and physiological background as she has the sufficient power as well as the convenient time for that. The culture created by a baby-sitter may result in a duality between child's and mother's attitudes which can damage the relationship between the two. A housewife mother cannot address someone else to blame in the time of a conflict with her child; she should keep in her mind that she is the only one who has structured the child's attitude.

§ 4.8 Disadvantages of Childbearing as Housewife

As opposed to the listed advantages, there are certain disadvantages of housewives in child bearing aspect. Hays puts the idea into his words as such: "Many stay-at-home moms experience the exhaustion of meeting the demands of children all day long, just as employed mothers fear they might. And may stay-at-home mothers also experience a loss of self" (Hays, 1996, p. 137).

However, Nurcan, Ezel, Nuran, Sara and Şaziye cannot list any disadvantage of being housewife in child caring and express their satisfaction with their situation.

The rest of the interviewees list different negative aspects of their status. For Handan, it is very stressful journey if the mother struggles to complete all tasks in a perfectionist way. There is not any certain upper limit for a mother to set as a target; therefore, it is a constant ambition to get beyond oneself.

Raziye finds a housewife inferior and unlucky in child bearing: While a professional woman is more social and cultured, a housewife is all alone at home trying to establish her own way without any external social or

cultural support. Professional woman has access to more intellectual and qualified sources and thus have the opportunity to reflect this knowhow on her children.

Fatma and Şükran, together with Raziye, believe that one cannot leave home in times of tiredness and boredom as she is always surrounded by children. Hays also refers to the issue as such: 'Some stay-at-home mothers feel as if they are physically confined inside the home' (Hays, 1996, p.136). For Nilgün and Semra, it may cause the same feeling for children, in the sense that they can feel so constrained by their mother's excessive as well as intense care. A housewife can forget to leave a space for a child and thus limit his/her freedom. Nilgün suggests that it might be good for a child to spend some time with someone else rather than her mother in his/her daily routine.

Şenay asserts that she has created sort of an addiction in her children due to the constant togetherness. When they became older, they sometimes felt vulnerable and could not find the necessary courage to give some decisions on their own. They constantly looked for support or approval from their mother. They might have also become irresponsible to some extent as they got used to have things done by their mother.

In sum, five of the respondents cannot list any disadvantage of housewifery. They do not have any commonality in terms of the potential factors we consider for this study. The other interviewees share the negative aspects such as not having any specific, measurable objectives in their performance, being isolated at home without any external interaction, putting pressure on the children due to the intense care, causing a dependency in child to his/her mother and letting them to be irresponsible.

§ 4.9 'The Children Raised by Housewife Mothers are To Be More ...'

To make the difference between a mother and baby-sitter care distinct, the respondents are asked to fill in the blank in the given sentence: The children cared by housewife mothers become more ... in life. The answers are diversified in the sense that some prefer to put in negative attitudes

while others would like to choose positive attainments. Some interviewees want to know whether they are asked for a positive or negative comment, but they are left free in their choices.

In that respect, only Şenay makes dual comments: From her perspective, her children enjoyed genuine love although they do not have a high sense of responsibility. Raziye, Nilgün and Çiğdem, preferring negative attitudes, say that these children are definitely lazier than the children of professional mothers. They are used to get things done by their mothers, thus they either do not want to do or not feel the energy for some responsibilities. The commonality among these three women are the level of appreciation they receive from the family members. All have scored below the group average.

On the other hand, other interviewees underline the positive remarks of the mother-care. For Fatma, they manage to become more successful and warm-hearted people. Nurcan and Ezel believe that they are more poised. Their children have gained better understanding of the notions and the concepts as they are neither spoiled nor suppressed in their childhood. Şükran and Semra believe that their kids are healthier both psychologically and physiologically than the others. Nuran and Handan emphasize the child's self-confidence and self-assurance as s/he always feels her mother's support and companion all the way through his/her childhood. Sara says that these children do not constantly look for and feel the need of a supplementary love provided by other people. In this respect, Şaziye agrees with Sara and adds that these children end up with having strong social skills.

Overall, three of the respondents raise negative aspects such as being lazy and having a weak sense of responsibility. The commonality among these three women are the level of appreciation they receive from the family members. All of them have scored below the group average. Şenay is the only one who shared both a negative and positive aspect. On the other hand, the rest of the population mention some positive impacts of their care. In sum, all their comments address a child who receive a high level of love and therefore become a strong character in the society s/he lives in. Rather than the physical returns, they prefer to highlight the

emotional/psychological advantages which their own care brings into the picture.

§ 4.10 Would She Regret If She Did Not Take Care of Her Baby

Having taken care of their children without any additional assistance or support of a baby-sitter, all of the interviewees have listed all the negative and positive aspects of housewifery in child bearing. However, what would they feel in the opposite scenario? In other words, would they regret if they did not look after their own children? Hays argues that "whatever choice a mother makes, there are always things to worry about. Women have a hard time deciding what to do" (Hays, 1996, p.118).

Except Fatma, Çiğdem and Semra, they all say that they would definitely regret. Although they did not have the chance to experience the other way around, based on their observations and hearsays, they feel like they would be very resentful in that scenario. Sara adds that if she had the opportunity to leave her children to her mother or mother-in-law, she would feel secure. Fatma says that she would try not to regret if she decided to get involved in the professional life as it would be so late to rewind the whole story back to beginning.

In short, with the exception of three interviewees, the rest of the participants express that they would regret if they did not have the chance to take care of their babies. They might respond in that way as they cannot change their past choices. They might be trying to make use of their own answers in order to justify their own situation to themselves. We cannot address any of the potential factors as the main determinants of the question.

§ 4.11 Comments on Bowlby's Attachment Theory

One of the most important theories in childbearing topic belongs to John Bowlby, who was a British psychologist and psychiatrist of twentieth century. As a baby of wealthy family, he was cared by a nanny who left the

house when he was at age four and thus experienced a significant depression due to her leave.

Thurer elaborates his famous theory in her book The Myths of Motherhood:

> Bowlby was the original architect of 'attachment theory', according to which all children are biologically biased to form an attachment to the person looking after them. Bowlby concluded that when a young child does not experience a 'warm, intimate, and continuous relationship with his mother', he may become crippled for life. Bowlby reasoned that many young children form an internal working model of themselves and others based on early ties with their mothers. The model is fixed at an early age. So if babies are deprived of mother love (due to separation or loss of mother), they will be unable to form human relationships. Hence, the quality of the mother-infant bond -which Bowlby termed 'attachment'- is a crucial factor in mental health. (Thurer, 1995, pp.275-276)

Although the interviewees stayed at home and looked after their babies, do they agree with Bowlby or think in the opposite way? In this respect, the answers are divided into two: First group do not agree with him as a mother may need to work in order to provide better conditions to her child. On the other hand, the other group admits that a child should be cared by her own mother for the first one or two years. It is a period in which a baby needs his/her mother's intensive caring- that cannot be replaced even by a perfect baby sitter. Nevertheless, all the interviewees support the idea that a baby should be cared by her mother in the case of sufficient financial framework.

Fatma believes that if a woman is not capable of holding dual responsibilities, she should choose either motherhood or professional life instead of performing both inadequately. Although Semra opposes Bowlby's argument, she highlights the importance of intensive caring in this period of a child. A professional mother should not justify her insufficient attention to her child through her business life and should do her best in her free times in order to compensate. Şenay, Raziye and Çiğdem

also opposes Bowlby's argument saying that women should continue to work if they are in financial need.

On the other hand, eight of the interviewees agree with Bowlby. This group believes that babies should be cared by their grandmothers in the worst-case scenario. The ideal one is to have the mother as a primary caregiver for babies' first two years. Şükran says that she has changed her mind recently. After her daughter had given birth, she had the chance to observe the effects of a baby sitter on her grandchild. She admits that there is a concrete difference between a mother's and babysitter's caring from cultural, social and intellectual aspects. As the first two years of a baby is very critical for the rest of his/her life, s/he should be taken care by his/her own mother. As a last note, checking the effect of the potential factors on the answers, there is not any correlation between the two.

§ 4.12 Feeling Idle as Children Get Older

A housewife can feel a bit idle as her children get older. In a childhood period, there are many responsibilities that should be carried out by the mother herself. However, as the children become older and start to organize their own lives, the duties of the mothers gradually decrease. Iglehart mentions the issue as such:

> The unemployed wife has to rely on her wife and mother roles to form the basis of her self-evaluation and life assessment. Already she appears to be at a disadvantage because ultimately, she loses a large part of her identity in the relinquishment of her mothering role as the children become self-sufficient and leave home. The working wife has her work role in addition to the others and thus has more on which to base her identity and self-evaluations. (Iglehart, 1980, p.319)

In parallel, the interviewees are asked whether they have felt that emptiness in the course of time.

Except the four interviewees, they all admit that they have felt a bit idle and thus looked after for alternative activities with the purpose of filling their schedules. As such, Çiğdem says that it is better to have a particular age gap among one's children for keeping herself busy.

Sara, Şaziye, Handan and Nuran, on the other hand, assert that the duties of a mother always continue though there are some changes in the content. Nuran tells that the changes in the children's lives can sometimes be difficult to accept; however, she believes that mothers should do their best to overcome these concerns for the sake of her children's happiness. For instance, when her children left home for the university education, although she had felt lonely, she managed to turn it into some kind of an excitement, such as making special preparations for the day they were coming back to home. These four mothers believe that a mother should adapt to their children's changing lives. Instead of complaining and desiring them to stay the same, the mothers should know or discover how to derive benefit from these changes. It is interesting to note that these four women receive an appreciation at a level above the group average. That may be the reason why they somehow manage to accommodate themselves to the changing conditions. Another explanation can be that they receive a higher appreciation than others as they know how to behave in line with the changing dynamics of their children's lives.

In sum, the ones who knew how to transform their engagements upon the changes in the lives of their children did not feel idle in the course of time. Besides, they are the ones who receive an appreciation above the group average. However, most of the interviewees admit that they, from time to time, stumbled as their children were getting older. As a result, the effect of the appreciation level on the issue can be observed whereas there is not any correlation with educational background or hometown.

§ 4.13 Bad Parents or None

There has always been a discussion on the effects of parenting. On one side, there is a perspective which claims 'that even a bad parent who neglects her child is none-the-less providing much for him' (Bowlby, 1973, p.78). "Despite much neglect, one or other parent has almost always and in countless ways been kind to him from the day of his birth onwards, and, however much the outsider sees to criticize, the child sees much to be grateful for" (Bowlby, 1973, p.80). The opposite opinion suggests that

having no parents instead of bad ones can create a better result for a child. Which scenario is worse: whether to have bad parents or none?

The answers received by the interviewees are divided into two: Raziye, Ezel, Handan and Şaziye believe that having none is always better than having bad parents. At least, a child may manage to follow his/her own path without having any exposure to negative values and attitudes. From their perspective, bad parents do not allow a child to realize his/her own way and limit him/her to their own world and priorities.

On the other hand, the rest of the respondents claim that having parents, no matter good or bad oriented, is always better for a child's development. S/he would feel the family support in his/her life journey and not fight against loneliness. "However devoted foster-parents or house-mothers may be, they have not the same sense of absolute obligation to a child which all but the worst parents possess. A child is therefore right to distrust them- from his point of view there is no one like his own parents" (Bowlby, 1973, p.80). In this respect, it should be also kept in mind that the interviewees in the study might not think of extreme examples which leads them to choose bad parenting over an absence of parents.

After all, while the four women believe that having no parents is better than the exposure to bad ones, the rest asserts that a child needs a parent though he may not be good as imagined. It should be noted that any of the potential factors cannot be addressed as determinants of the answers to this question.

§ 4.14 What If Their Socio-Eco Class was Different?

Every woman has her own particular way of mothering. Does socio-economic class contribute to one's motherhood? Although Hays argues that 'class differences in mothering, while significant, do not pose a serious challenge to the dominance of the ideology of intensive mothering', to what extent the social-economic conditions reflect upon one's motherhood? (Hays, 1996, p.95). Some people believe that wealth can result in a better care for a child as it would provide a mother with abundant opportunities which she can present to her child. However, this argument is

rejected by some scholars. For example, Damour addresses this discussion and expresses her objection as such:

> Recent studies find that wealth can isolate girls, both physically and emotionally, from their parents. Affluent parents may trade time at home for lucrative jobs and exercise the option of hiring a brigade of nannies, tutors, or housekeepers to help raise their daughters. In these cases, parental absence seems to contribute to a girl's emotional distress and drug use. (Damour, 2016, p.43)

There is not any homogeneity among the responses of the interviewees. Raziye, Nilgün, Şükran, Nurcan and Şaziye believe that these conditions have shaped their orientation as mothers. For example, Hays compares the mothering practices of working-class and poor mothers with middle-class and upper-middle-class mothers in his study and concludes as such:

> The women in these two groups have different baseline standards for what good mothers should provide for their children as well as differential means and differing images of how to achieve what is best for them. Given differences in their financial resources, their reference groups, and their cultural milieux, this is not surprising (Hays, 1996, p.86).

Nurcan, Şükran and Nilgün state that one's social, economic and cultural backgrounds are the major components of her motherhood. They also note that not their feelings but their practices might be different if they lived in different conditions.

On the other hand, the rest of the interviewees declare that their motherhood would be the same as today even if they had different social economic backgrounds. Their orientation and attitudes would not differ no matter how wealthy or intellectual they were.

In sum, while five of the interviewees believe that their motherhood is significantly affected by their socio-economic backgrounds, the rest think that they would pursue the same performance given other social and economic conditions. There is not any correlation between the answers and the potential factors in the discussed topic.

§ 4.15 Sex Preference

Mothers, during their pregnancy, usually dream of some attributions for their babies. Sex preference is one of the major aspects of this phase. Some mothers are influenced by social pressure while others shape their desires upon personal background or experiences. For example, in the twentieth century, there was a belief that the Turkish society favors baby-boy over baby-girl. Therefore, some families as well as husbands were putting pressure on the mothers until they gave birth to a boy. Although that tradition started to disappear in time, it is still out there in the society and is yet being exercised by some people. Furthermore, there is a separate belief that having a daughter means having a close relationship with one's child because of the fact that girls are more intimate with their mothers than boys. That is one of the reasons why women would dream of a baby-girl so that they can establish a closer relationship with their children.

In this study, Nuran, Raziye and Fatma had no particular sex preferences at the time of their pregnancy. Çiğdem, Şükran, Nilgün, Nurcan and Ezel were in the same state of mind in their first pregnancy; however, each expected her second baby to have a different sex from the first one. Şükran defines this attitude as selfishness. Nilgün is not sure whether her expectation is shaped by her individual desire or cultural norms. Having difficult times in her second operation, Ezel was ashamed of her insistence on different sex and finally felt thankful to the God that she had a healthy baby girl. Nurcan adds that her preference for a baby-boy in her second pregnancy was the inevitable outcome of the existing social pressure.

On the other hand, the rest of the interviewees strongly desired for a baby-girl at their first pregnancy. Sara even desired her second baby as a girl. Semra believes that there is much more intimacy between a mother and her daughter than her son. Şaziye, having confessed that it is selfishness, thinks that the relationship of a daughter with her parents is more durable and solid. Handan, having her first baby as a boy, would continue

to give several births till she would end up with a baby-girl. She considers herself lucky that she could have a baby-girl at her second try.

As a result, there are three different categories in this study: the first group that includes the women with no sex preference, the second group that brings together the people who insisted on different sex in their second pregnancy, and the third group that consists of the women who dreamed of a baby-girl in their first experience. The third group argues that daughters are more loyal to and engaged with their parents, especially with their mothers.

Table 2.1 Gender List of the Interviewees' Children

Name	Boy-Boy	Boy-Girl	Girl-Girl
Çiğdem			x
Ezel			x
Fatma		x	
Handan		x	
Nilgün			x
Nuran		x	
Nurcan			x
Raziye	x		
Sara			x
Semra			x
Şaziye			x
Şenay		x	
Şükran		x	

In sum, seven of the interviewees has two daughters, five of them have one daughter and one son, and one has two sons. From the group who would like to have their second baby with a different gender (Çiğdem, Şükran, Nilgün, Nurcan and Ezel), only one can hit the target and ended up being a mother of one son and one daughter. The rest became a mother of two daughters. Among the third group profiles (Şenay, Şaziye, Semra, Sara and Handan), all of them have managed to give birth

to baby-girl and realized their dream. Considering the first group who did not make any sex preference in their pregnancy (Nuran, Raziye and Fatma), Nuran and Fatma ended up with one daughter and one son whereas Raziye gave birth to two baby-boys and became the only person in this study group who is a mother of two sons. Once again, none of the potential factors play a role in grouping of the answers provided by the interviewees.

§ 4.16 Comparison Between Boy and Girl Mothering

The next topic that should be discussed with the interviewees is whether mothering differs upon child's sex as there are some participants who have children from both sexes. For example, in his piece, Thurer refers to Chodorow who claims that 'in earliest childhood, the relations between a girl and her mother are, in mostly unconscious ways, different from those of a boy and his mother. In effect, girls and boys have different childhoods' (Thurer, 1995, p.298). Do two different contexts cause two separate mothering experiences? Does it lead mothers to act in a diverse way for different sexes? Should a mother apply entirely diversified techniques and tactics? Does she need to impose separate cultural codes?

The interviewees think completely different from one another. For Handan, Şaziye, Nuran, Şükran and Şenay, these are not entirely different experiences in nurture and love aspects. It is also significant to note that the four of these mothers have both a son and a daughter. In other words, their arguments are not theory but practice-based ones.

On the other hand, Fatma, having both a son and a daughter, says that there is a concrete difference between the mothering of the two: A daughter has a tendency to show more empathy and intimacy to her mother whereas the boy may limit the contact with her. Therefore, she thinks that the daily practices differ although the love for both is the same.

There are various comments among the rest who have two children with same sex. For Raziye, as a mother of two sons, mothering for a boy or a girl should be similar. In Nilgün's perspective who has two daughters, boys are considered as the leading figures of the society and thus

given more priority. As Chodorow also discusses, it creates the necessary ground for a gender inequality:

> Women as mothers produce sons whose nurturant capacities and needs have been systematically curtailed and repressed. This prepares men for their less affective later family role, and for primary participation in the impersonal extra-familial world of work and public life. (Chodorow, 1979, p.7)

Sara sees son-mothering pathetic in the sense that mothers are always exposed to a certain degree of pressure as well as unkindness and thus suffer an unhealthy-functioning communication. Semra expresses that mother's concerns for a son have entirely different content than that for a girl due to the existing social and cultural norms. Şenay also emphasizes the same cultural value set which encourages the society to appreciate a baby-boy much more than a baby-girl.

In sum, from the group who has both a son and a daughter (Fatma, Handan, Nuran, Şenay and Şükran), four of them (except Fatma) believe that mothering for one sex is not very much different from that for other. Fatma thinks that both differs in the sense that a mother needs to exercise different techniques as the attitudes of each sex toward the mother is different. The only person who has two sons (Raziye) believes that two concepts should be more or less similar. From the other women who have two daughters, Şaziye is the only one who does not differentiate the two attitudes. The rest has different arguments that leads them to the idea that mothering of a boy differs from that of a girl.

Considering the data in this study and acknowledging the exceptions like Şaziye and Raziye, it can be concluded that the women who have children from different gender claims that the two concepts are more or less similar whereas the mothers who have two daughters support the idea that mothering for each sex has its own codes and rules. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the potential factors do not have an effect on the answers of the interviewees.

§ 4.17 Can Women Change the Gender Structure In the Society?

As it is mentioned in the previous topic, women play a critical role in constructing the gender inequality. Chodorow argues that 'Women's mothering as an institutionalized feature of family life and of the sexual division of labor reproduces it cyclically. Women are prepared psychologically for mothering through the developmental situation in which they grow up, and in which women have mothered them' (Chodorow, 1979, p.39). As the major actors in the context, can mothers lead a change in the sexual inequality within the society?

The interviewees are divided into two: Half of them (Fatma, Şaziye, Raziye, Çiğdem, Handan, Semra and Şükran) give credit to the female contribution whereas the rest underlines the ongoing social structure. The first group believes that women sustain this unequal system through the way they educate their children. They are imposing the established gender values as well as the roles and thus they perpetuate the existing system. From this point of view, women are able to change the mechanism through altering the content of their attitude towards the children.

However, Fatma is an exception in this group of women because she thinks that males should always be positioned one step further than females; yet at the same time, she believes that the gender dynamics can be restructured through mother's attitudes. As opposed to Fatma, Handan suggests that a girl should always be educated and strong in order not to suffer any sort of male domination.

On the other hand, the rest of the interviewees strongly assert that this gender inequality cannot be ameliorated through the mother's contributions as it has already penetrated deeply into the social and cultural structure. Sara gives a relevant example: A boy is usually labeled as gay by the society if he is educated to be a kind person by his mother. Nilgün emphasizes the role of the physical power that provides males with an extra level of confidence. All these arguments support Chodorow's statement that 'major features of the social organization of gender are transmitted in and through those personalities produced by the structure of

the institution –the family- in which children become gendered members of the society' (Chodorow, 1979, p.39).

As a result, the overall group is divided into two in their responses: Half support the idea that mothers can contribute to the social change whereas the other half believe that the existing structure is strictly shaped in a way that effaces the women's efforts. Once again, the potential factors do not play a role in determining the answers of the respondents.

§ 4.18 Tension Between Mothers and Their Daughters

There is a traditional understanding that claims the existence of a special relationship between mothers and their daughters. Although there is a high degree of love and companionship between the two, there is always a constant tension and a clash. Thurer lists some books and authors which suggests that 'mothers, because of their own emptiness, cling to their daughters'. "But while mothers try to fuse, daughters try to disengage. If you believe these books, mothers and daughters are locked in eternal combat" (Thurer, 1995, p.293). As opposed to the argument which accepts this tension especially for girls, there is another perspective which generalizes this rebellious attitude both to boys and girls as teenagers: "Teens are eager to contend with adult authority and they often do it by testing the adults closest to them" (Damour, 2016, p.128). Is it mostly valid for daughters or is it also applicable to the boys? Did the interviewees experience that type of tension in their relations with the daughters?

There are only three interviewees who did not suffer that conflict: Şenay, Nilgün and Nuran. Nevertheless, Nilgün has a possible reasoning for the situation. She claims that the main reason is the intra-gender tension which also causes a conflict between fathers and their sons. Nuran says that it can be formulated as a generational clash between the child's contemporary mindset and mother's old-school outlook. It is noteworthy that Nurcan is the only one who believes that this tension is a gender-independent issue and can be observed in a mother's relationship either with a daughter or a son. The commonality among these women is that

they all come from smaller cities. That might enable them to be exposed to the traditional values more in the family and thus act in a quieter way which avoids a clash between a girl and her mother.

Raziye did not experience this tension as she does not have a daughter. While Fatma defines this tension as a clash of characters, Nurcan conceptualizes it as the protest of a teenage who considers herself as an adult. Ezel thinks that this tension is due to the unavoidable self-comparison of a daughter with her friends. She always asks for much more freedom from her parents. For Şükran, it is the confrontation between inexperienced daughter and experienced mother.

For Sara, it is the period for a daughter to underestimate mother's knowhow. Handan and Semra believe that it is a daughter's claim of 'I know everything' and her rivalry with the mother. Şaziye claims that as the daughter becomes more and more intellectual, she feels like she manages to know everything and underestimates her mother's experiences. Çiğdem, having suffered much, still cannot address a reasonable argument for this tension.

Among the interviewees, the three of them state that they were not exposed to that tension. Except these three women as well as Raziye who is a mother of two sons, all the participants suffered this tension and came up with different arguments. The fact that these three women come from smaller cities may be the source of the absence of any conflict as it enabled the traditional practices to be more dominant in the family sphere and kept the girls quiet in front of her mothers. But the majority of the arguments points out the idea that the girls are trying to enjoy their move from childhood to adulthood and thus prove their development to their mothers through daring to revolt against them.

Damour, in her piece, summarizes this conflict and addresses these mothers. She normalizes the situation and advises them not to dramatize it:

> Your daughter is letting you know that she disagrees with you, and that is certainly her right. And it's your right to expect that she will be civil while objecting. As we know, it takes girls time to learn to be

assertive. Don't miss the opportunity to invite your daughter to prac-
tice her assertiveness skills on you. (Damour, 2016, p.123)

She denotes that if a parent is not being exposed to an opposition from
his/her daughter, there might be some grounds for concern: "Adults
might enjoy the teenage girl who never contends with their authority, but
something is usually wrong with that picture. A teenage girl should be
finding friction with some adult somewhere, and if she isn't, we should
wonder why" (Damour, 2016, p.158).

§ 4.19 Attributed Characteristics

During the pregnancy period, women tend to dream of their babies- it
can be either about the physical appearance or individual characteristics.
For Chodorow, 'working class parents are more likely to value obedience,
conformity to external authority, neatness, and other 'behavioral' charac-
teristics in their children; middle-class parents emphasize more 'inter-
nal' and interpersonal characteristics like responsibility, curiosity, self-
motivation, self-control and consideration' (Chodorow, 1979, p.186). Tak-
ing into account that the interviewees in this search belong to the upper
class, they are expected to take a closer position to middle class trends
rather than that of working. Conforming Chodorow's argument, all re-
spondents speak of internal characteristics in their answers.

In this group of participants, the only exception who did not think of
any desired attribution is Çiğdem. The rest of the respondents wanted
their children to be good people. The common values attributed were
honesty, benignity, decency, humanity and mercy. Furthermore, Şaziye,
Şenay and Nilgün have dreamed of a good level of education for their kids.
The modest mother among interviewees is Fatma, in the sense that she
desired her daughter to be a housewife and son to sustain his father's
own business. Sara wanted her children to be conscious whereas Şükran
dreamed of a child who could always defend his/her rights.

In short, with one exception, the entire group has some attributions
in their minds for their children and all of these attributions are internal
characteristics rather than physical features. Therefore, as there is not

any difference among the answers of the participants, none of the potential factors can be addressed.

§ 4.20 Genetics or Education

Many mothers like the respondents in this study are inclined to associate their not-yet-born children with these kinds of attributions. This leads to another discussion: Are the characteristics of a child determined by the genetics and the child's temperament or by the education provided by the parents?

Handan, Nuran and Sara believe that parental modeling and education are the major factors in shaping a child's character. Sara conceptualizes a child as a meal: As long as one puts the necessary ingredients for a recipe, she will end up with the desired menu. She thinks similarly with Hays who claims that 'in the end, it is mothers who are held responsible and who understand themselves as accountable not only for keeping the kids fed and housed but also for shaping the kinds of adults those children will become' (Hays, 1996, p.108). The commonality among these three women are the appreciation level they receive from the family members. It can be showed as the reason why they value their own parenting more than the rest of the interviewees.

On the other hand, the rest of the interviewees think that the biological factors play an equal role as much as the parental efforts in shaping a child's character. In their perspective, parental education and modeling do not make much sense if a child has no capability for it. In other words, a child must hold a coherent temperament in order to adopt and internalize his/her parents' modeling. As such, Fatma underlines the different characteristics of her son and daughter. If a child's personality was shaped only by the parental education, her two children would not possess different habits and attitudes. Therefore, child's nature has a significant contribution to the final outcome.

In sum, except the three respondents, the group in this study believes that parental modeling and education are as important as the child's compatibility with the provided teaching. It is noteworthy that these

three exceptional women are among the ones who received some of the highest level of appreciation in this study. Therefore, the effect of the appreciation level should be highlighted in this discussion.

§ 4.21 Discipline Methods

Every mother develops a different way of keeping the discipline within her family. Some have experienced the method of trial and error, some of them insisted on a method in which they have believed the most. Damour, who believes that 'discipline should always come with the opportunity to make things right again', discusses the issue as such (Damour, 2016, p.155):

> When it comes to parenting, there are many ways to get it right. What works for one family won't work for another. You know your daughter and the dynamic within your family best. (Damour, 2016, p.xviii)

So make it easier on yourself and safer for your daughter by engaging with some of her annoying behaviors. What you oppose and how will be unique to you and your family. You don't have to resist each bothersome move your daughter makes (having a teenager, after all, can help us grow in our acceptance and flexibility), but you shouldn't ignore every small thing. (Damour, 2016, p.129)

When the participants are asked for their own way, half of the mothers (Raziye, Ezel, Nilgün, Handan, Çiğdem and Fatma) say that they did not have a particular disciplining method. They just went with the flow and let the children find their own way which Hay conceptualizes as such: "Child-centered child rearing means doing what is best for your child rather than what is convenient for you as the parent; it means concentrating on what you can do for them rather than on what they can do for you" (Hays, 1996, p.114).

On the other hand, Şenay, Nurcan and Nuran have managed to find a middle way for disciplining. They always tried to balance between affection and anger within certain limits. For Semra and Şükran, the most important principle was to maintain a stability. If a mother decides to approve her child's attitude which she has previously censured, a child has to face ambiguity and cannot conceptualize the right and the wrong in

her/his understanding. Therefore, consistency in a mother's overall attitude plays an important role in the establishment of the rules and principles in child's world of values.

Şaziye and Sara have created their own original way of disciplining and preferred becoming stunned in the cases of conflicts and disputes. In their perspective, by this way, they managed to express their resentment through standing away from shouts and quarrels. In other words, instead of putting their offences into words, they wanted the children to interpret. Both believe that this way is more peaceful and healthier than any other methods.

In conclusion, while the half of the group did not have a specific disciplining tactic, the rest tried to create their own ways. Three of them came up with a middle stream one that combines both fury and love in moderation. Two women attached importance on stability whereas another two exercised the act of suspending the contact with their children and wanted them to understand that there was something wrong. It is not possible to address any of the potential factors as a determinant in this discussion.

§ 4.22 Do Multiple Choices Spoil or Not?

Mothers sometimes do not want to provide their children with a lot of alternatives as a part of their disciplining program. However, there is an opposite argument which supposes that 'the importance of giving the child 'choices' came up as the basis for the development of such self-esteem' because it reveals 'the importance of giving your child some control for their sense of self and, you know, to give them choices' (Hays, 1996, p.91). Is a child spoiled when s/he is offered multiple options or does s/he have the chance to develop her/his decision-making mechanism?

The interviewees are divided into two: Fatma, Nuran, Sara, Şaziye, Raziye and Handan believe that suggesting different options is not to spoil a child. For Handan, a child should be given any opportunity which his/her parents can financially and morally provide at that moment since there may be some times when s/he is not healthy or available for these

opportunities. Sara thinks that a well-educated child can manage to choose the best for himself/herself among multiple alternatives. Hays, in her book, tells that 'the middle-class mothers' focus on time-outs and negotiation is also connected to their stronger emphasis on giving the child independence-fostering choices, including choices regarding forms of punishment and reward' (Hays, 1996, p.93). For this group of people, limiting the alternatives is not an efficient way to develop his/her decision-making mechanism.

On the other hand, the rest believes in the opposite. In contrast with Sara's argument, Nilgün and Semra believe that listing unlimited number of opportunities can constitute an obstacle for developing a healthy-functioning decision-making mechanism. A confused child cannot position the evil and the good in her/his conceptual world. Nurcan claims that the number of alternatives presented to a child should be decided based on his/her level of maturity and age. Different ages can require diversified frameworks.

Considering all the responses given by the interviewees, half of the group think that they should be presenting all the options they manage to provide whereas the rest defends that multiple alternatives can hurt the decision-making mechanisms of a child as it would complicate his/her mind. In addition to the appreciation level, neither the hometown nor the educational background has a say in the response set of this question.

§ 4.23 Overprotection

Overprotection is one of the common practices which almost every mother experience during their motherhood. David Levy, in his piece *Maternal Overprotection*, argues that 'overprotected child becomes socially maladjusted because, later on, he or she tries to force every situation into the original pattern of its life, of being the beloved tyrant of an ever-responding mother' (Thurer, 1995, p.272). Damour also talks to the parents who try to overprotect their children from the external dangers:

> Even if you could enforce your rules in the short term—which is highly unlikely—you're setting up a situation in which your daughter gets behind her veil of obedience and goes along with your guidelines about food (or drinking, drugs, or sex) while she lives with you but then breaks those rules as soon as she's on her own. Instead, admire the smart choices your daughter makes and offer support when she's failing to care for herself effectively. (Damour, 2016, p. 247)

In this respect, all the mothers in this study feel that excessive protection is not beneficial for a child's personal development. Some of them do not deny that they, once upon a time, could not refrain from doing so. However, at some point, they have realized that they were essentially hurting their children's development process. Keeping the potential threats away from the child is not to avoid but to postpone his/her exposure to these dangers. In other words, all of them admit that it was a delay rather than a prevention.

For the majority of the participants, the important thing is to mold the child's character in a way that enables him/her to stay strong against any threat. While parental education plays an important role in this formation, real-time experiences are also critical. Therefore, isolation from any threat retards the development of a child's protection mechanism. It is also valid for the daily responsibilities; the earlier a child is assigned with these duties, the better the outcome will be. Nurcan confesses that she cannot expect any housework from her daughters because she did not let them do and learn it. Mothers, considering themselves responsible for the domestic chores, sometimes do not let the children get involved in domestic chores. Consequently, being both reluctant and incapable, children do not volunteer to take part in these types of duties.

§ 4.24 Nuclear or Large Family

In contemporary world, the large families are increasingly replaced by nuclear ones. Bowlby argues that 'as a result of this social break-up a far heavier responsibility for a child care is placed on the father and mother than is the case in more traditional close-knit communities' (Bowlby,

1973, p.97). Ayata also notes that 'the nuclear family seeks to increase the distance between itself and the wider kinship group' (Ayata, 2002, p.31). While some parents favor nuclear families despite this intense responsibility, others prefer larger sized families because as Bowlby discusses, 'those who are fortunate in belonging to large and united families are aware of the great sense of security they get from the knowledge that, should death suddenly overtake them, relatives willing to care for their children are certainly available' (Bowlby, 1973, p.85).

In this study, while three women (Şenay, Sara and Çiğdem) favor the nuclear family, the rest promote the extended version. These three mothers believe that the uniformity as well as stability are the critical factors for a proper education. The more crowded the family is, the more voices and ideas are on the table. Therefore, it becomes difficult to establish a standard system with certain rules and principles. As a ship has only one rudder, a child needs to be educated based on a single framework.

On the other hand, the rest credits the extended family as it feels like a rehearsal of the real life. A child, surrounded by a number of family members, gets the chance to experience social life practices. It is a transition platform for a child to move from his/her safe home to the real world. Nilgün assumes that a child can easily adapt to a nuclear family if s/he has large sized family experience. However, the opposite transition would not be that easy.

Raziye highlights that a child manages to comprehend the family relations and roles more clearly in a larger environment. Şükran adds that the family members can be complementary to the parental affection and care if necessary. Nuran and Şaziye feels that a child gets a better notion of the special days through the celebrations and the events in the larger families. Although they choose the extended family over the nuclear one, Semra and Ezel do not forget to highlight the benefits of the smaller family in a child's education as well.

In sum, with an exception of three people, the majority of the interviewees prefer larger family over a nuclear one. It should be also noted that there is not any commonality among the three women who prefer

nuclear family with respect to the potential factors listed in the study (educational background, hometown and level of appreciation).

§ 4.25   Resources for Motherhood

Being inexperienced in mothering at the time of their first babies, mothers do not have a certain path to follow. They need to design their own way of mothering. In this process, there are certain elements which they benefit. These can be the experts, the books, the friends or some family members.

In this respect, the participants are asked for their own sources: Half of them (Fatma, Şenay, Nuran, Handan, Semra and Şaziye) had essentially made use of their mothers' suggestions. They considered the way their mothers behaved as a base for their own style. Raziye, Ezel and Şükran intentionally underlines the fact that they did not benefit any other external figure or source. They have originally built up their own ways based on their own instincts, observations as well as experiences. Nurcan is proud of her competency in observing others and adapting accordingly. Nilgün and Sara, having influential friends, highlight the impact of their social environment. However, Sara honestly confesses that they sometimes did have negative impacts on her behaviors. Nilgün, together with Çiğdem and Semra, also benefited the expert books.

Nevertheless, they all claim that they manage to create their own ways mostly through taking their children's peculiarities into account because every child deserves a unique way of treatment. They believe that there is no common understanding or way of treatment in child bearing. But still, it is noteworthy that the most used resources of the respondents (with six people) can be addressed as their own mothers. Besides, none of the potential factors can be addressed as a determinant of this discussion.

§ 4.26 Expert Books

The benefits of the expert books are always open for discussion. Some people strongly make use of these whereas some deeply reject. Hays perceives the topic contradictory as below:

> Mothers do not always trust the so-called experts, read child-rearing manuals selectively, interpret what they do read, and are nearly as likely to get child-rearing suggestions from day-care providers, friends, family and, above all, other mothers. Nonetheless, mothers do buy child-rearing manuals, they do often consult these manuals, they do frequently make a point of watching television shows and listening to radio programs that feature child-rearing experts, they do take their children to pediatricians, and they do take their children to child psychologists. If the advice of these experts was not valued, mothers would do none of these things. But yet, they continue to buy However, even if they take what the experts say advisedly, they do not generally treat it as complete nonsense. (Hays, 1996, p.121)

In this group of women, Semra, Şenay and Nilgün benefited those books from time to time, but the majority do not believe in the sole power or impact of these type of sources. Semra points out that every mother should borrow some tactics and principles to some extent. Raziye, Şükran, Handan and Sara strongly oppose their usefulness and defend that mothers should build their original ways upon their own children. Sara says that these books are for the women who do not have sufficient level of knowhow in child bearing.

The rest of the interviewees are not strictly against, but they all claim that the most important issue is to consider a child's own characteristics. There is no standard framework that can be applicable to all children in the universe. For Şaziye, not only experts' books, but also friends' suggestion should not be applied likewise because it can somehow have worse reflection on parent-child relationship.

In sum, it can be concluded that none of the interviewees are strongly supporting these books. Few of them benefited, but even they consider these books as complimentary, not as a major source. Once again, it is

neither the educational background nor the hometown of the individuals that determine their stance on the topic. Needless to say, the topic is not a one that can be discussed over the level of appreciation women receive.

§ 4.27 Suggestion to Their Own Children

After a discussion on the references as well as the methods utilized by the interviewees, each woman is asked to express her own suggestions to her children. The daughters of the participants who have become a mother has to hire a baby-sitter due to their professional lives. In this respect, do their mothers suggest them to take a maternity break for some time or to continue working?

Only Nilgün, Çiğdem and Semra recommend their daughters not to take any break. Their regret for not having a professional life can be the reason behind this perspective. They all believe that mothers cannot pursue their careers from the point where they leave off. The contemporary dynamics of the business life always remind the mothers the losses which their maternity leaves cause. Any break would put the woman back in the competition and let others have higher positions. For Çiğdem and Nilgün, children would somehow grow up whether they receive an intensive care from their mothers or not. Some children who are taken care by baby-sitters can even become better profiles. The commonality among these three women are the level of appreciation they receive from the family members: They all rank below the group average. That can be one of the reasons that shaped their opposition to a maternity leave.

On the other hand, the rest believe that the first two years of a child should be covered not by a baby-sitter but by the mother herself. Ezel and Şenay do not forget to mention the importance of the financial status of the family; they believe that their daughters should continue working if they have financial problems and concerns. Şaziye believes that this period is very critical for the establishment of the parent-child relationship as it converges the souls of the mother and that of the baby. Handan would not allow her daughter to give birth unless she would not take a long maternity break. In her perspective, a woman who would not prefer

her child over her career does not have the right to become a mother. A child should always be positioned above all other things in a woman's life.

The most striking example comes from Şükran who had previously approved her daughter's preference to continue working. At the time her daughter had given birth, she believed that a woman should turn back to business life in a short time. However, having experienced two years' period with a baby-sitter, she now says that she was very wrong to think in that way. First and foremost, the mother suffers much from keeping awake for long hours during the week nights and thus cannot have sufficient energy to sustain her daily routine. Furthermore, the cultural and social characteristics of a mother differs significantly from of a baby-sitter. Consequently, it creates a huge gap between the mother and her child. The mother can experience hard times in building up a synergy and harmony with her child.

In conclusion, the majority of the respondents believe that a baby should be taken care of by her/his own mother for the two years' time and thus s/he will have a better foundation for her/his future. In this respect, they agree with Spock who 'talks about parents' 'rights' to outside careers but also suggests that they are the ones best suited to mold their children during the first two or three years of life' (Thurer, 1995, p.291). It is also noteworthy that the three mothers (Nilgün, Çiğdem and Semra) who are against maternity break are among the ones who receive an appreciation at a level below the group average.

§ 4.28 Parents: Main Responsible for Children's Success or Failure

The society in general considers the parents as the sole responsible for the child's overall success or failure. Hays, in her book The Cultural Contradictions of Motherhood, elaborates the topic as such:

> Part of the reason that the methods of nurturing, listening, responding, explaining, negotiating, distracting, and searching for appropriate alternative care are so labor-intensive, so time-consuming, so energy-absorbing is, as I have noted, that parents (especially mothers)

understand themselves as largely responsible for the way their children turn out. (Hays, 1996, p.120)

In this respect, the interviewees are asked whether they support the idea that parents are solely responsible for their children's success or failure. Do they agree that the society currently acts in such a manner and is reasonable to do so?

All interviewees agree that the parents are the first ones to be addressed by the society. "As such, parents, mostly mothers, are frequently referred to as the main sculptors in shaping children's behavioral, emotional, personality-related, and cognitive development (Holden & Edwards, 1989)" (Özbeklik, 2006, p.29). Handan, Sara and Nuran believe that the path of a child is completely formed by parental guidance and education. All the external factors can be suppressed by an ideal parental imposition and support. As a reminder, these are the three women who have previously expressed that parental modeling and education are the major factors in shaping a child's character when they were asked to choose between genetics and education. Besides, these are among the ones who rank in the top tier in terms of the appreciation level they have been receiving.

The others who justify this mechanism to some extent strongly note that the parents are not the sole determinants of a child's potential success or failure. His/her temperament together with a particular social environment can have higher impact than the values and codes imposed by his/her parents.

§ 4.29 Mothers' Role in Children Success

Damour discusses one of the most difficult challenges which almost all mothers face: "Your daughter's need to plan for her future presents you with a unique challenge: you want to guide and support her as she moves along this developmental strand, but you don't want your input to cause her to do the very opposite of what you suggest" (Damour, 2016, p.165). It is not an easy task to balance these two possibilities and attain a good result out of this effort because of the reason that 'the craving for

autonomy—for independence and self-determination—kicks in hard during adolescence' (Damour, 2016, p.164).

In this respect, do the mothers believe that they have a role in their children's success? All interviewees believe that they, more or less, have a contribution in it. They particularly highlight their intensive care as well as their devotion of great time and effort. They are all aware of the fact that they could manage to spend much more time with their kids than an average professional mother.

On the other hand, they all agree that the innate capability of the children also plays an important role in their successful performances. In this respect, Raziye, Ezel, Nilgün, Şükran and Semra value their children's own capacities much more than their own contributions and sacrifices. These five women are among the ones who receive an appreciation at a level below the group average. It can be referred as the reason behind their self-underestimation.

On the contrary, Handan and Sara are very assertive in highlighting the importance of their own performances. Şaziye brings in a different perspective to the issue and says that if a mother's contribution was that influential, her daughters should have been more successful because she had dreamed of greater achievements for them.

Nevertheless, all of them recognize their contribution in their children's success though they differ in their self-evaluation. The appreciation level can be addressed as one of the determinants in this topic because it shapes how women assess their own contributions in their children's success.

§ 4.30 Motherhood Regrets

Regrets are the inevitable parts of people' lives regardless of the culture and the period they are living in. In this respect, the interviewees are asked to express their regrets about their mothering. Ezel, Nuran, Sara and Handan would definitely act in the same way if they got a chance to go back to the beginning of their motherhood. However, there are different answers among the rest of the interviewees.

Raziye, Şaziye and Fatma would try to be more authoritarian while Şenay would not be this much protectionist. While Şükran regrets for her unnecessary rebukes and acts of anger, Semra would establish her rules and principles based on her child's characteristics instead of her own will. She expected her child to act as she wished; however, she currently feels that she should have taken her child's style into account in building a certain framework. Nurcan would place much more emphasis on the religious and moral codes in educating her children. Last but not least, Çiğdem would act differently in some cases but she does not give any further detail.

As a result, except the four interviewees, all the women in the study would do things differently if they were given a chance to go back to the past. They differ in the aspects which they would like to make a change. Considering the four women who would treat in the same way, there is not any commonality among them in terms of the potential factors pointed out previously.

§ 4.31 Motherhood Feeling of Professional Mothers

Do the professional mothers have a different feeling of motherhood? Does a professional occupation differentiate this feeling? Şükran, Handan and Nurcan deem that their motherhood is a bit different from theirs. Handan asserts that if those professional women felt the same with her, they could not leave their children at home with a baby-sitter. Şükran and Nurcan assume that professional mothers always have to fight against the feeling of guilt for not spending much time and effort.

The rest claims that the feeling of motherhood is very much independent from one's professional occupation. Fatma, Nuran and Şaziye also note that mother's characteristics are much more important than her profession in shaping her motherhood feeling. From their perspectives, it is strongly correlated with one's humanity and conscience.

With an exception of the three women, the majority of the participants believe that the motherhood feeling is not something that is

affected by one's job. Instead, what matters is the individual characteristics of the mother. As an additional note, there is no correlation between the potential factors and the responses given to this question.

§ 4.32 Summary

Regarding the motivation of the interviewees for the motherhood, more than half of the interviewees have had their baby unwillingly, however none of them tell it in a way that they feel regretful about the outcome. Across the attendees in this study, it is observed that the high level of educational background does not guarantee a deliberate pregnancy. The other explanations for this motivation are the love for baby, the inevitable destiny of a marriage and the continuity of the family. In this question, importance of the hometown of the interviewees can be highlighted as all the women who gave birth unintentionally are from smaller cities (whereas the rest of the interviewees come from metropolis).

Although all the women in the study have two children, four of them intended to have only one kid, whereas other four desired to give birth to their third child. The possible arguments of the interviewees regarding the number of the children they gave birth to are listed as the necessity of a sibling, desire to have a child from another sex, and the insistence of their first child. No correlation between the answers and the potential factors (educational background, hometown and the level of appreciation) is founded.

Except three interviewees who consider parenting as a series of personal satisfaction, the rest believe that it has both the satisfaction and duty dimension. Among these three women, no commonality is observed in terms of educational background, hometown or the level of appreciation they receive.

There are three different views across the interviewees regarding the course of the motherhood: first sees motherhood as an innate feeling, the second accepts it as a feeling with a foundation that needs to be further enhanced, and the third categorizes it as a feeling acquired gradually in the course of time. The interviewees in each group have diverse

educational background, hometown and level of appreciation, therefore there is no correlation between the answers and potential factors.

Although they make different statements for their ideal stereotype, all mothers believe that ideal mother has to attach importance on her child's desires and needs and act accordingly instead of following only her own instincts and principles.

When it comes to the distinction between good and bad child, only three interviewees do not believe in so. For them, a child is mostly shaped by her parents from scratch. As long as the family educates him/her properly, there is no possibility for a child to be a bad person. However, the rest of the interviewees assert that a child may end up with a bad attitude though s/he has the most ideal parents in the world. No correlation between the potential factors and the responses is observed.

With one exception (Çiğdem), all respondents believe that the most important advantage of a housewife mother is that she can make a significant contribution to her child's own psychological and physiological background as she has the sufficient energy as well as the convenient time to do so.

When it comes to the disadvantage of a housewife mother, five of the respondents cannot list any. The others shared the negative aspects such as not having any specific, measurable objectives in their performance, being isolated at home without any external interaction, putting pressure on the children due to the intense care, causing a dependency in child to his/her mother and letting them to be irresponsible. No correlation between the variables and the responses is observed.

As the interviewees are asked to differentiate the children raised by housewife mothers than that of professional ones, three of the respondents raise negative aspects such as being lazy and weak sense of responsibility. One of them share both a negative and positive aspect. On the other hand, the rest of the attendees mention positive impacts of their care. In sum, all their comments address a child who receive a high level of love and therefore become a strong character in the society s/he lives in. Rather than the physical returns, they prefer to highlight the emotional/psychological advantages which their own care brings into the

picture. Moreover, the three women who replied with a negative aspect are among the ones who receive an appreciation at a level below the group average.

With the exception of three interviewees, the rest of the participants express that they would regret if they did not have the chance to take care of their babies. The potential factors do not play any role in the discussion.

When the respondents are asked for their comments on Bowlby's argument, one group of women do not agree with him because a mother can have a need to work to provide better conditions to her child. On the other hand, the other group admits that a child should be cared by her own mother for the first one or two years. It is a period in which a baby needs his/her mother's intensive caring- that cannot be replaced even by a perfect baby sitter. There is not any correlation between the potential factors and the answers given by the interviewees.

While the mothers who managed to transform their engagements upon the changes in the lives of their children did not feel idle in the course of time, majority of the interviewees admit that they sometimes stumbled as their children were getting older. The women who managed to harmonize with the changing conditions are among the ones who receive an appreciation at a level above the group average. That might be one of the reasons why their children appreciate them frankly.

When it comes to the comparison between having bad parents and having none, four women believe that having no parents is better than the other and the rest asserts that a child needs a parent even though s/he may not be as good as imagined. The potential factors do not play any role in the discussion.

While five of the interviewees believe that their motherhood is very much affected by their socio-economic backgrounds, the rest think that they would pursue the same performance even if they were provided with other social and economic conditions. There is not any correlation between the potential factors and the responses for the question.

Regarding the sex preference of the mothers in the study, there are three different categories: the first group that includes the women with

no sex preference, the second group that brings together the people who insisted on different sex in their second pregnancy, and the third group that consists of the women who dreamed of a baby-girl in their first experience. The third group argues that daughters are more loyal to and engaged with their parents, especially with their mothers. No correlation between the preference and the potential factors is observed.

When it comes to the distinction between mothering for a girl and that for a boy, five mothers had the chance to experience it in real-life as they have both a son and a daughter, four of them believe that mothering for one sex is not very much different from that for other. The rest of the group has different arguments that lead them to the idea that mothering of a boy differs from that of a girl. Considering the data in this study, with minor exceptions, the women who have children from different genders claim that the two concepts are more or less similar whereas the mothers who have two daughters support the idea that mothering for each sex has its own codes and rules. The potential factors (education and hometown-as level of appreciation cannot have an impact on the issue) does not play any role in the discussion.

Regarding the role of the women in changing the gender dynamics in the society, the overall group is divided into two in their responses: half of them support the idea that mothers can contribute to the social change whereas the other half believe that the existing structure is very well organized in a way that effaces the women's efforts. The potential factors do not play any role in the discussion.

When it comes to the tension between the girls and their mothers, three of the interviewees claim that they were not exposed to that tension. Except these three women as well as one interviewee who is a mother of two sons, all the participants suffered this tension and suggest different arguments. But the majority of the arguments addressed the idea that the girls are trying to enjoy their transition from childhood to adulthood and thus prove their development to their mothers through daring to revolt against them. It should be also noted that the three exceptional women are from smaller cities that enable them to adopt and exercise more traditional values as well as practices within their families.

It can be addressed as one of the elements that avoid the clash between a mother and her daughter.

With one exception, the entire group has some attributions in their minds for their children in the time of their pregnancy and all of these attributions are internal characteristics rather than physical features.

The majority of the group in the study believe that parental modeling and education are as important as child's compatibility for that intended teaching. The three women who prioritize parenting are the ones who receive an appreciation at a level above the group average.

Half of the interviewees did not have a specific disciplining tactic, but the rest tried to create their own ways such as combining both the fury and compassion in moderation, attaching importance on stability, exercising the act of suspending the contact with their children and waiting for them to understand that there was something wrong. There is not any correlation between any of the potential factors and the responses given to this question.

Concerning the number of the options offered to the children, half of the group think that they should be presenting all the options they manage to provide whereas the rest defends that multiple alternatives can hurt the decision-making mechanisms of a child as it can complicate his/her mind. No correlation between the variables and the answers are observed.

Regarding the overprotection, all the mothers in this study feel that it is not beneficial for a child's personal development. Some of them do not deny that they, once upon a time, could not refrain from doing so. However, at some point, they have realized that they were essentially impairing their children's self-improvement. In sum, all of them admit that it was a delay rather than a prevention.

In sum, with an exception of three people, the majority of the interviewees prefer larger family over a nuclear one. The reason behind this preference is related neither to the hometown of the women nor their educational background.

When the women are asked for the resources they benefited for their parenting, they all claim that they manage to create their own ways

mostly through taking their children's peculiarities into account because every child deserves a unique way of treatment. They believe that there is no common understanding or way of treatment in child bearing. But still, it is noteworthy that the most used resources across the respondents (with six people) can be referred as their own mothers. There is not any observed correlation between any of the potential factors and the answers of the interviewees.

None of the women in the study are strongly supporting experts' books. Few of them drew on those, but still they consider these books as complimentary, not as a major supporter. Once again, it is neither the educational background nor the hometown of the individuals that determine their stance on the topic.

The majority of the respondents believe that a baby should be taken care by her/his own mother for the two years' time and thus s/he will have a better foundation for her/his future. Therefore, they advise their daughters accordingly. It is also noteworthy that the three mothers (Nilgün, Çiğdem and Semra) who is against maternity break are among the ones who receive an appreciation at a level below the group average. There is a possibility that they do not feel satisfied with their past choices due to the outcome they are exposed to.

All interviewees agree that the parents are the first ones to be addressed by the society in times of the achievement as well as failure of the children. The three mothers believe that the path of a child is completely determined by parental guidance and education and all the external factors can be suppressed by right parental imposition and support. The others who justify this mechanism to some extent strongly note that the parents are not the sole determinants of a child's potential success or failure. His/her temperament together with a particular social environment can have higher impact than the values and codes imposed by his/her parents. On the other hand, they all agree that the innate capability of the children also plays an important role in their successful performances. Nevertheless, all of them recognize their contribution in their children's success though they differ in the valuation of their own part.

It should be also noted that the first three mothers who favor parenting are the ones who receive an appreciation at a level above the group average. It can be showed as the reason why they value their own parenting. Besides, the five mothers who value the innate capability of their children more than their own contribution are among the ones who receive an appreciation at a level below the group average. This can be considered as the reason why they underestimate their own performance compared to their children's potential.

Except the four interviewees, all the mothers in the study would do things differently with respect to their parenting if they were given the chance to go back in time. They differ in the aspects which they would like to make a change. No correlation between the potential factors and the responses is observed.

The majority of the group believe that the motherhood feeling is not something that can change upon one's job. Instead, what matters is the individual characteristics of the mother. Besides, there is no correlation between the potential factors and the responses given to this question.
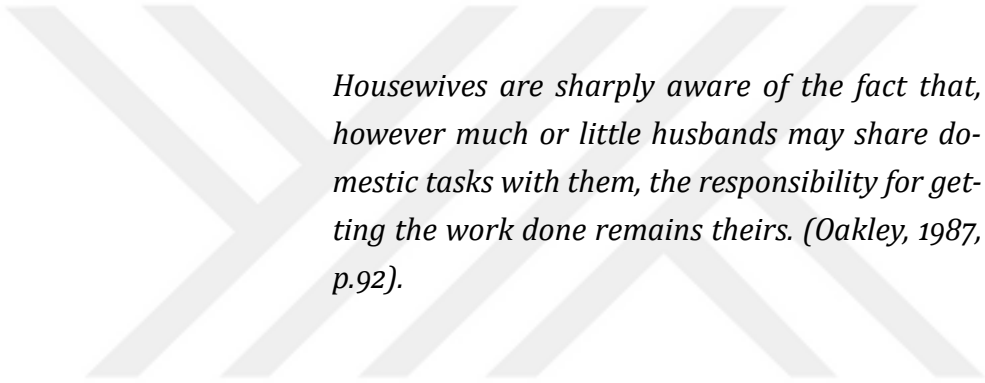
Considering all the questions raised and answered in this chapter, there is no certain correlation between the motherhood style of the interviewees and the potential factors that have been listed before (educational background, hometown and the appreciation level). For some questions, women think similarly despite the difference in their educational background, hometown and the level of appreciation they receive. For others, they all have their own beliefs and ideas that are from time to time completely different from one another. Women who have the same type of hometown, educational background as well as appreciation level can diverge in their preferences for some topics. Unsurprisingly, there are some questions that bring together the women who have commonalities in one of the potential factors we have already mentioned. Therefore, while these factors play an important role for some topics, none of them can be addressed as an absolute determinant for the all questions in this chapter.

5

Housewife as a Wife

Housewives are sharply aware of the fact that, however much or little husbands may share domestic tasks with them, the responsibility for getting the work done remains theirs. (Oakley, 1987, p.92).

M arriage is a universal institution which is desired by people in almost all cultures all over world. Not only families urge their children to get married, but also people instinctively seek for an appropriate partner for some time throughout their lives.

> Individuals get married for specific purposes and goals with their expectations from the partners as well as from the marriage as an institution. However, as two individuals get married, their relationship will be more than the sum of two people with individual expectations and needs; marital relationship will be a new and qualitatively different entity (Sager, 1976). (Özbeklik, 2006, p.5)

Therefore, the marriage signals the beginning of a new life with a new set of rules and dynamics. In this chapter, the relationship between the couples is being investigated further. It is to understand the dynamics of the

equation that brings together both the wife and the husband through examining some topics such as the husbands' perspectives on the housewife identity of their views and the amount of male support to the wives in household and childbearing duties.

§ 5.1 Husbands' Comments on Housewifery

How do the husbands comment on their wives' status as housewives? Were they pleased with the situation in the past, do they still hold that perspective? Except Şükran, Nilgün and Semra, they all express that the husbands, both in the past and today, have been content with their housewifery. Semra, though she cannot tell whether her husband is glad with her current situation, states that her husband has been always supportive in her decision. It is noteworthy that these three women are among the ones who had to become housewife due to their husband's preference.

Nilgün mentions her husband's ambivalent attitude: He did never support her to participate in the professional life although he always appreciates employed women. Therefore, she cannot conclude whether he is pleased or dissatisfied with her housewifery. From her husband's statements, Şükran understands that he is not quite glad with her current position although he has favored her housewifery in the past.

It is also important to note that these three women who have husbands not content with the situation of their wives are among the ones who receive an appreciation at a level below the group average. That can be addressed as the reason why they believe in their husbands' dissatisfaction. Moreover, these three women come from smaller cities. Although it does not have to be the reason behind their stance, it is one of the commonalities among these three people. Nevertheless, in sum, the majority of the husbands are very content with their 'housewife' wives.

§ 5.2 Financial Dependency

As the housewives do not have certain financial earnings, do they suffer from their dependency on their husbands or did they

internalize/normalize the situation? None of the respondents were exposed to any kind of pressure or oppressive attitude from their husbands. Nevertheless, some of them suffered inwardly from that financial dependency.

Nilgün, Çiğdem, Şaziye, Semra and Şenay, although they all enjoyed the freedom to act independently in financial terms, could not ward off that feeling of inferiority due to their unemployed status. Nilgün and Şaziye wish that they would have their own income no matter how limited it is. In their perspective, earning a certain amount of money has much meaning for one's self-esteem and confidence. In this respect, Nilgün does not hesitate to criticize herself: Although she gave importance on self-earned income, she believes that she did not struggle enough to participate to the professional life. She, to some extent, blames her own self for not pursuing a professional career.

On the other hand, the rest of the interviewees internalized the situation and considered the existing fact as the rule of the game. Having had no professional experience before getting married, Nurcan moved from her parents' financial care to that of her husband. In other words, she never experienced earning her own money. That's why it was not so difficult to internalize that financial dependency. Fatma, although having difficult times in the initial period of her marriage, got used to the situation in short time. Raziye, even though she never suffered from that dependency, felt a bit dissatisfied when her professional friends started to receive retirement allowance.

In sum, although all interviewees state that they did not suffer from any pressure from their husbands regarding the financial issues, five of them had that pressure internally while the rest accepted the situation and did not feel sorry about it. Once again, neither the educational background nor the hometown determines the statements of the interviewees. The level of appreciation they receive from their family members also does not have any effect on their stances as some of the interviewees who suffered from this financial dependency are among the ones who received an appreciation at a level above the group average.

§ 5.3 Husbands' Contributions to Housework

Sarah Fenstermaker Berk and Anthony Shih, in their research through which they compare wives and husbands' contributions to household labor, conclude that 'for the vast majority of the tasks, aggregate-level agreement proportions were high, although overall there was greater agreement surrounding wives' than husbands' contributions'. "Couples were more likely to agree on the contribution of both wives and husbands to stereotypic 'female' and 'male' tasks" (Berk & Shih, 1980, pp.220-221). Do the husbands, in a reasonable extent, contribute to the domestic chores or do they leave their wives alone in housework?

Nine of the husbands, more or less, supported their wives in these domestic responsibilities. Ezel and Fatma do not let them to carry out any of these responsibilities: They believe that male contribution is creating an additional burden rather than easing the workload of the female. Nuran and Çiğdem, having never enjoyed their husbands' support in domestic chores, would like to see and appreciate their contribution.

As a conclusion, among the entire group, two women did not let their husbands help them while the other two did not receive any support from them. Although the other nine women express that they received a support from their husbands in domestic duties, from their statements, it can be concluded that 'housewives are sharply aware of the fact that, however much or little husbands may share domestic tasks with them, the responsibility for getting the work done remains theirs' (Oakley, 1987, p.92).

§ 5.4 Husbands' Contributions to Childbearing

Although the mothers are mostly addressed as the primary caregivers of the society, the role of the fathers should not be underestimated. Regardless of a child's sex, the father figure plays an important as well as distinct role in child development. Paquette explains how men contribute in children's development as such:

The comparison of mother-child and father-child interactions in Western industrialized societies suggests that fathers play a particularly important role in the development of children's openness to the outside world and their autonomy. Men seem to have a tendency to surprise children, to destabilize them momentarily, and to encourage them take 'risks,' thus enabling children to learn to be brave in unfamiliar situations and to stand up for themselves. (Paquette, 2004, p.212)

Nancy Chodorow, in her piece, also highlights the importance of the father figure within the family structure: "Yet cross-culturally, the more father-absence (or absence of adult men) in the family, the more severe are conflicts about masculinity and fear of women" (Chodorow, 1979, p.213). To what extent did the fathers in this research contribute to the child bearing activities? Would they wish that their husbands had played much more role in those phases?

Şenay, Şükran, Nilgün, Nuran, Çiğdem, Sara and Şaziye would wish that they had participated to those periods much more than they did. Raziye, Nurcan and Ezel, considering the division of labor among parents, accepted their husbands' passiveness as that was the way how it should have been. Fatma, Handan and Semra frankly praised their husbands' active involvement in child bearing activities.

In sum, half of the interviewees wish that their husbands had supported them more and three of them accepted the situation and acted accordingly. On the other hand, three women give their husbands credit for their active role in child bearing aspect. Considering the overall responses, the conclusion is that not only educational background but also hometown as well as the level of appreciation do not have any impact on the responses in this section.

§ 5.5 The Reason Behind Husbands' Passive Performance

Even within this limited population, majority of the fathers have refrained from playing an active role in child bearing phases. Stern discusses the topic as such:

> In a traditional arrangement, the father assumes that the mother will take full responsibility for caring for the baby. The father may partially share the work, but in his mind he is only helping his wife or easing her load, not taking it upon himself. His primary role, as he sees it, is to provide a kind of supportive network for his wife, emotionally, physically, practically, and financially, which serves as a buffer zone against the outside world and gives her room to learn how to care for baby. (Stern, 1998, p.216)

Hays, in her study in the book 'The Cultural Contradictions of Motherhood' examines the issue within her sample population and concludes as such:

> To men's incompetence, their lack of training in taking care, and their lack of knowledge regarding the best techniques, mothers add two additional characterizations. First, most men simply do not understand that raising children actually requires both a good deal of knowledge and a lot of work. And, second, many men do not recognize that acquiring this knowledge and engaging in this work could theoretically be considered the responsibility of both parents. (Hays, 1996, pp. 102-103)

If so, do the fathers generally stay back because they are reluctant and slothful or is it because they are physically/psychologically incapable? Do they want to play a bigger role but are not eligible? Or is it easier to delegate these responsibilities to the mothers through pretending as if they are not sufficiently qualified by their nature? In this respect, what do the interviewees think about their own cases?

All women strongly believe that it is nothing to do with psychological/psychical competencies. Nuran and Çiğdem supports their theory through mentioning present-day references: Contemporary fathers, to a great extent, assist their wives in child bearing phases. It means that men are neither psychologically nor physiologically incapable for these kinds of practices. The tendency to swing the lead within a relevant social and cultural structure is the common explanation for male inertness. The imposed gender roles have supported the legitimization of this withdrawal.

Consequently, men do not have to present an excuse or ground for their passive attitude and absence on the stage.

As a result, all of the interviewees agree Oakley who summarizes the situation in her piece: 'the discrepancy between the situations of men and women here is not due to women's biological role in childbearing, but to their cultural role in childrearing' (Oakley, 1987, p.77). They all believe that it is not their incapability but their unwillingness that makes them play less role in parenting compared to their wives.

§ 5.6 Major Responsibility of Father: Material or Moral

Chodorow, in her book *The Reproduction of Mothering*, articulates father's contribution to their families:

> Within the family, being a husband and father is different from being a wife and mother; as women have become more involved in the family, men have become less so. A father's first responsibility is to 'provide' for his family monetarily. His emotional contribution is rarely seen as of equal importance. (Chodorow, 1979, p.179)

According to the interviewees, what is the major responsibility of a father within the family unit? Do the mothers prioritize the moral responsibilities or material duties?

All the interviewees give precedence and attribute a great importance to the moral commitments of the fathers within the family unit. Children may somehow survive with a limited amount of financials, whereas insufficient level of compassion and attachment may result in permanent deficiencies in a child's psychological and moral state.

§ 5.7 Exchange of Roles

Yalom discuss that American society got used to bread-winner mothers and baby-sitter fathers through the end of twentieth century. Two new phrases were introduced: 'househusband' and 'stay-home dad'. This dad can be an artist or author or unemployed husband of a successful lawyer, doctor, dentist, businesswoman, engineer, executive or academician

(Yalom, 2002, p.382). What if the roles were exchanged between the parents? What would be the case if the mothers were working and fathers were staying at home as well as taking care of the children? Would the mothers in this study prefer that scenario?

Except Çiğdem and Şükran, none of the participants approve that and would not like to exchange their current roles. They cannot associate their current duties with their husbands. Nilgün cannot imagine a man's state of mind who spends the whole day at home and is busy with the domestic chores and the children. Şaziye and Nilgün do not want their children to be raised by the fathers in a society where all the babies are receiving mother-care. Although the idea does not sound so irrational to Raziye, she would not prefer the other way around considering the existing social structure and cultural norms.

The reason behind this perspective can be explained as such:

According to Berk (1985) due to the cultural expectation that housework is women's job, wives do not demand from their husbands to involve in house chores, and men's lack of contribution to domestic tasks does not generate a tension between couples (Robinson and Milkie, 1998, p.207). (Ünal, 2012, p.69)

From the opponents, Şükran would like to change the roles due to her disinterest in the domestic chores whereas Çiğdem favors the idea so that his husband would develop some level of empathy and put himself into her shoes. It is important to note that these two women who are eager to exchange the roles are among the ones who receive an appreciation at a level below the group average. That can be addressed as the reason behind their perspectives.

As a result, majority of the interviewees are not inclined to consider handing over their domestic responsibilities and becoming professional while their husbands stay at home and take care of the housework as well as child-caring activities. The main reason behind their position is to be seen as the cultural and the social structure of the society they are living in. This perspective can be explained through Ayata's discussion below:

Home is thus established as the women's sphere in that women are more often at home, it has greater emotional significance for them,

and the domestic space is more feminized. Men tend to see home predominantly as the women's sphere of influence and action. In addition to being wives and mothers, women are seen as homemakers and managers of the house, in charge of provisioning, decoration and the management of family 'appearances'. This gives women a central role in the management of family consumption. (Ayata, 2002, p.34).

This is not only how men perceive their wives, but also how women perceive themselves and thus do not want to give up their authority within the household.

§ 5.8 Does a Baby Save the Marriage?

Women sometimes decide to give birth in order to save their marriages. These women believe that they can create a new bond with their husbands through giving birth to a child and creating a shared value. Özbeklik mentions the topic in her study as such:

> It can be also discussed that in Turkey, being the mothers of several children will increase the status of women within the family and decrease the relative importance of marriage and marital relationships; thereby decrease the conflicts between spouses on marital issues. (Özbeklik, 2006, p.127)

In Fatma, Şenay and Nilgün's perspective, a birth can manage to save a relationship which is about to terminate. It can create a brand-new connection between the partners and give an impulse to a marriage. The commonality among these three women is that they all come from smaller cities. It can be pointed out as the reason that make them think in a more traditional way.

On the other hand, the rest of the interviewees assert that having a baby is a short-term solution for the existing tension and will not avoid but only delay any break up. Sara takes a different approach to the issue and admits that a baby can even mark an end to a turbulent relationship. Overall, majority of the women in this study believe that a baby does not have a long-lasting effect in saving problematic marriages.

§ 5.9 Is Good Mother Equal to Good Wife?

Oakley discusses in her book that 'being a good mother does not call for the same qualities as being a good housewife, and the pressure to be both at the same time may be an insupportable burden' (Oakley, 1987, p.102). As it is in the case of a good mother and good housewife, should a good mother be differentiated from good wife or do the two identities go parallel with one another?

Except Şenay and Nuran, all the participants think that each title signifies an entirely different set of values, feelings and responsibilities. Being a good mother should never be equated with being a good wife. A person can be an excellent mother yet at the same time an incompetent wife, or it can be the other way around.

On the other hand, for Şenay and Nuran, a woman's performance as mother as well as wife is mostly determined by her personal characteristics. In other words, they believe that a woman will either succeed or fail in both responsibilities. What matters is an individual set of moral codes that shape the relationship with one's child and husband. The commonality among these two women is that they come from smaller cities. Their hometown can be showed as the reason that leads them to think more traditionally in this topic.

In sum, the majority of the interviewees believe that the two concepts are very much different from one another as the receiver end of the motherhood is the child whereas that of spousal relationship is the husband. Each has its own dynamics and requirements that enable a woman to perform differently in each sphere.

§ 5.10 Female Contribution to Male Success

There is a universal idiom that highlights the importance of female support in man's successful career: Behind every great man, there's a great woman. As they do not obtain a professional career, 'women supposedly have remedied this deficiency by experiencing their husbands' success-vicariously-as their own'. "Of particular importance is indirect

participation in the husband's career. Wives of high-status men often report that they give their husbands support, interest, and attention" (Bernstein, Macke and Bohrnstedt, 1979, p.51). According to the interviewees, does a woman play a role in her husband's successful career performance?

Unlike the case in the children's careers, all participants stress their contribution to the husbands' career achievements. While women overvalue the individual capacity and underestimate their contributions in the case of their children's academic performances, they all highlight their support to the achievements of their husbands.

§ 5.11 Guilty Side in Cheating

The issue of cheating has always been a matter of discussion. Some people blame the person who cheats on his/her partner whereas some believe that the cheated person is the main responsible for making a ground for disloyalty. There is also another argument which asserts that both sides need to be held accountable for the result.

In this research, there are two different approaches to the issue: Semra, Şaziye, Şükran, Ezel, Nilgün and Fatma assure that the disloyal partner is always to be addressed as the guilty one whereas the rest put the burden on both partners. The first group claims that no one deserves to be cheated on in any case. On the other hand, the latter group blames both partners, one for creating ground for disloyalty, other for his/her cheating attempt. Needless to say, whether they would defend this argument if they experience the situation is a question mark.

In sum, one half of the group in this study believe that no one deserves to be cheated and thus the guilty is the one who cheats whereas the other half think that both sides are accountable for the disloyalty. In the group of attendees, there is not anyone that accuses the cheated person for the outcome.

§ 5.12 Victims of Divorces

The attendees are asked to address the victims of the divorces. Yalom elaborates the topic and says that women are the losers of these processes due to their financial status. Even though they receive alimony after divorce, it does not meet the expenses of the children whose custody are in general given to the mothers (Yalom, 2002, p.394). Although all the interviewees believe that the victim side of the story is always meant to be the woman in Turkish culture, they bring in different approaches to the issue.

Şaziye, Handan, Nilgün, Ezel and Raziye assure that women are not aggrieved anymore, as long as they manage to earn their own money. The financial strength of a woman destroys her previous inferior position in the picture.

On the other hand, the rest, without thinking, address the woman as the loser of the story. Şükran says that the burden is mostly on the women's shoulder as they get the custody in typical cases. Fatma stresses the high level of social pressure on a divorced woman. Building up an individual life after a divorce is always difficult for females.

Nuran brings in a different approach and reminds the fact that males always experience difficult times in organizing their own lives as an individual. They are in a constant need of a female care and organization within their lives. Therefore, they are the major actors that suffer from divorces.

Nevertheless, it is obvious that the women in this study strongly believe that females are meant to be the inferiors of the divorces. But they do not forget to state that their financial earnings lessen their suffering compared to that of the women of old times. Only one of the interviewees notes that men become incapable of organizing their own lives after the disappearance of the women from the scene.

§ 5.13 Marriage Regrets

Rather than addressing their individual regrets, the attendees are asked for the common concerns and issues in the society that they observed. By this, it will be easier for them to reveal their own opinions in the name of others.

Şenay says that people mostly regret their arranged marriages and wish that they had experienced love-match. Nuran and Semra tell that people regret marrying at young ages. Şaziye stresses that people generally suffer a degeneration and a lack of empathy within a marriage. Nilgün has encountered a lot of individuals who deeply believe that there was a more ideal partner for them somewhere in the world. Although these people cannot address a specific individual, they think that they could be in a better situation with a more matching partner for themselves.

As result, the main regrets that are addressed by the interviewees can be listed as getting involved in an arranged marriage, marrying at a young age and wishing for a more compatible partner.

§ 5.14 Conflict Between Partners About Childbearing

Did the interviewees have parallel ideas with their husbands when they were raising their children or did they suffer certain clashes? Did they manage to find a middle way or did one of the partners have to accept the other's way?

In this respect, there are four different categories in the response set of the interviewees. First of all, they are divided into two groups: the ones who did experience clashes and the others who did not. Within the experienced group, some parents managed to find the middle way whereas some had to approve others' way. In terms of non-experienced group, either one part stayed a step back and let the other perform or they manage to apply their blended way together.

For the experienced group, Fatma and Şenay, having dominant husbands, allowed the fathers to exercise their own manners. However, Nilgün, Şükran, Semra and Şaziye managed to find a middle way as a result of discussions.

The rest say that they did not experience any clash about childbearing. Raziye, Nurcan and Sara were let to follow their own ways and did not receive any intervention from their husbands. Nuran, Handan, Ezel and Çiğdem, on the other hand, were not the major decision givers. Together with their husbands, they managed to establish a combined attitude and avoided any type of duality.

Regarding this clash between the parents, Damour provides them with consolation:

> It's worth noting that parents don't need to be fully aligned for their girls to thrive. It's tricky when parents occupy opposite ends of any parenting spectrum but for the sake of healthy development, teens need each of their parents to be internally consistent more than they need them to be in lockstep with each other. In other words, teenagers (and children, for that matter) need for their parents to be predictable. (Damour, 2016, pp.156-157)

In sum, half of the group in the study experienced a clash with their husbands whereas the other half did not do so when it comes to the harmony between the partners in childbearing aspect. The experienced ones either let their husbands lead the path or find a middle-way. The non-experienced group either exercise their own way or end up creating a blend of the two perspectives. Neither the educational background nor the hometown can be referred as the main factor behind the results. Additionally, the appreciation level that each woman is exposed to is also not a determinant in this topic.

§ 5.15 Summary

As stated by the interviewees, the majority of the husbands in the study are content with their 'housewife' wives. The ones who believe that their husbands are not glad with their own situation are among the ones who

receive an appreciation below the group average. These three women are also from smaller cities. Although it does not have be the reason behind their perspective, it is one of the commonalities of these three interviewees.

Although all the interviewees tell that they did not suffer from any pressure from their husbands regarding the financial issues, almost half of them felt that pressure internally while the rest accepted the situation and did not make it a problem. Neither the educational background nor the hometown was a factor behind that feeling. The level of appreciation they receive from their family members also do not have any effect on their stances as some of the interviewees who suffered from this financial dependency are among the one who received an appreciation at a level above the group average.

When it comes to the contribution of the males to the housework, across the entire group, two women did not let their husbands help them while the other two did not receive any support from them. Although the other nine women express that they received support from their husbands in domestic duties, they all accepted the fact that the major responsibility in domestic chores belonged to them.

For the male contribution to the childbearing activities, half of the interviewees wish that their husbands had supported them more and three of them accepted the passiveness of their husbands and take on the entire responsibility on themselves. Only three women give credit their husbands for their active role in child bearing aspect. No correlation between the potential factors and the responses for the question is founded.

When it comes to the reason of male passiveness in these domestic as well as familial responsibilities, all the women in the study think that it is not their husbands' incapability but their unwillingness that makes them play role in parenting compared to their wives.

All the interviewees prioritize the moral contributions of their husbands over their financial gaining. They all consider the love and the protection as the most important wealth a father can provide his children with.

The majority of the interviewees is not inclined to consider handing over their domestic responsibilities and becoming professional while their husbands stay at home and take care of the housework as well as child-caring activities. The main reason behind their position is to be seen as the cultural and the social structure of the society they are living in. It is also noteworthy that the two women who are eager to exchange the roles are among the ones who receive an appreciation at a level below the group average.

Most of the interviewees believe that baby is only a short-term solution for a problematic marriage. It never helps to ameliorate a marriage; it can even finalize a worn-out marriage. The commonality among the three women who strongly believe in the power of the baby is that they all come from smaller cities.

The majority of the participants believe that being a good mother is different from being a good wife because each has its own dynamics and requirements that leads women to perform differently in each sphere. The commonality among the two women who oppose this idea is that they come from smaller cities.

All of the interviewees believe that they play a role in their husband's achievements. It is noteworthy that when they talk about the successes of their children, they give much more credit to their children's capabilities than their own support. In case of their husbands, they do not mention the capacities of their husbands and directly speak of their own part.

Under the topic of cheating, while half of the group in the study believe that the guilty part is the one who cheats, the other half think that both sides are accountable for the outcome. All the members of the former group come from smaller cities whereas the latter group includes the women from smaller cities as well as larger ones. Therefore, it would not be rational to consider the difference in hometown as the determinant of this equation.

Almost all the participants assert that females are meant to be the inferiors of the divorces. But they also do not forget to state that their financial earnings lessen their suffering compared to that of the women of old times. Only one of the interviewees notes that men become incapable

of organizing their own lives after the disappearance of the women from their lives.

Regarding the regrets about the marriages, the major ones addressed by the interviewees can be listed as getting involved in an arranged marriage, marrying at a young age and wishing for a more compatible partner.

Regarding the harmony between the two partners regarding their childbearing perspectives, half of the group in the study experienced clashes with their husbands whereas the other half did not do so. The experienced ones either let their husbands lead the path or find a middle-way. The non-experienced group either exercise their own way or end up creating a blend of the two perspectives. Neither the educational background nor the hometown is observed as the main factor behind these results. Furthermore, the appreciation level that each woman is exposed to is also not a determinant in this topic.

When the entire response set is taken into account, neither the educational background nor the hometown of the interviewees has a general effect on the responses. The situation is also valid for the level of appreciation the interviewees have been receiving. It is true that some commonalities among the ones that form the opponent group for each question can be observed; nevertheless, there is not a de facto correlation between the responses and the potential factors determined in the study. In some topics, they all comment in the same way despite the difference in their educational background, hometown as well as level of appreciation whereas they sometimes think completely different from one another.

6

Conclusion

Subsequent to the discussion of the housewife as a worker, as a mother as well as a wife, the interviewees are then asked for more general questions. In other words, they are to express their overall perspectives on the identity of housewife. They are firstly asked to share their satisfaction with their own situation and then their perspective on whether any woman can be a housewife. The last topic of the discussion is the future of the housewifery in the society they are living. Afterwards, the correlation between the answers and the potential factors (their hometown, their educational background and the level of appreciation they receive from the family members) is to be examined.

§ 6.1 Housewifery: Fortune or Bad Luck

Is it a regret or fortune to be a housewife? The interviewees are split into two in their answers: Fatma, Şenay, Handan, Şaziye, Nurcan, Sara and Nuran call it fortune whereas the rest have regrets for being a housewife. The answers, reflecting and revealing women's self-evaluations, deserve a deep elaboration and attention. Therefore, rather than talking in general terms, each and every answer needs to be further examined.

Fatma could not imagine herself in a position in which she could manage to carry out both familial and professional duties. Satisfied with her marriage and two successful children, Şenay, like Fatma, considers being a housewife as a fortune for herself. Handan associates her housewifery with her motherhood, and is very content with her preference. Şaziye does not have any regrets and feels pleased about her life. Nurcan, although she sometimes feels disappointed for not having a profession, is satisfied with her current lifestyle. Sara shares same concerns with Nurcan; nevertheless, having had the chance to bring up her children by her own, she is overall happy with her housewife role. Nuran, having had the privilege to spend much time with her beloved ones, is overly proud of her housewifery.

Among the ones who consider housewifery as bad-luck, Raziye literally hates being a housewife but repeats the fact that she did not have any chance to prefer the other way in the existing conditions of that time. Ezel would like to participate in the business life. Şükran, sharing Ezel's regret, says that she could experience being a housewife right after retirement if she had managed to be a professional. However, she could not live the opposite scenario: She cannot experience professional career after spending many years as a housewife.

Nilgün would definitely prefer to be a professional if she had the chance to start all over. Çiğdem believes that she would not end up with a worse life if she was a professional instead of a housewife. Semra, expressing that she had to give up her professional ideals due to the existing conditions, says that she should have tried another way to play a double game because women are perpetually 'going slightly mad under the

pressure of social isolation, routine chores, conformity, and subscribed options, just as they were losing their status as skilled homemakers, having been made redundant by labor-saving technology' (Thurer, 1995, p.256).

Considering all the responses for this question, we can observe that the women who assess the housewifery as a fortune are the ones who receive an appreciation at a level above the group average (as discussed in the first chapter, Table 1A). On the other hand, the other group who describe the situation as a misfortune consists of the women who receive an appreciation at a level below the group mean. When the effect of the educational background and the hometown of the interviewees are examined, the conclusion is that any of these two factors do not have any impact on the general perspective of the women. The only and major determinant can be accepted as the level of appreciation each receives from their family members.

§ 6.2 Can Anybody Be a Housewife?

Oakley discusses the role of housewife and differentiates it as such:
> Among work roles it is unique, in that it is prefaced by an extremely long period of apprenticeship. Since sex- being born female- is the relevant criterion for admittance, a woman's apprenticeship to housewifery is part of her overall socialization for the feminine role. The daughter watches, imitates and later actively helps. Through this process of identification, women are perpetually assigned to the housewife role: the motivation to be a housewife, and to do housework, is developed as an integral personality function. (Oakley, 1987, pp.95-96)

In this respect, is it to be assumed that anybody can be a housewife? Is it something related to the personal temperament or characteristics? Or is it something to be attained through practices?

Only Raziye and Handan feel that anyone who wants to be a housewife can manage to attain it by the time through learning and training. Handan shows herself as an example: She had never done any housework up until

she became a mother. This brings her to the argument that a woman can become a housewife as long as she really wants to do so.

On the other hand, the rest of the interviewees assert that not every woman has the courage to be a housewife. Nilgün and Fatma personally observe this reality in their own lives: Their daughters never voluntarily help them in housework. For them, being a housewife requires a compatible instinct and nature in an individual. Şaziye supports the same argument through giving some examples who actually wanted much to become a housewife but could not.

According to Çiğdem and Nuran, today's youth, unlike their own generation, cannot manage to be a housewife due to their special emphasis on freedom. It is an undeniable fact that being a housewife consequently creates some limits on the personal freedom. Sara believes that a woman has to enjoy the activities under her responsibility. Otherwise, the life turns into a torture that destroys one's motivation and joy of life.

In sum, the majority of the interviewees believe that anybody who wants to be a housewife cannot be so. A person who is willing to do so should be ready to sacrifice her freedom and take on multiple responsibilities. Considering the two women who think different from the rest of the group, they do not have any commonality either in educational background or hometown as well as level of appreciation they receive.

§ 6.3 The Future of Housewifery

There are two different approaches on the future of housewifery: One group believes in the gradual decrease of the trend while the other group defends that there will always be a certain group of housewives. Semra and Şaziye assert that there will always be some women who choose to be housewives regardless of their educational background. For Nurcan, the social and cultural activities available to the housewives sometimes attract women enough to refrain from the professional life. Raziye, Fatma and Ezel also suggests similar arguments and conclude that housewifery will never come to an end in the long term.

On the other hand, the rest believe that it is gradually decreasing and will expire soon. Nilgün and Şükran stress that the number of professionals will increase in the course of time because new life conditions oblige women to participate in business life and bring in money to their families. Single salary is no longer sufficient to meet the expenses of a family unit. Sara and Şenay long for its dissolution because they want the upcoming generations to take part in the professional life much more than today.

While Nuran and Çiğdem agree with others, Handan brings in a different approach to the issue and defends that the extinction of housewives will consequently cause a degeneration in the society and selfishness in individuals. Hays' argument can constitute a base for Handan's claim: "The promise of a lasting and loving relationship is implied in mothers' sense that they would be lonely, empty, and missing something if they were without children" (Hays, 1996, p.127). For Handan, as the number of self-centric women will increase, the healthy and peaceful families will decrease in number.

In sum, almost half of the interviewees believe that the housewifery will be lasting in the long-term, the others think that it will come to an end as the life conditions oblige women to work and earn money, so that they can contribute to the family budget. The responses of the interviewees do not differ based on their educational background, hometown or the level of appreciation they have been receiving. Therefore, it is not possible to talk about a general determinant in this topic.

§ 6.4 Summary

Considering the entire response set, the conclusion is that coming from the same socio-economic class does not guarantee the same experience as a housewife. It would be wrong to claim that it does not play any role in shaping women's expectations, preferences or practices, but yet it is influential to a certain extent. There should be other factors than class which differentiate women's experiences as well as their approaches. As mentioned previously in the introduction part, these factors are considered as the educational background, the hometown and the level of

appreciation received by each woman. For any question that women respond in a different way, the answers are examined to see whether any of these potential factors has some effect on that particular topic.

For the themes that all the interviewees have the same approach, it can be assumed that their common socio-economic background plays an important role. Here is the list of the topics which all of the interviewees think the same.

As professionals, all housewives appreciate the contribution of the technological advancements to their daily routine. Almost all of them benefit from cleaning ladies and they prioritize honesty as their major criteria in selecting these ladies. They believe that professional mothers should not be labeled successful directly, as they hold dual identities, her performances in each sphere should be examined to assess her overall performance. They think that they have a solid contribution to their family budget although they do not earn a particular amount of money from a full-time job.

As mothers, they agree that an ideal mother should put importance on the characteristics as well as the requirements of her own child and adapt herself accordingly. Almost all believe that they could reserve sufficient time and energy for their children which is referred to as the major advantage of housewifery. Almost all women attributed internal characteristics to their unborn babies. They accept that overprotection is not beneficial for the development of the children. All suppose that the parents are the first to be addressed in times of child's failures and the achievements.

As wives, all of the interviewees believe that the main reason behind the passiveness of the husbands both in childcare and the household chores is not their capability but their unwillingness to do so. They prioritize the moral contribution of their husbands over their material earnings. They highlight their contributions in their husbands' careers. Almost all of them think that the main victims of the divorces are females.

After overviewing the topics for which all the respondents make similar comments, the next step is to investigate the subjects that the potential factors have effect on. Among these three factors listed, the most

effective one is the level of appreciation women receive from their family members. First, it is the major factor behind women's self-perceptions. Taking the appreciation level each female receives into account, the conclusion is that the women who are not content with their housewifery rank below the group average. In parallel, the ones who are satisfied with their own situation receive an appreciation at a level above the group average. In other words, whether a woman is glad with her housewife identity is related to the level of appreciation she gets from her family.

The topics in which the appreciation level plays a role in this study are listed as such: As professionals, the ones who believe that a diploma-holder should not become a housewife and who consider the housework as a burden instead of natural responsibility are among the ones who receive an appreciation below the group average.

As mothers, the interviewees who report that they did not feel idle as their children were ageing and who prioritize the parenting as well as modeling over a child's temperament rank above the group average. On the other hand, the mothers who are against a maternity break for their daughters are among the ones who receive an appreciation at a level below the group average. Regarding the mothers' role in the achievements of their children, the ones who prioritize the temperament of their children rank below the group average whereas the women who highlight their own contributions score above that.

As wives, the ones whose husbands seem to be not satisfied with their housewifery and who are willing to exchange the roles with their husbands are among the ones who rank below the group average in terms of the level of the appreciation they receive.

Examining the effect of the hometown, the women who believe that the domestic labor never comes to an end, who thinks that the praise does not demolish but lessen the complaints of a woman, who got pregnant unintentionally, who did not experience girl-mother-tension, who claim that a baby can save a marriage, who equate being a good mother with being a good wife and who consider the cheating person as guilty are the ones that come from smaller cities with a more traditional values and practices.

For the educational background, it should be reminded that the group in the study consists of different type of graduates: Six of them graduated from high-school, four of them completed a university program and three of them did not pursue their education after middle-school. However, no correlation between women's educational level and the way they respond is observed. For some topics, they make the same comment regardless of their diverse educational background whereas they express different ideas for other issues even though they hold similar diploma. Therefore, educational background cannot be referred to as a determinant in the entire discussion. It should be also noted that educational background could play important role if the sample population belonged to a lower socio-economic class. Having a higher level of education would create much more difference in people's lives both in financial and social terms if they are coming from lower class.

As a reminder, since all the interviewees are considered to be age-mates and have the same number of children, these two variables which could be otherwise addressed as potential factors are therefore consequently eliminated from the discussion in this study.

For more comprehensive future researches, broader sample population can be included in order to conduct more enhanced analysis. Another suggestion would be to include professional women from the same age range that would enable to present a comparison between two groups. Housewives of the current era can be also treated as a potential participant group which creates an opportunity to contrast two generations. As one of the limitations of this study, the husbands can be also examined deeply with their occupational and social/cultural backgrounds. Finally, the relationships of the attendees with their own mothers as well as mothers-in-law can be a topic of discussion for a deeper understanding and analysis. These ideas can enable the future researchers to conduct more extensive studies than this one.

In sum, both the class of a woman and the level of appreciation she receives from her family are considered to be among the major factors behind her experiences as well as her perspective as a housewife. Hometown plays a role in the discussion to a lesser extent whereas the

educational background does not account for any diversity among the responses reported by the participants in this study. Needless to say, these results strictly belong to this research and its sample population. Therefore, it would be invalid to generalize these outcomes to other broader groups. Every group has its own dynamics and there is a population of twelve million housewives in Turkey. That population includes multiple socio-economic classes, but even if the focus is limited to the entire group of upper middle class, the outcomes can be different from that of this study. I hope that this thesis will be a minor contribution to the 'housewife' studies and broaden the perspectives of the researchers who would like to go further in the area.

Appendix A   Interview Questions

Introduction
1. How did you become housewife?

Housewife as a Professional
2. How would you define housewife role?
3. Do you consider housewifery as an occupation?
4. Is it to throw a diploma into bin if you become housewife?
5. What are the credentials of housewife?
6. Do you consider housework as a natural responsibility or burden?
7. Would you prefer to hear an appreciation or earn money for your efforts?
8. Did technological advancements lessen your burden?
9. What are the most helping devices?
10. What is the most difficult domestic work?
11. What is your favorite work?
12. What is your most valuable work?
13. Does domestic labor come to an end?
14. Do you benefit cleaning ladies?
15. How would you compare housewife and professional roles?
16. Is professional life more stressful than that of housewife?
17. What are the motivations of professionals?
18. As professional mothers hold dual identity both as a worker and mother/wife in the home, can they be evaluated as successful?
19. Do you believe that you have a contribution to the family budget?
20. Can a praise avoid complaints of housewife?
21. Would you like to attend an association established for housewives?

Housewife as a Mother
22. What was your motivation for becoming a mother?
23. Why did you give birth to two children?
24. Do you consider parenthood as a duty or self-fulfillment?
25. Do you think that motherhood is attainable or innate?
26. How would you describe an ideal mother?

27. Do you believe that there is good/bad child? Or do parents play an important role on that?
28. Can you list the advantages of housewifery in childbearing?
29. What are the disadvantages of childbearing as housewife?
30. Can you please complete this sentence? 'The Children Raised by Housewife Mothers are To Be More ...'
31. Would you regret if you did not take care of your baby?
32. Would you agree Bowlby on his Attachment Theory?
33. Did you feel idle as your children gets older?
34. Which one do you think is worse: whether to have bad parents or none?
35. Do you believe that your motherhood would be different if your socio-economic class was different?
36. Did you have a sex preference when you were pregnant?
37. Can you compare mothering for a girl and boy?
38. Do you think that women can change the gender structure in the society?
39. Did you experience mother-girl tension?
40. Did you attribute some characteristics to your baby during your pregnancy?
41. Are the characteristics of a child determined by the genetics and the child's temperament or by the education provided by the parents?
42. What were your discipline methods while you were raising your children?
43. Do you think that do multiple choices spoil the children or not?
44. How would you commentate on overprotection?
45. Do you prefer nuclear or large family in child raising?
46. What were your resources for your motherhood?
47. Did you benefit expert books?
48. Do you recommend your daughter to take a maternity break for some time or to continue working?
49. Do you agree that parents are solely responsible for their children's success or failure?

50. Do you believe that you have a role in your children's success?

51. Do you have any regret about your mothering?

52. Do you think that professional mothers have a different feeling of motherhood? Can a professional occupation differentiate this feeling?

Housewife as a Wife

53. How does your husband commentate on your housewifery?

54. As a housewife who does not have certain financial earning, do you suffer from your dependency on your husband or did you internalize/normalize the situation?

55. Does your husband, in a reasonable extent, contribute to the domestic chores or does he leave you alone in housework?

56. To what extent did your husband contribute to the child bearing activities? Would you wish that your husband had played much more role in those phases?

57. What is the reason behind husband's passive performance in these two areas?

58. What is the major responsibility of a father within the family unit? Do you prioritize the moral responsibilities or material duties?

59. What if the roles were exchanged between the parents? What would be the case if the mothers were working and fathers were staying at home as well as taking care of the children? Would you prefer that scenario?

60. Do you think that baby can save a marriage?

61. Do you believe that good mother is equal to good wife?

62. Does a woman play a role in her husband's successful career performance?

63. Who is the guilty side in cheating? Cheated one or disloyal partner?

64. Who are the victims of the divorces? Females or males?

65. What are the common regrets in marriage that you observe in your social environment?

66. Did you have parallel ideas with your husband when you were raising your children or did you experience certain clashes? Did

you manage to find a middle way or did one of you have to accept the other's way?

Conclusion

67. Is it a regret or fortune to be a housewife?
68. Can anybody be a housewife?
69. How would you project the future of the housewifery?

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