INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF GENDER: MOTHERS' AND
DAUGHTERS' VALUES, ATTITUDES AND EXPECTATIONS IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF GENDER: MOTHERS' AND
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This study aims to give a meaning to the role of the intergenerational transmission of gender based values, attitudes and expectation in the reproduction and transformation of gender order in Turkey through understanding the transmission patterns between mothers' and daughters' gender based values, attitudes and expectations about divorce, marriage, power relations, women's body, and women's sexuality. A qualitative study with the involvement of 15 mother- daughter dyads (n=30) within the light of Feminist Standpoint Theory is designed to reach the voice of women. Experiences of women taken as the main source of knowledge which reached through semi- structured, in depth interviews in separate sessions. While salient transformations in gender order on the subjects of divorce, marriage and women's sexuality are found in the study, it is observed that established gender order in the issues of women's body is reproduced intergenerationally. The study contributes to the literature by demonstrating transformations and reproductions of patriarchal gender order through intergenerational relations between mothers and daughters in Turkey.

ÖZ

TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYETİN KUŞAKLARARASI AKTARIMI: TÜRKİYE'DE
ANNELER ve KIZLARININ DEĞER, TUTUM VE BEKLENTİLERİ

YARDIMCI KARACA, Zeynep

Yüksek Lisans, Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Kadın Çalışmaları Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Fatma Umut BEŞPINAR

Aralık 2022, 200 sayfa

Bu çalışma, annelerin ve kızlarının evlilik, boşanma, güç ilişkileri, cinsellik ve kadın bedeni ile ilgili toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı değerleri, tutumları ve beklentileri arasındaki aktarım örüntülerini anlamlandırarak Türkiye'deki kuşaklar arası aktarımın toplumsal cinsiyet düzeninde yeniden üretilmesi ve/veya dönüştürülmesine bir anlam kazandırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Feminist Duruş Kuramı ışığında on beş anne-kız ikilisinin yer aldığı, toplam 30 kişi ile gerçekleştirilen bu nitel çalışmada kadınların seslerine ulaşmak amaçlanmıştır. Temel bilgi kaynağı olarak kadınların deneyimleri alınmış ve kadınların her biri ile ayrı oturumlarda yarı yapılandırılmış, derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Bu tez çalışması süresince boşanma, evlilik, güç ilişkileri ve kadın cinselliği konularında toplumsal cinsiyet düzeninde belirgin dönüşümler tespit edilirken, kadın bedeni konusunda kurulan toplumsal cinsiyet düzeninin kuşaklararası yeniden üretildiği bulunmuştur. Bu çalışma, Türkiye'de anneler ve kızları arasındaki kuşaklararası ilişkiler üzerinden, ataerkil cinsiyet düzeninin dönüşümünü ve yeniden üretimlerini ortaya koyarak literatüre katkı sağlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: kuşaklararası toplumsal cinsiyet aktarımı, anne-kız ilişkisi, toplumsal cinsiyet sosyalizasyonu, beden/cinsellik, evlilik/boşanma

To Işıl Filiz Korkmaz, the most fearless noble woman, who gave me

a voice, and a heart,

and then

a Room of My Own

So that I empowered on my own

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the center of life with all her emotions, and power. Your affectionate and brave friendship always remembers me that a woman can achieve everything whatever she goes through.

Last but not least, I would like to express my gratitude to my compassionate and loving friends, Şebnem IŞIK and Özlem Gamze ŞİMŞEK. With the breakfasts, and many many laughs and supports to the accompaniment of a cup of coffee they put on my desk every day, I wrote this thesis with collecting many joyful moments thanks to their friendship.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Development and transmission of gender role attitudes are crucial since early gender tenets continue to shape later life of people and are expected to be determinant for the rest of one's life. When acquired gender role attitudes are traditional, they contribute to the continuity of existing inequalities in many aspects of life. On the other hand, acquisition of more egalitarian gender values leads to more gender sensitive and equal societies for the current, as well as for the next generations. Therefore, the question of how gender-based values, attitudes and expectations are developed and transmitted across generations within the context of patriarchal structure is an important issue that attracts the attention of many social researchers. Even though conventional sociological perspectives approach to the topic of socialization of gender with systematic tools defined by famous theorists, due to the dynamism of human interactions, these theories are not enough to explain the actual reality of women. Therefore, my academic motivation to study intergenerational transmission of gender values, attitudes and expectations initially stems from filling this gap. I argue that conventional studies conducted in the area of socialization is lacking in to reflecting women's actual real experiences in life and not representing the future generation's reality, especially in the context of Turkey. That's why the intergenerational transmission of gender-based values, attitudes and expectations necessitates to be studied from a feminist perspective that gives a chance to hear the voice of women for the reality embedded in their unique experiences.

On the other hand, I think, thesis topic selection cannot be solely about academic interests or gaps researchers discover and want to fill. In order to work on a project for more than a year, a researcher needs to create a connection with the intended

1

topic, so that the interest and curiosity can be kept alive. For this reason, I would like to state my personal motivation to study this study's topic since it was also more determinant for me while I was deciding my research subject.

My personal motivation is related with the relationship with my mother. Even though she had the possible highest educational degree the one can hold (she is about to be a professor in a public university at the time of this study conducted) and live in the city center for almost more than 50 years, there are lots of traditional views and practices she is holding, but interestingly even though she is practicing and reproducing those values and attitudes in her daily life, I am not affected from any of them. Before starting this research, I assumed that this may stem from two reasons. Firstly, although she is reproducing those traditional beliefs in her life, she is not putting any pressure on me when I am completely disagreeing with them which implies that holding traditional gender values is not an equation with one factor, instead there are multiple factors variables involved to the process. Secondly, when I was a child, my mother was doing her PhD, and at the same time she was working full time outside, while she was a part time home maker. That's why because of the heavy responsibilities she was carrying in her life, she had very little time to spend with me. Furthermore, my adolescent period not much different than that, since her responsibilities stayed the same while metamorphosing (like working hours for PhD turned into publishing academic works etc.). That's why the interaction was also very low during my adolescent period just like in my childhood. Therefore, due to the lack of communication and absence of exchange of ideas between us, I can only have a chance to observe my mother with her successes from the result of her hard works, both in public and private spheres. Therefore, while I am not exposed traditional tenets so much, she was a very successful and ambitious woman who can achieve anything by working hard in the gaze of mine. Therefore, with the topic of this thesis, which is "Intergenerational Transmission of Gender: Mothers' and Daughters' Values, Attitudes and Expectations in Turkey", I would like to contribute to the literature, especially with presenting the case of Turkish society, and aim to

learn the patterns of gender-based value, attitude and expectation transmission mechanisms between mothers and daughters.

1.1   Major Theoretical Debates of the Study

In this part of the work, I would like to demonstrate the critical concepts, theories, and their relationship with the thesis topic.

First of all, the concept of socialization constitutes the essence of this work. The term of socialization is defined as a continuum process in which people develop social skills and learn social knowledge that are required to be a member of a society (Spanier, 1977). This socialization process is shaped by the society's cultures, norms, and values. For this reason, socialization starts at very early ages of children and continues across lifespan; it is a lifelong learning process.

The social structure of the society, as well as what is appropriate or inappropriate, and the rules and requirements of the society are taught by the socializing actors. Furthermore, gender-based value, attitude and expectation construction is at the heart of this process where family is the first and the most significant socializing agents since they are the only and the most frequently accessible ones children are exposed. Therefore, children are learning gender specific roles mainly within the household with primary socialization, especially from their parents, and according to the roles that are socialized, women are judged what is proper or not proper for them. As a result, social formation of an individual's gender-based values, attitudes, and expectations are highly influenced by family who are the first socializing agents and children's understanding of these values are composed of intellectual dispositions that are provided by the family and its environment. Thus, the family, as a patriarchal institution, turns into a tool of patriarchy where gender-based domination and subordination practiced and internalized

Classical socialization theorists mostly centralize the role of the family in the process of the socialization of children, but due to the patriarchal nature of family, as an

3

institution, gender perspective is mostly ignored within this tenet. Therefore, gender roles are fictionalized within the family and power relations are unequally distributed. Moreover, gender and sex role socialization underlines that there are unique gender roles for men and women which derive from culture rather than from biology (Oakley, 1974). Gender role differentiation, though, varies from one society to another, tend to maintain male dominance and female subservience. These roles are learnt via socialization during childhood and shape the behavior of adults. The manipulation of children's self-image by parents and the canalization of boys and girls towards different objects account for the differences in values, attitudes, and expectations (Oakley, 1974). Furthermore, gender role differentiation via socialization always draws the female and the role she plays in the society as inferior compared to male. During socialization, these gender role distinctions are endorsed by penalizing gender inappropriate behaviors, especially in highly patriarchal societies. Therefore, women are restricted from most of the roles that are marked as gender inappropriate. This situation negatively affects women in many aspects of life, from public to private lives in various historical times (Omadjohwoefe, 2011).

By being in parallel with the idea of gender and sex role socialization, the existence of gender role attitudes in women derived exclusively from social learning of culturally accepted beliefs (Glick and Fiske, 1996). These culturally accepted beliefs are shaped by culture, social norms, and values. Constructed social norms about gender do not just only address how men and women interact, but they also provide information about which aspects of people are considered most valuable. Furthermore, social norms in patriarchal societies endorse people to view women more for their bodies rather than for their personalities or abilities. Therefore, since norms and values differ in cultures accordingly, gender role differentiation perpetuated by patriarchy varies from one culture to another. Thus, it may not have a universal origin (Omadjohwoefe, 2011). Furthermore, even though the structure of patriarchy lays the foundations of gender-based values, attitudes, and expectations in essence, the construction of those gender beliefs and stereotypes varies according to cultures and transmission of those values occur across generations through

socialization. Those gender beliefs and stereotypes cannot be separated from culture, in other words, they carry cultural meanings, practices and expectations that coordinate people's life by influencing and directing one's values, attitudes and expectations. Therefore, cultural transmission also occurs through socialization and plays a key role in the continuation of gender-based values, attitudes, and expectations.

Many studies proved that in the process of both cultural transmission and gender ideology formation, mothers have more impact on daughters than fathers (Chorodow, 1978; Kulik, 2002; Becker & Wagner, 2009; Carlson and Knoester, 2011, Platt & Polavieja, 2016; Dhar et al.,2019). While women are using their social assets to transfer their intellectual dispositions to children, their socio-economic status which composed of economic and social positions is expected to be the determinants of children's level of internalization of these values (Becker and Swim, 2011). Women's this kind of internalization of gender attitudes turns into actions in many aspects of their lives, from their understanding of womanhood, and *"the proper"* image about woman's body to the approach they build towards spousal and intimate relationships, as well as towards divorce and sexuality. Therefore, intergenerational relations between mothers and daughters in these areas connect and reflect the transformation and/or reproduction of gender order in Turkish society. The transmission of gender values, attitudes, and expectations from mothers to daughters will be a part of daughters' personality and this transmission may indirectly serve as a continuity tool of patriarchy, if the transmitted gender values are more in line with patriarchy, otherwise, the transmission may create an opportunity to open a huge window for the emancipation of women. For this reason, in this study, mother and daughter relationship is especially significant, due to the main focus of the study which stresses the transmission patterns between mothers' gender values and their well-educated daughters' gender values in Turkey through understanding to what extent this relationship between mothers and daughters is connecting and reflecting the transformation or/and reproduction of gender order in Turkey.

In the thesis, the term of *gender order* is used within the boundaries of how R.W. Connell is defined it first in the book named *Gender and Power* presented in 1987. According to Connell (1987), gender order refers to the overall structure of gender relations in a specific society, at a specific time in history. A society's gender order is a historically created pattern of power dynamics between men and women as well as ideas of what it means to be a man or a woman. The idea aims to embrace the gendered aspect of every social encounter of people. Therefore, Connell refers to the structural inventory that produces gendered experiences at the level of an entire society by using the phrase gender order (Connell, 1987). Connell further argues that the gender order is a systematic system of ideological and material activities that members of a society engage in, in order to create and recreate meaningful power relations between women and men. Forms or codes of masculinities and femininities are formed and renewed, and relationships between them are organized through the gender order of a culture. Thus, the "gender order," or the general structure of gender relations in a specific culture, at a specific point in history, is created by the structures of labor, power, and emotional interactions, including sexuality (Connell, 1987).

According to Connell, gender relations are seen as being in progress, the result of human activity or agency, and are open to both resistance and conformity, as well as conflict and acceptance. All of these indicate that gender relations are vulnerable to disturbance and transformation. Connell contends that the modern gender structure of the industrialized world exhibits "crisis tendencies." Connell gives the example of how governmental regulations have damaged the validity of men's dominance over women in familial interactions through regulations in laws on divorce, rape within marriage, independent pensions, domestic violence, and taxation for married women. Connell also recognizes the potential for a sexuality crisis, where forms of heterosexuality that favor males over women are being challenged by change in women's perspective towards sexuality (Connell, 1990). While changes in gender order in societies intergenerally transmitted through socialization, the patriarchal norms, values and attitudes are transforming and/or reproducing in a society via socialization in a broadest sense.

Even though in the literature, the socialization process and the role of the family is discussed in detail, and the socialization process of children is defined almost like an equation, the actual perspective of gender is neglected. In other words, most of the debates in this topic are analysed with the lens of modernity thought. Instead of looking directly at the individual, the family is centralized and analyzed as a unit of analysis by mainstream sociologists. Embrace of the individual as the unit of analysis in researching the complexity of the family as an intergenerational system continuing through time has been limited in social sciences. However, this gaze is androcentric and dichotomic in that the gender roles, personality traits and power relations are generalized and defined for the sake of men's benefit. Moreover, most of the experiences of the actors within the family are neglected and oppressed. Therefore, although classical sociology provides some information about the process of gender socialization, still less is known about how gender socialization of children takes place from the gaze of socializing agents. When family, as a patriarchal institution is taken as a unit of analysis, the actors of the family's life experiences are totally disregarded. However, the reality is embedded in the actors of the family. For these reasons, in this thesis I would like to analyze the gender socialization, more specifically gender-based value, attitude and expectation transmission patterns from the gaze of real actors, who are the mothers and daughters for this study. Within this framework, my research questions are as follows:

i. What are the transmission patterns between mothers' gender-based values, attitudes and expectations about divorce, spousal and intimate relationships, sexuality, women's body, and their well-educated daughters' gender-based values, attitudes, and expectations about these themes in Turkey?

ii. What is the role of the intergenerational transmission of gender-based values, attitudes and expectation in the reproduction and transformation of gender order in Turkey?

To answer these questions, I have created this sub-question:

7

i. How and by using which ways well-educated young women keep or/and change their mothers' gender-based values, attitudes, and expectations in terms of divorce, intimate and spousal relationships, sexuality, and women's body?

1.2   Overview of Methods and Research Design

To answer mentioned research questions, I designed a qualitative study which enables me to understand women's individual voices and lived experiences from their words. Feminist Standpoint Theory best suited for the research since I want to focus on the knowledge of oppressed groups in understanding of theory from the knowledge. Conducting a qualitative study in the light of Feminist Standpoint Theory enabled me to interact with the participants with an elbow touch by stating my self-reflexivity.

My sample consists of 30 people in total by being 15 mother-daughter dyads who are biologically tied. Daughters are holding at least bachelor's degree and their age ranges between 25 and 30 and they are expected to live with their mother at least till the age of 18 and have no children, while their mothers are ranging in terms of education, and age, but common in being in the middle class. The interviews were conducted as semi structured, face to face and cross-sectional data is collected. The sample is non- probabilistic and non-representative.

Most of the participants consist of from my circle of friends, while a few of them are reached via snowball technique. The recorded voices of interviews are transcribed and analyzed by using thematic analysis technique. I committed to non-hierarchal and emancipatory tools of the feminist research throughout my study.

1.3   Preliminary Assumptions of the Study

My presumption in the very beginning of the work that I gained by analyzing the literature was mothers who have internalized traditional gender attitudes with the institutions and interpersonal relations within a specific culture are intergenerationally transmitting their gender ideology to their daughters. Starting from this point of view, I first searched the content aspect of this transmission, in other words, I wondered what kind of gender values, attitudes and expectations are transmitted from mothers to daughters. Secondly, I searched for the transmission mechanisms women used while transmitting those values, attitudes, and expectations and in the final step, the outcome of this intergenerational transmission is analyzed in the study.

In the early phases of the study, I was expecting that there would be some similarities or differences, or their mixture might be present in mothers' and daughters' gender-based values, attitudes, and expectations. Therefore, during my first analysis, I tried to catch the similarities and differences between mothers and daughters and tried to give meaning why these kinds of similarities or differences exist. While I was trying to look commonalities and differences between mothers and daughters, I realized that I was labeling my participants by considering their level of patriarchal beliefs and attitudes and looking at how come their daughters are affected from these patriarchal tenets. However, in this way, I could not answer my initial research question, which was understanding the transformation and/or reproduction of gender order in Turkish society through intergenerational relationship between mothers and daughters. Therefore, this kind of presumption that I expect in the early phases of the study is completely failed, because a mother or a daughter may have patriarchal values in a specific topic while having many egalitarian and even feminist thoughts and actions in another subject. Therefore, the analysis needed to go step forward by focusing on how and why women have chosen (or not choose) to struggle these norms, values and attitudes and the outcome of choosing challenging those norms. Therefore, by determining the similarities or differences, I could not reach women's

actual reality, I only had insights about what they are think about the issue. Even though they express what they think about the issue through their experiences, the essence of this experience and its results could not be included in my first trial.

In reality, people are dynamic, complex and relationships and transmission of ideas and values are reciprocal, therefore, values and attitudes are subjected to change according to the conditions and dominant norms of the time and what people went through within this system. In the study, in my first trial I also missed another point that each and every participant of the study is affected from patriarchy since they live in it, but with different degrees, and injured from different points, like some of them injured as a result of a dysfunctional spousal relationship, while the other got wounded by being an overweight woman within the boundaries of a portrayal of a body defined by patriarchal society, or intersectionality of them. Therefore, by learning from the mistakes that I made during reading the data with the direction of my presumptions, I have changed my focus more on to the essence of actual reality of the participant's experiences by not generalizing and not falling into the trap of the modernity thought. In my first analysis, I thought *categorical* by labeling participants. I looked at their demographic information and I tried to *generalize* their "patriarchal thoughts". However, there should be no prejudice towards a very well educated, economically independent, and upper middle class woman's internalization of patriarchal values, attitudes and expectations and a woman whose education is below than the average and economically dependent on a man. Because this study also showed me that in either case, women find a way to get through and develop overcome strategies that are generally end up with the creation of a more powerful womanhood that is independent from the position in the society, therefore, gender order. Thus, the reality of women is embedded in their unique experiences. For this reason, I focused solely on their experiences and as far as a participant mentions an effect that the education, or the economic independence brought to her, I have not deduced any information from their narratives and relate it by generalizing with their demographic information by myself.

Thus, in the study, transformation and/or reproduction of gender order through intergenerational relations between mothers and daughters is analysed by centralizing women's experiences and their way of dealing with the patriarchy which constituted and reshaped their gender-based values, attitudes, and expectations. Therefore, the experiences and struggles as the result of patriarchy women go through and how they are affected from those experiences became prevalent in the study. Therefore, how women of the study tackled with these struggles in time established the transmission mechanisms they use to recreate what they have internalized and transmitted them across generations.

1.4 Brief Statement of Key Findings

From the beginning of the field study, there are three subcategories have chosen to work on, and the field questions are designed accordingly. While choosing the themes, the researcher has made an extensive literature review to determine in what areas women mostly having struggles as a result of patriarchal values, attitudes, and expectations of Turkish society. In the light of this literature research, women's understanding towards their capabilities, their intimate, spousal relationship as well as the relationship dynamics during divorce, women's sexuality and finally women's body are found most prevalent for the context of Turkish society and as a result, selected as the areas of research. In essence, the oppressions women face from different areas are interlocking pieces of a bigger puzzle of patriarchy. By being in line with the themes and merging the first two themes due to their close relatedness found in the field, analysis of the data is grouped under three categories, which are *marriage, divorce, and power relations; women's sexuality;* and *women's body* in the final text and analyses are presented under related themes.

1.4.1   Marriage, Divorce and Power Relations

Under the theme of *marriage, divorce, and power relations*, it is found in the current study that even though women go through struggles in their intimate or/and spousal relationships, these struggles provide opportunity for growth and empowerment for both mothers and daughters of the study.

Even though divorce treated as a negative life experience, which believed to harm mothers and daughters in the mainstream literature, in fact, according to the results of this study, divorce as a critical life changing experience of women have many positive impacts on women's life in the long term. The most important ones found in the study are empowerment, increased empathy, and creation of realistic expectations from relationships, both for mothers and daughters, but found especially for daughters. Therefore, with the experience of divorce, both mothers' and daughters' perspective towards women's capabilities has increased. Thus, in a conservative society like Turkey, where divorce rates are much lower than 25% on average for last ten years, the existence of a mother who can end a relationship and choose to divorce triggers a change in systems of gender order.

1.4.2   Women's Body

Women develop self-objectification as a result of typical gender role socialization processes, internalize societal emphasis on physical beauty with the messages coming from mothers about their appearance. According to the results of the study, mother's attitudes and values that are transmitted to daughters have a lifelong effect on daughter's body. Therefore, the findings of this study support that the degree women are affected from external gaze of patriarchy that is societal demands and defined beauty standards is constituted by mothers.

Daughters of this study generally use social media as the primary source of media use, while mothers are more likely to be under the influence of more controlled,

censored and dictated media channels like television. Through advertisements and TV series, which also reflect and reproduce the traditional gender roles, expectations, and culturally defined beauty standards, mothers' tendency to internalize stereotyped physical attractiveness ideals becomes higher than the tendency of their daughters, but in that case mothers' possibility of transmitting these internalized norms to their daughters is also found increasing. However, when daughter's communication with the mother is warm and close enough during their childhood and adolescent periods, daughters' tendency to internalize these patriarchal messages is decreasing.

1.4.3   Women's Sexuality

There have been years of pressure on women's sexuality where women have seen as an instrument for men's pleasure. Moreover, marriage was seen as the start of sexuality for women, and sexuality related talks, even sexual health related ones were avoided till marriage. However, in the study, it is found that with the generations of mothers of this study, there is a considerable change in perspective towards women's sexuality. It is particularly found that the meaning of sexuality has changed, especially for mothers who had prearranged marriages. With the increase in importance of sexuality for mothers, sexual permissiveness of mothers also has changed. However, this sexual permissiveness stipulated some preconditions that have to be met according to most of the mothers of this study. Therefore, mothers' point of view towards premarital sex and sexual permissiveness with some conditions are intergenerationally transmitted to the daughters.

Even though daughters internalize this certain level of sexual permissiveness of their mothers, they still do not consider their mother as a reliable source for giving knowledge about their sexual life. They hold a certain level of fear of punishment, shame, and loss of love. On the other hand, they are much more moderate in talking about sexual health related topics that do not even exist in mother's conversations with their mothers. However, these conversations only include information about menstruation, or menopause, that does not include venereal diseases.

In the study it is also found that sources of access to sexual knowledge have changed across generations. By being parallel with the considering the start of the sexuality is marriage, while in the generation of mothers, husbands were seen as the primary source of knowledge, with the change in perspective, today neither mothers nor daughters consider husbands or possible husbands as a source of knowledge. However, neither of also do not consider the mother as a source, but instead choose to rely on internet and social media as a source of sexual knowledge.

1.5   Importance of the Study and Possible Contribution to the Literature

In this thesis, I analysed the transformation and/or reproduction of gender order in Turkish society through the intergenerational relations between mothers and daughters. Intergenerational transmission patterns of gender-based values, attitudes and expectations that are shaped by norms, values, culture, education, religion, economy, and socio-economic status on interwoven levels in which consists of institutional (the family), interpersonal (interactions with others), and internalized dimensions are analysed. Since the transmission occurs in each level, mothers play a key role in shaping daughter's foundational and lifelong approach through primary socialization.

My major motivation in this thesis is to understand how gender and intergenerational relations, which are at the center of socialization processes, connect and reflect the transformation and/or reproduction of gender order in Turkish society. Therefore, I aimed at to analyze the transmission mechanisms of mothers who internalized traditional gender ideology and how they have practiced and coped with the outcomes of those internalized values and what kind of values, attitudes and norms of mothers exist in daughters' life. Therefore, the objective of the study is to understand how gender ideology of mothers and daughters and its transmission from one generation to another can be effective in the continuity of patriarchy or emancipation of women. That is why the intent of studying such topic will be helpful to eliminate discrimination against women and understanding this perspective

facilitates breaking through the silence surrounding these women's real-life experiences.

There are few studies conducted qualitatively in analyzing the intergenerational transmission of gender ideology, the studies conducted in this topic generally uses the data of household surveys and neglects the women's unique experiences. That's why in terms of centralizing the women's knowledge, this study is unique, especially in the context of Turkey.

Moreover, the thesis is an interdisciplinary study that includes sociology, gender studies and psychological perspectives together, and it provides the opportunity to look at the topic from a wider perspective by scanning the literature with the tenets of these three disciplines.

Additionally, the study is a generational study which includes the knowledge of two generations of women. Hearing the similar topic differently from the knowledge of two generations of women enables researchers to understand better the societal change, specifically change in gender order over time and learn more about the current and the past conjuncture of the country they live in.

By putting all these bullets, I am expecting that I will be open a door for further research to address how major theoretical debates can be analyzed with the help of the major actors, not through the institutions or structures, or dominant groups' knowledge.

1.6   Roadmap of the Study

This chapter is an introductory chapter which includes basic information about the study by stating the research objective, the scope, and preliminary assumptions, brief findings, and the importance of studying this topic.

The following chapter, the chapter 2, is consisting of the extended major theoretical debates about the topic that basically explains the definition of patriarchy and how it operates in Turkish society through specified institutions and how socialization, social learning theory, gender socialization and transmission of cultural ideas are articulated with the transmission patterns of gender-based values, attitudes and expectations of mothers and daughters are presented in this chapter.

Chapter 3 is the methodology chapter of the thesis where I stated why the constructed research design best suits the topic. The chapter includes the philosophical ground of the study and states the knowledge creation process in the light of feminist standpoint theory.

In chapter 4, the information collected from the field is analyzed and interpreted by making connections with the relevant literature and presented under three categories that are marriage, divorce and power relations and women's sexuality.

Finally, in chapter 5, concluding remarks and the recommendations for future studies are stated.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this part of the thesis, major theoretical debates related with the research topic of the study are presented in the context of patriarchy and how it operates in Turkish society. In order to have a better understanding of the theoretical debates in the context of patriarchy, a brief perspective towards patriarchy and its main operational institutions in Turkish society is mentioned.

2.1   Patriarchy

Oppression of women is multilayered. Inequalities operate at the level of the law and the state, but also exist in the home and the workplace, ratified by powerful cultural norms and values, while strongly supported by tradition, education, and religion. The subordination of women for hundreds of years and its transfer mechanisms from one generation to another is not only about the existing inequalities and unjust power relations in societies, but it is also a systematic oppression and exploitation that exist in each and every level of the society, with the institutions it has and the interactions of people within them. That is why the systematic oppression of women in different level and forms are gathered under one term in the history, clearly named as "*patriarchy"*.

Although some feminist scholars argue that if women obtain equal rights in society, patriarchy will be demolished, others have argued that even if equality were achieved, patriarchy would still exist, because of institutions and interactions between people that are themselves, patriarchal in nature. Patriarchal practices reproduce themselves endlessly through societal values, norms, and institutions by

its main actors and deeply embedded in interactions with others within a historical context. Through institutions and interpersonal relations with others, patriarchy has been internalized and deeply ingrained in the minds of people for hundreds of years. However, with the achievements of women throughout many years, the meaning of patriarchy changed and evolved over time. Due to the major aim of the study, which is in the broadest sense is to understand how reproduction of patriarchy can be ceased, first I tried to understand how patriarchy affects women of this study within its meaning in Turkish society and how the effect of the patriarchy changed over time and differs by generations. So that I would be able to analyze its reproduction mechanisms, and accordingly give meaning to people's propensity to change through generations within the specified time, location, and structure.

Even though the division of labor by sex seem to have been universal throughout human history, in today's world, the sexual division of labor is highly hierarchical, with men on top and women on the bottom (Hartmann, 1976). In order to understand the early roots of patriarchy, Hartmann addresses the explanations of anthropologists about division of labour in hunter and gather societies where being mobile is seen as the biggest power for survival. Due to the absence of birth control, women either pregnant or breastfeed their child, which strictly restricts their mobility around the cave. Although their diet depends heavily on vegetables that women gathered, being mobile and physically active still seen as the main source of power and locates the ones that have this ability to the top of the hierarchy. Therefore, women's reproduction ability with the absence of birth control knowledge and technology, makes them stable and this restricted mobility is appeared to be the major reason of first subordination of women at that early time. As a result of this division of labour and biologic responsibilities of women, with the power of being mobile, public spheres, which are valued more, were reserved for men, while women were placed in the private sphere (Hartmann, 1976).

With the transition to settled life, in agricultural activities human engaged in, women mostly worked in labour intense parts of production while men made connection

with outer world for trading activities as a merchant and needed to be mobile to be active in the market, therefore, men again took the public sphere where they had an opportunity to enhance their organizational and communication skills while women became dependent on men in many aspects. This dependency and women's subordination, accordingly, even became vicious with the emergence of industrial revolution. With the industrial revolution, all people were drawn into the labor force, including women and children for the sake of keeping wages low for everyone (Hartmann, 1979). Therefore, the emergence of capitalist mode of production affected women disproportionally and made the public and private patriarchy distinct (Walby, 1999).

Gender relations are dynamic and not separate from cultures, traditions and as well as economic structures. As understood, the economic structure of a state shapes the life of people in many aspects from the primitive life of humanity. After the industrial revolution, with the rise of capitalist modes of production, class relations are transformed (Walby, 1999). Since each and every movement in the edge of patriarchy is a social and economic structure that has a historical background always organized around both in capitalist and patriarchal manner for the sake of perpetuating the existing structure, the dynamism of patriarchy is much more inclusive that compromises many disciplines. Therefore, to have a better understanding about how patriarchy works, the cultural, politic, and economic environment of a society needed to be addressed.

2.1.1 Patriarchy in Turkish Society

Understanding how patriarchy is expressed in everyday life will enable us to understand how women are victimized, exploited, and persecuted. Even though there is a universal meaning of patriarchy, to understand how it operates in specifically in Turkey may make easy to understand the overall picture of the thesis. In this part, how patriarchy operates in Turkey through family institution and through women's sexuality is briefly explained.

2.1.1.1   **Brief Statement of Patriarchal Family Institution in Turkish Society**

According to the Turkish Constitution, the family is the backbone of Turkish society. The family has actually always been regarded as a crucial institution. According to Kiray (1982), the family has traditionally served as the "tampon institution" in Turkish society, acting to maintain equilibrium between rapid economic development and normative resistance (Akpınar, 2017b). The family was identified as the central institution that Turkish people wished to maintain because it gave rise to traditional norms, attitudes, and gender roles (Yilmaz, 2006).

Turkey's society is recognized as being highly patriarchal and having distinct gender role differences. The family, as the most important institution for the Turkish society, and marriage are indeed highly patriarchal (Kandiyoti, 1995). Men are expected to rule the family since they are seen as the socially dominant ones. The husband is viewed as the legal authority to whom the wife and children must ultimately obey, and they are recognized culturally as the head of the family. The husband plays an authoritarian role and is in charge of maintaining the family unit using whatever means he feels is necessary. The wife's responsibility is to look after her family and rely on her husband to preserve the family unit. Therefore, patriarchy is still valued in Turkey, from starting the core institution, namely the family, of the society (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1981; Kandiyoti, 1995).There are many governmental applications brought into force to feed the patriarchal notions. One and the most effective one is the welfare system of the country.

The patriarchal notion that men should earn the majority of a family's income has historically served as the foundation for Turkey's welfare system, giving women a vital source of security through their reliance on male protection. Most women received social security benefits because they were reliant on men in as husbands or fathers. The absence of male protection has historically led to a social transfer system that is positively biased against women. Social Security benefits were available to widowed women for the rest of their lives after their husbands passed away, and

unmarried daughters also qualified because they were considered due to their status (Akpınar, 2017a). Since widowed women had access to lifelong social security payments through their deceased husbands and unmarried daughters had this access as children, this has historically established a system of social transfers that was favourably discriminatory to women without male protection. Likewise, women had access to lifelong health benefits through their insured husbands and fathers. Such access structurally prevents women from entering the workforce in a formal capacity and upholds conventional gender roles, particularly the esteeming of maternity and caring for others as women's central duties and identities in society (Özyeğin, 2015).

Neoliberal approaches with a focus on the privatization of the benefits systems accelerated with the ruling party of Turkey, Justice and Development Party's (AKP) transformation of the welfare system. Women's special access to social payments was reduced by the revisions. Women are still responsible for making private care responsibilities because the issue of providing care for children and the elderly has not been addressed. Due to another dynamic at play namely, women's declining involvement in the formal sector of the labor force and their increased concentration in the informal sector, this disintegration is increasing women's vulnerability to economic and social risks, leaving them more dependent than ever on their fathers' or husbands' social security. Additionally, Islamic charitable practices have taken the role of state-based social assistance and service delivery methods as a result of neoliberal policies, making religious communities' crucial local players in the distribution of poverty alleviation and new forms of social solidarity (Kandiyoti 2011).

Since the AKP became the only party in power, the family has been used as an important ideological apparatus in Turkey. The family is seen as the ideal setting for the implementation of conservative politics (Nas, 2016). With the applications of AKP's neoliberal policies, the family acts as a superstructure that maintains the status quo of power relations rather than causing them to dissolve. The family assumes a great narrative, especially with regard to women, and is presented as the

answer to every issue without necessarily addressing the root causes of those issues. Conservative circles in Turkey view the nuclear family as an extension of the extended family. It has been viewed as a place where women/wives who serve as the primary caregivers raise children and take care of the sick and aged. By emphasizing the family as a social institution through which certain hegemonic discourses and ideological tendencies could be imposed on citizens via families, the AKP's "strengthening the family" discourse legitimized the state's social power that positions itself as the family's single protector and acts as a disciplining force over the family. The AKP's political ideology, which includes populist, neo-liberal, and neo-conservative elements, along with its emphasis on familialism, promoted the idea that the family is the most important political unit, and that its interests and welfare should be protected politically at the expense of individual citizens and their fundamental rights (Nas, 2016). Political discourses frequently reduce women's issues to just family-related matters, which serves to legitimize the mechanisms of women's subordination. Women's issues are incorporated into the broader "family" discourse, which tends to familialize women in the patriarchal and conservative political philosophy of the state (Nas, 2016).

Family law reforms have historically been seen as essential steps to accelerating Turkish society's modernization, but on the other hand, the concept of honor and shame, arranged marriages, young marriages, and cousin marriages, among other traditional collectivistic values, have made it difficult for women to take advantage of these reforms (Akpinar, 2017a). Although patriarchal dominance was questioned in the 1960s as urban women's educational levels increased, it has continued in new ways of controlling women's bodies and labor (Kıray, 1999). Lüküslü (2009) contends that many young people in Turkey must conform to societal norms because they have learned that they cannot fight against them or that they would not succeed even if they do so. They appear to follow the rules but secretly disagree with many of them. Instead of violating the rules, they come up with various "strategies" to get around them.

According to Kağıtçıbaşı (2002), families are an institution that fosters generational solidarity in less developed, particularly rural, settings with collectivistic cultures. Young people and children are expected to conform to their parents' authority in these authoritarian families. In patriarchal Turkish families, sons have historically been seen as more "reliable" sources of retirement security. However, with urbanization, daughters seem to be more favored when urbanization grows since they are socialized to provide their aging parents more love and care (Kalaycıoğlu, 2003). The children also grow up with this mentality.

Two sets of traditional child-rearing techniques related to sex-differentiation and dependency can be distinguished, depending on the masculine authority and the interdependence among family members. Men and women have very different statuses and levels of authority, which has an impact on attitudes and methods of childrearing. For instance, having sons over daughters is often preferred in rural communities. This choice is mostly related to the son's economic importance in supporting the family's welfare through financial and practical support and care for the elderly, but it is also related to the desire to continue the male line and the status that the mother of a son accrues (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996). To prepare them for their adult roles, sons and daughters have different socialization experiences. Sons are often educated more than daughters across the board. Turkish parents are more tolerant of their boys' independence and aggression than they are of their daughters. Particularly during adolescence, girls are significantly more intensively watched and have fewer authorized activities (Ataca, 1992; Basaran, 1974). With urbanization and education, these tendencies are changing significantly once more, but it protected its patriarchal essence.

2.1.1.2   Women's Body and Sexuality in Patriarchal Turkish Society

Women have never been regarded as independent actors since the Turkish Republic was founded in 1923. The Turkish family and population's reproduction is mostly attributed to them as mothers. Women were granted the freedom to abortion and birth

control not because they were seen as autonomous beings capable of managing their own bodies, but rather because their fertility was used to implement population policies (Akpinar, 2018). Women were emancipated, but not entirely freed during the republican era, which indicates that while they were officially granted equal rights, there were still social and cultural barriers that prevented their ultimate liberation (Kandiyoti 1987).

Even though many Western societies becoming more sexually liberal and gender differences continuing to decrease, traditional sexual norms, values and attitudes are still predominant in Turkish society particularly for women (Parla, 2001). Turkish culture favors men's sexual beliefs and attitudes while placing a strict amount of social restraint on women's sexual lives in Turkey (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982). In fact, virginity is still seen as the primary determinant of purity and chastity and is highly valued for women in Turkish culture (Parla, 2001).

Honor that defined through family in Turkish society is seen as a valuable symbol. In a society like Turkey, where women's sexual behavior is linked to family honor, virginity is also viewed as a benefit for the entire family. According to Turkish social scientists Cindoğlu (2000) and Parla (2001), the complicated nature of virginity should not be viewed as a part of traditionalism, but rather as a form of control and discipline of women's sexuality at various levels by fathers, husbands, relatives, or state authorities in modern nations. Therefore, the code of "honor and shame" is not a new phenomenon, it has historically been used in Turkish society to regulate female sexuality. Male actors who are dominating players and who set the rules of the game determine the boundaries of female behavior. For fathers who are in metropolitan areas with limited resources, such as economic and/or cultural capital, controlling their daughters' sexuality and virginity becomes even more crucial. The function spared for them in regulating the boundaries of their daughters is the only capital left to them in the creation of their masculinities (Akpınar, 2017a).

Moreover, in a study of Sakallı-Uğurlu and Glick, conducted in 2003, with the involvement of Turkish college students, revealed that older, more conservative

politically, and less sexually experienced male and female participants disapproved of women having premarital sex. Additionally, males with higher levels of education are more likely than their female counterparts to be against women engaging in premarital sex. The same study also includes the reports that they would prefer to marry a virgin were the older, more politically conservative, and less sexually experienced male participants (Sakall-Uğurlu & Glick, 2003).

Even though today with the rapid changes of technologies and globalization, there are signs that premarital sex rates are rising and that even younger people are engaging in risky sexual activities, there have been little attempts to formalize sexuality education in Turkey's public education system. Furthermore, sexuality-related topics are not covered in school curricula. So, according to research, young people are more likely to learn about their sexuality via unofficial sources (Topkaya, 2006). Therefore, in general, research findings show that only a tiny percentage of Turkish youngsters actually acquire sexuality-related knowledge from their parents (Topkaya, 2006). Moreover, due to the high levels of partriarchal existence in the Turkish family system in general, there are little discussion of sexuality-related topics between parents and children. Children find it challenging to discuss sexuality with their parents, and most parents, fathers in particular, do not feel at ease discussing such topics with their children. Additionally, various expectations of sexual behavior and attitudes are placed on men and women in Turkey according to gender norms about sexuality (Topkaya, 2012).

2.1.1.3   Intergenerational Transmission Studies in Turkey

Turkey provides a dynamic environment for research on intergenerational change as a country that has seen rapid urbanization, modernization, military coups, and the harsh consequences of economic crises (Ak- Akyol, 2020). Within this atmosphere, there are valuable studies conducted in intergenerational transmission which focus on reproductions as well as transformations in Turkish society from different areas

25

(see Beşpınar et al., 2020; Cemalciler et al., 2018; Kağıtçıbaşı et al., 2010; Akpınar, 2017; Hortaçsu, 2010).

According to Kağıtçıbaşı and her colleagues (2010), the foundation of family dynamics is in the intergenerational interactions. A deeper comprehension of these relationships can highlight the connection between the individual, family, and society and offer hints for spotting changes through time. Although individualist values have emerged as a result of urbanization and a willingness to embrace economic and social globalization, traditional gender ideology still predominates in many households where mothers in particular have a special responsibility to take care of the family and the house in Turkey (Ak- Akyol, 2020).

2.2   Theoretical Perspectives on Intergenerational Transmission

Patriarchy, as a structure, needs to be reproduced for the continuity of survival and it recreates itself through institutions and actions of agencies that are patriarchal in nature. The question of how actions of people and the institutions they create have become patriarchal "in nature" have been the main concern of feminists for many years. In fact, an interdisciplinary approach to the structure of patriarchy is constituted by different scholars from different disciplines in order to understand the reproduction mechanisms of patriarchy. Moreover, traditional gender roles and attitudes intersect with gender inequality in strong and complicated ways. According to social science theory, traditional gender ideology is the main contributor of existing gender inequalities (Bolzendahl and Myers, 2004). Agents accept and act in gendered manner that create and recreate a social order that favors men and masculinity by underrating women and femininity, hereby reinforcing traditional gender roles and inequalities (Perales et al.,2021). Thus, traditional gender values and attitudes play a key role in entrenching gender inequalities. Scholors, especially have pointed that traditional gender attitudes which are strongly associated with high numbers of female unemployment, unequal division of housework, and domestic

violence against women (Davis and Greenstein, 2009; Perales et al.,2021; Halpern and Perry-Jenkins,2015).

It is observed that in the literature of this study the term of "gender ideology" frequently used to imply different, but close meanings. This situation stems from the multidimensional nature of the term (Grunow et al., 2018). For this reason, for then clarity, the term needs to be operationalized. Even though scholars do not reach a consensus about the exact meaning of gender ideology, they imply similar meanings. According to Hochschild (1989) gender ideologies is the "versions of manhood and womanhood", by being parallel with this explanation I use the term to refer gender attitudes, values and beliefs interchangeably, more specifically, I refer to traditional gender attitudes and beliefs that includes the appropriate order of society in terms of the roles women and men need to play (Cano and Hofmeister, 2022).

The most important part of the literature review is centralized on the intergenerational transmission mechanisms with different perspectives due to the primary focus of the study. Firstly, intergenerational transmission of gender-based values, attitudes and expectations directly serve to the continuity of patriarchy across generations that pervaded all over the life, hence, it is a great and a entrenched tool for patriarchy regardless of geography. Secondly, gender-based values, attitudes and expectations have long-term consequences, therefore, play a critical role in the process of cultural reproduction that also serves as the reproduction of gender inequality (Platt and Polavieja, 2016). Finally, acquired characteristics with primary socialization which are provided by parents occurred at an earlier life stage of children tend to be permanent in the later phases of their life. Parents have a great effect on the values of children and children incline to maintain their alike values to the parents, acquired at an early stage over their life course. According to Min et al. (2012), values are transmitted by parents at an early life of child remained stable over almost three decades of their life. This supports the basic tenet of socialization theory which posits that people more or less permanently acquire value orientations from important social agents at critical stages of development (Min et al., 2012) Research

on the intergenerational transmission of attitudes has consistently demonstrated that there is a strong correlation between children's attitudes and their parents (Cunningham, 2001b; Min et al., 2012; Moen et al., 1997; Rico and Jennings, 2015; Vollebergh et al., 2001). For these reasons, understanding the dynamics of patriarchy through the lens of the intergenerational transmission of gender-based values, attitudes and expectations is a key to cease an important reproduction mechanism of patriarchy across generations.

2.2.1 The Theory of Socialization, Gender Socialization and Social Learning Theory

Plenty of research on intergenerational transmission in the literature focuses on either childhood socialization or social status models or the combination of these two (Acock, 1984; Glass et al., 1986; Moen & Erickson, 1995). Socialization theory emphasizes the importance of early childhood experiences and social learning in terms of role modeling or instruction based the transmission of ideologies and behavior across generations (Moen et al., 1997).

In order to analyze the transmission mechanisms of traditional gender attitudes, the scholars' starting point was the early life stages of children. The main area they firstly looked at was the very first structure in an infant's life which is the family, and how the actors within this institution are interacting with each other. The family, that is equipped with patriarchal doctrines with different degrees in different geographies, is holding some values, norms and beliefs that are strongly shaped by culture, religion and economic systems in tandem with a historical context. These internalized, and as the result, institutionalized values, and ideas turn into behaviors and everyday actions agency hold. Therefore, the agency within family is reproducing these internalized values every day and transmitting them to their children within the family in a structured ways under the name of socialization across generations.

The study of socialization has received a special attention in the area of social sciences as formal models of cultural transmission have advanced by economists in the last decade. According to these cultural models' parents are purposively transmitting their unique values, beliefs, and preferences to their child since they hold these values, beliefs, and preferences to be true and useful for their children (Platt and Polavieja, 2016). The classic socialization models, as well as cultural transmission models in economics stresses the significance of parental socialization in the formation of gendered attitudes and beliefs of children (Platt and Polavieja, 2016). Understanding the role of primary socialization agents, the parents, in transmitting gender attitudes to their child is significant, since it opens a direct door to how an essential social institution, namely the family, may promote or inhibit social change (Perales et al.,2021). Findings of Platt and Polavieja's research are in line with theoretical contention concerning the importance of early, the primary socialization and in the scope of the transmission models implies that early effects of parental attitudes and behaviors have later consequences for daughters' and sons' attitudes and behaviors (Platt and Polavieja, 2016). That means in a nutshell, socialization is consequential.

The developmental process of children starts very early in life and includes primarily gender-typing that is heavily affected by close social model in the family (Barak et al., 1991). According to the theories about stages of child development, children's understanding, and performance of gender highly shaped during their early childhood by their parents (Bandura, 1977; Bem, 1975) and that parents function as a role model for their children (Bandura, 1977). Similarities between parents and children emerge as the result from the modeling of parental behavior and copying attitudes and observational learning (Bandura, 1977). In several perspectives, from classical socialization theories in both social psychologies, like in Bandura's social learning theorization, and in sociology Eagly (1987) have emphasized that parents not only function as verbal persuaders, but critically serve as role models to their children.

Social learning theory (Bandura, 1977) stresses that primary socialization occurs through modeling and reinforcement. Parents serve as the primary role models for children since they are generally around the children which make them visible, accessible, and bounded to their children. Through parent's interactions with children, endorsement of modeled attitude and behavior within families is accomplished. There is evidence that the intergenerational transmission of gender ideology is due to social learning (Cunningham, 2001a, 2001b). According to the findings of Cunningham's studies (2001a, 2001b) children's gender ideology and family behaviors serve as a function of parents' gendered attitudes and behaviors while the child was growing up (Carlson and Knoester, 2011). The social learning theory portrays learning as a cognitive process that arise from observation of a behavior, and through direct instruction (Bandura, 1977). Moreover, Bisin and Verdier state that children's preferences are obtained via an adaptation and emulation process that depends on their parents' socialization actions (2001). To put in other words, parents impact children's preferences via two channels, first by role modeling and the second by parenting style (Cano and Hofmeister, 2022).

Following early childhood stage, paternal transmission continues during children's adolescent period. Attitude foundation among adolescents is specifically significant to understand, since children are still in a phase where attitudes and ideas are moldable compared to adults, but at the same time grown enough to understand complex moral questions (Kohlberg, 1976). For example, in Platt and Polavieja's (2016) analyses of British Household Panel Survey, that consisting of 2859 people, especially including British adolescent child between the age range of 11 to 15 years implies that children observed in their early adult lives demonstrates that attitudes towards sexual division of labour within household formed in childhood have crucial and lasting consequences on their adult gender attitudes and behaviors, that means children observed traditional attitudes towards sexual division of labour in early adolescence are more likely to sustain traditional attitudes later in their life (Platt and Polavieja, 2016). Similarly, Dhar and her colleagues extended analysis that includes nearly 5500 adolescents and their parents in India is in line with Platt and Polavieja's

results, verifies the socialization theory. They found strongly positive correlation between the attitudes of parent and child, and they state that "on average, when a parent holds a more discriminatory gender attitude, his or her child is 11 percentage points more likely to hold that attitude" (Dhar et al., 2019, p.2574). Therefore, with these works the theory of Cunningham (2001) is also supported that both observational learning and early dialogues about gender play an instrumental role in the formation of children's values about gender. Thus, early childhood and adolescent period is considered as a crucial phase for the creation of values where parents function as critical agents of socialization of their children (Min et al., 2012).

On the other hand, some theorists suggest that gender-role attitudes and behaviors are predominantly shaped during only mid-adolescence period of life since learning is accelerated during this period (Cunningham, 2001a; Hill & Lynch, 1983). From a psychological perspective, according to Hill and Lynch (1983) there is a speed-up in gender-differential socialization during adolescence, since their capability of outer world is increased, especially for girls. Moreover, in the study of Parental *Influences on Housework Allocation,* Cunnigham (2001) conducted, the timing of parental influences on shaping children's attitudes towards gender role attitudes is measured during infancy and mid-adolescent of children and results indicate that even though parental influence is effective both in early childhood and mid-adolescent period, early maternal attitudes are not as significant as later attitudes. That's why analyzing intergenerational transmission of gender-based values, attitudes and expectations needs to be started by explaining early period of human life.

The investigation of intergenerational relationships in gender ideology is embedded inside a more extensive work on the intergenerational transmission of values and cultural orientations. To illustrate homogeneity in parent-child socio-cultural views, including theories that underline the role of shared genes, social environments and socio-economic status, many different perspectives have been used for a long time. Within all perspectives, the theory of socialization dominated the literature. Furthermore, the theory of socialization leans on the assumption that the

development of cultural values and attitudes, including gender-related ones, arise in during childhood and continue through adolescence phase of human (Vollebergh et al., 2001). During these periods of life, parents see the socialization of their children as one of their essential child-rearing responsibilities and seek to teach attitudes and values to their children that they assume would improve children's life experiences (Dhar et al., 2019). The values and attitudes that parents eager to transfer to their children are generally in line with those the parents' own perceived understanding of the society. Moreover, observational learning from parents' behaviors takes place and the learned behaviors are aligned with parent's beliefs (Perales et al.,2021).

According to the gender-socialization theory by regarding the transmission of gender ideology, children also learn culturally prescriptive gender roles at an early age from their parents (Blakemore, 2003; Eagly, 2013). One significant mechanism hereby parent transmit their gender beliefs and behaviors about culture to their offspring is role modelling, or the process whereby individuals engage in social learning through observation (Bussey and Bandura 1999; Eagly, 2013). Social world around children is learned in "proper" ways to place themselves within society by internalizing and imitating the behaviors of the individuals with people they interact. Therefore, while a child spends time with a parent, he/she is exposed to specific behaviors and absorb them in ways which that parent understands and "does" gender. The theory of doing gender serve to the role modeling noted in the social learning theory (West & Zimmerman, 1987). According to the theory of doing gender, gender is produced and reproduced with everyday interactions of human, that means it is not fixed or constant. Gender is constituted under the influence of class relations, and it creates a specific way of acting and feeling (Goffman, 1977) that serve to perform gender, or to justify membership into a categorical identity. An individual's relationship to their gender may thereby change over the course of a lifetime, since gender is constructed socially, whereas sex is assigned. Therefore, children learn how to "do gender" or "undo gender" through parental instruction and/or role modeling, as they watch their parents do or undo gender. Gender is put into practice through participation in activities, behaviors, and feelings and everyday interactions which are culturally

scripted as feminine or masculine (Cano and Hofmeister, 2022) For example, children may watch the style in their parents dress, how they present themselves, share household responsibilities and even watch the way their parents discussing issues that make their gender views explicit (Perales et al., 2021) or even learn about sexual division of labour from their parents. Since early transmission processes are presumed to have an influence on adult outcomes that they are found relevant for the social reproduction of gender inequality, transmission models presume that specifically the formation of attitudes towards sexual division of labour in early life has an enduring impact on children's attitudes and behaviors as adults (Platt and Polavieja, 2016).

Therefore, as classical socialization theoreticians stated in social psychology and sociology, parents not only serve as verbal persuaders, but becomes role models to their children (Moen et al., 1997). Since parents equip children with important messages about the social constraints women and men perform throughout their lives, children make connections between gender and the performance of specific actions (Cunningham, 2001a). By noticing their parents' ways of behaving in both private and public spheres, children find out the social distribution of constraints and different opportunities between the sexes and learn socially proper gender roles that constitutes gender expectations and finally learn the cost of deviating from these sex typical behaviors (Polavieja, 2012). This indicates that powerful channel of gender-role socialization operates independently from parental sex-typical behaviors and what parents say. Congruency between behaviors and attitudes are expected in vertical transmission models. According to that model, parents want to transmit their own cultural traits to their children, and they dedicate a certain socialization time and effort in the form of verbal instruction and encouragement. Even though vertical transmission models anticipate an important correlation between parents' and children's stated values, it is found an increasing incongruence between stated and enacted gender roles. When the socialization processes of children are influential, verbal persuasion rather than role modeling operate more effectively (Moen et al., 1997).

According to Moen and her colleagues (1997), mainstream socialization models are lack in addressing the question of whether children react more to what their parents say or to what they do, when these two types of messages are contradictory specifically. On the other hand, recent research conducted on intergenerational transmission of gender attitudes, especially transmission models in economics, has tendency to presume an active mode of parental socialization that implies that even though parents' enactments contradict with their attitudes, children still learn from parents' passive enactment of gender roles (Moen et al., 1997). To put in another words, children tend to learn from what parents do as much as from what parents say (Cunningham 2001a; Eagly et al., 2000). Understanding the relative significance of enacted and stated socialization becomes important as people's stated gender attitudes and their behaviors increasingly differ (Platt and Polavieja, 2016). Several research have particularly referred to the relative importance for daughters of mothers' attitudes, in opposition to their actual work history (Rollins & White, 1982; Sholomskas & Axelrod, 1986). In a longitudinal study conducted on six interviews with 916 mothers, and one interview with their 18-year-old children, found mother's attitudes rather than her experiences or behavior more influential on children mostly transmitted through the intergenerational influence (Thornton et al., 1983). Similarly, Moen and her colleagues interpreted the result of their study (1997) with the conclusion of due to a traditional homemaker's frustration in that role, mothers may encourage their daughters not to identify with themselves or imitate her with this role. Therefore, what parents do is as much as important as what parents say for gender-role transmission (Platt and Polavieja, 2016) and it can be said that parents' gendered behavior is not all the time congruent with the values they carry (Usdansky, 2011).

2.2.2   Paternal and Maternal Influence

According to the social learning theory (Bandura, 1977), exposing to paternal practices, which makes gender divisions less visible, create an impact on the way of

children's understanding and perception towards masculine or feminine traits. In the light of this approach, it is expected that mothers' and fathers' behaviors equally drive children's gender-role attitudes and provide increased gender egalitarianism when both parents are engage in gender-atypical behaviors (Cano and Hofmeister, 2022). However, several studies have shown that it is more complex than that. For instance, in a longitudinal study Dhar and her colleagues conducted (2019) by using Indian survey data ($n = 5483$), they found a stronger influence of maternal than paternal gender attitudes on children's gender attitudes. Similarly, Platt and Polavieja support that with the same level of parental education, they have found no evidence that girls' attitudes towards sexual division of labour is influenced by their fathers' attitudes alone. Moreover, they concluded that fathers' attitudes only influence daughters' attitudes if they are in line with mothers' attitudes, therefore, maternal role modelling shows the strongest influence, especially on girls (Platt and Polavieja, 2016). Moreover, in a longitudunal study conducted by Cemalciler, Secinti and Sumer (2018) found that that when parenting styles were compared, only mothers' parenting, as opposed to fathers', was positively and significantly connected with their children's valuesFrom a more concrete perspective, mothers spend considerably higher time and energy for childcare responsibility when their children are young as well as adolescence, in comparison with fathers (Cano et al., 2019) that affects young children's bond with their mothers since they are exposed more to direct teachings and role modeling about gender attitudes from their mothers. Therefore, greater attachment to mothers brings increased maternal influence directly (Perales et al., 2021). This situation can also be seen from patriarchal perspective. In patriarchal families, women seen as the primary care givers and men are intentionally or with the unwillingness of the father, excluded from childcare process. Even if a mother is in need of help for the care work, the first person applied is the grandmother, not the father. This trend is so entrenched in the society that a policy to give a "pin-money" to grandmothers has been made by the government. Therefore, the actors involved mostly in caregiving work is a determinant in the selection of most influential person in a child's life.

2.2.3   Homolineal vs Heterolineal Transmission

Classical versions of socialization theory indicate that the influences of the same-sex parent are notedly significant in the transmission of gender role attitudes (Cunningham, 2001a). Since children generally take as a role model of their own sex within family (Cunningham, 2001b), the existence of a same-sex role model could be crucially important in the constitution of children's gender ideology. Even though important shifts happened in gender ideologies in recent years, men and women still maintain different gender ideologies, while men continue to support traditional divisions of labor more than women. Male children are influenced more from their fathers than by their mothers. Fathers' traditionalism affects especially male children even if mothers are not traditional, while mothers' traditionalism only affect male children if fathers are also traditional. This implies homo lineal transmission' influence is greater than hetero lineal transmission for male children (Platt and Polavieja, 2016). Therefore, parental effects are greater when they operate through same-sex dyads. That means, if the gender composition of a biological parent–child gender relationship is homogeneous, like mother-and-daughter or father-and-son, then one might anticipate greater attitude transmission. If the biological parent–child gender relation is heterogeneous, like mother-and-son or father-and-daughter, similarity and transmission could be weaker. However, the degree to which gender composition and the presence of same-sex role models differ might rely on the existence of optional role models, which also differ all across the family structure (Carlson and Knoester, 2011).

On the other hand, using Detroit community survey statistics from US, which consists of approximately 900 participant children, Thornton et al. (1983) discovered minor difference in the level of influence of maternal gender attitudes on the attitudes of their same-sex and opposite-sex children. These outcomes were also found similar in a study done by O'Bryan et al. (2004), and in Farre and Vella (2013). They have used NLSY79 statistics from people aged between 15 to 22 years ($n = 2870$), and they found little influence of maternal gender attitudes on the attitudes of their same-

sex children. On the contrary, Platt and Polavieja's (2016) analyzed 2859 British adolescents, who were aged between 11 to 15 years by using British Household Panel Survey and concluded greater parent and children relationships in attitudes towards, especially the sexual division of labour within same-sex than different-sex child and parent relations. Results concluded in India by Dhar et al. (2019) are similar with the British outcomes. Another study, where 134 children of Israel aged between 13 to 14 years, Kulik (2002) demonstrated greater in homo lineal manner, meaning that father-and-son than father-and-daughter dyads in gender attitudes, same conclusions applied for mother-and-son and mother-and-daughter associations (Perales et al., 2021).

In the same manner, Starrels (1994) retained that parenting is a gendered activity since child's sex and parent's sex possess a significant impact on forming their relationship and interaction. According to Kulik, interactive behavior depends directly on the one's sex. This model of interaction is echoed in family relations. Hence, for instance, children and parents of the same-sex operates differently than children and parents of the opposite-sex (Kulik, 2002). Therefore, understanding the differences and similarities of mother-and-child and father-and-child relations, especially during mid-childhood and adolescence period may require knowing the distinctions according to parent's sex as well as child's sex.

There is a strong relationship between mothers' and daughters' gender role attitudes is found. As mother's orientation towards traditionalism increase, a more traditional oriented daughter emerges (Jan and Janeseen, 1998). In other words, the more traditional the gender role attitudes of a mother, the stronger she tends to underscore a daughter's conformity, and her daughter's attitudes appear to be more traditional. In a broader point of view, this result is consistent with prior research showing a degree of attitude transmission across generations. In this study, it is found that daughters' gender role attitudes are only not directly affected by mothers' gender role attitudes, but also influenced indirectly. Daughters might directly internalize

their mothers' attitudes, since they comprehend these attitudes in the everyday practices of their mother's life.

Important evidence is also found that mothers are relatively have more influence than fathers on their daughters than on their sons (Dhar et al., 2019). This implies mother-daughter dyads were stronger than mother-son associations, while father-son and father-daughter associations have a similar magnitude. Therefore, mothers are playing a crucial role in the gender socialization of their daughters (Perales et al., 2021).

It is also explored that the models in single parent families to determine if mothers have a greater impact on their sons in the non-presence of a father. The results again imply that mothers' attitudes influence their daughters but not their sons (Platt and Polaevija, 2016). Thus, even though transmission paths are sex-specific, which implies that fathers' attitudes have an impact on sons, regardless of mothers' attitudes, only influence daughters' attitudes if the attitude of father is in line with mothers. On the other hand, mothers' attitudes affect daughters, regardless of fathers' attitude congruency with the mother (Platt and Polaevija, 2016).

2.2.4   Socialization as a Reciprocal Process

Socialization is a reciprocal and continuous process which persists throughout the life course that does not only consist of parents socializing their children when they are young. The life experiences and background characteristics of people may also matter. Moreover, as children age their influence on parents may be visible, therefore, socialization between parents and children turn into a reciprocal process (Glass et al., 1986). For this reason, changes in a parent's gender ideology may be the case as a predictor of the adult child's gender ideology, as well as result in parent–child gender ideology similarity (Carlson and Knoester, 2011). According to Glass and her collegues (1986), even though political and religious attitudes are significantly created by parents in the minds of children, only for gender role

attitudes, child-to-parent influences were found. Children sometimes, undertake the role of transmitter and introduce new cultural ideas to parents, and parents take the role of receivers and admit these ideas from children (Tam, 2015). This suggests the possibility of reciprocal causality, with daughters' gender attitudes forming their mothers' gender role attitudes (Moen et al., 1997).

2.2.5 Perceived Cultural Ideas of Parents

Parents tend to transmit cultural ideas that they personally believe, hold and approve. In other words, when choosing cultural ideas for transmission, parents take into consideration not only their own orientations, but also their understanding of the cultural norms. This perspective is in line with the culture and self-perspective, which asserts that people's beliefs, values, and cultural behavior is conducted by the internalized characteristics that has a particular cultural meaning for them. This perspective is also consistent with a predominant assumption in familial socialization research which emphasizes parents' willingness to transmit a replica of their own characteristics to their children (Tam, 2015). This is often the case among parents because they want to preserve the culture they approve for the next generations (Berry, 2008). This attitude is specifically common among parents who strongly identify themselves with culture (Hughes et al., 2006). Similarly, the perceived norms perspective posits that the goal of cultural preservation urges parents, especially the ones who identify themselves with a strong cultural identity. They want to perpetuate and transmit their cultural ideas even if they settle in a culturally different society.

A normative approach to cultural psychology asserts that cultural members of the society don't only passively internalize cultural ideas and perform with these internalized orientations, but also actively establish and share information about their culture where this information may be different than their internalized orientations. Furthermore, cultural members have a tendency to strategically interpret cultural knowledge to lead their actions to catch the demands in the cultural ecology they

exist (Tam, 2015). Thus, while selecting cultural ideas for intergenerational transmission, parents apply to their own orientations, as well as their own understanding of the cultural norms (Tam, 2015). This implies that parents' selection for transmission may be completely different from their personal possessions (Tam, 2015). Therefore, even though children totally accept what parents want to transmit, it is still possible that children may not share the same beliefs and cultural ideas with their parents.

2.2.6 Family Structure

As mentioned earlier, intergenerational transmission is a multilayered topic that contains many aspects. One of its determinant components is family structure because gender ideology and gender socialization of children is specifically influenced by family structure differences (Carlson and Knoester, 2011). Since anything in social science is static, the structures in people life may constantly changing and the agency is affected from these radical changes occurred in any phases of their life. Even though a critical change is not limited in an individual's life mentioned here, I tried to evaluate the most and salient ones which some of them are occurred in life of my valuable participants of this work.

The established values that learned throughout socialization may evolve as an individual go through significant life transitions such as divorcing, loss of a spouse, remarrying, moving out of parental home, marrying, having a child, which all of them may lead to greater change on one's attitudes. If this radical change occurred in the life of primary care giver, the children will also be affected from the consequences of this change. Since timing appears to a key feature of value socialization as mentioned earlier, it is important to take into account both before and after life of children when studying the transmission of values between generations. The same applies for the adolescent children, as they proceed to early adulthood and beyond, they obtain new roles that may put their values in alignment with those of their parents. From this perspective, it can be said that intergenerational

transmission is sensitive to stages and critical events in life (Min et al., 2012). This is also in line with theoretical approaches in social psychology and life-course research which interpret socialization as a lifelong continuous process that emphasizes the continuing socializing potential of small-group interactions, contextual influences, and peer effects (Platt and Polaevija, 2016). The significance of adult experience in forming attitudes is also endorsed by the results from a panel study of 1,161 women in 1962 and 1977, which investigated change in gender role attitudes while women's experiences changed over time. (Thorton & Freedman, 1979). According to the findings of Thornton and Freedman (1979), women who were employed between surveys, obtain additional educational degrees, and/or have had a divorce experience shifted toward egalitarian attitudes. Moreover, women who gave birth to another child were inclined to retain traditional attitudes. It is also emphasized with the study that global changes in gender role attitudes demonstrated more radical changes than did attitudes toward specific role. A 1980 follow-up study of the same panel found relationship between increase in labor force participation rate and women's movement success (Thornton et al., 1983). Therefore, both personal and global changes in life of people have an effect on the degree people hold about traditional gender-based values, attitudes and expectations, thereby, affects the content of attitudes they intergenerationally transmit.

Family structure have an impact on child's socialization process since it is linked to who is providing the primary caregiving responsibilities within families. Even though expected parenting roles from men and women differs traditionally, family structure directly affects the roles that they embrace. The parent-child interrelation of gender attitudes change according to the social context of developing countries compared to Western societies for a number of reasons. in South Asia, for instance, intergenerational transmission is especially strong because of residence in large joint families and parents' extreme control over their adult children (Dhar et al., 2019).

In many patriarchal societies mothers are typically the primary caregivers and socializing agents in a variety of family structures (Cunningham, 2001a). In different

cultures, more family actors may involve in care giving activities. For example, in Turkey, grandmothers play a crucial role in raising children, even though children's biological parents are available. Since children spend more time with the grandmother, in compared to their biologic parents, the primary socializing agent becomes grandmothers. therefore, grandmother's effect in shaping gender ideology of children is undeniable fact that specific to Turkey.

In the scope of this conjuncture, that is the knowledge of critical events may impact the values people hold, I looked at how gender-based values, attitudes and expectations changed with the experience of these critical events and I found vital output that are in line with the findings of this study.

First of all, both according to the literature and the result of my study, divorce is a life-changing incident in women's, as well as their child's lives. Carlson and Knoester's study (2011) which focuses on the effects of family structure differences in gender ideology posits that married parents hold more traditional gender ideologies compared with single parents, so single parents found more egalitarian and add that the egalitarian gender ideologies of single parents are transmitted to children as the numbers of single-parent households increase, to the same extent as the more traditional ideologies of parents in two-parent families (Carlson and Knoester, 2011). Other studies also support this point, Platt and Polavieja's results (2016) indicate that single parent families, especially with the existence of mothers alone, tend to influence differently their children's attitudes in the absence of a father. According to the tenets of social learning theory, identification with role models is a core element for value transmission (Bandura, 1977). In single-parent families, children are exposed to only one role model in the home and the influence of parent–child relationship quality become less complex that higher levels of relationship quality led to increase in the similarity in gender ideology of that parent. On the other hand, children's imitation of role models becomes complicated with the presence of more than one potential role model in dual-parent families, that may be either biological or step, and the dynamics of the relationship may change. Similarity of

gender ideology with a selected parent may negatively affect the child's relationship with the other parent in the household (Carlson and Knoester, 2011).

Second of all, as little bit justified above, Carlson and Knoester (2011) found that biological parent's gender ideology is the most significant predictor of children's gender ideology. In other words, it is found that there is little influence of stepparents over stepchildren and their presence may cause change in the quality of the biological parent child relationship. The stepparent family is described as an incomplete institutionalization, since the stepparenting roles are not well determined and relationships with stepchildren are tentative (Carlson and Knoester, 2011). Thus, in the socialization of children, stepparents have relatively little influence on stepchildren or negative influence by effecting the relationship with the biological parents. Biological parent's gender ideology constitutes an important predictor of the gender ideology of a child in the literature. Moreover, even though research implies that presuming more caregiving responsibilities increases a single father's involvement and intimacy with his children, it is found that remarriage leads biological fathers to embrace more traditional and less instrumental parenting roles (Hawkins et al., 2006). Fathers who take little instrumental role in stepfamilies have less impact over his child's gender ideologies. The difficulties in arranging the dynamics of blended families and getting paternal custody also adversely impact a biological father's effects on his children (Carlson and Knoester, 2011).

Thirdly, the quality of early family relationships is also likely to be effective in value transmission. This relationship quality includes many aspects, from parental warmth to joint activities enjoyed and the quality of time spend together. Dhar and her colleague's findings show that parental time spent with children is an important vein for the transmission of gender attitudes (Dhar et al., 2019). Research on family relationships demonstrated strong evidence that positive family relationship facilitates a strong value transmission between generations (Pearce & Axinn, 1998; Tarvis, 2000). The quality of parent child relationship has an impact on the modeling and reinforcement process. Higher closeness levels and communication quality of

parent–child, and parental support lead to more success in modeling (Fingerson, 2005). Moreover, the way and degree to which relationship quality with parents, as a result, the transmission of gender ideology differs across family structure (Carlson and Knoester, 2011). Additionally, as mentioned in the beginning, transmission of gender ideologies most likely to occur among same-sex dyads children are more prone to select the same sex parent as a role model because of gender-related teachings and role modelling, parents spend more time with their same-gender children (Perales et al., 2021) As the result of this interaction, more warmth relationships between parent and child may occur and it result in better quality of relationship, as well as more transmission of gender ideology. Therefore, since mothers and fathers ascribe to different gender ideologies, a selection of role model may emerge in a way that the children have the closest relationship.

2.2.6.1   **Sexual Orientation of Parents**

Even though the effect of having two mothers or two fathers have not been searched enough in detail in the literature yet, there are studies which some of it presents important findings, especially about lesbian parents' children. For example, Stacey and Biblarz (2001) found in their field study that nonbiological lesbian co-mothers are better at parenting and more connected with the kids than stepfathers are, and compared to heterosexual couples, lesbian partners in the two-parent households showed higher levels of parenting synchronicity. According to their studies, co-mothers' time spent to raise children is found a lot more than heterosexual biological husbands, including disciplining, controlling, and setting boundaries (Stacey and Biblarz, 2001). Moreover, the same study also implies that contrary to how heterosexual mothers and fathers assessed their children, lesbian birth mothers and co-mother partners assessed their children's emotional states and social behaviors almost exactly in correct, and the same way. On the other hand, heterosexual biological fathers found little match with the children's' actual emotional states and behaviors and it considerably differed than did mothers (Stacey and Biblarz, 2001).

In order to be able to have a smooth transfer of values, attitudes and expectations, relationship quality between mothers and daughters and quality time spent with children are curicial factors as mentioned in the introductory section of the literature review. When it comes to openness in communication, lesbian mothers' children claim to be more comfortable discussing their sexual development with their mothers and their mothers' partners than heterosexual parents' children are. Moreover, since homosexual couples are more aware of the gender issues and open to the dialogue about these issues, they raise their children in a way that they become are more resilient to the oppression comes with the patriarchal societal demands. According to studies, boys raised by lesbian or single mothers are less likely to exhibit stereotypically masculine features than boys brought up in heterosexual or two-parent families (Carlson and Knoester, 2011). Therefore, even though little studies conducted in this subject, sexual orientation of the parents and family structures accordingly, have an impact on the transmission of values, attitudes and expectation.

2.2.7 Effects of Parents' Paid Employment, Level of Education and Socio-Economic Status in the Society

There are many direct and indirect factors affecting the intergenerational transmission of gender-based values, attitudes, and expectations that scholars from various disciplines tried to formulate. Variety of articles have been created an accurate measurement tool for the effects of educational and occupational attainments of mothers which place them in a specific location in the social structure. An association between mother's education level and occupational status and child rearing style has been found, as well as the relationship between traditional and untraditional attitudes has been emphasized most in the existing literature. Parents' who are in the similar position within social structure raise their children in a similar way is also observed. Thus, in this part, I looked at the connection of parents' paid employment, level of education and socio-economic status in the society and accordingly their gender role ideology.

Many scholars indicate that mothers' employment status and level of education are strongly related to the daughters' nontraditional gender role attitudes. According to Zuckerman (1981), daughter's educational goals and career aspirations can be predicted by her mother's level of education for many years. Herzog and Bachmann's (1982) investigations support Zucherman by showing that the gender role attitudes of high school seniors were found directly related with their mother's level of education. Similar findings have been reached by Corder and Stephan (1984), who stressed the impact of a mother's level of education on her daughter's career aspirations. The effects of maternal employment on daughters' gender role attitudes have been studied by different scholars (see. Greenberger and Goldberg, 1989; Lamb, 1982; Lips, 1989) and the result have been reached consensus is that children of employed mothers, specifically daughters, have more egalitarian and less stereotyped attitudes compared to children of full-time home-maker mothers. Since research in the area of psychology also has showed the importance of a mother for a growing daughter (Chodorow, 1978; Fischer, 1991), several scholars emphasized the effects of a mother's own perspectives towards gender role attitudes on those of her daughter's. As a result, strong correlations between mothers' and daughters' gender role attitudes found in the scope of the employment and education status of mothers. According to the results, more educated and employed mothers have more nontraditional attitudes. In scope of these findings, it is expected that daughters of more educated and employed mothers to acquire less traditional gender role attitudes (Jan and Janessen 1998).

When the education and paid work experience of women evaluated separately, much research indicate the specific importance of paid work. Even women holding a certain level of educational degree, if they prefer not to work the effects are changing. For this reason, scholars, who are examined children's gender role attitudes, have centralized mothers' employment and showed that daughters of mothers who are employed outside the home have untraditional attitudes about women and work (Hoffman, 1989; Huston, 1985). Moreover, mothers who describe themselves as wage earners, more than home makers, were less likely to hold traditional beliefs

about women's roles. However, the timing and the stability of that employment matter as well even though the presence of mothers' paid employment appears to be an important former of daughters' occupational expectations and attitudes. In particular, the preschool years of children are found significant years for the transmission of social norms and values and that maternal employment during children's earlier years is the most influential (Moen et al., 1997). Research, many years later done in reference to Moen and her colleagues' results find a similar result. According to Tam (2015), working mothers provide a different role model for their daughters from a non-working mother and that maternal employment have a direct connection to daughter's role preferences. In other words, it is found that daughters of working mothers are more likely to want to work than daughters of non-working mothers (Tam, 2015). Furthermore, the Platt and Polavieja's (2016) results are also parallel with the idea of having a full-time working mother provides less traditional attitudes for herself. Additionally contributes that having a mother in full-time work are significantly associated with their attitudes towards sexual division of labour. Moreover, mothers' time spend as a housewives have a greater impact on sons' attitudes towards sexual division of labour than the distribution of housework between spouses (Platt and Polavieja, 2016).

Mother's employment and education, both separately and together are determinant in the style how they rear their child. The style in rearing child also an important factor in shaping children's gender ideology. The more a mother works outside the home, the less she shows a tendency to acquire a conformist child rearing style that results in more nontraditional attitudes of daughter. Because a working mother is less directed toward conformity, which provides more autonomy psychologically, may be regard as an advantage for the development of a daughter. The feeling of self-reliance is also an important indicator of academic performance and self-esteem in general (Jan and Janessen, 1998)

Child rearing style and gender role attitudes also depends on educational level of mother, as mentioned above. A higher level of education is associated with less

conformist child raising style, and brings more nontraditional attitude concerning gender roles (Jan and Janessen, 1998). It also well known that level of education of mothers have an impact on her daughter's gender role attitudes. As mothers achieve further degrees in education life, they tend to hold less traditional gender role to transmit their daughters.

The status attainment model of educational and occupational success emphasizes the significance of both socioeconomic background and parental endorsement for educational, occupational, and economic success (Blau & Duncan, 1967). Therefore, specific values and beliefs parents hold do not transmit directly, but rather, access to different resources, including social, cultural, and economic resources and position in the larger social structure. Parents and children generally locate in the same social status which means that they have the same social class, ethnic and religious background, and they tend to gain similar levels of educational level. Therefore, congruence in gender role attitudes between the generations simply represents the effects of similar locations in the opportunity structure of society. It is well known that mothers' employment and education have a salient impact on daughters' occupational status, that in turn, impact daughters' attitudes. Therefore, the location of their family of origin in the social structure matter most for daughters' gender role attitudes as adults. Socialization at the same time occurs indirectly, in the provision of resources and opportunities during childhood. Literature on status similarity lean on this perspective and suggests that parents and children who occupy the same roles or positions within society are more similar in attitudes and values and emotionally closer than those in different structural locations (Moen et al., 1997). It is also noteworthy that parental impact on children can be activated when children start to hold similar socioeconomic positions and social roles like their parents (Min et al., 2012). This also indicates that transmission of gender role ideology does not emerge until the child reached mid-life. As children reach mid-life, they obtain specific gender roles, like becoming wives and husbands, like their parents and this may be a trigger to activate the impact of parents' earlier values (Min et al., 2012). It is also related with critical life changes aspect mentioned earlier that important to remember

that values and attitudes can further reshape as people enter into later life stages and pass-through critical life events. For this reason, among mother–daughter dyads this sleeper effect more salient than among other gender configurations, due to the gender role attitudes have been found to become more concrete when women take family roles and enter working life (Cunningham, 2001a).

Child raising practices and values differ by parents' social class (Alwin, 1984) Any difference in parents' socio-economic status brings constant differences in children's environments (Menaghan & Parcel, 1991; Parcel & Menaghan, 1993). Therefore, parents' social class functions to locate children in the larger social order and forms their opportunities. That means, it is expected that daughters whose similarity to their mothers is high, are located similarly in the social structure, by having similar levels of education and occupation.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

"As subjects, people have the right to define their own reality, establish their own identities, and name their history. As objects, one's reality is defined by others, one's identity created by others, one's history named only in ways that define one's relationship to those who are subject"

(hooks, 1989, p.42).

I would like to create a generational study to ascertain the transformation, as well as reproduction mechanisms of patriarchy which is an institution and at the same time a structure of a society that operates differently in each level. Social institutions are not only embedded in the set of formal and informal rules, but also embedded in the dynamic actions of everyday life and it is reinforced and reproduced on a daily basis by the same people and the institutions they have interacted with. That's why providing the continuity of patriarchy by using its reproduction mechanisms is an important barrier to end patriarchy.

However, there is also a big opportunity to alleviate or even end patriarchy by using this dynamism within society. For this reason, I focused on how the early gender socialization occurs in agency to understand the gender-based value creation, as well as the transmission mechanisms of these values. So that changes in gender order in the way of transformation to more gender egalitarianism may be captured. Since mothers are seen as the main actors of the early socializing agents, as well as the personality creators of daughters in the literature, the intergenerational continuity of

gender-based values, attitudes and expectations are mostly ensured, especially by mothers. That's why I utilized feminist research techniques to reveal these women's realities and their interaction mechanisms. Thus, the main purpose of this qualitative research is to understand one of the reproduction mechanisms of patriarchy by researching and finding out what and how gender values, attitudes and expectations are transmitted from mothers to daughters in the first phase. In the second stage of the thesis, I analyzed the outcome of this transmission by understanding the reaction mechanisms of daughters to this transmission. So that in the overall picture of the study, I gave meaning to how intergenerational relations between mothers and daughters connect and reflect the transformation and/or reproduction of gender order in Turkish society.

In the light of Feminist Standpoint Theory (FST), I conduct a qualitative study that includes face-to-face interviews with total of 30 women consisting of 15 mother and daughter dyads who are biologically attached. Daughters are holding at least bachelor's degree and their age range between 25 and 30 and lived with their mother at least till the age of 18 and have no children, while their mothers are ranging in terms of education, and age, but common in being in the middle class. Why these features are selected, and a qualitative study is needed is the main focus of this chapter. More specifically, in this chapter, I aim to clarify two main things. Firstly, I would like to explain the importance of FST and how this theory served as the best tool to conduct this study and how the theory reflects my position in the study as the researcher. Secondly, I would like to clarify how I designed and justified this qualitative research by being coherent with the selected research theory and method.

3.1   Research Design

Research design is established on the basis of the research topic of the study. The most proper research philosophy to the intendent topic is selected and the other tools of the research design and why they are suitable for this study is justified within this part of the work.

3.1.1   Research Philosophy

According to feminist theory and research methodologies, gender is socially constructed, and the patriarchal society we live in is shaped by assigned sexist characteristics to female gender. An important duty of feminist researchers is to document women's real lives in order to make women's living conditions visible and bring forth the silenced history of women. According to Harding, feminists have been also classified as "new social groups" that are constantly looking for to bridge a gap between their personal experiences and the possible theoretical frameworks (Harding, 1986). Therefore, feminist research focuses on "subjugated knowledge" comes from the viewpoint of those subordinated by patriarchy and other systems of oppression. In that sense, feminist theory has impacted and transformed the methodological query in a manner that become crucial for minorized groups because the theory works for the sake of demolishing existing hierarchies that places white, heterosexual, Western, abled bodied males at the top. Thus, feminist theory and research emphasize that everything is socially bounded, and positive social change can only be created research from an approach that both empowers the researcher and the researched.

For these reasons, I have built my thesis on feminist methodologies and theories that are devoted to improvement of women and focused ethical research with the aim of creating positive political and social change. My own struggles, experiences and identity has shaped my engagement with my research topic and practices. Feminist methodology is permeated in all aspects of my thesis in order to demonstrate experiences that deeply affect knowledge creation since methodology is inseparably connected to epistemology (Kern, 2002).

There are different paradigmatic views to understand the social reality of women in the social theory. Women and the interactions they have with social institutions are heavily depending on the ontological, epistemological, and methodological differentiation of the paradigmatic views which directly reflects the reality of

women's lives. For many years, to understand the women's reality and the unequal social position they have in the society, scholars from variety of perspectives in modernist to postmodernist theories have been problematized patriarchy and tried to explain it from different lenses. Some of them concluded that giving meaning to the reality of women's lives necessitates acknowledging feminist theories and feminist movements within their historical background since the knowledge embedded in women's subjective daily experiences and the interactions, they have with institutions that are not unified and ahistorical. Furthermore, to understand a structure of a society, we need to look at how agency is interacting with this structure through its institutions. In the case of this study, I attempt to understand the structure of patriarchy and its reproduction mechanisms which operate uniquely in different societies by using FST. After understanding the major and common features of patriarchy, I tried to give meaning to patriarchy and how it operates and reproduces itself in the context of Turkish society by using daily unique experiences of women. I used Gramsci's approach that is used by Gottfried (1998) which implies that to understand patriarchy, ones need to look at the small actions and interactions of agency.

3.1.1.1 **Philosophical Stance of the Study: Modernism, Postmodernism and Feminist Standpoint Theory**

According to social theory, there are two main paradigms to explain reality, modernity, and postmodernity thoughts. Modernity thought scrutinizes social relations under the lens of social institutions, like religion, family, education, economy, culture, gender, and class relations. These institutions feed the structure and shape the behavior of people within it. Moreover, according to the modernity paradigm, structures are fixed and categorical things that are not open to change and the individuals within those structures are passive holders of these institutions' tenets within the defined social order. Therefore, there is no place for individual experiences and their actions within this school of thought. Individuals are treated as

passive objects that are ignored and intimidated within those institutions. For example, according to the social order in a patriarchal society, a family picture can only be captured with the existence of a child, or a woman can only be a "woman" if she is a mother, there is no place for her characteristics other than as of a motherhood in the family.

The dichotomic perspective begins with this static perspective towards structure and agency differentiation of modernity thought and continues with the differentiation of women and men. In this differentiation, structure is not taken as a dynamic system that is open to change, and ideas or actions of agency is not interacted with the structure, instead agency passively obey the rules of the structure. This dualistic perspective strengths the androcentric structure of social theory. Furthermore, this distinction legitimizes women's oppression in institutions (Harding, 1993). Even though modernity thought takes the individual as the unit of analysis, the individual subject centralized here taken is the male, in the male dominated institutions.

On the other hand, FST, that emerged in late 1970s and 1980s, criticizes modernity thought's basic tenets (Harding, 2004b). FST rejects dichotomic perspective while revealing the role of oppressed. Subject is deconstructed and marginalized people who are holding the knowledge of both oppressor and the oppressed is centralized so that the theory gives voice to multiple subjectivities that exist in the society. By decentralizing the subject, people's real-life experiences come to the stage and there is no absolute truth that operates the same for everyone. Instead, the goal of creating knowledge turns into acquiring theories that precisely represent oppressed groups. Feminist theories especially take women's real-life experiences as completely social, and the interactions of genders as a real and significant component in people's life (Harding, 1986). Therefore, FST rejects the modernity thoughts' basic tenets that are essentialist, rational, universal, and dualistic and decentralizes the individual in object position.

3.1.1.2   Knowledge Creation

Modernity thought's binary distinction between nature-body and culture-mind emphasis men's relation with the culture and mind, and women's association with the nature and body. The perspective here stresses the stability, having a historical background and importance of culture that attained to men whereas emphasizes the nature and the body as a controllable and destroyable thing that belong to women. This dual differentiation between mind and body emerges from Cartesian thought that basis men as the master of mind, the conscious being and the object of knowledge (Ramazanoğlu and Holland, 2002). On the other hand, referring women to nature strengthens women's oppression and dependent position in the society. Women's role reduced solely to reproduction and recreation of future generations, and they are seen neither as the possessor of knowledge nor a reliable source of knowledge. With those roles of women and men's privileged position as the carrier of culture, in the process of knowledge creation, men become the major and the reliable source in the process of knowledge creation. Therefore, there is a gender bias in the creation, collection, interpretation, and organization of knowledge and data, and this masculine bias in science stems from the designation of logic, rationality, and autonomy to men and valuing of traditional masculine characteristics while devaluing and assigning sexist characteristics to women accordingly (Doucet and Mauthner, 2006).

On the other hand, FST is kind of an exit door by rejecting the conventional approach to knowledge of truth that only represents white, heterosexual, abled bodied, Western man's status (Hekman, 1997). FST centralizes the knowledge of oppressed groups in the production of theory from the knowledge. In 1997, as Patricia Hill Collins has emphasized that standpoint is all about historically shared, group-based experiences (Collins, 1997). Therefore, making the oppressed as the unit of analysis of research and considering them as collective agents are the general arguments of FST (Harding, 2004). These tenets are the most proper tools for this research since the

unit of analysis of this research is mothers and daughters who are exposed to the similar oppressions in the same family, so that are the collective subjects.

Women's exploitation and objectification is scrutinized with FST, and a collective consciousness has been created for many years thanks to the feminist movements, the theory, and their praxis. We, as young feminist researchers are the ones who contribute to this collective movement with more integrity and diversity and work for the sake of contributing a feminist epistemic communal knowledge which presents the knowledge of the silenced ones who are subjected to similar pressures. Emancipation is enabled with the never heard unique voices of participants of this study which empowered them *(the knowers)* since they reproduce the meaning of social order as they talk about their own realities.

In the study, unique knowledge come from mothers and daughters who are the holders of different experiences that are not only specific to their own lives, but also unique to their own generation, taken equally important. The knowledge come from the participants is limited with three inclusive themes in order to capture the main issues of intergenerational transmission of gender-based values, attitudes, and expectations that seen as critical in order to understand patriarchy and its reproduction mechanisms in Turkey by the researcher. These themes are categorized as marriage, divorce and, power relations; woman's body and sexuality of women. By means of FST, I tried to understand women's epistemic knowledge in mentioned three themes and the transmission pattern between mothers and daughters.

3.1.1.3 **Subjectivity and Objectivity Perspective of the Research**

Feminist methodologies draw attention to the neutrality aspect in research process which seen as an obstacle in the production of reality. According to Harding (1986), with the feminist standpoint epistemological perspective, research does not have to be objective, and has never been, to be considered as scientific, instead "it is commitments to anti-authoritarian, anti-elitist, participatory, and emancipatory

values and projects that increase the objectivity of science" (Harding, 1986, p. 27). Because objectivity provides a control over research process and the researched ones, in that sense it is a male practice in conventional social research (Stanley and Wise, 1983). Therefore, the propounded objectivity in mainstream social research legitimizes power relations where women are oppressed and subordinated by researchers under the mask of providing objectivity in science.

On the other hand, feminist researchers assert that presenting objectivity as the ideal of social research neglects significant unique subjective knowledge of participants (Ramazanoğlu, 1992). The main aim of feminist research is to understand women's experiences with a manner that is accepting their lived experiences as a source of knowledge, as mentioned earlier. For this reason, subjectivity is centralized in epistemological understanding of this research and taken as an ongoing and dynamic process under the effects of subjective experiences and interactions in social relations.

Even though several biases exist in research, there are methodological tools to minimize these features. For example, I did not criticize the participants joined in this research, but instead found the patterns of thought to link them to the related patterns in feminist theory. Therefore, there is no guarantee for neutrality in interpretations and analysis since personal memories and histories are shaped with the researcher's class, gender, ethnicity, and more 'excluding' understandings that reflects personal particular perspectives in life (Blair, 1998).

3.1.1.4 **Self- Reflexivity**

In the process of construction of meanings of the lived experiences of women, I become aware of my personal contribution from the very beginning of the study which started from the selection of the topic and continued with the field work. Because I define my research as a journey that is intensely personal, my positionality, based on gender, ethnicity, race, and class, and the socio-economic and political

environment that I am exposed on a daily basis play a key role in the whole process of research, from the field work I conducted to the creation of my final text. Therefore, by means of reflexivity, researchers become conscious to their own contribution to the construction of knowledge from lived experiences during the research process (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

As the creator of this work, in order to clarify the exploration of reality and interpretation of outputs of this work, which is inevitably filtered from my perspective, from selection of literature and gathering the data, to interpreting the results, I would like to mention my position in my reality. I think that it is important, as a white, middle class, well-educated heterosexual woman, to continuously search how oppressions rooted in structures, and how I am located in maintaining systems of oppression via my personal sites of privilege. I notice that while I generally experience subordination as a woman in the society, I am located in a position of privilege because of my ethnicity, sexuality, and class. This situation makes this work not only a political project, but also a profoundly personal one. Self-reflexivity has to then be a part of our commitment. It needs to become a duty of every researcher to reveal and share their position, reflexivity's, not only for learning purposes but towards developing theory building.

My self-reflexivity not only in the interpretation of the data and literature, but also has reflections in the language I used in the writing process. Even though I have some privileged positions due to my ethnicity, class, and sexuality, in terms of language I used in writing, I am in a disadvantaged position for this thesis. English is my second language that I have learned after the age of 19 and writing a thesis in a language other than a mother tongue adds more burdens to a researcher even though the language is well cultivated. This stems from two reasons, the first and obvious one is, it makes the process slow down. For example, in an overworked day, understanding a reading written in English necessitates an extra effort has to be put and at those times writing necessitates more time spent in order to make the text more grammatically correct and academically proper. Secondly and more

importantly, the interviews are held in Turkish and in the interpretation and analyzing process, some feelings and meanings are lost due to the natural process of translation, even though worked on really hard, and this makes this thesis's data weaken and changes the tones and genre of women participated in this study. Therefore, even though very few scholars mention the extra burden and losing some meanings and feelings while writing in a language other than a mother tongue, these limitations and an extra effort put by all non-English-speaking academics should be regarded. Therefore, language is not a mechanical tool that is only about transferring the ideas within a proper manner, but also the expression of feelings and power dynamics we created as social beings. For this reason, the genre we use implies many hidden meanings.

In order not to lose my reflections in the study, in terms of rhetoric and genre of this work, I, as a young feminist researcher, used fearlessly "I" language even though it has been taught that this is an inferior style in the mainstream androcentric academia. Since there is no way of presenting our findings apart from an independent of a particular style (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002), I cannot claim that every finding in this work is neutral in the process of production of knowledge. Additionally, I would like this work to be the voice of both mine and two generations of women I interviewed so that we can start from here to prefer voice over silence together.

3.1.1.5   **Beyond the Altruism of the Participants**

When I first ask participants to whether they can be a part of this study, the ones who accepted were motivated with doing an altruistic behavior to a young university student, in other words, they accepted to join the study with the sole motivation of altruism. However, by following the end of the interview, almost each participant unhesitantly said that the *session* (not the *interview*, they named it in that way) was so therapeutic that they had a chance to think about issues they have never thought before, and their connection with themselves, as well as the connection with their daughter or mother strengthen in a way. They told me that for the first time they have

59

been asked about their real-life experiences and had a chance to hear their own real voices without censoring. Even though there is no trauma triggering question or comment exist in the study, some of participants burst into tears as they realized how powerful they are. For example, when we talk about motherhood, with the realization of how the mother forged ahead with life solely with her daughter, in the absence of a father, she was so proud herself and realized that how powerful she is by herself. Therefore, even though the participants accepted to be a part of this study with some altruistic motivations the first phase and called the process "interview", as we continue our interviews, they started to name it "session" and declared that it was a therapeutic session where they had a chance to look at their past and present in a systematic way.

3.1.2   Research Type and Strategy

Women's individual voices and lived experiences can only be heard by revealed reality through the lens of their lived experiences (Mies, 1983). Since I want to give meaning to everyday life of women, and their interaction with social institutions, I focused on their voices by utilizing qualitative research technique whose objective is to understand the pattern of meanings and probe deep into construction of reality from participants' real-life experiences (Jootun et al., 2009). Moreover, in order to understand patterns of gender values, attitudes and expectations between middle class mothers and their well-educated daughters, a qualitative study is suited best for this study.

Qualitative studies necessitate a direct interaction with the researcher and participant and interviewing is a tool to provide this interaction in qualitative studies. Therefore, in this qualitative study, I conduct an in- depth interview with total of 30 women which consisting of 15 biological mother and daughter dyads. Qualitative research and the in depth interview I conducted with those 30 women enabled me to combine the knowledge comes from women's real-life experiences and the theory.

This study cannot be studied quantitatively, because although using quantitative method for this research may provide a statistical glimpse of the relationship between mother's and daughter's gender-based values, attitudes and expectations, qualitative studies demonstrate and give opportunity to analyze the complicated emotional and social processes that happened throughout the participant's life, therefore provides a pattern to a researcher that is open to more complex issues. Moreover, I utilized semi structured in-depth interviews that also gives me the chance to ask to follow up questions during the interview and go into details when needed. In- depth interview strategy is also needed because I can only understand the pattern between those mother daughter dyads by excavating personal histories of women and since each woman' experience is unique, follow up questions, explanations or even self-reflexivity are needed during the field work.

Therefore, with the means of in-depth interview, I find an opportunity to make a more friendly connection with participants. According to Oakley (2016), in opposition to standardized, objective and neutral perspective towards interviewing, the aim of finding out about individuals via interviewing is best achieved when the relationship between researcher and the researched is non-hierarchical and when the researcher is ready to invest her own identity into the relationship.

3.1.3 Sampling Strategy

Building a non-hierarchal relationship and being respectful towards the researched ones starts very early stages of the research from finding and inviting the participants to the work, till the end of work. For this reason, I first tried to find this study's participants first from my circle of friends. Due to my current status in life, my closest circle of friends mostly consisting of either from gender and women's studies department students or from my current working environment. However, I try not to select participants from these two areas, since the knowledge come from these groups of people may carry a risk of masked and wrong information. For gender studies students, since these people already have a consciousness towards

61

socialization of gender-based values, attitudes, and expectations, they may try not to behave as what they learnt from their mother at an early stage of socialization. For the people from my work, since the place I am working is a public agent, people in that place are suppressed by the current political authorities in terms of reflecting their emotions, especially in the areas of politics, and since gender carries a political stand in a manner, people from this circle may feel uncomfortable even though I give them a certain level of trust. Therefore, I consciously avoid inviting people from those two closest circles of mine.

After I eliminate this circle, I tried to reach my friends from my high school and even from my primary education years. Due to the necessity of locating in Ankara at time of the research for both mothers and daughters, finding mother and daughter dyads got difficult and people's willingness to do a face-to-face interview during Corona pandemic times were low. I reached those people via social media and told them I am conducting a study, in the scope of the study I would like to make a *delightful* conversation with them, whenever and wherever they are available. Moreover, as I met participants, since they really enjoyed the interview process, and even define as a therapy session, two mothers and a daughter asked whether I could interview with a friend of theirs, and with this reference I interviewed with 3 mother and daughter dyad. Therefore, apart from my plans in the beginning, a snowball technique occurred during the field research. All in all, within total of 15 mother and daughter pairs, while 11 of mother daughter dyads are from my friend circle that I connected them via social media, the rest of 4 pairs of women are the ones I have not met before, and I reached them through snowball technique. Thus, my sampling strategy is non-probabilistic and non- representative.

3.1.4   Selection Criteria

By being compatible with the aim of the study, this thesis' topic necessitates to be studied as a generational study and participants of this study is composed of total of 30 women, 15 mothers and 15 daughters, as mentioned. In order to understand

transmission patterns of gender-based values, attitudes and expectations, knowledge come from one generation is not enough. I also agree that an ongoing, dynamic structure cannot be approached statically. Understanding the dynamism within the structure is essential in the process of social change. That's why the unit of analysis is determined as mother daughter dyad for this study.

A vast majority of scholars are agreed on the gender of a parent matter in the process of intergenerational transmission. For this reason, the sex of the parent is fixed and not seen as a changeable variable, it's taken as a constraint for this work. I preferred to study on mothers, instead of fathers, because according to the literature, the value and behavior transmission is more from mother to daughter (Dhar et al.,2019) because in most of the patriarchal societies, women seen as the primary care giver as a mother and the role of a father is restricted only with financial supply of the family. For this reason, in the socialization process, mother's role is stronger, and children are mostly learning from what mother is doing due to the time spent with the mother. Therefore, I deliberately choose to focus on mothers, instead of fathers in this generational study. Although there is no limitation in terms of age, education, and marital status for mother participants, due to the central focus of the thesis, the category of daughters is limited with some qualifications that include being between the ages of 25 and 30, well-educated, and heterosexual woman. Even though whether young women married or not is important, not having a child or not being pregnant at the time when the researcher have the interview with participants is a condition that is expected from daughters. The reason why researcher is limited participants in that way have a strong logic. Before justification of selection, I would like to summarize the characteristics of participants expected:

For daughters:

    Being in the age range of 25-30

    Being the biological daughter of the mother in the study

    Living at least till the age of 18 years old

    Being heterosexual

    Not having a child or being pregnant

Having a university education

There is no limitation for the selection criteria for mothers.

Daughters' ages are limited only with five years, by taking only between the ages of 25 and 30 and are expected to live with their mother at least till the age of 18. The ages of 25 to 30 are seen critical since most of the people decide what to do in life between these ages, including the decisions of occupation, marriage, having a child and continuing further education. For this reason, the internal beliefs that come from mothers may be influential in daughters' critical and indicative decisions taken during this period. Living with the biological mother at least till the age of 18 old is wanted in the study, because in the literature, both the early childhood and the adolescent years are seen as the most important periods for gender-based value, attitude, and expectation creation of a child (Min et al., 2012; Dhar et al., 2019; Platt and Polavieja, 2016).

Young women's education is also consciously stabilized since the literature implies that well-educated women have greater agency to challenge the structure of patriarchy due to their higher status and tendency to elicit greater respect (Gaunt, 2013). Also, lower educational degrees of both parents and children cause more traditional gender beliefs (Gaunt, 2013). Therefore, in order to eliminate the possibility of educational degree in the reproduction and acknowledgement of traditional gender beliefs, I fixed the participants' level of education, and took it not as a variable. Therefore, lack of education is not one of the reasons of the reproduction of traditional gender beliefs for this thesis, and by fixing the level of education for daughter participants, I tried to eliminate one obvious reproduction mechanism in order to focus more on other mechanisms of transfer of gender-based values.

In addition to educational background of daughters being heterosexual is expected from participants. This is because in heterosexual relation, there is the one who is "dominant", the financial supplier, and the "second sex" who is "subordinate", the one is responsible for both family and the biologic reproduction and the

64

interdependence between these two shapes the content of traditional gender ideologies (Rudman and Glick, 2008). This heterosexual relationship tends to be separately stereotyped and traditional (Gaunt, 2013).

According to the literature, young women can put into practice the attitudes and behaviors that they oppose in their own mother in the past after becoming a mother themselves (Freud, 1933). For this reason, daughters' notions towards their mother may evolve in time. Additionally, it is also found that during the period of pregnancy women are inclined to reorientate toward their mothers. Besides, after the young woman has a child, major changes may occur in the structure of her relationship with her own mother (Fischer, 1986). Since these new and important dimensions create new possibilities in the adoption and rejection of gender-based values, attitudes, and expectations in the minds of well-educated young women, having a child or being pregnant to a child may affect the results and findings of this study. Therefore, these dimensions necessitate another valuable study to be searched apart from this thesis. That's why the sample is restricted only with daughters who don't have child by considering this perspective. Moreover, the demographic characteristics of participants can be seen as follows:

Table 1 Mothers' Demographic Information

		Year of Birth	Educational Status	Marital Status	Source of Income	Occupational Status (past or present)	Place of Birth
1-	Sevgi	1959	High School	Married	Pension	Full time	Sivas
2-	Arzu	1976	High School	Married	Working	Full time	İstanbul
3-	Hayal	1966	University	Divorced	Pension	Full time	Kayseri
4-	Bahar	1961	University	Married	Pension	Full time	Konya
5-	Dünya	1967	University	Divorced	Working	Full time	Gaziantep
6-	Candan	1969	University	Divorced	Working	Full time	Mardin
7-	Şenay	1963	High School	Divorced	Pension and property income	Full time	Ankara
8-	Duygu	1966	High School	Married	Pension	Full time	Samsun
9-	Harika	1960	High School	Married	Pension	Full time	Balıkesir
10-	Sevim	1958	Master's Degree	Divorced	Pension	Full time	Ankara
11-	Neşe	1967	Master's Degree	Divorced	Pension and Working	Full time	Eskişehir
12-	Ayşe	1974	High School	Widowed	Pension (from husband)	Never worked	Balıkesir
13-	Beste	1962	High School	Divorced	Pension	Full time	Artvin
14-	Kardelen	1967	University	Divorced	Pension	Full time	Eskişehir
15-	Melahat	1966	University	Married	Working	Full time	Ankara

In Table 1, participants' demographic information on year of birth, educational status, marital status, source of income, occupational status, age of marriage and age of being a mother are shown. Assigned numbers to persons are in ordered with the numbers given to daughters and the same number implies mother daughter peers. For example, Sevgi (1) showed in Table 1 is Sesil's (1) mother from Table 2. The average marriage age is 23.93 for mothers while the average age of being a mother is 26. The youngest mother born in 1976, while the most senior mother is born in 1958. Eight of the mother participants are divorced, while 1 of the participant's husband passed away long time ago. Except one mother, all of the mother participants either had a paid working life, and retired at time of this research, or currently continue to be in labor force.

Table 2 Daughters' Demographic Information

	Name	Year of Birth	Educational Status	Marital Status	Occupational Status	Place of Birth
1-	Sesil	1995	Master's Degree	Single	Student	Ankara
2-	Defne	1995	Bachelor's Degree	Married	Working	Ankara
3-	Güneş	1991	Bachelor's Degree	Single	Working	Ankara
4-	Ayça	1996	Master's Degree	Single	Working	Ankara
5-	Işıl	1995	Master's Degree	Single	Working	Adana
6-	Su	1995	Master's Degree	Single	Working	Erzurum
7-	Deniz	1991	PhD Candidate	Married	Working	Ankara
8-	Devrim	1995	Master's Degree	Single	Student	Samsun
9-	Derya	1995	Master's Degree	Single	Working	Balıkesir
10-	Ece	1991	Master's Degree	Single	Working	Ankara
11-	Helen	1994	Master's Degree	Single	Working	Adana
12-	Rüya	1995	Master's Degree	Single	Working	Çanakkale
13-	Eda	1994	Bachelor's Degree	Single	Working	Ankara
14-	Selin	1993	Bachelor's Degree	Single	Currently Not Working	Eskişehir
15-	Evrim	1992	Bachelor's Degree	Single	Working	Ankara

Daughter's demographic information, including the year of birth, educational status, marital status, and occupational status are given in Table 2. The youngest daughter was born in 1996 whereas the oldest one born in1991. The average age of daughters is 27.13. Only two of the daughters are married. While, one participant is not currently working, two participants are still holding student position. Most of the participants are having master's degree, while nine of them holding master's diploma and one of them is a PhD candidate the rest of five women are holding bachelor's degree.

3.1.5   Time Dimension

Cross sectional data from two generations of women is collected in this study. Most of the mothers are young adults and either university or high school students in 1980s and their educational life is interrupted because of military coup happened in 1980. Therefore, several mothers are prevented from going to school by their family due to this problematic politic environment of Turkey which affected their later life outcomes.

Another critical period that effects the data is Corona virus pandemic started on 2020 of March in Turkey. When I have started to collect data, which has started on 30th of January and finished on 25th of February, restrictions due to the pandemic were started to be flexed and people were newly started to go back their offices from homes. Therefore, there was a large amount of time spent at home with mothers and daughters together and according to the some of participants' claims the corona virus period is strengthening the relationship, while one of the daughter participants claiming that her relationship with her mother is worsen because of the stay-at-home restrictions. Thus, the data collected is affected from corona virus pandemic period.

Apart from these two important milestones specific to this thesis, a generational study is needed for this topic, because even though cross-sectional data gives a snapshot of a time, it provides a knowledge that shows societal change over generations. That's why even though conducting a generational study is difficult, it gives an opportunity to understand how people are maintaining certain values and attitudes over time and how a societal change occurs across generations.

Moreover, collecting a data from two generations of women have also created the advantage of data verification in some extent, due to the fear of asking the narrated information taken from one pair to another, the accuracy of the given information by participants increased.

3.1.6   Conducting a Generational Study

Doing a generational study is needed especially in the times where one wants to understand how societies and structures of the societies change over time. Therefore, this study is constructed on the basis of experiences of two generations of women by aiming to understanding a societal structure through understanding its transmission patterns. Since this study aims to give a meaning to intergenerational relations, differences, and transmission of two generations of women, the concept of "generation" in social sciences needs to be defined within a sociological phenomenon and necessitates to be worked within the boundaries of this context for this study.

According to Jansen (1974), methodologically there are two preconditions for the recognition of the generation in the social structure, these are first, having a specific time dimension and second, having a specific historical context. The time dimension refers to age, but not chronologically, instead, time referred as a zone of dates. In order to be in the same generation, one must be in the same time zone according to Jansen (1974).

By referring to having a specific historical context for the identification of generations, Jansen (1974) further argues that people generally find themselves in specific circumstances and never separate themselves from these situations in the sense of having nothing to do with them. Within the context of these circumstances, ones are facing with certain problems that has to be solved in order to survive under these conditions. The fundamental solutions the ones created based on a particular interpretation is gained from the knowledge of previous generations and not created anew with every succession of generations. On the other hand, the solutions are neither complete, nor solely determinant in one's life. That's why people need to find themselves in situations where they need to develop certain perspectives on these circumstances. While building new perspectives they create their own living space where they reflect themselves (Jansen, 1974).

Therefore, it is expected that people of the same age period consider themselves under the same circumstances and see the world from their own perspectives and may attach similar meanings to similar conditions. For example, for this study several mothers stated that due to 1980 military coup in Turkey, they could not continue their university education and got married early than they planned. It is then, understanding one generation's circumstance and the solutions they created is critical to understand what kind of solutions are functional and why these solutions are operational for the next generation. Furthermore, to exemplify in the more theoretical stance, when women are under the same conditions, for instance, in the face of patriarchal oppression experienced daily, they attach same meaning to these circumstances and create coping mechanisms and strategies that have a more cultural and temporary grounded comprehension. Since the women's experiences and understanding within the same context is similar, their perspective towards it and the way they struggle, and challenge certain structures is expected to be similar in order to reach the overall aim. Thus, women are accepting some rules of the game (Kandiyoti, 1988). These patriarchal bargains are creating an effect on women's subjectivity that determines gender ideology. Furthermore, these patriarchal coping mechanisms are sensitive to historical transformations that creates new challenges and new circumstances for gender relations (Kandiyoti, 1988). Therefore, women are strategizing within a limited constraints and as patriarchy operates distinctly in different locations, women are strategizing unique coping mechanisms, namely "new rules of the game" in different contexts that is identified as patriarchal bargains by Kandiyoti (1988). Moreover, these active or passive resistance mechanisms and new strategies and forms of consciousness that constitutes a gender ideology is transferred to next generations by preserved or partially modified. Therefore, to engage in the same generation means that members are part of the same community and also have similar places in the social structure that they create a common cultural understanding as well as similar coping mechanisms (Spahiu, 2016).

3.2   Ethical Considerations

Feminist researchers need to be accountable, so responsible for the knowledge and its impacts they created. There is a moral responsibility for feminist knowledge and a common ethics of accountability to community of women (Ramazaoglu and Holland, 2002). In the light of this awareness, I carefully protected the data I collected from the field by following predetermined universal steps. Firstly, I carefully double checked the field questions whether any trauma triggering impression or question in the questioner exist. Secondly, I sent all of my questions and necessary forms to METU Human Subjects Ethics Committee, and I waited the committee's approval (see Appendix A) to start the field work. Before the start of each interview, I gave a consent form which includes a summary of the work, confidentiality principles, and participants' permissions to record their voices. I also let them know that if they want to skip any question or end the interview, they can free to do it at any time of the interview. These procedural steps at very first actually scared the participants, but after I realized this, for my other participants, I started to explain these things by saying that these are the standardized things I have to mention procedurally, and the voice record is only for me. When we come to the end participants are expressed their willingness to learn the result of the study and I promised them that I let them know after my jury presentation.

While analyzing the data, I started with transcription of the voice records by coding the information that specifies participant's location, name, and the place they work. The maximum interview time recorded was 2 hours length, while the minimum one was 50 minutes, but an average interview took one and half an hour length. In total, 409 pages of single-spaced verbatim transcription of data are finalized by subtracting completely irrelevant information (such as distractions, or irrelevant memories). While transcripting them, I used fictive names and did not include surnames, or name of occupation information. During the interview, I didn't want them to hear each other's answer since it may create a problem between mother and daughter. To avoid this, I try to meet at different times, if possible, but if not, I close the door and speak

71

quietly. Finally, I stored their data on my personal computer in a fold that can be opened with a password.

3.3   Thematic Analysis

Analyzing data is a central issue to create credible qualitative research (Maguire and Delahunt, 2017). Techniques and software systems have been developed for many years in order to make the qualitative research results more credible and ease the process of data analysis for researchers. For these reasons, in this work, the collected and transcribed data is analyzed by using thematic analysis technique of qualitative study. Thematic analysis, a systematic analysis tool is developed by Braun and Clarke (2006) to interpret experiences of people by finding meanings in specific conditions and contexts. Moreover, thematic analysis is identified as a methodologic tool for identifying, analyzing, and reporting themes extracted from data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). With the help of thematic analysis, researchers are able to catch important things about their findings in accordance with specified research questions and present a level of patterned meaning within the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Therefore, in this study, I identified themes when I find an important expression in relation to my research questions.

3.4   Methodological Limitations of the Study

Every research has different methodological limitations that cannot be prevented even though researchers are aware of it. There are some obvious methodological limitations of this study as well as more complex and specific limitations which I am aware of, but due to different reasons stated under this topic, I could not eliminate them.

First of all, in this study, cross sectional data is collected which implies that the data is collected at one point in time. Since I want to understand a societal, as well as a structural change over time, I prefer to conduct a generational study which even

72

though gives a chance to understand the change, the data, if collected at one point in time, provides only a snapshot of change in reality. In other words, cross sectional data collection may not be enough to give meaning to understand a societal change. We, as researchers, need more long-term observations to make sure the actual reality of people. For this reason, longitudinal qualitative research may best suit when change or stability over time is wanted to be understood. However, due to the time and budget constraints of this study, it is not possible to conduct a longitudinal study. In order to overcome this limitation, I tried to find longitudinal studies conducted in similar topics of this thesis and tried to add them to the study. While analyzing the results, these studies are the ones that considered most.

Time and budget limitation not only affected the data collection method of the study, but also affected the number of people reached. I have reached the participants of the study through first my circle of friends. I had a chance to talk with 15 mother and daughter dyads, in total of 30 people. However, 30 people is not enough to represent a social reality, and they sice most of them consisted of from my circle of friends, the sample is a homogenious group which consists of mostly highly educated mothers and daughters whom most of are middle income dyads. Therefore, the study is non-representative. By starting from the design of the thesis, I want to understand the process of transmission pattern between mother and daughter; therefore, this thesis does not seek representation, instead aimed to understand the reality of women and relating them with the theory from a feminist perspective.

By being more specific to this study, the data I collected is lacking in the important contributors of other family members. In the reality of our daily lives, there are other actors who may be involved in child rearing process of parents and take the primary care giver role even if the biological mother is present. These people sometimes spend more time with children which makes them to most important contributors of the socialization process of children. I realized this during my field work, when some of the daughters told me that they grew up with their grandmother and they found their point of view and decisions more important than their mothers'. Therefore, the

73

actors involved in the child's socialization process is important and needs to be considered in further studies.

As mentioned earlier, researchers are not the passive actors of their studies, the role, and the existence of the researcher in the process of the research is an undeniable fact and it impacts the data collected from the field, especially in qualitative studies where the interaction between researcher and the researched is maximized. Even though I try to find the most distant friends of mine as participants of this study, in other words, the ones that I have either no connect for years or have very little communication, the participants already knowing that this thesis is written in the department of gender and women's studies, at METU, where the university and the department themselves creates a political view in the minds of participants. Therefore, some participants try to adopt their discourses on the bases of this biased political understanding, even though their reality is not like that. That's why at the very beginning of each session, I emphasized that I only want to hear their real voices and I am respectful towards any kind of feeling or idea, the aim is not to judge or analyze the issues, instead listen, and understand their reality.

To sum up, in this chapter, I mentioned how I conducted this research to answer the initial research question of this study, which is "what are the transmission patterns of gender-based values, attitudes and expectations between mothers and daughters?". I utilized qualitative research methods, which enabled me to interact with the participants with an elbow touch. The sample consists of 30 (15 mother and daughter dyads) people in total. The interviews were semi structured, face to face and cross-sectional data is collected. The sample is non- probabilistic and non-representative. Most of the participants are from my circle of friends, while a few of them are reached via snowball technique. The recorded voices of interviews are transcribed and analyzed by using thematic analysis technique. In every step of the study, I adopted FST by wondering about two generations of women's epistemic knowledge. Last but not least, I committed to non-hierarchal and emancipatory tools of the feminist research throughout the study.

CHAPTER 4

GENDER ORDER: TRANSFORMED OR REPRODUCED?

In the scope of the research problem, information is collected in the field from mothers and daughters. As mentioned in the previous chapters, the topic of the study is intergenerational transmission patterns of gender-based values, attitudes and expectations of mothers and daughters in Turkey. To work on this topic, a qualitative study is designed, and the sample of the design included 30 women by consisting of 15 mother daughter dyads. With the semi structured in depth interviews, the researcher had better understand the change in transmission pattern over generations and the transformation and/or reproduction of gender order in Turkish society. The interviews are conducted face to face, at generally participants' houses or a place where they feel safest. The same questions are applied to both mothers and daughters, in separate sessions. During the fieldwork, notes that include researcher's observations are taken, and voice of the participants are recorded. Verbatim transcription is done both during and after the end of the fieldwork. The transcribed data is analysed after careful reading and the field results are categorized with the help of thematic coding; three main topics found most salient which answer the intended research question of the study. Finally, the analysis is organized around these salient specific themes, which are 1- Marriage, Divorce and Power Relations, 2- Women's Sexuality and 3- Women's Body. Therefore, in this chapter of the study, information came from women is analysed according to the related literature specific to the mentioned themes.

Even though the related literature varied according to the specified theme while analyzing, the essence of the study's theoretical framework grounded on theoretical perspectives on intergenerational transmission that mainly includes social learning

theory, theories of socialization, and gender ideology and the rest of the literature is established on the basis of this theoretical framework. These theories are explained in detail in the literature review chapter of the study.

Part 1

4.1 Marriage, Divorce and Power in Relationships

In this chapter of the study, in order to understand the transmission pattern between mothers and daughters, specifically in the areas of spousal, intimate relationships, as well as relationship dynamics during and after divorce of mothers, voice is given to mothers' and daughters' experiences. Although the study is not started with the expectation of encountering power dynamics in the field results, it is found that each form of the relationship in this chapter includes perception of power to some extent. Even though mothers' mothers (grandmothers) were not invited to the study in person, questions about grandmothers are asked to mothers and from their point of view, grandmother's effects on shaping mothers' gender-based values, attitudes and expectations towards spousal, intimate relationships, as well as the process of divorce is scrutinized in the study. While there are certain obvious differences revealed between mothers and grandmothers in terms of perspectives towards matrimony, divorce, and power relations within them, there are little, but important differences between mothers' and daughters' perspectives towards the same issues inspected in the study. In that manner, one can obviously interpret that while there is no clue of similarity between daughters and grandmothers, in other words, while daughters and grandmothers are completely diverging from each other in terms of gender-based values, attitudes and expectations towards the mentioned relationships, daughters are not that much differently thinking than their mothers. In that sense, mothers act like a bridge between daughters and grandmothers who carry some values from the past while building new ones from further generations. That's why they are the carrier of both generations' dominant values, even though they try to

escape from some of them. One of the mother participants, Dünya, describes her position between her mother and daughter like this:

> My mother sees things from her own point of view, I see things according to myself, and my daughter sees things from her own. I'm the one who built the bridge between them, a little from my mother, a little from my daughter.[1]

How and according to what criteria mothers abandoned and/or obtained some part of the tenets of different generations, as well as to what extent they have transferred those tenets to their daughters and how daughters are affected from this transmission is explained in detail throughout in this chapter.

4.1.1 Voice of Mothers within Evangelized Silence

Gender is a social construct that is performed and negotiated through language, differs among cultures, transmitted across generations, and incorporates various relations of power. In the current study, the phenomenon of silence has been analyzed in relation to the power dynamics between dominant and subordinate groups, and the ways in which the oral contributions of the "muted group" are excluded, limited, and devalued. Different social sanctions exist across cultures and generations and these sanctions silence women in various ways since they are intergenerationally transmitted across generations.

Powerful societal norms, values and roles have the opportunity to influence the dominant and prescriptive narrative that is communicated in everyday life. In this way, cultural narratives provide authority to define culturally appropriate portrayal of life and the power to validate certain narratives over others. Dominant cultural narratives offer a culturally shared understanding of the form of a life and how a life

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[1] Benim annem kendi bakış açısından, ben kendime göre, kızım da kendine göre bakıyor olaylara. Ben köprüyü kuranım biraz oradan biraz buradan.

is to be understood. Those narratives are expressed through language by the ones who have the authority to speak, generally men in patriarchal societies, and listened by the *"others"* who are subordinated. In that manner, power gives speech (Fivush, 2010). Therefore, power and gender have an impact on voice, just as they are influential in all forms of communications.

While some people may be expected to listen and keep quiet, others may have the freedom to listen in or even eavesdrop. Listening is, in fact, frequently associated with silence and viewed as a feminine aspect of communication (Barta and Parks, 2018). Thus, like any other cultural practices, listening is ingrained in the complicated reality of unequal power relations, cultural specificities, and the dynamics of continuity and change. Thus, by centralizing these perspectives in this part of the study, in contrast to voice, silence is operationalized as being imposed and it implies loss of power and self, like how it is operationalized in the feminist understanding where the concept of silence is defined as an absence or a gap in self-expression (Arroyo et al., 2020).

According to the findings of this study, there is a generation of mothers whose first and sole most important advice given to daughters is "being silent". This generation is named as grandmother's era in the current study. When the demographic characteristics of the mothers is analysed, we may estimate the years of grandmother's era to have a better understanding towards their approach since they are completely lived in different conditions in contrast to today's social structure of Turkey. The median age of the participant mothers is 56.6, while the most senior mother is 64 years old, and the youngest mother is 46 years old (SD=5,14). Therefore, most of the grandmothers are expected to belong 1940s and 1950s where employment rate of women in Turkey is statistically higher than today, but most of the women were working in agricultural sector where they were still economically dependent on the men at the top of the household in reality (Ecevit, 2008). Moreover, the educational attainment is low as even rate of literacy of women is below than 15% (*TÜİK*, 2021). Therefore, grandmothers in this era were mostly responsible

from household production where gender-based roles and values reproduced (Forste and Fox, 2012). Most of the grandmothers lived in an extended family form where they were *"seen, but not heard"*. Şenay (a mother participant) mentions about her mother's seen, but not heard situation within their extended family like this:

> My mother was a woman who lived with my grandmother. We were three children, and there is a grandmother at the home. My mother was completely engaged in the house, the kitchen, and cleaning. We used to discuss everything with my grandmother, not with my mother. Although I have a mother, my grandmother decides everything. For example, my grandmother used to come to our parent teacher meetings at school. She was so authoritative; she was like a grandmother who was the only woman in the house. My mom gets up early in the morning, gets the kids ready for school, cooks dinner, does the laundry. She was like an employee of the house.[2]

In the current study, it is found that voice and silence of mothers is constructed on the authority of socially appropriate roles, norms and power dynamics as the mother mentions above. Culture plays an important role in everyday interactions that creates self. Grandmothers always advised mothers to be silent, easygoing, docile and keep on the right side of the husband or the authority figure of the house, since they also practiced this in their life. For instance, another mother participant, Neşe, mentions how her mother and father always advised her to be silent:

> My mother used to do things that had pressures on her for centuries, like being silent, quiet, not commenting on something. My mom and dad taught me that the quieter, smiling, helpful and serving I am, the nicer I will be. They advised me to be silent, and not to comment on anything.[3]

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[2] Annem de babaannemle birlikte yaşayan bir kadındı. Üç çocuk var, babaanne var evde. Annem tamamen evle, mutfakla, ev işleriyle haşır neşirdi. Her şeyi babaanneye danışırdık. Annem var, babaannem karar veriyor. Okul toplantılarımıza babaannem geliyordu mesela. Bu kadar otoriterdi, evde tek kadın babaanne gibiydi yani. Annem sabahtan kalkar, çocukları okula hazırlar, yemeği yapar, çamaşırı bulaşığı yıkar. Evin bir çalışanı gibiydi.

[3] Annem yüzyıllardır üzerinde baskı olan şeyleri yapardı, örneğin sus, sessiz ol, bundan bahsedilmemeli şeklinde söylerdi. Ne kadar sessiz sakin, güler yüzlü, yardımsever, herkese hizmet eden bir kız olursam o kadar cici bir kız olacağımı öğretti annemle babam bana… Annem aslında sadece olay çıkmasın diye bu öğretileri bastırmaya çalışıyordu. Sus, öyle söylenir mi, öyle yapılır mı şeklinde.

When the narratives of the mothers are analyzed and the statistical data about labour participation rate of grandmother's era is searched, grandmothers are estimated to consist of women who were mostly dependent economically on their fathers or husbands. Moreover, again, based on the narratives of mothers and the educational attainment statistics, grandmothers' human capital was not enough to find a job in the labour market of metropolitans at those times, and their dependency on men is highly supported with cultural patriarchal norms, values and expectations which restricts them to use household resources. Therefore, there was no place for them different than the way that is outside of culturally taught roles for women. For this reason, there was also no place for their voice within the structure of this arrangement, and it is found in the study that they have absolutely transferred this point of view to their daughters (mothers of this study), but what is interestingly and excitingly found in the study that the mothers of this study developed rejecting mechanisms and became the first generation who choose voice over silence in contrast to what is internalized to them.

4.1.2   Voice of Mothers

Mothers are the first generation who obtained at least high school diploma and gained economic independence as a woman for the first time for generations. For instance, Şenay (a mother) describes her divorce by referring to being the pioneer of claiming voice in her family:

> My mother gave me the image that Turkish women bear the burden of life. She told me that "no matter what happens, you have children", she gave me the perception that you are a woman within your marriage or in your relationships you have to bear the responsibility and endure whatever you pass through. "As a woman, it's your job anyway," she said. She saw it in that way from her mother too. Her mother saw it from her mother like this as

well. Maybe I'm the first one in the family who says stop and do not accept suffering and enduring as a woman.[4]

When what makes you different than your mother and grandmother is asked and how she could say stop is scrutinized, she emphasized the importance of having a certain level of education and economic independency:

> I'd say thanks to my high school graduation. It was an intermediate level of education, but enough to find a job at that time. After that, I was aware that life is given to a person only once, and I was treated unfairly that I should stand up for it. Before ending my marriage, I made prearrangements by myself, like I found a job, because I had children, I had to be planned, I could not take risks. After providing this infrastructure, I decided to end my marriage that did not work. After that, I can say that I relaxed a lot and got better. And when I first realized that I could earn my own money, and overcome everything, I felt like I was born again. [5]

By being different than other forms of oppressions women face, like the oppression on their body, and sexuality, even though all kinds of pressures are interlocking in essence, foundational tenets and the most felt patriarchal pressures are constituted on the institution of marriage where women's voice is completely missing mostly due to their economical dependency to men. Therefore, by being completely different than grandmothers, mothers of this study hold certain level of education and economic independence. For this reason, they relief from societal pressures, and what is taught as gender appropriate roles for women have started to erode with the generations of mothers. As mentioned, possibility of rejecting the rules of the

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[4] Türk kadını çeker imajını verdi annem bana. Ne olursa olsun kızım işte çocuklar var, evlilik hayatında ya da ikili ilişki hayatında sen kadınsın çekmelisin şeyini verdi ailem. Kadın olarak bunlar zaten senin görevin tarzında. Çünkü kendisi de annesinden öyle görmüştü. Onun annesi de öyle görmüştü. Sülalede ben belki de ilk kadınımdır çekmeyip dur diyen.

[5] Yani bir lise mezunu olmam diyeyim. Lise mezunu olmam yine de orta seviye bir eğitim almış bulunmam o zaman iş bulmama yetti. Ondan sonra yani bu hayatın insana bir kere verileceğini, lüzumsuz ve haksızlığa uğruyorsam bunun için dik durmamı, ondan sonra, ben zaten evliliğim bitmeden işimi gücümü buldum, kendimi ona göre ayarladım. Birazcık planladım diyeyim size. Çünkü çocuklar da olduğu için, hani dımdızlak ortada kalmamak diye bir şey var ya onun alt yapısını sağladıktan sonra işte oturup gitmeyen bir evliliği bitirme kararı aldım. Bundan sonra çok rahatladığımı daha iyi olduğumu söyleyebilirim. Bir de ilk kendi paramı kazanıp artık her şeyin üstesinden gelebildiğimi fark ettiğimde dünyaya yeniden gelmiş gibi oldum.

patriarchy in marriages have started with gaining power back through voice, and this process is highly dependent on having enough education to get a job in the labour market, and as a result, having economic independency.

By realizing the significance of voice and the oppressive consequences of self-silencing, generations of mothers have started to demolish patriarchal values and norms of society as mentioned. With the acquired economic independence, mothers have started to adopt radical courses of actions where they felt downtrodden within marriages. In opposition to what is taught by grandmothers, that is being silent and docile, mothers decided on voice which manifested in their life as divorce, even though they had many conflicts within themselves before taking actions due to the internalized norms and values they gained through socialization and economic concerns they had. A divorced mother, Neşe, is explaining her conflicts during the process of taking the decision of divorce and a talk with her mother like this:

> For a long time, I thought I was not like my mother, but in fact I was. In this direction, I have had many conflicts within myself. While my mother was sleeping in hospital, I said to her that "I am not going to be like you, and I am choosing divorce". I guess the best thing I did in my life was to stand up for myself and say, "I'm leaving". Since I have never seen such a thing in my family, I was not brave enough for a while, but I achieved, I left my husband fondly.[6]

Having adequate money and being able to manage the life by themselves were the two biggest fears of women after getting divorce, because women are compelled to become breadwinners as a result of divorce. They emphasized the importance of self-sufficiency, employment, and social interaction in successfully rebuilding their lives. Studies conducted in this topic also support what is found in this study. For example, Duffy and colleagues' study (2010) demonstrated that working outside the home

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[6] Ben annem gibi olmadığımı zannediyordum, ama öyleymişim. Bu yönde de içimde kendimde çatışmalar yaşadım. Hatta anneme hastanede şöyle demiştim, ben senin gibi olmayacağım diyerek boşanmayı seçiyorum dedim. Herhalde hayatımda da kendim için baş kaldırıp en iyi yaptığım şey ben gidiyorum demek oldu. Çünkü böyle bir şey ailemde görmedim, etmedim, cesaret edemedim ama başardım ve böyle bir şeyde çok severek de bir insandan ayrıldım.

improves a woman's self-perception and self-esteem and may ease the difficult changes that divorced women go through. Also, another study's results imply that the adjustment of divorced women's work identities was favorably correlated with their self-esteem (Thiriot and Buckner, 1991). Women with fairly modest levels of prestige and wealth did not seem to be at an emotional disadvantage as long as their sense of work identity was strong. Thus, it appeared that work identity of a divorced woman had a stronger connection to wellbeing than the status of job or salary. According to Thiriot and Buckner (1991), social status and economically independent income, rather than welfare benefits or child support payments, are stronger indicators of adjustment than income level or stability. Moreover, the same study of Thiriot and Buckner (1991) also implies that the sole custodial parent's ability to adjust to divorce satisfactorily depends heavily on how happy they are with their wellbeing after the divorce. The degree to which women felt capable of taking charge of their lives and having voice over their decisions had an impact on how they adjusted after divorce. The ability to successfully adjust to divorce was clearly correlated with the belief that one had control over their own life (Duffy et al., 2010). Thanks to the economic independence mothers had, even if their internalized messages are completely different than their actions, they were able to stop a situation that harms them and their children in some extent.

No matter how old daughters are, they can recall a variety of maternal messages about relationships (such as comments emphasizing the value of staying married, patience, compromise, etc.) that are connected to their internalized norms, values, and gender ideologies (such as traditional, and independent). This gives us an understanding that the actions mothers take in their intimate relationships, like speaking up for themselves or asserting their voice, are the most important steps women make and it is also observed in the results of the field that the mothers transmitted, and ultimately socialized their daughters to take the same actions in their intimate relationships if they stuck in the same situation (Arroyo et al., 2020). This gain is the result of each and every divorced mothers' (eight out of fifteen) brave

behavior that was against to how they are socialized by their traditional mother (grandmother), thanks to the education and economic independence they had.

4.1.3   Divorce

Divorce, in the mainstream literature always treated as a negative life experience that disproportionately affects children and women. Variety of literature, from different disciplines, like studies in child and adolescents, marriage and family, psychology and many other disciplines starts searching something related to divorce by preliminary acceptance of "divorce negatively affects children and women and cause long lasting problems on children's adult life". This acceptance is so prevalent that it is almost treated as a mathematical equation, like accepting that two times two equals to four. This is so common that even children realize this at a very early age, a mother mentions about this situation by referencing her daughter's comments:

> When we first came here from Adana (a city), Helen (her daughter) said, "Mommy, if there is a problem at school, please tell me, if something happens, the advisory service of the school will associate the whole problem with your divorce, since I am a child of a divorced family."[7]

The assumption of divorce's negative consequences may harm both children and mothers. Moreover, from a different perspective, this approach victimizes women in an aspect which hides their actual reality, therefore in that manner, it may cause women to continue a dysfunctional marriage that may harm them, as well as their children physiologically or/and psychologically.

On the other hand, when the literature is analysed from a different perspective, limited number of longitudinal studies as well as cross sectional studies showed that in contrast to negative effects, more positive effects of divorce on women and

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[7] Mesela Adana'dan buraya ilk geldiğimizde Helen "anneciğim okulda bir sıkıntı olursa lütfen bana söyle, rehberlik boşanmış bir aile çocuğu olduğum için bütün sorunu boşanmış olmanıza yıkacaktır" dedi.

85

children has been discovered when scholars are freed from the prejudice of negative treatment of divorce (see the studies of Hallingan, 2014; Bernstein et al.,2012; Mohi, 2014; Sever et al, 2007; Kapinus, 2005). By being consistent with their findings, and centralizing feminist perspective in the field, this study's results indicates that, divorce as a critical life changing experience is neither for mothers nor for daughters is a negative experience, instead it has many powerful positive impacts that made mothers and daughters of this study empowered and provided them an opportunity of growth. Therefore, in this part of the study, in contrast to androcentric literature of divorce, more objective literature results that depend on women's actual experiences are presented by providing the insights from the field.

The key contribution of this part of the study may be added to the growing body of research on positive outcomes of divorce by aiming to identify new perspective in which women who experienced divorce (both mothers and daughters) may benefit from the positive effects of divorce, since the majority of the literature have focused solely on negative impacts of divorce by victimizing mothers and children.

4.1.4 From Negative to Positive Journey of Divorce

A substantial body of research indicates that, when compared to children of continuously married parents, children of divorced parents are more likely to experience a range of behavioral, psychological, and educational problems and this phenomenon is attributed to intergenerational transmission of divorce (Bernstein et al.,2012). For example, within their intimate relationships, divorced parent's adult children is expected to have a tendency to become sexually active and marry at an earlier age (McLanahan and Sandefur, 1994), feel an absence of trust in marriages and close relationships (Christensen and Brooks, 2001), and are not expected to have successful marriages, while they have an up to two times higher chance of divorcing (Wolfinger, 2000) according to the literature.

Moreover, many other instances of prior research on the detrimental consequences of parental divorce relied on correlations between the parents' marital status (married vs. divorced) and how well children performed against certain wellbeing measures (like academic performance, self-esteem, etc.). However, recent researchers have looked into these associations and shown that these signs exist regardless of the parents' marital status (Bernstein et al., 2012). The results of Bernstein and her colleagues' survey of 45 college students reveal that there is no direct link between parental divorce and attachment insecurity, low self-esteem, or depression, rather negative beliefs about divorce, particularly the fear of abandonment, are more likely to increase the risk of insecure romantic attachment in divorced children they found. This shows that the nature of an individual's outcome in terms of attachment is influenced by their experience and interpretation of the divorce rather than the divorce itself (Bernstein et al., 2012). Therefore, although numerous research indicates that parental divorce has detrimental long-term impacts on children, the findings should be read with caution for a number of reasons. First of all, a lot of the research on the long-term effects of parental divorce has not looked at the function of other family characteristics like parenting quality. As aforementioned in detail in the literature review section, the relationship quality with mother is effective in any area that is related with children's learning, and internalization process by being independent from other variables. Second of all, it's likely that the consequences of divorce would have been worse or more severe if they had remained married. Despite the fact that many of the research analysed in the topic which are longitudinal studies, and use correlational techniques rather than experimental ones, making it impossible to draw conclusions about a connection between parental divorce and subsequent negative outcomes (Mohi, 2014). For example, Neşe who is Helen's mother describing positive effects of divorce on Helen's adolescents' period, by comparing it what if she stays married:

> I always tell Helen that a lot of children live in broken families, and you were exposed to a bad environment, a noisy environment for a year and a half, and I tried to offer you a better, quieter life outside of that. And Helen is now very happy that at least she spent her teenage years in a quieter home...Now

87

I see that there are many marriages that need to end, and I say that I am in the same category as them. Helen was really mature, one day she pulled me in, said mommy, do something for yourself and divorce without thinking me.[8]

Within the sample of this study, there are eight divorced mothers and each of them undoubtedly claimed that their life, as well as their daughter's life became better after some time of divorce. There were at least five years past each participant's divorce in the study and all of the mothers indicated that they provide a better life to their daughters and their relationship with the daughter got strong after the divorce. Moreover, daughters also indicated that their point of view towards the capabilities of women is changed. By observing their mother as the only care giver who can achieve everything by herself, their belief towards themselves is increased according to the narratives of the study. For example, a daughter of a divorced mother, Eda, is saying that:

I learned from my mother that a woman can actually be self-sufficient… Her being able to get out of the where she was stuck (divorce) also had a positive impact on me. There is a lack of self-confidence experienced by women, I think you can somehow stand on your own feet and find a way.[9]

Moreover, when "how will women be affected if they do not get married?" is asked, seven out of eight daughters of divorced mothers either said women are not affected or said that they become more powerful and independent. On the other hand, when the same question is asked to the daughters of intact families, their answers varied from they became lonely to they may feel societal oppressions (six out of seven

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[8] Helen'e hep bir sürü çocuk bozuk ailelerde yaşıyor, sense bir buçuk yıl kötü bir ortama, gürültülü bir ortama maruz kaldın ben sana onun dışında daha iyi, daha sakin bir hayat sunmaya çalıştım şeklinde söylerim. Ve Helen şimdi en azından ergenlik dönemini daha sakin bir evde geçirdiği için çok mutlu. ..Şimdi bakıyorum bitmesi gereken birçok evlilik varmış ve ben onlarla aynı kategorideymişim diyorum. Helen gerçekten çok olgundu, bir gün beni çekti, anneciğim kendin için bir şeyler yap ve boşan beni düşünme dedi.

[9] Annemden bir kadının aslında kendi başına da yeterli olabileceğini öğrendim en başta… Sıkıştığı yerden (boşanma) çıkabilmesi de olumlu bir etki yarattı. Kadınların yaşadığı bir özgüvensizlik var ya bir şekilde kendi ayaklarının üzerinde durabilirsin, bir yol bulursun diye düşünüyorum.

daughters of intact families answered like this). By being similar, selection of adjectives while defining female characteristics that differs them from men, divorced mothers, as well as their daughter's defined womanhood by using very strong adjectives like "warrior, strong, ambitious, having strong analytic intelligence, resilient, multitask" while, the ones of intact families mostly defined characteristics unique to women with the adjectives of "emotional, mother, procreative, detailer, the one who is holding the family together". Therefore, as opposed to mainstream literature, divorce is actually not as bad as proposed. Instead, it makes both women more resilient and empowered, their point of view towards women's capabilities and the place of women within the marriage positively changed. Thus, despite the common societal misconception that divorce as "bad" and that children of divorce come from "broken homes", this research highlights and presents the positive effects of divorce for young women. If divorce studies can be reevaluated by using more recent data, a greater proof would be found in support of the benefits of divorce for young women.

4.1.5   Divorce as a Growth Experience

As mentioned in the beginning, with the voice of mothers, bearing the burden of marriage and being silent is reversed with the generations of mothers. Women have started to claim their voice thanks to the economic independency they have obtained. This prominent gain of women is intergenerationally transmitted to their daughters, instead of only mentioning negative memories, all of the daughters came up with a "lessons learned" by either saying that "I am not going to do this in my life" or saying that "I observed that the challenge of my mother and learned that a woman can do everything". For instance, a daughter mentions that:

> My mother was like both a man and a woman, since she lived 14 years of life alone. I observed both men and women roles from my mother, so a woman can be both, I've seen it from her. I think everyone has this power within

them, but some ignore it. Maybe they just don't want to notice, I don't know.[10]

All the attitudes, behaviors, and advice that mothers show in marriage or during divorce process are effective at every age of daughters, there are also lessons learned from mistakes. Learning from the experience of the other can be explained by understanding the social learning theory which was also explained in the literature review chapter.

The experiences people go through do not always have to be positive, negative experiences of parents are also learnt by children through observing and watching the outcomes of the negative experiences. According to the social learning theory, imitation is discouraged by seeing negative results, thus a person must be motivated or not motivated to model a behavior (Kapinus, 2005). Although social learning theory focuses on behavior prediction, it can also be used to predict attitudes. According to Kapinus (2005), attitudes are judgmental summaries that can be developed by seeing other people's behavior and the results of that action, for example, retaining a dysfunctional marriage at all costs, creates further bigger problems in people's life, that's why children may come up with the outcome that this should be avoided. Thus, applying the social learning theory to this situation, it can be argued that young adults' attitudes regarding marriage and divorce are influenced by their observations of their parents' marriage and its outcomes (whether the marriage is good for both parties or not). For example, a daughter participant Ece explains how she learned ending a dysfunctional relationship from her mother:

> My mom didn't teach by saying , but I learned from her that if I'm having a bad relationship, I have to end this…. Actually, my mother came from a traditional family, she could have been a housewife and looked after us and lived a more miserable life, but she did not do all these. I can say that she passed on that trait to me. After my father's leave, my mother became more

[10] Benim annem hem erkek hem kadın gibiydi, hayatı tek başına 14 yıl geçirdiği için. Ben iki rolü de annemden gördüm yani, bir kadın ikisini de olabilir onu görmüş oldum. Bence herkesin içinde var ama kimisi bunu yok sayıyor belki de istemiyor bilmiyorum.

peaceful, she lived alone and led her life on her own, I think I have this capability too. I am happy with my boyfriend's existence, but I am not needy, I do not feel an absence if some day he is not with me. When my mother got pregnant, my father's family wanted them to live in XX, but my mother rejected this and escaped by using the excuse of job placement. I think that I can also keep a distance from the family of my boyfriend, and I can do that too. Even if currently, we weren't like this with my boyfriend's family, I wouldn't go to their house on weekends. I also have the feeling that I can be self-sufficient economically.[11]

Parents do not always have to transmit their values through words, they can transmit their thoughts, especially about intimate and spousal relationships to their children through modeling. Children's exposure to intimate relationships is modeled by watching their parents, even though they may learn about affection from other sources like the media, school, or peers through secondary socialization. According to the social learning theory and the theory of reasoned action, a person's attitudes regarding divorce reflect his or her evaluations of the advantages and disadvantages of divorce (Kapinus, 2005). From watching their parents' marriage, young individuals are likely to form opinions on the perceived benefits and costs of marriage and divorce. People who think their parents are unhappy in their marriage may not recognize the advantages of marriage and consider divorce as a good way to exit an unsatisfying relationship. Therefore, young adults are more inclined to view divorce positively if they see their parents as unhappy married couples and do not want such a thing for themselves (Kapinus, 2005).

Recent research also supports the notion that there a is reason to think that young adult children of divorce learn and grow from their parents' divorce, acquiring an

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[11] Annem kendisi söyleyerek öğretmedi ama kötü bir ilişki yaşıyorsam ondan çıkmam gerektiğini ondan öğrendim.… Aslında annem geleneksel aileden gelmiş, ev hanımı olup bize bakıp daha sefil bir hayat yaşayabilirmiş, o özelliği bana geçmiş diyebilirim. Annem, babam gittikten sonra daha huzurlu, tek başına yaşıyor ve çevirebiliyor hayatını, o bence bende de var XX'in varlığından mutluyum ama muhtaç değilim, olmasa da kendi kendime bir eksiklik hissetmem. Annem de öyle. Annem evlendiklerinde ilk hamile kaldığında babamın ailesi Elazığ'da yaşamalarını istemiş, annem buna karşı çıkmış mesela taşınmışlar hatta annem tayin isteyip kaçmış. Aile ile araya mesafe koyabilmiş bunu ben de yapabildiğimi düşünüyorum. XX'in ailesi ile bu şekilde olmasak bile ben hafta sonları gideyim diye olmazdım. Ekonomik olarak da kendi kendime yetebileyim hissiyatım var.

appreciation for the responsibilities a partnership requires while identifying and escaping the mistakes their parents have made in their own relationships rather than blindly accepting the fragility of their parents' relationships as an unavoidable reality that awaits them (Mohi, 2014). Moreover, even for the divorcees themselves, the notion of divorce might be a chance for personal development is not entirely new. According to certain theoretical frameworks, the divorce crisis can eventually lead to acceptance, adjustment, and personal development and according to the statistical analyses' findings of Sever and colleagues (2007), most of the young adults believed they had "successfully" dealt with their parents' divorce, and in their study, nearly half of the participants said that their coping strategy had produced more positive than negative outcomes. These findings expand the situations in which crises have been proven to stimulate individual improvement and are compatible with the posttraumatic growth perspective (Sever et al., 2007).

To sum up, as mentioned in detail in this part of the study, there are three most obvious types of growth the divorced participants of this study showed. The first and the most important one is "empowerment" which defined as the belief that women can do everything, it is the personal sense of growth, strength, and maturity. This idea stemmed from the observations of the mother as a solo primary caregiver who bears the burden of everything by themselves while obtaining an income from the outside of the home. The participant daughters generally used the expressions of "my mother was both the mother and the father", "my mother is both a man and a woman", "my mother and I made everything together, no need for a man" to describe this notion. On the other hand, divorced mothers emphasized their increased awareness towards their capabilities after divorce. Therefore, empowerment as a result of divorce is intergenerationally transmitted from divorced mothers to daughters.

The second one found in the study is empathy that mostly daughters made to understand their mothers' situation during the early phases of divorce. Most of the daughters made empathy to understand their mothers' situation within the first phase

of divorce where most of them either too young to remember or unconscious about the situation. During the interviews, most of the daughters described their mothers' divorce process by developing empathy and commenting on according to their current situation, like by saying "if I were her, I would not…, but she was in that situation…" This not only created an awareness of both their and mothers' situation, at the same time increased their connection, as well as relationship quality with the mother. While mothers were transmitting their mistakes; instead of blaming, daughters choose to be careful about the negative experience of the mother in order not to make the same mistakes in their lives. This was not prevalent in the relationships of mothers and grandmothers. Because in the era of grandmothers, grandmothers had no right to talk about the problems of their relationship with their husband, and whatever they went through, their role was to ignore and being silent about it, as mentioned. This intergenerational transmission has stopped with educated and economically independent mothers. As a result, transmission between mothers and daughters is established on the basis of "learning from mistakes by claiming voice".

As a result of this warm and open relationship and transmission between mothers and daughters, daughters had more realistic expectations from intimate relationships where any type of violence, alcoholism or gambling became absolutely unacceptable issues in intimate and spousal relationships of daughters of this generation.

Therefore, by being opposed to what is found in the mainstream literature, in this study, it is found that even though divorce is a critical life challenging incident both for mothers and daughters, some time after divorce (in the long term), this negative experience provides greater sense of responsibility, maturity, self-confidence, and inner strength both for mothers and daughters. Additionally, it is also found that daughters' higher empathetical behavior makes the acceptance of their parents' choices, weaknesses, and strengths more prevalent and strengthens the relationship between them. These intergenerational gains as a result of mother's voice lead daughters to understand more intimate relationships, help them to make peace with

their parents' divorce as well as giving them an increased sense of commitment for their own relationships.

Part 2

4.2   Woman's Body

In this section of the study, intergenerational transmission of gender-based values, attitudes and expectations about woman's body is searched in the field. Thirty women's point of views towards woman's body is scrutinized by investigating participants' perceptions towards the ideal body of woman, autonomy of the woman's body, importance of external gaze and recommendations given to daughters. There are mainly two aims targeted in this section. The first one is to show maternal impact on daughters' approach towards woman's body and the second one is to understand the outcome of the transmission between mother and daughter dyads.

Since there are mutual motifs of patriarchy in the construction of woman's body, approaching the issue with a generational study is specifically important for the current literature. Gender-based values, attitudes and expectations about woman's body is reproduced through generations. Understanding the transmission pattern may open a new window to see the issue of woman's body as an area of research from gender perspective, since the researchers whose concern is woman's body are generally from the disciplines of child and adolescent development, nutrition and dietetics or the disciplines that approach to the issue of woman's body generally with a sole perspective that mostly depends on quantitative data, like statistics of Body Mass Index (BMI) or nutritional questionnaires which lacks in the actual reality of woman's body, and women's gaze towards the body in a patriarchal society. Moreover, woman's body carries not only biologic, but also social, cultural, and political meanings that may change from one culture to another, hence woman's

body is a construction of sociocultural patriarchal practices and discourses (Huebner and Fredrickson, 1999).

Even though patriarchy operates in different extents in different societies and cultures, woman's oppression through their body exists in every society with very similar applications and practices. For example, one of the daughter participants of the study, Selin, described her experience with being overweight by comparing and liken it to having a disability, by mentioning its' commonality in everywhere:

> As an overweight person, I went through a lot of things because of this weight, there were things in my life that prevented me from outside life. As an overweight woman, I think that an overweight woman is exposed to more pressure than even a person with a disability who experiences the most social exclusion and oppression. This is how it is in this country, and this is how it is in the world.[12]

Woman's body is the best practice place of patriarchal reproduction and subordination due to its existence in every institution with its sociocultural construction and carried meaning. Even though sexual objectification is one shade of gender oppression, in fact, it causes accretive to other forms of oppressions women face, ranging from sexual violence, marginalization, to employment discrimination, and devaluation of women's works and successes. The mutual feature of all forms of sexual objectification is the women's encounters of being treated as a body and valued only for its use and consumption value (Fredrickson and Roberts, 1999).

4.2.1 Objectification of Women's Body and Maternal Impact

According to Fredrickson and Roberts (1997), who are firstly operationalized objectification theory, women are frequently assimilated to internalize an observer's

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[12] Ben kilolu bir insan olarak bu kilodan dolayı çok fazla şey yaşadığım için dışarda da hayatıma engel olan şeyler oldu. Ben kilolu bir kadın olarak şöyle düşünüyorum, en çok dışlanan ve baskı yaşayan engelli bireyden bile, kilolu kadın daha fazla baskıya maruz kalıyor. Ülke olarak da bu böyle dünyada da bu böyle.

gaze as a primary view of their physical selves. This internalization differs because women's experiences and responses to sexual objectification varies due to the diverse combinations of class, sexuality, age, ethnicity, and personal and other physical attributes (Fredrickson and Roberts, 1999). Therefore, this diversity of combination is the result of the complex and multidimensional construction of the body. Just like in the learning process of how to behave in a society within defined societal norms and expectations, women learn the meaning of their bodily existence in a society within a specific culture, with diverse experiences. For example, a daughter, Güneş, who is 30 years old, think that even though she is aware of the cultural construction of woman's body, she stated that she still feels being obliged to catch beauty standards that is defined by the culture and society:

> I don't think I make my own decisions about my body subconsciously. I don't think that I was the one who had the control over my body for many years. The decisions I made about my body was the rules of the society which implies that women have to be fit, thin, and sexy. At the moment, I make my own decisions about my body in some extent, but I am still trying to conform to what society imposes to me. It is inevitable for me.[13]

The internalization of especially the thin-idealized feminine beauty is a crucial component of the culturally stereotypical standard of beauty that is constantly disseminated in media (Levine and Chapman, 2011). In spite of the decades of social effort aimed at advancing gender equality, this restrictive perception of a desirable woman body profile causes to deepen ongoing social limitations on gender roles as well as creates a long-term consistency in gender stereotypes (Perloff, 2014). Women develop self-objectification as a result of typical gender role socialization

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[13] Bedenime ilişkin kararları bence bilinçaltımda kendim almıyorum. Uzun yıllar almadım bence. Hep toplumun getirdiği zayıf olmalı, fit olmalı, seksi olmalı kadınlar şeklinde kararlardı. Şu an kendim alıyorum ama toplumun dayattığı şeylere uymaya çalışmak ister istemez var.

processes, internalize societal emphasis on physical beauty, rather than inner traits (Fredrickson and Roberts, 1997). Moreover, women may become more conscious of messages coming from mothers about their appearance as they grow and become more aware of societal demands to be in line with the defined beauty standards (Perloff, 2014).

Even though women become more aware of the societal oppression on their body as they mature, whether they are affected from it or not, or the degree of being affected is decided by the perception given to daughters by mothers, as a result of their first interaction with the mother. Because the learning process starts firstly in the family, with the process of primary socialization, where maternal impact is more prominent as aforementioned in the literature review chapter and continues with the secondary socialization where external agents and the role of the media is involved, mother's attitudes and values that are transmitted to daughters have a lifelong effect on daughter's body. On the other hand, when mother's impact on daughter's body is so strong, and the point of view a traditional mother is holding is incongruent with the daughter's perception towards body, daughters may struggle with taking their autonomy towards their body, since both the cultural and societal discourses are also in line with the mother's traditional views. For example, Sesil, who is 26 years old, master's degree holder and living with her family, not in line with her mother's perspective since she entered the university. Even though her mother is a traditional woman, who is carrying obvious patriarchal values, attitudes, behaviors, and expectations, Sesil is not a carrier of those traditional tenets. She is stating that thanks to the liberal university she enrolled in Turkey, social media and her friend cycle that mostly consisting of the same university she attained, she is holding more egalitarian values towards woman's body. However, she is still feeling problems by taking the control of her body, because of her mother's overprotective behaviors and patriarchal discourses stated constantly during her adolescent and childhood periods. She describes this situation like this:

Up to a certain point, now I can make my own decisions about my body. However, I have a perception, I have just realized that the troubles occur in this body is the problem of this house until I get married. If something negative happens to my body, I feel like I'm guilty, as if I owe to my family, if a problem occurs in this body, I feel that I did them wrong, but if I get married, it will be over, because only in that situation my body will belong to me. As if the body I am in, is not mine right now. Maybe this is the reason why there is an anxiety while I am having sexual intercourse with my partner. I think my family is involved in my decision-making process about my body. Even when I was a teenager, my mother didn't like people who wore earrings, but I have 8 ear holes, I didn't care much about her thoughts anymore and even those times, I mean, when I was a teenager, I got one pierced every year, and she got used to it after a while.[14]

The timing of the exposure to those tenets, which are in this context of patriarchal societal norms and expectations, are also important in the creation of children's understanding of the body. For example, a traditional and sexist mother tends to transmit her traditional values to her daughter, if the daughter's exposure to the mother's tenets is present during her childhood and adolescent periods (Montañés et al., 2012). In the study, it is also found that even though daughters are highly educated and present in working life for a long time, if they are exposed to traditional sexist tenets by their mothers, especially during their adolescent period, and if they highly identify themselves with the mother, and perceive the mother as a model, then their tendency to think and behave like the traditional mother increases (Bandura, 2001). Moreover, the reason why education is solely not enough to go beyond traditional patriarchal tenets may stem from the patriarchal nature of the educational and employment institutions as explained in the context of Turkey in detail within the literature review chapter of the study. For example, a traditional mother, Melahat,

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[14] Artık belirli bir noktaya kadar kendim alabiliyorum. Yani şey gibi bir algım var yeni fark ettim bunu, evlenene kadar bu vücutta olan sıkıntılar bu evin meselesi, bir şey olursa suçluymuşum gibi sanki onlara borçluymuşum gibi, bir şey olduğu zaman onlara yanlış yapmışım gibi fakat evlenirsem eğer bu bitecek çünkü o zaman benim bedenim olacak sanki, benim olacak gibi şu an sanki benim bedenim değilmiş gibi. Şu an mesela cinsel birliktelik yaşarken bir kaygı olması da belki bu sebeptendir. Galiba karar alma sürecime ailem dahil oluyor. Ergenken falan da annem çok küpe takan kişileri sevmezdi ama benim kulağımda 8 tane delik var mesela çok umursamadım onun bu konudaki düşüncelerini, her sene bir tane deldirdim mesela, alıştı bir süre sonra bu aklımda mesela.

who has an associate degree (2-year university degree), 56 years old and working in the same respected public institution with her daughter for more than 30 years, has lots of sexist tenets to describe how a woman body should look like:

> A woman must not be fat, have to wear presentably, well-groomed, without exaggeration, of course. She needs to look in the mirror herself and has to look good on what she's wearing. For example, I am a little against those new-fashioned crop tops. Nowadays, there are under wears suitable for every outfit, therefore, she needs to choose the underwear accordingly. When she looks herself in the mirror, for example, her husband should not say that it does not suit you to wear this. A woman needs to take care of herself and wear what suits her. Even if she is overweight, there is also an outfit to cover, she has to choose what to wear according to her body.[15]

Moreover, the idea Melahat is holding not only stays in her words, but also embodies in practice. According to her daughter, Evrim's expression, during Evrim's late adolescent times, Melahat wanted to change her daughter's appearance, and she had aesthetics surgery from her nose with strain of her mother:

> I had a plastic surgery on my nose. My mother forced me to do it. I had it done 10 years ago. My nose was always bleeding, and my doctor said, "Your daughter needs a surgery on her nose," my mother heard this, and immediately started to investigate hospitals. Then she said that "let's change your appearance too". Normally, I had a bone curvature in my nose or something. My mother insisted on the idea of appearance change by saying "You have a bad nose" At that time, there was no Instagram or anything, just as my mother wanted, we searched for 5-6 doctors and decided on one. I am glad that I got the surgery, I would not like to hang around with that appearance. My mother also supports me in the tattoo thing. My appendix had burst, I have a slight scar on my right groin, and I am very obsessed with scars. I wanted to remove it; I used packs of aesthetic creams. It actually didn't even look like a scratch, but I know it was there. My mother said once, "You can cover it with a tattoo" she comforted me. My mother often

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[15] Kilolu olmayacak. Giyim kuşamı düzgün. Bakımlı, abartmadan tabii. Aynaya bakacak, giydiği yakışacak. Mesela ben o göbeği açık şeylere karşıyım biraz. Şimdilerde her kıyafete uygun iç çamaşırları var mesela. Aynaya bakacaksın mesela eşin sana bunu giymen yakışmamış demeyecek. Kişi kendi kendine bakacak, kendine yakışanı giyecek. Kilolu ise bile onu kapatacak kıyafet de var, vücuduna göre seçecek.

comments on my appearance. In these days for example, my mother is not very happy with my nose again and she says, "I didn't have the nose I wanted". Once, a doctor we visited at those times told my mother that "Whatever nose you want, come and do it by yourself!" She generally criticizes my appearance, but always jokingly emphasizes that I am a beautiful woman. When we have an argument, she says "Don't trust your beauty, you're not very beautiful", even though I walk confidently. She makes those kinds of sarcasms, but generally likes me.[16]

Since almost each word of the description of the mother objectifies woman's body, her daughter carries very similar understanding towards woman's body and objectifies herself, and the women around her, just like how she is objectified by her mother. When the ideal body of a woman is asked, she answered it through criticizing women who are not cautious and caring about their body like her mother:

The ideal female body should be slim, well-groomed. I think the woman should wear make-up. I don't expect a porcelain make-up every day for women, but a basic make-up should be put. Apart from that, she can wear nail polish or something, and she should wear jewelry. After all, these are the things that separate women from men, being well-groomed. Otherwise, for example, I don't like and understand the women who are some days shabby, with her hair tied up, I can't understand these types of women who wake up, and just appear in the office. Why would a woman do such a thing to herself? I think being well-groomed is something that our sex gives us. I think this is one of the things that instinctively separates women from men. A woman should be well-groomed and thin, by being thin I am not indicating being

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[16] Burnum estetik benim. Annemin zoruyla yaptırdım. 10 yıl önce yaptırdım. Burnum hep kanıyordu benim doktor dedi ki, "Kızınızın burnuna ameliyat lazım" dedi annem bunu duydu hastane araştırdı. Sonra annem dış görünüşünü de değiştirelim dedi. Normalde benim burnumda kemik eğriliği falan vardı. Annem tutturdu "Burnun kötü estetik de olsun" diye, dedim anne olsun. O zaman Instagram falan da yok tamamen annemin istediği üzere 5-6 doktor araştırdık gittik birinde karar verdik. İyi ki yaptırmışım, o tiple ortalıkta dolanmak istemem. Dövme olayında falan da annem destekler. Apandistim patlamıştı sağ kasığımda hafif bir iz var ben de iz konusunda çok takıntılıyım. Onu sildirmek istiyordum paket paket estetik kremleri kullandım. Çizik gibi gözükmüyordu bile ama ben olduğunu biliyorum. Annem ilk zamanlarda "Dövme yaptırırsın buna mı takılıyorsun?" diye rahatlatıyordu beni. Yapıyor genelde. Şu anda çok memnun değil annem burnumdan "İstediğim burun olmadı" diyor. Doktor artık anneme demişti ki o zamanlar "Nasıl bir burun istiyorsan gel sen yap." Annem beni eleştiriyor ama şaka yoluyla, güzel bir kadın olduğumu hep vurguluyor. Aramız kötüyken ben kendimden emin yürürken "Güzelliğine güvenme, çok güzel değilsin" diyor, o tarz iğnelemeler yapıyor ama genel itibariyle beğenir beni.

puny, but instead being skinny. She has to be careful what she eats and drinks all the time.[17]

The image of traditional femininity that stresses the value of women's appearance and beauty is reinforced by objectification of women's body (Glick and Fiske, 2001). As it is obvious that this mother and daughter dyad's description of an ideal woman is very similar to each other. Moreover, parents are playing a crucial role in the transmission of cultural values, attitudes, and expectations about woman's body, including body autonomy, criteria of desirable body shape and weight (Field et al., 2005). Most of the attitudes are imposed within the family through direct and indirect communication and observation regarding the meaning of body, including beauty standards, appearance, and even exercising behaviors. Just like in the gender development and socialization process children are passing, understanding the body, and having the autonomy on it is especially impacted by maternal figures in the first phase, therefore, the values about body are intergenerationally transmitted from mothers to daughters (Cooley et al., 2008).

By being similar with the development of gender, timing of the communication and interaction with the family about the topic of the body is also critical in children's perception creation about their body. Many cross sectional and longitudinal studies conducted in the area of gender development and socialization theory proof that childhood and adolescent periods are the most effective periods in gender role ideology creation that includes body image construction (Min et al., 2012; Dhar et al., 2019; Platt and Polavieja, 2016). It is also obvious in this study that many

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[17] İdeal kadın bedeni zayıf olmadı, bakımlı olmalı. Makyaj yapmalı bence kadın çok abartı değil ama ben bunu diyorum, benim yüzümde de çok bir şey yok, eyeliner, rimel ruj var. Her gün porselen bir makyaj beklemiyorum zaten kadında, temel makyaj. Onun dışında oje falan da sürebilir takı da takabilir takmalı bence. Zaten kadınları erkekten ayıran şey bu, bakımlı olması. Diğer türlü mesela şunu anlamlandıramıyorum ve sevmiyorum bazı günler salaş, saçını toplamış, ben yataktan kalkıp gelen kadın tipleri var ya anlam veremiyorum açıkçası. Niye öyle bir şey yapar kadın kendine onu düşünüyorum. Benim hoşuma gidiyor bakımlı olmak. Olması gereken de bu bence cinsiyetimizin verdiği bir şeyle. İçgüdüsel olarak kadını erkekten ayıran şeylerden birisi bence bu. Bakımlı olsun fit olsun, zayıflıktan kasıt bazıları sıska duruyor ya öyle değil, yediğine içtiğine hep dikkat etsin salmasın, kendine özen göstersin öyle.

daughters indicated that their mother's point of view was important in the past, during their childhood, and adolescent periods, but not important today anymore. While participants responding the field questions about body, even though questions are not time specific, in other words not asking experiences specifically from their adolescent periods, almost all participants responded questions about the body by referring to their adolescents and childhood periods. Mothers are also aware that their impact on their daughter's body is time specific, for instance, a mother is comparing her impact on her daughter's body during her adolescent and her early adulthood period with these words:

> Since my daughter is now a self-sufficient person, she does not follow my advice anymore. Sometimes she says "mom, do you realize I'm 30 years old". She was listening until high school, but she never listened after high school.[18]

Moreover, in a cross sectional research conducted with the involvement of 2379 adolescent girls and their mother also found that adolescent girls who think that their appearance and weight is significant for their mother are more likely to frequently worrying about their weight than their peers and they usually diet for the sake of losing weight even though their weight is in the healthy percentile according to the international healthy weight interval definitions (Field et al., 2005). Therefore, most effective maternal impact is found during daughters' adolescent and early childhood period in this study, by being parallel with social learning theory of Bandura (2001). Therefore, it is an indisputable fact that construction and maintenance of daughters' perspective towards their body, from understanding of culturally shaped beauty standards to having autonomy on it is intergenerationally shaped and maternal impact is prominent especially during the adolescent period in the transmission of values specific to woman's body.

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[18] Kızım artık kendi başına buyruk, kendi bilmiş bir insan olduğu için tavsiyerimi uygulamıyor. Bazen anne ben 30 yaşındayım farkında mısın diyor. Liseye kadar dinliyordu ama liseden sonra hiç dinlemedi.

4.2.1.1 The Role of Maternal Commentary: Teasing, Positive and Negative Comments

By being in parallel with previous studies, through maternal commentary, which is also referred to as direct communication in the literature, and maternal modeling, referred as indirect communication and observation, serves as mechanisms by which construction and understanding of body is intergenerationally transmitted (Arroyo et al., 2017). Maternal commentary about body either positive, negative, or teasing is harmful in predicting body dissatisfaction wherein teasing is found as the strongest predictor of construction of negative body image according to the literature (Neumark-Sztainer et al., 2010a). Moreover, encouragement to lose weight by mothers is found highly associated with mothers' and daughters' high level of holding sexist values about woman's body and result in excessive dieting and drive for thinness and body dissatisfaction to reach culturally defined patriarchal beauty standards for woman (Arroyo et al., 2017).

While there are little and inconsistent effects of positive and negative maternal commentary on daughters found in this study, mothers' teasing about their daughters' body, though it is for the sake of caring, found strongly harmful in the construction of negative body image, just like in the previous studies' findings indicated (Forbes et al., 2005; Arroyo et al., 2017; Baker et al., 2000; Sanftner et al., 2007). According to the current study's results, both among mothers and daughters, it is found that weight-teasing talks and behaviors presented by mothers has a long lasting and even traumatizing effect on daughters' body, as well as psychology. For example, during adolescent times of Selin, her mother had tried on her father's jeans to Selin in order to show how overweight Selin was:

My mother had tried on my father's jeans once, I was very young, I was 12-13 years old. She said, "You are fat, you can't even wear your dad's pants". My father was a tall, thin man. It was a very heavy trauma for me.[19]

Moreover, even though Selin indicated that there are lots of negative comments come to her weight from outside of her family, her mother's comment and being forced to try the jean of her father has the most adverse effect in her life about her weight. When I asked how this experience affected her, she answered that she had difficulty in going out in public places for a short period of time:

There were times when I had problems going out a little, entering a crowded environment, and eating in crowded places. But I solved it all within myself, by myself, it was a short period of time, not very long. I'm a person who has given up a bit, I accepted them as it is, and I said, it should not be like that, the thing I was doing wrong, so, I was able to stop it.[20]

By being very similar with the memory of Selin, Neşe, who is 55 years old now, remembers her mother's approach to her "oversize" feet that culturally should be slender and petite:

My mother is always saying that I put and squeeze my feet into tiny shoes. While we were buying new shoes, she was always asking for one or two size larger ones for me. For example, even though my shoe size is 40, she was asking for size 43 from seller for me. I was so upset about this. She also was weighing us in front of guests came to our house. Once or twice, I rejected to be weighed in front of people. I was actually just larger than an average kid, but I guess that was a negative stereotype placed on me.[21]

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[19] Bir kere bana babamın kotunu denetti çok küçüktüm 12-13 yaşındaydım. "Şişmansın bak babanın pantolonu bile sana olmuyor" dedi, babam ince uzun bir adam benim. O mesela çok ağır bir travmadır benim için.

[20] Biraz dışarıya çıkmakta, kalabalık ortama girmekte kalabalık yerlerde yemek yemekte problem yaşadığım dönemler oldu. Ama hepsini kendi içimde çözdüm, kısa dönemlerdi çok uzun dönemler değildi. Biraz boşvermiş bir insanımdır onları da o şekilde kabul ettim, yok artık bu yaptığın da çok yanlış deyip devam etmedim, durdurabildim.

[21] Annem mesela şey diyordu, gidiyor kendi ayağını küçücük ayakkabılara sıkıştırıyor diyordu. Ayakkabılarımı hep bir iki numara büyük alırdı, diyelim ki ayağım 40 numara, bunun 43'ü yok mu diyordu ve buna çok bozuluyordum. Sonra bizi tartardı, hatta misafirin önünde de tartılırdık. Bir iki

Since Neşe had this negative feedback from her mother about her body, which stems from the understanding of culturally portrayed tiny and ideal woman body, Neşe is very sensitive to this issue, and become very conscious not to do the same behavior for her daughter, İnci, even she put extra effort to encourage her daughter to love her body. She described a moment of shopping a shoe for her daughter with these words:

> A woman should raise her child at peace with herself. I love İnci's thighs and used to say that you have beautiful thighs, you have beautiful hands, you have beautiful cheeks. When we first tried to buy summer shoes for İnci, we couldn't find a proper shoe because of her oversize feet, eventually we found colorful sandals somewhere. I secretly cried because I thought that my child will not be able to wear every shoe just like me. I was depressed without realizing it. This has been a problem for me that I brought from my past, because of my mother's attitudes.[22]

Weight, body, or a part of body size teasing by family members is the most powerful and consistent predictor of problematic weight-related outcomes. In comparison to girls who were not teased, women who reported experiencing weight-related teasing from family members had found higher BMI values, higher levels of body dissatisfaction, and more likely to engage in unhealthy and excessive weight control practices and tend to develop psychological disorders according to the literature (Neumark-Sztainer et al., 2010b).

Encouragement to look more like culturally defined beauty standards are frequently done under the premise of showing care for children by parents with the expectation of being beneficial to them. However, even when the children interpret parental approval as positive, these remarks in fact are found connected to disordered

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kere isyan etmişimdir çıkmayacağım tartıya diye. Aslında sadece iriyim ortalama çocuklara göre ama sanırım bu bana yerleştirilen bir olumsuz kalıptı.

[22] Bir kadının çocuğunu kendiyle barışık yetiştirmesi lazım. Ben Ezgi'ye butlarını severek çok güzel butların var çok güzel ellerin var güzel yanakların var şeklinde sık sık yapıyordum. Ezgi'ye ilk yazlık ayakkabı almaya çalıştığımızda ayakları tombik olduğu için ayakkabı bulamadık en sonunda bir yerde renkli sandalet bulmuştuk. Ben gizli gizli ağlamıştım, benim çocuğuma da ayakkabı bulunmuyor benim gibi diye. Depresyona girmiştim çaktırmadan. Bu bana bir dert olmuş yani geçmişimden gelen, annem yüzünden.

eating and body image dissatisfaction, especially by adolescent girls (Kluck, 2010). Therefore, most judgements coming from mothers, concerning appearance of daughters either positive, negative, or teasing are influential in children's body dissatisfaction and disordered eating and appearance related evaluation (Arroyo et al., 2017). For example, while Işıl was asking for a comment about the wear for her birthday, and expecting a positive comment about her dress from her mother, her mother commented about her weight instead of commenting about the cloth:

> I wore a dress on my birthday, the dress was folded a little, from the belt on the belly part, the rest of the dress has folded there close to my belly. My mother suddenly slapped my belly and said suck your belly in by laughing, it happened in 2021. From my inside, I thought that I wish she hadn't done this to me on my birthday. I went to my room, and I cried, I got angry at myself. I was just asking that does it look good on me but look how she responded me.[23]

Thus, maternal comments either negative, positive, or teasing by mothers about daughters' appearance have long lasting and negative effects on daughters, even though it is done for the sake of caring behaviors.

4.2.2 Maternal Modeling and Maternal Observation

Research has discovered a link between mothers' overtly indicated body satisfaction, dietary constraint, and internalization of media messages about appearance, and daughters' eating disorders, and body satisfaction (Cooley et al., 2008). Moreover, it is found that mothers' self or talks with others (not with daughters) about their own weight, or making comments about it, either positive or negative, is linked to children's dissatisfaction with their body and disordered eating patterns (Arroyo &

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[23] doğum günümde bir elbise giymiştim elbise biraz katlanmış göbek kısmındaki kemerden orda elbisenin kalanı birikmiş, göbek değil o, ama oladabilir ama değil biliyorum geldi bana göbeğime vurdu bir anda, vuruş göbeğine bak vuruşu, biraz içine çek dedi gülerek, 2021 de oldu. İçimden dedim doğum günümde yapma bari ya, sonra içeri gittim ağladım kendi kendime çok sinirlerim bozuldu, ben ona güzel olmuş muyum diye gittim onun bana yaptığı şeye bak

Andersen, 2016; Neumark-Sztainer et al., 2010a). For example, Kardelen, who is 55 years old mentions a moment that even though she comments her beauty, her daughter took it negatively towards herself:

> I always want my daughter to lose weight. Because being overweight was affecting her life. She was judging herself very harsh. Even though I am overweight, I always love myself a lot, I dressed up, I always felt beautiful when I look in the mirror… Once we were in the elevator, I looked in the mirror and said to myself, "Oh, I'm so beautiful again today!" My child said at the same time, "Mom, do I look bad?" I got so angry, how she is judging her own body... While I look in the mirror and say this as her 55-year-old mother, my daughter looks at herself and says, "Am I bad?" From what perspective? She is a little crueler to herself.[24]

Indirect communication behaviors are those that a parent exhibits in an effort to manage or maintain their own appearance. In contrast to direct communication (maternal commentary) patterns, indirect communication (maternal modeling) about appearance, weight, or size is regarded to be particularly influential since it fosters a familial culture of pressure, understanding, and attitudes that emphasize appearance and physical attractiveness (Sanftner et al., 2007). Indirect communication as maternal modeling of behavior connected to appearance, including mothers' comments about their own looks, mothers' displeasure with their own weight, and daughters' recall of their mothers' weight-management techniques (Arroyo et al., 2017). Selin mentions that she is very close to her mother's sisters (aunts) and cousins who are also struggling with appearance issues all the time, she mentions how she is affected from them, in addition to her mother, especially in terms of weight management issues:

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[24] Kızımın zayıflamasını hep çok çok istedim. Çünkü kilolu olmak onun hayatını etkiliyordu. O kendini daha çok yargılıyordu. Ben şişkoyken de kendimi çok sevdim, süslendin giyindim aynaya baktığımda hep kendimi güzel hissettim… Geçen asansördeyiz aynaya baktım "Ay bugün yine çok güzelim!'' dedim aynı anda benim çocuğum "Ay anne ben kötü mü oldum?'' dedi. Çok sinirlendim, bu nasıl kendi bedenini yargılamaktır. Ben onun 55 yaşında annesi olarak aynaya bakıp böyle söylüyorken, kızım kendine bakıp "kötü mü oldum" diyor. Nasıl bir açıdan bakmak? Kızım kendine biraz daha acımasızdır.

Since I've been a chubby kid since I was three years old, it's always been like this in all my life, I've always been on a diet. My whole family (she is referring to her mother, cousins, and aunts) has always been in the same environment. We tried almost every way to lose weight together, from going to a dietitian, to all of the popular diets to lose weight.[25]

According to Arroyo and her/his colleagues (2017), Daughters imitate their mothers' weight-related behaviors and have a higher risk of developing disordered eating themselves, if they see positive consequences to those behaviors, such as compliments about weight, because mothers with higher levels of disordered eating enact higher levels of weight-related communication.

4.2.3 Social and Technological Impact

Even though mothers play a crucial role in the development daughters' first views towards woman's body according to the literature, (Sanftner, 2007; Arroyo et al., 2017; Cooley et al., 2008; Kluck, 2010; Forbes et al., 2005; Perloff, 2014) external factors, such as use of technology, especially social media, and social environment, including friends and colleagues are also found prominent in the development of perspectives towards woman's body in conjunction with maternal impact.

Due to the fast pace of technological development, today, within the sample of this study, each woman has access to internet and almost all of them have at least one social media membership. Therefore, mothers may also under the influence of social media channels in some extent. Moreover, even though last generation's women, namely daughters for this study, generally use social media as the primary source of media use, mothers are more likely to be under the influence of more controlled, censored and dictated media channels like television. Through advertisements and TV series which also reflect and reproduce the traditional gender roles, expectations,

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[25] Ben zaten üç yaşından beri tombalak bir çocuk olduğum için ömrüm boyunca hep böyle devam etti, hep diyet yaptım. Bütün ailem aynı şekilde hep aynı ortamdı. Her şekilde denedik, diyetisyene giderek, popüler diyetlerin hemen hepsini denedik kilo vermek için.

and culturally defined beauty standards, are internalized by mothers. Women's discontent with their bodies is more of a norm than an exception (Fallon et al. 2014). Stereotyped physical attractiveness ideals are shaped by the popular media and disseminated through media channels by affecting people's visual perception. According to a mother, Kardelen:

> I was always a chubby fat kid. I experienced struggles because of this. I was not a woman who can undress comfortably and walk around with a swimsuit easily. I guess I was envious of what was imposed: a slightly more shaped, specific body size that everyone is trying to achieve.[26]

According to Cooley and his/her colleague's research findings (2008), mother's internalization of media messages about standards of beauty and appearance related to their daughter's eating disorders. Mothers are a window into society as a whole, passing along societal values. As a result of internalizing societal ideals, mothers who are more receptive of them may expose their daughters to these influences more frequently and may even be more supportive of them. It's also likely that these women more overtly exhibit the attitudes and behaviors they want their children to emulate. Even though some of the participants of this study are aware of the influence of the media on their understanding of woman body, they still think like what is defined by the media. For example, Ayça thinks that:

> When I imagine an ideal woman body, I think of a body over 170 cm tall and 56 kg weight comes to my mind because I feel like our vision is fixed to tall and thin woman body appearance. I feel like this body shape is so beautiful, we think that the beauty is this image, for instance, a beautiful woman should have slender legs. My mother never told me this picture. This is the result of what we see from advertisements and on social media.[27]

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[26] Ben hep tombalak şişko bir çocuktum. Bunun komplekslerini yaşadım ben, rahat soyunan, rahat mayoyla gezinen bir kadın olamadım. Dayatılan şeye ben de galiba özendim. Herkesin ortada olmaya çalıştığı, biraz daha şekilli, belirli ölçüler var ya.

[27] İdeal kadın bedeni denildiğinde benim gözümün önüne, 170 cm üzerinde boy, 56 kg vücut ağırlığında olan bir vücut geliyor. Çünkü biz zayıf ve uzuna endekslenmişiz gibi geliyor. Bu vücut yapısı çok güzelmiş gibi geliyor, güzel olanın bu olduğunu düşünüyoruz, örneğin ince bacakların

The mass media play a crucial role in the construction of stereotypes about the proper body image. Social cognitive theory of Bandura (2009) and sociocultural perspective of body image (Thompson et al. 1999) together with centralizes the significance of mass media in the creation of body image by stressing that being exposed to media messages may normalize unrealistic physical attractiveness ideals of women. Internalization of these ideals may bring body dissatisfaction in the long term and may cause beauty focused disordered behaviors by women (Perloff, 2014). For example, Deniz, who states that media's effect on her body is more prevalent than her mother's effect:

> I'm a little obsessed with my weight. Actually, I don't normally obsess for myself. I know my own range, where I am fine. But I get very annoyed with people's comments. They do a lot at work, there was no such thing at university where no one was commenting on each other. However, people at work comment a lot on each other's appearance, I don't understand why they are doing this. I follow my mother's advice very much; I listen to her. Her advice sounds so good that it satisfies my need to be supported by someone. Her support is very important for me.[28]

Deniz also describes her dieting habits as: "I diet all the time, then quit and gain weight. I diet again, I lose that weight, it's always like this"[29]

At some point in life, women are exposing to what is dictating about standards of beauty shaped by patriarchal gaze, but the critical point here found as it is important whether these messages from the media are compatible with the messages given by

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olması.Tam tersi, annem hiç bunu söylemedi. Bu bizim reklamlardan ya da sosyal medyadan falan gördüklerimiz sonucunda oluşuyor.

[28] Kiloya biraz takıntılıyım. Aslında normalde kendim için takmıyorum. Kendi aralığımı biliyorum, nerede iyi olacağımı. Ama insanların yorumlarından çok rahatsız oluyorum. İş yerinde çok yapıyorlar, üniversitede böyle bir şey yoktu. Kimse birbirine yorum yapmıyordu. Ama işteki insanlar anlamadığım şekilde birbirine çok yorum yapıyorlar. Niye böyle olduğunu da bilmiyoruz. Annemin tavsiyelerine çok uyuyorum, dinliyorum onu. Onun verdiği tavsiyeler o kadar iyi geliyor ki, birisi tarafından desteklenme ihtiyacı gibi. Benim için çok önemli.

[29] Sürekli diyet yaparım, sonra alırım. Bırakırım tekrar yaparım sürekli böyledir.

the mother. If they are not compatible, women of the last generation start to interrogate and question their validity.

In conclusion, in the current study, it is aimed to show maternal impact on daughters' approach towards woman's body and to understand the outcome of the transmission between mother and daughter dyads by scrutinizing women's understanding towards ideal body of woman, autonomy of the woman's body, importance of external gaze and recommendations given to daughters by mothers.

First of all, results of the study strongly support the idea of cultural construction of woman's body and further contributes to the literature with the finding of in what extent young women are affected from the patriarchal demands from women's body is highly dependent on mother's early direct and indirect communications about the body with their daughters. There is also a strong relationship between maternal values, attitudes and expectations about woman's body and daughter's feelings about their own body including eating, dieting, and exercising behaviors found in the field study. This implies that mothers are constructing their daughters' standards of beauty, especially during their childhood and are decisive about how they supposed to feel about their body in their adulthood period. In that manner, maternal commentary either positive or negative found have an impact on the construction of body image, but not found as critical as teasing. Maternal teasing, concerning the body, is found to have a devastating, even traumatizing effect on daughters. Moreover, as mentioned, mothers are not only affecting the daughters by their comments or discussions, but also affecting them indirect communications with their behaviors and talks by themselves about the body. Therefore, maternal modeling was found critical for the construction of the body as well.

It should also be noted that mothers and daughters are also under the influence of media channels and the messages coming from their social environment. Media messages are found most influential if mothers' messages are positive (not negative or teasing). This indicates that even though mothers have positive or neutral approach towards women's body, daughters may still carry the risk of being affected

112

from patriarchal standards of beauty, disseminated through media and social community. However, when daughter's communication with the mother is warm and close enough during their childhood and adolescent periods, daughters' tendency to internalize these patriarchal messages is decreasing. In other words, if daughters' understanding towards their body is constructed self-reliant enough during their childhood and adolescent periods, the risk of affecting negatively from the media and social environment is decreasing during their early adulthood.

While the negative outcomes of being exposed to negative comments and teasing about the body ranges from not being able to going outside and eating in crowded places to dangerous dieting behaviors according to the person, it can be concluded that, when these two behaviors (teasing and negative commenting) are performed by the mother, during daughters' childhood and adolescent periods, they are definitely affecting daughters' decisions and feelings about their own body.

Part 3

4.3   Woman's Sexuality

Sexual socialization is a lifelong process that encompasses development of social identity, gender roles, sexual behaviors, and sexual norms. The process starts very early, with childhood, become most effective during adolescence period and continues through adulthood, just like in the other socialization processes aforementioned in detail in the literature review chapter. Even though tenets about sexuality differs culturelly, every woman gains social status by passing through the same stages. On the other hand, although all woman pass through the similar process, sexuality and sexual socialization are disregarded and avoided by families, regardless of their traditional or egalitarian originates. Sexuality is one of the topic that belongs to private sphere, which necessitates protection and privacy of the family, as well as the individual, according to the patriarchal societal tenets.

Moreover, socialization of sexuality is a long continuum process which is dynamic and reciprocal by its nature (Carlson and Knoester, 2011; Moen et al., 1997). In that manner, sexuality is not only shaped by the society, it also shapes the social relations within the society. For this reason, sexuality is a much broader concept that encompesses sensuality, intimacy, sexual behavior, sexualization and sexual health.

With the advancements in birth control methods and technologies throughout the history, women have started to have more control over their body. Moreover, traditionally restricted sexual values and norms have started to decrease, while permissive sexual attitudes and behaviors have increased during the past 20 years (Mannila et al., 1996). According to DeLamater and MacCorquodale (1979), in the

context of sexual permissiveness, parental sexual standards are the first to which the children are exposed, and as a result, they create the framework for subsequent sociosexual development. Likewise, according to Taris (2000), if parents are able to affect the sexual attitudes of their child, then it is more likely that this effect works through the transmission of values and attitutes. While parents are shaping their children's sexual values, attitudes and norms, daughters are also influencing their parent's attitudes and values at the same time such that it is a reciprocal process. Moreover, most of the daughter participants indicated that they have a considerable impact on their mother's attitudes and behaviors towards sexuality over time. For example, Devrim awares that her mother has traditional attitudes due to the conditions she had when she was young, but she is also aware of her influence on her that gives her a chance to change of these traditional attitudes:

> I think I have too much influence on my mother. It is also due to my current position, and also due to the liberal school I attended. Actually, my mother comes from a very traditional family, she was always brought up like this. Her father died at a young age. For this reason, she grew up in such an environment always hearing the advises like "you have to protect yourself, be careful, do not say anything", she grew up hearing those things. That's why she is still doing it a little bit of these. I think my mother transfered some of these attitudes to me as well. However, I also have transfered a lot to her. She began to think very differently about many issues. That's why daughters can have a huge impact on their mothers. It can be transformative.[30]

Many social-psychological theories stress the importance of daughters' ideas in shaping mothers' own beliefs and behaviors, and it would appear that the parent-child relationship provides adolescents with many opportunities to influence their parents. Even though they disagree with their parents' viewpoints, this causing them

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[30] Bence benim de annem üzerinde etkim fazla oluyor. Şu an konumumdan da kaynaklı, okuduğum özgürlükçü XX okuldan da kaynaklı. Annem de çok geleneksel bir aileden geliyor aslında, o da hep böyle kapalı yetişmiş. Babası küçük yaşta vefat etmiş. Kendinizi koruyun falan öyle bir ortamda büyümüş, laf gelmesin kendinize dikkat edin falan bunu duyarak büyümüş. O yüzden hala bunu biraz devam ettiriyor. Bence bana da aktarıyor bir yandan. Ama benim de ona aktardığım çok şey var. Birçok konuda çok farklı düşünmeye başladı. O yüzden kızların anneleri üzerinde etkisi de çok büyük olabiliyor. Dönüştürücü olabiliyor.

to reevaluate and offer possibility to change them (Taris, 2000). For example, a mother, Dünya is mentioning change of her traditional ideas after she had 2 daughters:

> When you become a mother, you have to give concession from yourself and your thoughts on some issues. For example, as a mother who grew up in a more traditional way, I used to have my own rules about sexuality, but to keep up with the times and my children, I was able to stretch them. You must be flexible and have to be open to change. We grew up in a very closed society, now the era has changed a lot. We must keep up with the times. People has to change in order to develop, otherwise no progress can be achieved.[31]

In contrast to other family members or external effects, like social media and social environment, a mother plays a more important role in the formation and development of sexual attitudes of a daughter. According to the literature, the mother- daughter relationship found most receptive to sexual education since their interaction processes more sexual information than other dyadic relationships (Coffelt, 2017). This smooth interaction stems from the shared similar bodily transitions and experiences of mothers and daughters like childbirth, menstruation, and menopause. That's why it is clear that mothers are significant sources of information about sexuality for the following generation. However, it would be incorrect to circumscribe the sharing of mother and daughter experiences with regard to sexual life simply to health and bodily advancements. Social development of daughters is equally crucial with regard to sexuality. According to Fox and Inazu (1980), sexual concerns, behaviors, and attitudes may be nonverbal, indirect, and unspoken.

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[31] Anne olunca biraz bazı konularda kendinizden, düşüncelerinizden taviz vermeniz gerekiyor. Mesela ben daha gelenekçi yetişmiş bir anne olarak çağa ve çocuklarıma ayak uydurmak adına cinsellik üzerine kendimce kurallarım vardı onları esnetebildim. Esnek olabilmelisiniz. Değişime açık olabilmesiniz. Biz çok kapalı bir toplumda yetiştik şimdi çağ çok değişti. Çağa da ayak uydurabilmeliyiz. İnsan gelişmek için değişmeli yoksa gelişim olmuyor.

Therefore, it is important to understand the mechanisms mothers are using to provide sexual socialization to their daughters.

In the scope of this theoretical background, in this part of the study, intergenerational transmission of sexual values, attitudes and expectations between mothers and daughters is scrunitized according to the field study results. The most salient findig of the current study implies that there is a considerable shift in traditional values and norms related to sexuality to more egalitarian understanding between generations. While within the generations of mothers, repression was a dominating norm where there is no possibility for rebellion, for the generation of daughters, within this sample, the level of subordination is considerably decreased with the gains of mother's increased awareness in conjuction with their increased education, economic independency and real life experiences. The narratives have been used to highlight both the oppression of women and their resistance under the patriarchal gender system in Turkish society.

4.3.1   Importance of Sexuality

Transformation of sexual values, attitudes and expections of mothers especially has started with the change in mother's perspective towards the meaning and importance of the sexuality over generations. This radical change is the result of decades of social effort performed by women all over the world by aiming at advancing gender equality. The inclusion of the body in politics by the feminist movement took place in within the Second Wave Feminist Movement (Ramazanoğlu, 1989). Therefore, the change in women's mentality towards the importance and meaning of sexuality is rooted in those times and is the result of hard earned gains of women over long periods of time. The two generations of women in this study successfully took further the effort of these women.

The most salient mentality change towards sexuality is found within the mothers who made arranged marriages. Even though it was not one of the questions that asks how

117

mothers met with their husband, almost all of the mothers are indicated weather they married by falling in love or they involved in arranged marriages, especially under the theme of sexuality conversation. Out of 15 mothers, 8 mothers indicated that they made arranged marriages, 5 mothers indicated that they fell in love and got married, while 2 of the mothers have not mentioned about it. While all of the mothers found that sexuality is important for both women and men, women who made prearranged marriages highlighted the importance of sexuality for women by supporting the sexual permissiveness more. For example, three mothers, Şenay, Sevgi and Hayal, whom all of them made prearranged marriages are mentioning the change of their ideas in terms of the importance and meaning of sexuality for women, and based on their experiences, they indicate that they have become more permissive towards sexuality in time. They described the importance of sexuality and sexual knowledge by using very similar, and even almost the same expressions. For example, Şenay thinks that:

> I think sexuality is important. Of course, it's important because we have not known anything in our time. It is very important. Sexuality teaches you how to express yourself. You are learning how to express your desires and wishes. You learn them and thanks to the knowledge yo have, you do not need to supress yourself. Of course, the reason why marriages may not work, because you do not know what to encounter before marriage… Let me talk about our time. I see the current generation a little more comfortable. I also approve of being comfortable. There was no male-female relationships and interactions between them in our time. They would go to a movie, go to a theater, or hold hands and learn about love, they would learn to be interested, there were no such things, we got married at a very wrong time…[32]

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[32] Bence önemli. Bizim zamanımızda hiçbir şey bilmediğimiz için tabi önemli. Çok önemli. Kendini ifade etmeyi öğreniyor. Arzularını isteklerini dışa vurmayı öğreniyor. Bastırmıyor kendini. Ondan sonra tabi evliliklerin belki yürümemesinin sebebi, çünkü neyle karşılaşacağını bilmişacağını bilmiyorsun… Bizim zamanımızdan bahsedeyim. Şimdiki nesli biraz daha rahat görüyorum. Rahat olmasını da onaylıyorum. Bizim zamanımızda kız erkek ilişkileri nerde? Bir sinemaya gideceklerdi, bir tiyatroya gideceklerdi ya da bir el ele tutuşup sevgiyi öğreneceklerdi, ilgi duymayı öğreneceklerdi, yoktu böyle şeyler, biz çok yanlış bir zamandan geçerek evlendik.

By being very similar to Şenay's perspective, Sevgi mentions the importance of sexuality as:

> I don't know whether sexuality is important for a man or for a woman. Now, you are not the same as the youth I lived in. We entered the marriage directly without even holding hands, I don't think we are in the same conditions right now. Because the conditions were different, my perspective also changed. I don't have any judgement anyway, one should live it as the one wishes. I have no limits about sexuality, it should be lived as a way how the one feels comfortable, people should be free.[33]

Moreover, Hayal also reacted the same question like Şenay and Sevgi by almost using the same expressions, according to Hayal:

> Sexuality of women is important today, it wasn't like that in my time, it was important to preserve virginity, constant changing partners was not welcome. However, I do not agree with that, I think every person's body belongs to themselves, she can live and experience to the extent that it does not harm herself or the other person. I think like that for both men and women.[34]

The generational change towards understanding of woman's sexuality mainly occurred thanks to experiences of generation of mothers and the environment around them. Mothers who had negative experiences or struggles in sexuality because of the lack of premarital sexual experience and knowledge, became more permissive and understanding towards sexuality of woman. Even though there was no chance for sexual rebellian for their generation, by being more open, respecful and undestanding

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[33] Erkek için önemli mi değil mi bilemem, kadın için de. Şimdi ben kendi yaşadığım gençlikle sizler aynı değilsiniz. El ele tutuşmadan onu yapmadan lank diye evliliğe girdik, şu an aynı koşullarda olduğumuzu düşünmüyorum. Koşullar farklı olduğu için benim bakış açım da farklılaştı. Benim bi ölçüm de yok zaten, kişi nasıl arzu ediyorsa kişi onu yaşamalı. Benim burda bir sınırım yok kişi kendini nasıl rahat hissediyorsa öyle yaşamalı, özgür olmalı

[34] Günümüz için önemlidir. Ama benim zamanımdaki dönemde böyle değildi, bekaretin korunması önemliydi, sürekli partner değiştirmek hoş karşılanmazdı. Ama ben öyle düşünmüyorum, her insanın bedeni kendine aittir kendine ve karşısındakine zarar vermeyeceği ölçüde yaşayabilir, tecrübe edebilir. Hem kadın hem erkek için böyle düşünüyorum.

towards their daughters, the mothers have triggered to diminish sexual taboos, norms and values of the society that are restrictive, and oppressive.

4.3.1.1   **Pre-Marital Sexuality**

Changes in the perspective towards importance of sex for women has created a considerable transformation in the values and attitudes towards pre-marital sex. As the meaning of sexuality has increased for women, they claimed more for the authonomy of their sexual life. While all of the mother participants of the study indicated that they avoided to engage in any type of sexual activity before marriage, only three out of fifteen of the daughters idicated that they have not yet involved in any kind of sexual activity. Here sexual activity is circumscribed with not only having penile-vaginal intercourse, the term encompesses various sexual closeness from petting to oral sex. However, three of the daughters are indicated that even though they do not consciously carry any sexual taboo, their drive for not to involve in sexual activity varies from fear of sexually transmitted diseases to thinking of not feeling ready yet.

Even though there is a clear and sharp generational change towards understanding of sexuality and sexual permissiveness according to the current study's findings, the permissiveness is dependent on some certain rules by mothers for their daughters. These are first, searching affection in the relationship before having sex, and second, reaching to a certain level of maturity before involving any kind of sexual activity, and finally considering the sexual partner as a highly possible candidate for marriage. Only if these conditions are met by daughters, their mothers became sexually permissive, especially towards pre-marital sex. In other words, there is an observable change in the perspective towards premarital sex for mothers, but this change and perspective is only valid, if at least one of the mentioned preconditions are met. For example, according to a mother, Kardelen, there is no importance of virginity anymore today, but constant changing of partner, using dating apps, having casual

sex, in more general terms, having sex with a person without affection and falling in love is not welcomed:

> There should be no such a thing like hiding virginity anymore today. I do not think that virginity is important, not such a thing like that anymore. Everyone has their own time and it's not something to be predicted like this. However, I don't like what people are doing right now. Times have changed a lot. People find someone on Tinder (an online dating app) they involve in one night stand without feeling anything just to satisfy their urge. This just doesn't feel right to me. I am still old-fashioned. You need to experience this, when you love someone. My child also should experience it with the loved one too. I have very young friends, they have sex with someone and learn their name in the next morning. Not that much. I always told to my daughter that "you can be with whomever you want, whenever you want, but not with everyone". She was very young when I said this.[35]

Moreover, even though Kardelen's daughter Selin knows her mother's values, attitudes and expectations about sexuality, she thinks that romance or falling in love to have sex with someone is not a necessity. Moreover, having more than two or three partner without having intimate connection is also not an issue for her. Selin describes how her understanding differs from her mother like this:

> My mother thinks that premarital sex should be experienced. However she claims that number of people I had sex with stay within a certain limit not only as a score. She is a bit more monogamous, but she supports the idea of having sex within a romatic relationship where marriage is not a must. She thinks that a woman's sexuality should remain private. Advise me "don't sleep with 30 people", she's in this mentality. But for me, for example, it's not so important for a woman to sleep with 30 people, so my mother and I are very different in this regard. She says, "have at least two or three people in your life. Not even 30." It actually doesn't matter to me, I live my sexuality within the framework of certain rules like I don't want to be with someone

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[35] Artık böyle bekaret saklamak diye bir şey olmamalı zaten. Yok da bence öyle bir şey. Herkesin kendi vakti zamanı anı geliyor böyle hesaplanarak yapılacak bir şey değil. Şuan insanların yaşadığı şeyden hoşlanmıyorum. Zaman çok değişti. Tinder'dan (sosyal medya platformu) buluyor 1 gecelik ilişki bir şey hissetmeden sadece dürtülerini tatmin etmek adına, bana bu doğru gelmiyor. Ben hala eskiyim. Birisini sevdiğin zaman bunu yaşamalısın. Çocuğun da sevdiği için bunu yaşamalı. Görüyorum bazen çok genç arkadaşlarım da var birlikte oluyor ismini ertesi sabah öğreniyor. O kadar da değil o da onun isteği, benlik değil. Ben ona hep dedim kızım kimle istiyorsan onunla olursun ne zaman istiyorsan o zaman olursun ama herkesle değil. Bunları söylediğimde de çok küçüktü.

who is married, or in a relationship, if everyone is single, there is no problem for me... In sum, my mother thinks that you should have a sexual life with someone you love, she might associate sex with romance, but sex is not carrying the same meaning for me.[36]

According to a study Lopicollo conducted with the involvement of 92 American mother daugher dyads in 1973, in terms of premarital sexual permissiveness, there is a considerable "generation gap" between mothers and their daughters found. Mothers and daughters are strongly differed in searching "no connection" with the selected sexual partner and having "strong affection" with the one. Mothers associated "love" in the relationships with "engaged to be married" (Lopicollo, 1973) That's why they became more sexually permissive towards their daughter's intimate relationships.

Just like in the dyad of Kardelen and Selin, many more mother daughter dyads exist in this study whom thinks as the same as Kardelen and Selin. For most of the mothers in this study, there is no meaning of waiting to get marry to have sex, but in order to have a sexual life, daughters first need to be in an intimate, affectionete and long term relationship where possibility of getting married with the sexual partner is optimized. Therefore, the current study's results indicate that sexual permissiveness is strongly dependend on affection in the relationship according to the generations of mothers, but not for daughters.

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[36] Annem evlilik öncesi cinsellik yaşanması gerektiğini düşünüyor. Sadece skor olarak değil, skor da değil kişi olarak belirli bir limitte kalması gerektiğini düşünüyor. O biraz daha tek eşliliğe odaklı ama evlendikten sonra biriyle olabilirsin gibi değil de bir ilişkinin içerisinde sevgilin olsun diyor. Kadının cinselliğinin özel kalması gerektiğini düşünüyor. 30 kişiyi gezme, o kafada. Ama mesela benim için bir kadının 30 kişiyle yatması çok önemli değil, bu yüzden annemle çok farklıyız bu konuda. O şöyle diyor, "En azından hayatında iki üç kişi olsun. 30 tane de değil." Benim için fark etmez, belirli kurallar çerçevesinde yaşıyorum cinselliği ben. Evli biriyle olmaz, sevgilisi olan biriyle olmak istemem, herkes bekarsa başka sorun yok… Özetle annem sevdiğin biriyle cinsel hayatın olması gerekiyor diye düşünür ama bana göre hiç tanımadığım biriyle de olabilir. Seks öyle bir şey değil illa bir ilişki içinde olman gerekmiyor bence. Bu konuda annem farklı mesela. Annem seks yapmayı romantiklikle bağdaştırıyor olabilir, benim için öyle değil.

The second prevailing precondition for sexual permissiveness found prominent within mothers is waiting to reach to a certain level of maturity. While the definition of maturity differes from mother to mother, the common point all of the mothers is firstly reffering to the age, and secondly the quality of behaving rational and being able to take responsibility of life. In a study conducted with the involvement of Nordic adolescents in 1996, sexual behaviors and attitudes are only accepted by mothers when they found their daughters mature enough for sex, so that the idealized responsible sexuality is achieved and sexual actors will be count as responsible citizens (Haavio-Mannila et al., 1996). For instance, a daughter participant of the study, Su, is aware of the preconditions of her mother, Candan, but she criticizes and does not agree with her mother, she thinks that: "my mother loves a man, sleeps with the man, and gets happyly marry him, but I think a woman can be happy with more than one person or can sleep with more than one person."[37]

Moreover she adds that there is a second condition that she also criticizes:

> My mother thought that there is an age to have sex, she think that you should do it when you are mature enough. She is not actually saying directly anything, but she is saying these are the things that can happen when people reach to a certain level of maturity. I criticized it for a while.[38]

Therefore, the idealized sexuality by mothers currently is accepted when they found their daughters mature enough for sex, and when they have an intimate relationship with the one where love and caring exists. They prefer to marry off their daughter with these partners and expected them to be monogamous, sincere and faithful for the rest of their life. This is called "*responsible sexuality"* coined to the literature by Haavio-Mannila and her colleagues in 1996. The ones who are responsible in their sexual life are also caunt as responsible citizens and as the result of the long lasting

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[37] Yani annem bir kişiyi sever, onunla yatar sonra onunla mutlu olur evlenir ama bence insan birden fazla kişiyle de mutlu olabilir, birden fazla kişiyle de yatabilir.

[38] Annem seks yapmanın bir yaşı olduğunu düşünüyordu, insanın olgunluğa eriştiğinde yapması gerektiğini düşünüyordu. Bir şey demiyordu aslında ama yani bunlar olgunluğa erişince olacak şeyler şeklinde söylüyordu. Ben bunu bir dönem eleştirdim.

policies most Nordic adolescents are canalized to sexual activity in line with the "love philosophy" (Haavio-Mannila et al., 1996). This type of sexual behavior is idealized by societies since the health related risks of polygamy is minimized in that way, so that health related government spendings are also optimized.

This study also reveals that even though there is a similar pattern in societies in the way of evolving to less patriarchal ones, there is a huge time difference between cultures and societies is observed when the literature is juxtaposed. Theories and practiceses, as well as cultural norms and policies implemented by the governments are evolving by following a similar pattern for different nations where the level of patriarchy is different. When the mentioned studies (see: Lopicollo, 1973 and Haavio-Mannila et al., 1996) are analysed, in 2022, Turkish middle class, educated and urban people's changing pattern of values, attitudes and norms, especially in the topic of sexuality is following a very similar direction with the adolescents and mothers of American (1973) and mother daughter dyads in Nordic (1996) societies. Even though this is not the topic of this study, and the research is not enough to reach a conclusion about this, in order to open a new window for further studies, it is mentioned as a side-benefit of the findings of this research.

4.3.2   Communication about Sexuality

Mothers have a tendency to transfer not only their present, but also their past sexual experiences. Transmission of sexual experiences involves interacting with institutions, social meanings, and discourses about female sexuality. The social construction of sexuality is significantly influenced by symbols, gestures, and speech performed by mothers. Their perception of sexuality affects everything from the language used between generations and among peers, to the behaviors within the soceity (Taris et al., 1998). Several contextual factors also affect sexual communication between mothers and daughters like time, place, social class, and the presence of siblings (Coffelt, 2017). For instance, some participants of the study indicated that they have a sibling older than them, and the sibling already have started

to challenge the traditional societal norms and values so that they live in an environment where more liberal and open ideas present, in contrast to the time their siblings lived. Harika, one of the mother participants of the study, mentions the trasformation of traditional values to more egalitarian ones in her family thanks to her older sibling's efforts:

> I am such a lucky girl, because my sister broke some taboos, there was no such thing as forbidden to us. I am a free-rider. My sisters were for that period, there was also my aunt's daughter, who was older than me challenged some societal norms. Susurluk is a small town, but whatever they did was accepted there. I walked comfortably from the path they opened without feeling social pressure. I actually enjoyed the fruit of my sisters' endeavour.[39]

Therefore, even though contextual factors may differ from one person to another, there are similar patterns that rooted in the unique experiences of women and these experiences are helping to go beyond the traditional norms and values.

In order for mothers to transfer values, attitudes and expectations, the interaction and the communication with the daughter necessitates to be stronger. In that way, daughters become more receptive to the direct and indirect messages coming from the mother. A study conducted by Taris and colleagues showed that while the connection between mother and child permissiveness was significantly stronger in the moderate and high quality of interaction groups, it was found significantly weaker for the low quality of interaction group. Thus, parents are not able to tranfer their sexual values, attitudes and expectations to their daughters when there is a lacking in mutual understanding, openness, or respect between them (Taris et al., 1998).

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[39] Ben şöyle şanslı bir kızım bazı tabuları ablam yıktığı için bize yasak diye bir şey yoktu. Ben hazıra kondum, ablamlar o dönem için, bir de teyzemin kızı vardı onlar da benden büyüklerdi. Susurluk küçük bir yer ama onların yaptığı kabul görülürdü. Ben de onların yolunda rahat bir şekilde, toplum baskısı olmadan yaşadım, hazıra kondum

Foundations of mutual understanding between mothers and daughters takes place during adolescents period of the daughter and as a result of the mutual understading where mothers are reliable, encouraging and helpful in the gaze of daughters, daughters do not hesitate to share their experiences and feelings about their sexual behaviors, so that they would be able to benefit from parental assistance in negative circumstances they faced at early ages (Elsharnouby and Dost-Gözkan, 2020; Coffelt, 2017). In a study conducted by Rogers and colleagues (2022) also showed that parental warmth and knowledge of adolescent activities were linked to enhanced child disclosure and decreased adolescent secrecy around sexual topics. On the other hand, increased adolescent secrecy was linked to parental use of psychological control indicated in the same study (Rogers et al., 2022). This is probably due to the fact that daughters whose parents are more responsive to their needs demonstrate empathy and understanding, validate their emotional experiences, and foster a safe environment where they feel comfortable in disclosing information on more delicate subjects like sexuality. On the other hand, daughters whose parents abuse them personally, make them feel guilty, or withhold love and care from them are probably aware that it would be risky to talk openly about their sexual concerns, tendencies, or emotions. These results indicate that a daughter's willingness to disclose sexual information to parents is influenced by aspects of the fundamental parent-child relationship and typical parent-child communication patterns. It is likely that children have learned from prior parent-child communication experiences what the effects would be for disclosing private and sensitive data about their sexuality (Astle et al., 2022).

The main risks of sexual communication, according to daughters, are being punished or judged by their mothers. Even when they may want or need parental support, many daughters, especially during adolescent times, decide not to share certain details about their sexuality because of the fear of punishment, rejection, or disappointing their parents (Astle et al., 2021; Coffelt 2017). For example, Işıl mentions how her mother is reacted when she learned that Işıl had sex with someone for the first time:

She was very angry when she heard it for the first time, I had my first sexual experience when I was 18, she heard it when I was 19, maybe she knew, but my statement may have provoked her a little more. We argued a lot at first. I told her that honor is not just about virginity, it's all in the head and I stated that she thinks very wrong. We argued a lot about it, but after that day, after learning this, I thought that she would treat me badly. Because she was thinking that premarital sex is wrong, it seemed to me that she would treat me as if I am "dirty, and unclean". On the contrary what I thought, she never brought this issue up again. It was not spoken. Her first and last reaction was stating that it was wrong and early.[40]

Işıl thought risks were considerably greater, but she did not view risks negatively when she disclosed to share this information, because today, women of last generation (daughters) are closer to their mothers, their relationship is warmer and more open in contrast to their mothers' relationship with their mothers (grandmothers). That's why they communicate more easily with them. However, daughters are still protecting a distance to some extent in sharing sexual experiences with their mothers to avoid shame, loss of trust and negative outcomes in general.

In addition to being worried about to be subjected to punishment, daughters also expressed fear of surprising or injuring their mothers (Yalom et al., 1982). Sometimes, in order to minimize risks, daughters are creating some strategies, as well as boundries to share information about their sexuality. This includes waiting to get economic independency, reaching to a certain age, or/and having a long term relationship or even getting married as explained in detail above. According to the conditions, daughters are re-negotiate their privacy boundries with their mothers. For instance, within the sample of this study, mothers and daughters are created a privacy

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[40] İlk duyduğunda çok sinirlenmişti, ben ilk deneyimimi 18 yaşımda yaşadım, o 19 yaşımdayken duydu, belki biliyordu ama benim dile getirmem onu biraz daha kışkırtmış olabilir.Başta baya tartıştık. Namusun sadece bekaretten ibaret olmadığını kafada bittiğini ve çok yanlış düşündüğünü söyledim. Bununla ilgili baya tartıştık ama hani o günden sonra şöyle düşündüm, bunu öğrendikten sonra bana kötü davranacak diye düşündüm. Çünkü o bunun yanlış bir şey olduğunu düşündüğünden bana "kirliymişim, pismişim" gibi davranacak gibi gelmişti. O tam tersine hiçbir zaman bunu gündeme getirmedi. Tekrar konuşulmadı. Ama ilk ve son tepkisi yanlış ve erken olduğunu belirtmek oldu.

boundary whereby some of information was disclosed but the specifics of sexual information were kept secret.

By being different than other cultures, Turkish culture is much more closed when it comes to talks about sexuality. For example, a survey conducted by Dilorio, Kelley & Hockenberry-Eaton, even in 23 years ago, in 1999, showed that women and mothers talk about the menstrual cycle, STIs and AIDS, dating and sexual behavior, pregnancy, and birth control the most. On the other hand, the results of the current study drew a picture about this generations' boundries, as well as generational differences in boundries about disclosure of sexuality in Turkey. For the generations of daughters, although most of the mothers and daughters are comfortable with talking about sexual health topics, like menstruation, menepouse and marriage, they are controversial to talk about the topics that is related to sexual intercourse, like contraception, venereal diseases, abortion and other topics related with coitus that most mothers and daughters avoid to talk.

While every mother of this generation is talking positively about menstruation and at least one time brought her daughter to gynaecologist, for the generations of mothers, even talking about mensturaiton with mothers (grandmothers) was avoided by today's generation of mothers. For instance, one of the participant, who is Bahar, a mother, mentioning about her first menstruation: *"When I got my first period, I told my mom and she said, "Oh, where did that come from?"[41] This made me very sad."* By being very similar, another mother, Harika hid when she got her first period from her mother, by being worrying about from her reaction:

> My mother did not give me any information about sexuality. We have a very formal mother-daughter relationship, it was not look like today's mother daughter relationships. We didn't become like friends. There was a hierarchy between us. My mother was a dominant woman. Let me tell you something interesting, I hid my period from my mother for two years. I told my sister

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[41] İlk regl olduğum zaman anneme söyledim o da "Aa, o da nereden çıktı" dedi. Bu beni çok üzmüştü.

not to tell my mother. When my breasts grew, my mother said "what are we gonna do, what will we do?" After getting this reaction, I thought that if they hear that I got my period, they will tell the neighbors or something, so I did not tell them, I felt pressure.[42]

Melahat's, first menstruation experience is very similar to other mothers. Having period was seen as a thing that had to be hid, because of the worries about mothers' reactions:

> I would like my mother to talk about menstruation. I said to my mother that I wish you had given some information, so that at least I wouldn't be afraid. I was very sad, I became introvert at those times. I learned how to do by myself. There were no pads in our period, but my mother knew that she would sew it for all of us, but I was hiding them, even when drying, I put them at the bottom of the basket. My mother knew we were having our period, but I managed my first period by myself, I did not tell to my mother.[43]

On the other hand, when today's mothers' narratives are listened, privacy rule between mothers and daughters is completely changed, some of the mothers are indicated that when their daughter got their first period, they celebrated it by doing something special. Therefore, the acquirement of privacy rules takes place via socialization in families (Coffelt, 2017), and are shaped according to the practices of openness with mothers.

Lack of trust from side of dauhghters is one shade of lack of disclosure. Sometimes mothers too do not want to know and talk much about their daughters sexuality due

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[42] Annem bana cinsellikle ilgili hiçbir bilgi vermedi. Şöyle vermedi, çünkü bizde böyle anne kız ilişkilerine göre daha resmiydi. Arkadaş gibi olmadık. Hiyerarşi vardı. Annem daha dominant bir kadındı. Enteresan bir şey söyleyeyim, ben regl olduğumu annemden iki yıl sakladım. Ablama söyledim anneme söyleme dedim. Göğüslerim çıktığı zaman annem ay göğüslerin çıktı ne yapacağız, ne yapacağız? Dedim bir de adet olduğumu duyarsa komşulara falan söyler, baskı hissettim söylemedim.

[43] Annemin adetle ilgili falan konuşmasını isterdim. Anneme keşke bir bilgi verseydin, korkmazdım en azından demiştim. Çok üzüldüm, içime kapandım o dönem. Ben kendi kendime öğrendim. Pedler yoktu bizim dönemimizde ama annem biliyordu dikerdi hepimize, ama ben saklardım kurutmada bile, sepetin en altına koyardım. Annem bilirdi hasta olduğumuzu ama ilk adetimi kendim hallettim, anneme söylemedim.

to the feel of shame and lack of knowledge about the topic. Özyeğin (2015), names this situation as "virginal facades" which implies "don't ask, don't tell policy" between children and parents including even within the most sexually liberal ones. According to the policy between them, there is a mutual agreement on not to talk about sexuality. This relieves daughters from the burden of pretending to comply to the rules of norms of the society and protecting them from potential conflicts caused by their parents, while saving the parents from anxiety of knowing. For this reason, there is a general lack of communication arises between mothers and daughters since many mothers wait for their daughters to bring up the subject of sexuality while daughters wait for their mothers to do so (Astle et al., 2022). By being in parallel with this policy, when I asked "can you easily talk to your daughter about sexuality? and do you think you have conveyed enough information about sexuality to your daughter?", almost all of the mothers are told that "if my daughter wanted to talk to me, I would.", when the same question is asked to daughters, they reacted that it would be bad since they have not talked about it till today, for instance Sesil mentions:

> It would be very strange for me to definitely talk about sexuality with her and I never would like to do it. She hasn't talked to me until now, too little too late, what would happen if she talked to me from now on for God's sake.[44]

4.3.3　　Sources of Sexual Information

Even though parents are seen as the primariy reliable source of sexual knowledge for children, in societies where traditional norms and values dominated and sexuality has seen as one of the secret area that considered as a taboo, the sources of sexual knowledge depend on different sources other than parents.

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[44] Ben kesinlikle konuşmasını istemem çok garip olur ve asla istemem. İş işten geçti, benimle bu zamana kadar konuşmadı bundan sonra konuşsa ne olur allah aşkına böyle düşünüyorum.

According to the majority of the population, sexuality starts with marriage in Turkey. Untill marriage, people prefer not to talk about sexuality with the ones who are single. Since this point in life starts with the marriage, the source of knowledge become the married one. For instance, when I asked where a women should obtain knowledge about sexuality, a mother participant, Ayşe, said that: "You should learn by living with your husband, we saw it that way… it is a shame to have such conversations before marriage in our province."[45] That's why neither mother nor father are seen as the ones who is responsible for sexual education in Turkey. On the other hand, in a study conducted in the USA with the involvement of 333 undergraduate and graduate students in 2011, despite the fact that their peers are their most frequent sources of information, college students claim that their parents should be the major source of sexual information (Rutledge et al., 2011). However, when it comes to the actual results, it is found that only fifteen percent of the children's parents are their primary source of sexual knowledge.

In the current study, by being parallel with the traditional structure, neither daughters nor mothers considered mothers as a source of sexual knowledge, but there is a generational change here that nobody in the study expected and supported the idea that sexuality should be learnt within the marriage, from the husband. According to the narratives of participant mothers, it was not like that when they were at the age of their daughters, almost all of the mothers stated that they were even lacking in very basic knowledge, and learnt by living, but they are nor supporting this. For instance, a mother participant is describing her negative experience when she first encountered with sexual content with these words:

> When I got marry with my husband, for the first time in my life I saw a male genitalia. I scared, since I had never seen before, today it is everywhere. There were videos at those times, and he said "I am going to get you to watch something." He brought and opened the video, but I was disgusted, I could

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[45] Eşinle yaşayarak öğrenmelisin, bizler öyle gördük. Ayıp kaçıyor bizim oralarda bu tarz konuşmalar evlilik öncesi

not watch. This should not be like that, not by watching pornography, it should be learnt from mother, sibling or very close friend by talking about it. Since my mother always warned me like "do not undress anywhere!", I was feeling like committing an offense during the early phase of my marriage, that's why my husband showed those videos, he tried to relax me, but exact opposite happened.[46]

Learning from the experience of others is much more prevalent in the generation of mothers since their relationship with their daughter is more close and warm enough to trust and tell about negative stories as well. Even though mothers do not think that sexuality should be learnt within the marriage anymore, most of the mothers do not consider themselves as a source of knowledge for their daughters, instead they consider media channels as the major and reliable source and by trusting the accuracy of every knowledge on internet, mothers do not educate their daughters about sexuality. This was the same before the emergence and widespread of technologies in Turkey. While some of the mothers claimed that they learnt sexuality by reading books, most of them got married without knowing anything.

To sum up, the current study's results emphasize that with the transformation of meaning of sexuality for mothers, daughters have started to express their emotions and wants more when there is a mutual understanding and openness in the relationship with their mother. By being independent from education and socio economic status, mothers who made prearranged marriages support more sexual permissiveness for their daughters. However, their sexual permissiveness is dependend on some preconditions that needed to meet by daughters. While mothers become more permissive towards their daughters, daughters disclose more about

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[46] Ben eşimle ilk zamanlar videolar vardı ben bilmiyordum, ilk evlendik ben eşimin cinsel organını ilk defa gördüm yani. Korktum, görmemiştim. Şimdi var her yerde, o zaman bana sana bir şey izleteceğim dedi. Getirdi kaset vardı onu koydu o kadar iğrenç geldi ki bana onları izlemedim, izleyemedim de yani. İzleyerek değil, anne, abla, çok yakın arkadaşla konuşarak bilgi edinebilir. Annem şey yapardı bir de hiçbir yerde soyunma. Hep böyle büyüdüğümüz için ilk evlendiğimde sanki suç işliyormuşum gibi geliyordu bana. Eşim ondan dolayı bana porno. Aramızda yaş farkı vardı beni rahatlatmaya çalıştı ama tam tersi oldu.

their concerns and feelings about sexuality only if they trust and find their mothers reliable. When it comes to the reaching information about sexuality, there is also a change in pattern over generations, but not as in more open societies. Even though mothers think that sexual knowledge should be learnt before marriage, they do not consider themselves as the source of knowledge. Instead, they prefer to trust media channels about sexuality.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In this closing part, a general overview of the study is drawn by emphasising the findings of the study and the journey of the thesis is ended up by presenting limitations of the study and recommendations for future studies.

5.1 General Overview

Throught the thesis, intergenerational transmission pattern between mothers' gender-based values, attitudes and expectations about divorce, spousal and intimate relationships, power relations, women's body, and sexuality are searched and the role of the intergenerational transmission of gender values, attitudes and expectation in the reproduction and transformation of gender order in Turkey is analysed.

In order to be able to answer the research questions, a comprehensive literature analysis is done and major therotical debates are presented in detail in the literature review section. The main focus of the major theoretical debates consist of intergenerational transmission of gender, social learning, socialization and their mechanisms.

The study is started with the preliminary acceptance of gender which is a concept that is constantly evolving, ingrained in culture and society, and affected by institutional and interpersonal relationships. Intergenerational learning offers a chance for generations to learn more about each other without necessarily adopting their perspectives. Moreover, family dynamics' fundamental component is intergenerational relationships, therefore, an improved comprehension of these

relationships can highlight the interaction between individuals, families, and societies and offer hints for identifying shifts over time in societies. Through analyzing the dynamics between mothers and daughters, we can better comprehend intergenerational relations in the family since the literature implies that parent child attitudes are strongly correleted in the creation of gender ideology of children, where mothers' influence is more prominent than fathers' influence within this process. Therefore, mothers, as the primary socializing agents of daughters, may be effective in the creation of a strong womanhood that daughters can benefit to protect themselves from the negative consequences of patriarchy in their later lives or mothers, as the primary socializing agents, may open new wounds on daughters within the systems of patriarchy which makes them more vulnurable to sociatel pressures in time.

Patriarchy affects everyone in different aspects of life. While for some people, by forcing them to be in line with the culturally defined beauty standards, for the others, repressing their voice, and sometimes intersectionality of all of these or diverse combination of them. Even though experiences are diverse, and none of them resemble another, there is a common and a foundational aspect that exists within it, that is socialization which constituted the essence of major theoretical debates of this work.

Cultural norms, attitudes, and values of a society influence the socialization process. Family is the earliest and most important socializing agent, and at the core of the creation of gender-based values, attitudes, and expectations. Children, especially during their adolescent times acquire gender specific roles mainly through primary socialization, and based on such roles, women are appraised as to what is or is not appropriate for them. Mothers can create a lifelong shield for their daughters by teaching their daughters how to protect themselves in the face of the wounds that patriarchy can inflict, and this can be developed and passed on from one generation to another. Therefore, mothers are the first, and the foundational actors in the alleviation of patriarchal structures. As a result, mothers, who are the earliest

135

socializing agents, have a significant impact on the development of gender-based values, attitudes, and expectations. As the literature in this subject implies that maternal influence in the process of socialization is much more important than even parental influence.

Within this framework, the study focused on firstly the intergenerational transmission pattern between mothers and daughters and based on this point, the study concentrated on the role of the intergenerational transmission of gender values, attitudes and expectation in the reproduction and transformation of gender order in Turkey

A qualitative study is designed to understand women's individual voices and lived experiences from their words. Semi structured, in depth interviews are conducted in separate sessions with 30 women, by being 15 mother daughter dyads. Since I would like to focus on the knowledge of an oppressed group in understanding of theory from the knowledge, Feminist Standpoint Theory best suited for this research. Conducting a qualitative study in the light of Feminist Standpoint Theory enabled me to interact with the participants with an elbow touch by stating my self-reflexivity. During the face to face interviews, I sticked to non-hierarchal and emancipatory nature of conducting a feminist research with the valueable participants of this study. During this feminist research, I, as the creator of this study also emancipated with the narratives of the participants. Acceptance of the individual as the unit of analysis in researching the complexity of the family as an intergenerational system is limited in social sciences. However, understanding of intergenerational relations in the family through an examination of mother and daughter dynamics is very critical. Therefore, the unit of analysis of the study is taken as mother-daughter dyad in the study.

5.1.1   Overview of the Findings

In the study, there are momentous findings propounded which may open an important window to verify possible transformation of gender order in middle income, well educated, urbanized Turkish people with the knowledge of intergenetrational relations of women. There are transformed, as well as reproduced gender orders in the society investigated.

The study focused on five dimentions that patriarchy operates through itsinstitutions and the interactions of people within it. These dimentions are marriage, divorce, power relations, woman's body and sexuality of woman. Even though the findings are limited with the knowledge of these dimentions, they indicate transformation and reproduction of gender order in middle income, urbanized people, which gives an overall opinion about the dynamic and changing social structure of Turkey in the bigger picture.

With the results of the study, even though the position of women has been negatively affected by the combined trends of conservatism and neoliberalism of AKP rule that have created labour market insecurities for women by supporting familialism, and emphasising domestic roles of women since 2002, the awareness and change in the mentality towards women's labour market participation, education, marriage, divorce, the body and sexuality is transforming and women's perspective is proceeding in the direction of more egalitarian values and attitudes. As mothers claim more for their rights, their daughters claim much more for positive change in women's rights. For these reasons, mothers of this study constitute the breaking point of most gender traditionalism by being the carrier of grandmothers' traditional norms, values and attitudes, but not reproducing some them by expecting the same practices of traditional norms, values and attitudes from their daughter's generation thanks to the awareness they gained through their experiences, education and independent income generating activities.

5.1.1.1   Marriage, Divorce and Power Relations

The most salient finding of the study is found as the divorce's positive and emancipatory effects on both mothers and daughters. Power and gender have an impact on voice, just as they are influential in all forms of communications.

Grandmothers always advised mothers to be silent, easygoing, docile and keep on the right side of the husband or the authority figure of the house, since they also practiced these in their life. The voice and the silence of mothers is constructed on the authority of socially appropriate roles, norms, and power dynamics of the society where culture plays an important role in everyday interactions that create self. Mothers are the first generation who obtained at least high school diploma and gained economic independence as a woman for the first time for generations. By realizing the significance of voice and the oppressive consequences of self-silencing, generations of mothers have started to demolish patriarchal values and norms. With the acquired economic independence, mothers have started to adopt radical courses of actions where they felt downtrodden within marriages. In opposition to what is taught by grandmothers, that was being silent and docile, mothers decided on voice which manifested in their life as divorce.

There is a bias in the mainstream literature towards divorce which treats it as a solely negative life experience which disproportionately affects children and women. In contrast to negative effects, more positive effects of divorce on women and children has been discovered when scholars are freed from the prejudice of negative biases towards divorce of women. By being consistent with their findings, and centralizing feminist perspective in the field, this study's results indicates that, divorce as a critical life changing experience is neither for mothers nor for daughters is a negative experience, instead it has many powerful positive impacts that made mothers and daughters of this study empowered and provided them an opportunity of growth.

The actions mothers take in their intimate relationships, like speaking up for themselves or asserting their voice, are the most important steps women have made

and it is observed in the results of the field that the mothers have transmitted, and ultimately have socialized their daughters to take the same actions in their intimate relationships if they stuck in the same situation. This transmission from mothers to daughters is verified by the other questions asked during the intrreviews with the daughter. For example, daughters of divorced mothers either said women are not affected if they ever get marry or claimed that women become more powerful and independent if they choose not to marry. On the other hand, when the same question is asked to the daughters of intact families, daughters answers varied from being worried about becoming lonely to feeling societal oppressions. In the same manner, divorced mothers, and their daughters' selection of adjectives when defining womanhood found very strong in contrast to intact families' daughters. Therefore, the most salient finding as the result of divorce found as empowerment and it is intergenerationally transmitted from mothers to daughters which erodes a very strong structure of marriage in the society and understanding of women's power in gender order.

5.1.1.2 **Woman's Body**

From supression of women's sexuality to controling the decision of abortion, although patriarchy operates in different extents in different societies and cultures, woman's oppression through their body exists in every society with very similar applications and practices.

The image of traditional femininity that stresses the value of women's appearance and beauty is reinforced by objectification of women's body (Glick and Fiske, 2001). Women develop self-objectification as a result of typical gender role socialization processes, internalize societal emphasis on physical beauty, rather than inner traits (Fredrickson and Roberts, 1997). Women become more conscious of messages coming from mothers about their appearance as they grow and become more aware of the societal demands to be in line with theses beauty standards. The internalization of especially the thin-idealized feminine beauty is a crucial component of the

culturally stereotypical standard of beauty and feeling of being obliged to catch these beauty standards turns into a duty that expected from women and if they could not be able to fullfill, they are punished by the society. Therefore, this restrictive perception of a desirable woman body profile causes to deepen ongoing social limitations on gender roles as well as creates a long-term consistency in gender stereotypes.

In the study it is found that mother's attitudes and values that are transmitted to daughters have a lifelong effect on daughter's body. The timing of the exposure to those tenets, which are in this context of patriarchal societal norms and expectations, are also important in creation of children's understanding of the body. It is also found that even though daughters are highly educated and present in working life for a long time, if they are exposed to traditional sexist tenets by their mothers, especially during their adolescent period, and if they highly identify themselves with the mother, and perceive the mother as a model, then their tendency to think and behave like the traditional mother increases.

While there are little and inconsistent effects of positive and negative maternal commentary on daughters found in this study, mothers' teasing about their daughters' body, though it is for the sake of caring and nurturing, found strongly harmful in the construction of negative body image. Moreover, it is also found that mothers' self or talks with others (not with daughters) about their own weight, or making comments about it, either positive or negative, is also linked to children's dissatisfaction with their body and disordered eating patterns.

External factors, such as use of technology, especially social media, and social environment, including friends and colleagues are also found prominent in the development of perspectives towards woman's body in conjunction with maternal impact. While daughters for this study generally use social media as the primary source of media use, mothers are more likely to be under the influence of more controlled, censored and dictated media channels like television. Through advertisements and TV series which also reflect and reproduce the traditional gender

roles, expectations, and culturally defined beauty standards, that are internalized and trasffered by mothers.

By being different than the existence of patriarchy in other areas that affects women negatively, the findings of this study imply that even though there are many transformations over generations in marriage, divorce and sexuality, very little reproduction of gender order is found in the mentioned dimentions. On the other hand, reproduction of gender order is clearly found in the issues of woman's body. Mothers' sexist and gender stereotypical beauty standards for women is intergenerationally transffered to their daughters and daughters are so internalized these tenets that in order to be in line with the defined patriarchal beauty standards, which are dictated firstly by their mothers, daughters acquire dangerous and problematic unhealthy eating and exercising practices and undergo many body altering attempts.

This kind of a strong reproduction of gender order may stem from seeking social power in the society via woman's body. Power, which can be described as one's capability to manage resources and influence others, including the capacity to impose incentives and punishments plays a significant role in daily social life. It is an indiputable fact that, women who are more in line with culturally defined beauty standards, such as in line with the thin-idealized feminine beauty, are also more accepted by the society. In the same manner, opportunites that did not appear with the absence of "beauty" starts to come to the light with the presence of the image of traditional feminine beauty. As women are accepted more by the society, they may be able to hold a wider network of people and a wider network may allow them to find a better job in the labour market and even it could increase *their value* in the market of marriage, so that they can compete better for the best. Therefore, this *patriarchal beauty* will be awarded with the increased socio economic status. In that sense, women's body becomes an instrument to hold the power. Under colour of caring and nurturing, mothers of the study want to place their daughters into the culturally defined perception of beauty, because they know that beauty brings power.

141

For these reasons, mothers are objectifying their own, as well as their daughters' body, while media channels and social environment strongly supports the same patriarchal beauty with different motivations (like to increase cosumerism, capitalism in more broad sense). Therefore, opperession on women's body is intergenerationally transferred, and traditional tenets are reproduced in Turkish society.

5.1.1.3 Sexuality of Women

With the transformation of ideas towards marriage, divorce and power relations, views towards women's sexuality is also evolved and changed in time. For example, the meaning and importance of sexuality is increased for women which has created another considerable transformation in the values and attitudes that is increased permissiveness of mothers towards pre-marital sex. However, this permissiveness is dependent on some certain rules. These are found as first, searching affection in the relationship before having sex, and second, reaching to a certain level of maturity before involving any kind of sexual activity, and finally considering the sexual partner as a highly possible candidate for marriage. Only if these conditions are met by daughters, their mothers became sexually permissive, especially towards pre-marital sex.

It is also found in the study that daughters' generation still do not consider their mothers as a reliable, trustworthy source to talk about sexuality. They are not a trusted source of knowledge because of the fear of punishment, shame, and possible loss of love. On the other hand, parental warmth and knowledge of adolescent activities were linked to enhanced child disclosure and decreased adolescent secrecy around sexual topics. Moreover, parents are not able to tranfer their sexual values, attitutes and expectations to their daughters when there is a lacking in mutual understanding, openness, or respect between them. On the other hand, they are more moderate to have a conversation about sexual health by being different than the generations' of mothers.

The results of the current study drew a picture about this generations' boundries, as well as generational differences in boundries about disclosure of sexuality. For the generations of daughters, although most of the mothers and daughters are comfortable with talking about sexual health topics, like menstruation, menepouse and marriage, they are controversial to talk about the topics that is related to sexual intercourse, like contraception, venereal diseases, abortion and other topics related with coitus that most mothers and daughters avoid to talk.

Since the mentality of start of the sexuality with marriage has transformed, the sources of sexual knowledge also has changed. In the generations of mothers, it is narrated by mothers that untill marriage, people prefer not to talk about sexuality with the ones who are single. Since this point in life starts with the marriage, the source of knowledge become the married one. That's why neither mother nor father are seen as the ones who is responsible for sexual education in Turkey. However, in the current study, it is found that by being parallel with the traditional structure, neither daughters nor mothers considered mothers as a source of sexual knowledge, but there is a generational change here that nobody in the study expected and supported the idea that sexuality should be learnt within the marriage, so from the husband anymore. Instead, the internet and books seen as the primary source one can reach about sexuality both by mothers and daughters.

Therefore, the current study's results, in the theme of sexuality, emphasizes that with the transformation of the meaning of sexuality for mothers, gender order has started to change.

Every generation takes a step forward. According to the overall picture of the study, patriarchal structure has eroded with slow, but consistent steps even if there are conservative policies and practices brought into force in Turkey for 20 years. The study unearths the most destroyed tenets of patriarchy by demonstrating how perspectives can change with a trigger of one generation.

5.1.2 Limitations of the Study and Reccomendations for Further Studies

In the study, a very particular group of Turkey, especially for the groups of mothers, whose education is much more above than the average education of the society is coincidently focused (for mothers coincidently, not daughters). This may imply that mothers' awareness and critical thinking towards women's issues were already much more above than the society. Therefore, the focused group's experiences may also be limited within the drawn picture of highly educated, urbanized, middle class women whose more than half of it divorced. While the average of ending a marriage in the last ten years in Turkey is 23% (*TÜİK*, 2021) by being 31% in 2021 *(TÜİK*, 2021), the percentage of divorce in this sample, within the participants of the mothers is 60%. This was also an incidence that the researcher has not planned and foreseen before going to the field. Therefore, in terms of education and current marital status of mothers of the study, the sample is very distinctive. That's why for the further studies, more diverse groups' experiences may be analyzed in the same topic.

While there are trasformations and progresses found in gender order in the themes of marriage, divorce, power relations and sexuality that are more in line with gender egalitarian values, attitudes and expectations in the study, findings in the theme of women's body indicates that there is a reproduction of gender order, even for some dyads, daughter's perspective towards woman's body is much more gender stereotyipcal than mothers' description. However, since this was not expected before preparing the field questions, this study is found limited answer to reasons of this reproduction. However, this study opened a window to a new study which may solely focus on women's body in Turkey by giving meaning to the causality in this intergenerational transmission in connection with gender steoreotypes in Turkey.

Moreover, while selecting the participants, a limitation of "not having a child or not being pregnant at the time of conducting the interview" was applied to the selection criteria of daughters. This limitation is put, because as mentioned in the methodology chapter, it is found in the literature that having a child or being pregnant may change

the perspective of daughters towards gender based values, attitudes, and expectations in the studied themes. Moreover, raising a child is a gradual activity and socialization is a lifelong and reciprocal process. These background informations opens a door of possibilities of transformation of perspectives towards gender issues after having a child and as this study also implies that critical life experiences, like divorce, may influence women's ideas and cause to change them, having a child may also cause in transformation of ideas, especially in gender based ones. Therefore, for further studies, by conducting a longitudunal study, daughters' perspectives before and after having a child in the same themes may be studied to observe the transformations or/and reproduction of gender order as a result of having a child. Even having a son or daughter may differently affect the transformation or/and reproduction of gender based values, attitudes, and expectations of daughters.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

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14 OCAK 2022

Konu   : Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi   : İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Fatma Umut BEŞPINAR

Danışmanlığını yürüttüğünüz Zeynep YARDIMCI'nın "Türkiye'de Toplumsal Cinsiyet Değer ve Beklentilerinin Kuşaklararası Aktarımı: Yüksek Eğitimli Genç Kadınlar Örneği" başlıklı araştırmanız İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **0084-ODTUİAEK-2022** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Prof.Dr. Mine MISIRLISOY
İAEK Başkan

174

B. FIELD QUESTIONS FOR DAUGHTERS *(Turkish)*

Demografik Sorular

1- Doğum yeri

2- Doğum yılı

3- Medeni durum

4- Öğrenim durumu

5- Gelir kaynağı

6- Çalışma şekli (tam zamanlı, yarı zamanlı vb.)

7- Evlilik yaşı

1. Tema: Kadınlığa Dair Yaklaşımalar

1-Sizce kadınları erkeklerden ayıran özellikler var mı? Kadına özgü dediğiniz bazı özellikler var mı? Neler?

2-Kadınların yapamayacağını düşündüğünüz işler var mı? Erkeklerin yapamayacağını düşündüğünüz işler var mı?

3- Kadınların erkeklerden üstün oldukları alanlar var mı? Varsa neler? Erkeklerin kadınlardan üstün oldukları alanlar var mı? Varsa, neler?

4- Kadınların erkeklere göre daha avantajlı ve dezavantajlı olduğu alanlar olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?

5- Sizce kadınların hayattaki temel hedefleri ne olmalıdır? Erkeklerin hayattaki temel hedefleri ne olmalıdır?

6- Anneniz sizin nasıl bir kadın olmanızı ister(di)? Annenizin size kadın olduğunuz için yapmanız gereken ya da yapamayacağınız söylediği bazı şeyler oldu mu?

7- Annenizin iyi bir kadın erkek ilişkisinde kadının nasıl davranmasını konusunda size tavsiye verdi mi? Anneniz ailenin ya da evliliğin nasıl olması gerektiğini gösteren söylemleri/tavsiyeleri oldu mu? Bu tavsiyelerden siz nasıl etkilediniz? Uymanız gerektiğini düşündüğünüz tavsiyeler var mı? Uymanıza gerek olmadığını düşündüğünüz ya da uymak istemediğiniz tavsiyeleri oldu mu? Bunlar neler? Neden uymak istemediniz?

8- Cinsiyet rolleri, kadın olmak, annelik, aile gibi kavramlar hakkında annenizden neler öğrendiniz? Uymayı reddettiğiniz spesifik konular var mı?

2. Tema: Kadın- Erkek İlişkisi

1- Kadın erkek ilişkisinde kadınlara özgü cinsiyet rolleri var mıdır? Varsa, bunlar nelerdir? Kadınlar ilişkilerinde cinsiyet rollerine göre davranmazlarsa ne olur?

2- Kadınların evlenmemesi hayatlarını nasıl etkiler? Kadınlar için uygun gördüğünüz bir evlenme yaşı var mı? Varsa, en az kaç olmalı? Erkekler için kaç olmalı? Neden böyle düşündünüz?

3- Anneniz size ikili ilişkide cinsiyet rolleri hakkında neler öğretti? Kendi ailenizle yaşarken anneniz ve babanız arasında cinsiyete göre yapılmış bir görev dağılımı var mıydı? Anneniz neler yapardı? Siz de kendi evliliğinizde, ilişkinizde eşinizle/partnerinizle buna benzer bir görev dağılımı yaptınız mı? Yapmadıysanız, nerelerde farklılaşıyor?

4- Annenizin kadın erkek ilişkisinde kadın olmakla ilgili sergilediği davranış ya da söylemlerinden en çok hangilerini kendi hayatınızda sürdürdünüz?

5-Anneniz size kadın erkek ilişkisi hakkında neler aktardı? Size kadın erkek ilişkisinde kadın şöyle davranmalıdır dediği örnekler var mı?

3. Tema: Cinsellik

1- Sizin için cinselliğin anlamı nedir? Evlilik öncesi cinselliğe dair bilgi ve deneyim kazanmak kadın için önemli midir? Erkek için önemli midir?

2- Sizce cinselliğe dair bilgi nerden edinilmeli? Anneniz size cinselliğe dair bilgi verdi mi? Başka birisi verdi mi? Neler anlatıldı? Ne zaman anlatıldı?

3- Sizce annenizin kadın cinselliğine yaklaşımı sizin cinsel kimliğinizin oluşmasında etkili oldu mu? Annenizin cinselliğe bakış açısında eleştirdiğiniz/ karşı çıktığınız düşünceler var mıydı?

4- Anneniz cinsellik hakkında sizinle açıkça konuşabilir mi? Size çocukluk, ergenlik ve yetişkinlik döneminde nasıl bir cinsel bilgi aktarıldı? Sizi hiç kadın doğum uzmanına götürdü mü?

5- Cinsellik konusundaki görüşlerinizin annenizin görüşlerinden farklı olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Annenizden cinsellik konusunda yeterince bilgi alabildiğinizi düşünüyor musunuz? Sizin annenize cinsellik konusunda verdiğiniz bilgiler var mı?

4. Tema: Kadın Bedeni

1- Zihninizde ideal kadın bedenine dair bir düşünce, algı, resim var mı? Varsa, nasıl?

2- Bedeninize ilişkin olumsuz yorumlar aldığınız oldu mu? Bu yorumlar kimden geldi? Siz bu olumsuz yorumlara nasıl tepki verdiniz, bu yorumlar

sizi nasıl etkiledi? Kilo kaybetmek/kazanmak adına düzenli olarak yaptığınız bir beslenme, spor programı var mı?

3- Kendi bedeninize ilişkin kararları kendiniz alabiliyor musunuz? Karar alma sürecine dahil olan birileri var mı? Varsa, bu sürece ne kadar dahil oluyorlar?

4- Anneniz sizin görünüşünüz hakkında olumlu ya da olumsuz yorum yapar mıydı? Ne gibi yorumlar yapardı (kilo, makyaj, kıyafet vb.)? Bu yorumlar sizi nasıl etkilerdi?

5- Annenizin size bedeniniz ile ilgili verdiği tavsiyeler var mı? Siz bu tavsiyeleri ne kadar uygularsınız? Yorumları sizin için ne derecede önemlidir?

C. FIELD QUESTIONS FOR MOTHERS *(Turkish)*

Demografik Sorular

1- Doğum yeri

2- Doğum yılı

3- Medeni durum

4- Öğrenim durumu

5- Gelir kaynağı

6- Çalışma şekli (tam zamanlı, yarı zamanlı vb.)

7- Evlilik yaşı

8- Anne olma yaşı (kız çocuklarına sorulmayacak)

1. Tema: Kadınlığa Dair Yaklaşımalar

1) Sizce kadınları erkeklerden ayıran özellikler var mı? Kadına özgü dediğiniz bazı özellikler var mı? Neler?

2) Kadınların yapamayacağını düşündüğünüz işler var mı? Erkeklerin yapamayacağını düşündüğünüz işler var mı?

3) Kadınların erkeklerden üstün oldukları alanlar var mı? Varsa, neler? Erkeklerin kadınlardan üstün oldukları alanlar var mı? Varsa, neler?

4) Kadınların erkeklere göre daha avantajlı ve dezavantajlı olduğu alanlar olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?

5) Sizce kadınların hayattaki temel hedefleri ne olmalıdır? Erkeklerin hayattaki temel hedefleri ne olmalıdır?

6) Anneniz sizin nasıl bir kadın olmanızı ister(di)? Annenizin size kadın olduğunuz için yapmanız gereken ya da yapamayacağınız söylediği bazı şeyler oldu mu?

7) Annenizin iyi bir kadın erkek ilişkisinde kadının nasıl davranmasını konusunda size tavsiye verdi mi? Anneniz ailenin ya da evliliğin nasıl olması gerektiğini gösteren söylemleri/tavsiyeleri oldu mu? Bu tavsiyelerden siz nasıl etkilediniz? Uymanız gerektiğini düşündüğünüz tavsiyeler var mı? Uymanıza gerek olmadığını düşündüğünüz ya da uymak istemediğiniz tavsiyeleri oldu mu? Bunlar neler? Neden uymak istemediniz?

8) Cinsiyet rolleri, kadın olmak, annelik, aile gibi kavramlar hakkında kızınıza neler aktardınız? Kızınız tavsiyelerinizden hangilerine uyuyor, hangilerine uymuyor?

2. Tema: Kadın Erkek İlişkisi

1) Kadın erkek ilişkisinde kadınlara özgü cinsiyet rolleri var mıdır? Varsa, bunlar nelerdir? Kadınlar ilişkilerinde cinsiyet rollerine göre davranmazlarsa ne olur?

2) Kadınların evlenmemesi hayatlarını nasıl etkiler? Kadınlar için uygun gördüğünüz bir evlenme yaşı var mı? Varsa, en az kaç olmalı? Erkekler için kaç olmalı? Neden böyle düşündünüz?

3) Anneniz size ikili ilişkide cinsiyet rolleri hakkında neler öğretti? Kendi ailenizle yaşarken anneniz ve babanız arasında cinsiyete göre yapılmış bir görev dağılımı var mıydı? Anneniz neler yapardı? Siz de kendi evliliğinizde

eşinizle buna benzer bir görev dağılımı yaptınız mı? Yapmadıysanız, nerelerde farklılaşıyor?

4) Annenizin kadın erkek ilişkisinde kadın olmakla ilgili sergilediği davranış ya da söylemlerinden en çok hangilerini kendi hayatınızda sürdürdünüz?

5) Kızınıza kadın erkek ilişkisi hakkında neler aktardınız? Ona kadın erkek ilişkisinde kadın şöyle davranmalıdır dediğiniz örnekler var mı?

3. Tema: Cinsellik

1) Sizin için cinselliğin anlamı nedir? Evlilik öncesi cinselliğe dair bilgi ve deneyim kazanmak kadın için önemli midir? Erkek için önemli midir?

2) Sizce cinselliğe dair bilgi nerden edinilmeli? Anneniz size cinselliğe dair bilgi verdi mi? Başka birisi verdi mi? Neler anlatıldı? Ne zaman anlatıldı?

3) Sizce annenizin kadın cinselliğine yaklaşımı sizin cinsel kimliğinizin oluşmasında etkili oldu mu? Annenizin cinselliğe bakış açısında eleştirdiğiniz/ karşı çıktığınız düşünceler var mıydı?

4) Kızınızla cinsellik hakkında kolayca konuşabilir misiniz? Kızınıza çocukluk, ergenlik ve yetişkinlik döneminde nasıl bir cinsel bilgi aktardınız? Kızınızı hiç kadın doğum uzmanına götürdünüz mü?

5) Kızınızın cinsellik konusundaki görüşlerinin sizden farklı olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Kızınıza cinsellik konusunda yeterince bilgi aktardığınızı düşünüyor musunuz? Kızınızdan cinsellik konusunda aldığınız bir bilgi var mı?

4. Tema: Kadın Bedeni

1) Zihninizde ideal kadın bedenine dair bir düşünce, algı, resim var mı? Varsa, nasıl?

2) Bedeninize ilişkin olumsuz yorumlar aldığınız oldu mu? Bu yorumlar kimden geldi? Siz bu olumsuz yorumlara nasıl tepki verdiniz, bu yorumlar sizi nasıl etkiledi? Kilo kaybetmek/kazanmak adına düzenli olarak yaptığınız bir beslenme, spor programı var mı?

3) Kendi bedeninize ilişkin kararları kendiniz alabiliyor musunuz? Eşiniz bu karar alma sürecine dahil oluyor mu? Ne derece dahil oluyor?

4) Anneniz sizin görünüşünüz hakkında olumlu ya da olumsuz yorum yapar mıydı? ne gibi yorumlar yapardı (kilo, makyaj, kıyafet vb.)? Bu yorumlar sizi nasıl etkilerdi?

5) Kızınıza bedeni ile ilgili verdiğiniz tavsiyeler var mı? Kızınız bu tavsiyeleri ne kadar uygular? Yorumlarınızı ne kadar dinler?

D. INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Bu araştırma, ODTÜ Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Kadın Çalışmaları Bölümü Yüksek Lisans öğrencisi Zeynep Yardımcı tarafından Prof. Dr. Fatma Umut Beşpınar danışmanlığındaki yüksek lisans tezi kapsamında yürütülmektedir. Bu form sizi araştırma koşulları hakkında bilgilendirmek için hazırlanmıştır.

Çalışmanın Amacı Nedir?

Araştırmanın amacı, anneden kız çocuğuna aktarılan toplumsal cinsiyet değer ve beklentilerinin kız çocuğunu nasıl ve ne derecede etkilediğini araştırmak ve genç kadınların bu aktarıma hangi mekanizmalarla nasıl tepki verdiğini anlamlandırmak olacaktır.

Bize Nasıl Yardımcı Olmanızı İsteyeceğiz?

Araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ederseniz, görüşme yüz yüze görüşmeyi gerektirecektir. Araştırmacı size bir dizi açık uçlu soru yönelterek sizden sözlü yanıt vermenizi bekleyecektir. Yaklaşık olarak bir buçuk ya da iki saat sürmesi beklenen bu görüşmenin daha sonra içerik analizi ile değerlendirilebilmesi için cevaplarınız izniniz dahilinde kaydedilecektir.

Sizden Topladığımız Bilgileri Nasıl Kullanacağız?

Araştırmaya katılımınız tamamen gönüllülük temelinde olmalıdır. Çalışmada sizden kimlik veya kurum belirleyici hiçbir bilgi istenmeyecektir. Cevaplarınız tamamıyla gizli tutulacak ve sadece araştırmacı tarafından değerlendirilecektir. Katılımcılardan elde edilecek bilgiler toplu halde değerlendirilecek ve bilimsel yayımlarda isminiz değiştirilerek kullanılacaktır.

Katılımınızla ilgili bilmeniz gerekenler:

Çalışma, genel olarak kişisel rahatsızlık verecek sorular veya uygulamalar içermemektedir. Ancak, katılım sırasında sorulardan ya da herhangi başka bir nedenden ötürü kendinizi rahatsız hissederseniz çalışmayı yarıda bırakıp çıkmakta

serbestsiniz. Böyle bir durumda çalışmayı uygulayan kişiye çalışmadan çıkmak istediğinizi söylemek yeterli olacaktır.

Araştırmayla ilgili daha fazla bilgi almak isterseniz:

Çalışma esnasında, başında ya da sonunda, bu çalışmayla ilgili sorularınız cevaplanacaktır. Bu çalışmaya katıldığınız için şimdiden teşekkür ederiz. Çalışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak için Sosyoloji Bölümü öğretim üyelerinden Prof. Dr. Fatma Umut Beşpınar ile ya da yüksek lisans öğrencisi Zeynep Yardımcı ile iletişim kurabilirsiniz.

Yukarıdaki bilgileri okudum ve bu çalışmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum.

(Formu doldurup imzaladıktan sonra uygulayıcıya geri veriniz).

İsim Soyad   Tarih   İmza

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Patriarkal toplumların devamlılığını sağlayan en önemli etkenlerden biri geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyet değer, tutum ve beklentilerinin kuşaktan kuşağa aktarılmasıdır. Özellikle toplumların ve toplumsal yapıların zaman içinde nasıl değiştiği anlamlandırılmak istendiğinde, kuşak araştırması yapmak gerekmektedir. Bu nedenle bu çalışma, toplumsal cinsiyet düzeninin aktarım örüntülerini anlamayı amaçlayarak, iki kuşak kadının deneyimlerinden yola çıkarak kurgulanmıştır.

Bu nedenle, bu çalışmada, bir toplumsal yapı olarak karşımıza çıkan ve toplumun her bir kurumunun içerisinde var olan bireylerin, toplumsal cinsiyet temelli değer, tutum ve beklentiler yoluyla, hem diğer toplumsal kurumlarla, hem de kendileri arasındaki etkileşimleriyle patriarkal toplumsal düzeni nasıl yeniden ürettiği ve/veya dönüştürdüğü araştırılmıştır. Bu dönüşümü ve/veya yeniden üretimi anlamlandırabilmek için anneler ve onların yüksek eğitimli kızlarının; evlilik, boşanma, güç ilişkileri, kadın bedeni ve cinsellik hakkında toplumsal cinsiyet temelli değer, tutum ve beklentilerinin aktarım örüntüsü anlamlandırılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Çalışmanın temel teorik çerçevesi sosyalizasyon teorisinden yararlanılarak oluşturulmuştur. Çünkü sosyalizasyon teorisi, özellikle çocukluk ve ergenlik döneminde edinilen tutum ve davranışların, insanların erken yetişkinlik ve sonraki dönemlerindeki değer ve tutumlarının temelini oluşturduğunu ve dolayısı ile bireylerin yaşamlarının geri kalanında belirleyici olduğuna işaret etmektedir (Moen et al., 1997). Bu değerler bütünü de birincil sosyalizasyonla, aile içerisinde, en çok anneler tarafından çocuklara aktarılmaktadır. Tüm bunlar göz önüne alındığında bu araştırmada, sosyalizasyon teorisi merkeze alınarak, toplumsal cinsiyet değer, tutum ve beklentilerinin aktarım mekanizmalarının en önemli ve birincil aşaması olarak kabul edilen, anneden kız çocuğuna doğru, kuşaklarası aktarımına odaklanılmıştır.

Çoğunlukla sosyalizasyon sürecinde ailenin rolünü temel alan geleneksel yaklaşımlarda, ailenin merkezileştirilerek güçlü bir ataerkil toplumsal kurum olarak ele alınması, aile bireylerinin kişisel deneyimlerinin yok olmasına, dolayısı ile

toplumsal cinsiyet perspektifinin de göz ardı edilmesine neden olur. Bu yaklaşım aynı zamanda, bireylerin deneyimlerini genel geçerler haline getirilerek güç ilişkilerinin eşitsiz dağılımına sebebiyet verir ve bu dağılımda baskın öğreti, erkeklerin anlatısı üzerinden kurgulanırken, kadınların deneyimleri ikincil bırakılarak marjinalize edilir. Dahası, toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri, toplumların patriarka seviyeleri ile doğru orantılı olarak bir toplumdan diğerine farklılık gösterse de, çoğu toplumda bu geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri erkek egemenliğini beslerken kadın itaatini yeniden üretme eğilimindedir. Bu bağlamda, geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin devamlılığının sağlaması açısından bir çeşit yeniden üretim mekanizması olarak işlevselleştirilen birincil sosyalizasyon, kadını ve kadının toplumda oynadığı rolü her zaman erkeğe göre aşağıda konumlandırılmasının nesilden nesile aktarılmasında veya bu aktarımın durdurulup daha eşitlikçi bir toplum inşaa edilmesinde oldukça önemlidir.

Özellikle ataerkilliğin yoğun bir şekilde hüküm sürdüğü toplumlarda, toplumsal cinsiyete uygun olmayan davranışların özneleri cezalandırılırken, toplumsal cinsiyete uygun davranan bireyler ise toplum tarafından yüceltilerek ödüllendirilir. Bu bağlamda, kadınlar, toplumsal cinsiyete uygunsuz olarak işaretlenen rollerin çoğundan kısıtlanırken böylesi bir sınırlarma, kamusal hayattan özel hayata kadar, hayatın birçok alanında kadınları olumsuz etkiler ve kadınların ataerkil toplumlarda inşaa edilmiş ikincil plandaki konumunu destekler.

Tüm bu sebeplerle, bu çalışmada, Türkiye'de yaşayan kadınların patriarka sebebi ile en çok baskı gördüğü, hatta toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri dışında bir noktada kendilerini konumlandırdıklarında toplum tarafından cezalandırıldığı alanlardan en belirginleri olan; evlilik, boşanma, güç ilişkileri, cinsellik ve kadın bedeni, çalışmanın temel araştırma alanları olarak belirlenmiştir ve her bir temada kuşaklar boyunca kadınların baş etmek zorunda kaldığı geleneksel patriarkal toplumsal öğretiler ve kadınların bu patriarkal toplumsal baskılarla başa çıkma yöntemleri ve/veya bu baskılara boyun eğme sebepleri derinlemesine incelenmiştir. Dolayısıyla, bu çalışma, annelerin ve kızlarının boşanma, evlilik, güç ilişkileri, cinsellik ve kadın bedeni ile ilgili

toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı değerleri, tutumları ve beklentileri arasındaki aktarım örüntülerini anlamlandırarak Türkiye'deki kuşaklar arası aktarımın toplumsal cinsiyet düzeninde yeniden üretilmesi ve/veya dönüştürülmesine bir anlam kazandırmayı amaçlayarak yazılmıştır. Araştırma, hem iki kuşağın özgün bilgisine ayrı ayrı, yarı yapılandırılmış, derinlemesine görüşmelerde ulaşılmış bir kuşaklarası çalışma olması açısından, hem de araştırma yönteminde benimsediği Feminist Duruş Kuramı felsefik arkaplanı nedeniyle literatürde özgündür.

Feminist metodolojinin benimsendiği bu çalışma, bireysel çeşitliliği görmezden gelen ve bireye grup kimliği ardından bakan modernite paradigmasının getirdiği, aileyi analiz birimi olarak alan geleneksel bakış açısını redderek, tek bir aile içerisinde, aynı aktörler tarafında baskı, sömürü ve ikincilleştirmeye maruz kalmış iki kuşak kadını analiz birimi olarak ele alır ve her iki kuşak kadınlardan gelen bilgileri genelgeçer kalıpların içinde aramadan, ya da birini diğerinden daha üstün görmeden, kendi gerçeklikleriyle değerlendirir. Dolayısı ile bu çalışma özcü değildir. Çalışmanın katılımcıları, daha önce kendilerince bile hiç duyulmamış benzersiz sesleriyle, kendilerine özgü gündelik eylemleri ve etkileşimleri hakkında konuştukça, bilen özne konumuna geçmiş ve toplumsal düzeni yeniden üreterek bu çalışmada kendi gerçekliklerini yeniden üreterek güçlenmişlerdir. Dolayısı ile çalışmada, kadınların susturulan tarihlerinin görünür kılınması amaçlanmış ve bu amaca Feminist metodolojinin sağladığı bilgi birikimi ve felsefik arkaplanı sayesinde ulaşılmıştır.

Bu çalışmaya özgünlük katan feminist metodoloji, epistemoloji ile ayrılmaz bir şekilde bağlantılı olduğundan, bilgi üretimini derinden etkileyen deneyimleri göstermek için bu çalışmanın her bir aşamasına nüfuz ettirilmiştir. Ana akım sosyal bilimler araştırmalarında, nesnel bilimsel bilgi üretimi adı altında, güç ilişkileri meşrulaştırılarak sadece baskın grupların bilgisine kulak verilirken, ikincilleştirilmiş grupların gerçekliği baskı altında tutulur. Ancak feminist epistemolojik bakış açısı, bilimsel bir araştırmanın illa ki nesnel olması gerekmediğini ve bir bilginin bilimsel olarak kabul edilebilmesinin birden fazla yolu olduğunu savunur. Örneğin, Harding

(1986), bir bilginin bilimselliğini artırabilmenin yolunun, o bilgiye otoriter ve elitist yaklaşmak yerine, ancak o bilgiye sahip olanın bireysel katılımıyla ve özgürleştirici yaklaşımıyla erişilebileceğini savunur. Bu yaklaşımdan yola çıkarak bu feminist araştırmada, çalışmanın katılımcılarının kendilerine ait eşsiz deneyimleri bilimsel bilginin kaynağı olarak kabul edilmiştir. Öznellik, bu araştırmanın epistemolojik anlayışında merkeze alınmış ve kadınların toplumsal ilişkilerinde kurdukları etkileşimleri, dolayısıyla öznel deneyimleri, dinamik, dönüşebilen ve zamanla evrilebilen bir süreç olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Anneler ve kızlarından gelen bilgilerin sadece kendi hayatlarına özgü değil, aynı zamanda kendi kuşaklarına da özgü olduğu çalışmada dikkate alınmış ve analizlerde kuşakiçi değerlendirmelere de dikkat edilmiştir.

Feminist çalışmaları diğer çalışmalardan farklılaştıran bir diğer değerli özellik de feminist çalışmaların, araştırmacıya araştırmaya kendi deneyim ve duygularını dahil etmesinde tanıdığı özgürlüktür. Aslında hemen hemen her bilimsel çalışma konu seçiminden, saha sorularına, saha sorularından ise toplanmış verinin analizine kadar, özünde araştırmacının kendi hayatından ve deneyimlerinden kaynaklanan bilinçli seçilime ve yoruma maruz kalarak araştırmacının deneyim ve bilgilerini çalışmaya katmaktadır. Ancak gene nesnellik arayışı içerisinde olan çalışmalarda, araştırmacıların kendi duygu ve deneyimlerinden çalışmalarında yararlanması, katılımcılarla yapılan görüşmeleri esnasında, kendi duygu ve deneyimleri üzerinden iletişime geçmesinden, bilimselliği azalttığı iddiasıyla kaçınılmaktadır. Öyle ki ana akım "bilimsel" çalışmalarda genellikle etken cümle yapısı yerine edilgen cümle yapılarının kullanımı da bu görüşü destekler niteliktedir. Ancak feminist duruş kuramının da iddiasına göre, araştırmacının toplumdaki ayrıcalıklı ve/veya ikincil konumu yapılan araştırmalarda başından sonuna kadar etkilidir (Ramazanoğlu and Holland, 2002; Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). Bu sebeplerle, bu çalışmamda genç ve feminist bir araştırmacı olarak, hem kendi sesimin, hem de çalışmam esnasında görüştüğüm 30 değerli kadının sesinin daha net duyulabilmesi için, ilk aşamada edilgen yerine etken cümleler kurmayı seçtim ve çalışmanın her aşamasında nerelerde kendi ayrıcalıklı konumum çalışmayı etkilediğinin, nerelerde ise

toplumdaki dezavantajlı pozisyonlarımın çalışmayı şekillendirdiğinin farkında olarak bu araştırmayı tamamladım.

Tüm bu arkaplan ışığında, nitel araştırma metodunun kullanıldığı bu araştırmada, Feminist Duruş Kuramı benimsenerek 15 anne-kız çifti olmak üzere toplam 30 katılımcıyla, ayrı ayrı oturumlarda, yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmış ve yukarıda bahsi geçen temalarda kadınların kuşaklar arası epistemik bilgilerine ulaşılmıştır. Böylelikle, anneler ve kızları arasındaki toplumsal cinsiyet değer, tutum ve beklentilerinin aktarım örüntüsü anlamlandırılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Çalışmanın katılımcılarına öncelikle araştırmacının yakın çevresinden ulaşılmaya çalışılmıştır, dolayısı ile örneklem seçimi kolaylıkla bulunabilen örneklemdir (convenience sampling). Ayrıca, bu çalışma başından kurgulandığı gibi, temsiliyet peşinde değildir, dolayısı ile örneklemin bir temsil gücü yoktur. Çalışmada, anne ve kız arasındaki aktarım örüntülerini anlamlandırmak için her bir katılımcı ile tek sefer görüşme yapılarak yatay kesit veri (cross sectional data) toplanmıştır. Daha önce de bahsedildiği gibi, çalışmanın analiz birimini anne-kız çifti oluşturmaktadır.

Çalışmanın katılımcılarının bilinçli seçimi, literatürde bulunan daha önce yapılmış araştırmaların sonuçlarına dayandırılmıştır ve anneler için herhangi bir kriter aranmazken, genç kadınların araştırmanın katılımcısı olabilmeleri aşağıda özeti verilen kriterlere bağlanmıştır.

İlk aşamada, genç kadınların görüşmelerin yapıldığı sırada, 25-30 yaş aralığında olması beklenmiştir çünkü literatür, bu yaş aralıklarında genç kadınların meslek seçimi, eğitime devam etme, evlilik veya çocuk sahibi olmak dahil olmak üzere hayatlarının devamında da etkilili olacak, köklü kararlar aldıkları yaşlar olduğuna işaret etmektedir. Bu nedenle, kız çocuklarının bu dönemde aldıkları kararlarda daha önce annelerinden aldıkları eleştirelerin ve içselleştirilmiş öğretilerin yol gösterici olduğu bulunmuştur. Dolayısıyla çalışmanın genç kadınlarından, 25-30 yaş aralarında olmaları beklenmiştir.

İkinci olarak, genç kadınların, annelerin biyolojik çocuğu olması beklenmiştir. Çünkü, gene literatürdeki daha önce yayımlanmış çalışmalar incelendiğinde, biyolojik anne ve babanın her koşulda çocukların kişiliğinde üvey ebeveynlere göre daha etkili olduğu bulunmuştur (Carlson and Knoester, 2011; Hawkins et al., 2006) Dolayısı ile anne ile kızı arasındaki aktarımı anlamlandırırken, böylesi bir varyasyonun olasılığı daha önce yapılmış çalışmaların bilgisi kullanılarak elenmek istenmiştir.

Üçüncü aşamada, genç kadınların, anneleri ile en az 18 yaşına kadar beraber yaşamış olmaları beklenmiştir. Çünkü, hem erken çocukluk hem de ergenlik yılları, bir çocuğun toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı değer, tutum ve beklentilerinin oluşmasında en önemli dönemler olarak görülmektedir (Min et al., 2012; Dhar et al., 2019; Platt and Polavieja, 2016). Dolayısı ile anne ile kızı arasındaki aktarımın ve etkileşimin en yüksek olduğu bu dönemlerde anne ile kızın aynı ev içerisinde beraber olup olmaması bu çalışmanın bulgularını etkileyeceği için, bir örneklem seçim kriteri olarak ele alınmıştır.

Ayrıca, genç kadınların en az üniversite mezunu olmaları da beklenen kriterler arasındadır. Çünkü iyi eğitimli kadınların, eğitimlerinin getirdiği, iş hayatındaki daha yüksek statüleri ve daha fazla saygı uyandırma eğilimleri nedeniyle, ataerkil yapıya meydan okumak için daha fazla güce sahip olduğu literatürde bulunmuştur (Gaunt, 2013). Ayrıca, hem ebeveynlerin hem de çocukların daha düşük eğitim derecelerinin daha geleneksel cinsiyet inançlarına neden olduğu birçok çalışmada gösterilmiştir. Dolayısı ile düşük eğitimin, toplumsal cinsiyet değer tutum ve beklentilerinin aktarımında etkisinin çalışmada belirleyici olmaması için yüksek eğitimli genç kadınlar bilinçli olarak seçim kriterlerine eklenmişitir.

Katılımcı seçiminde bir diğer önemli kriter ise saha görüşmelerinin yapıldığı esnada genç kadınların çocuk sahibi olamamaları veya hamile olmamalarıdır. Çünkü literatüre göre genç kadınların, geçmişte kendi annelerinde karşı çıktıkları toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı değer, tutum ve davranışları, kendileri anne olduktan sonra hayata geçirebilme olasılıklarının olduğu, sosyalizasyonun da dinamik ve ömür boyu süren

bir süreç olduğu göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, genç kadınların annelerine karşı düşüncelerinin zaman içinde değişebişeceği olasılığı vardır. Hatta bu konuda yapılmış çalışmalar da hamilelik döneminde genç kadınların annelerine yeniden yönelme eğilimi olduğunu desteklemektedir ve genç kadınların çocukları olduktan sonra kendi anneleriyle olan ilişkilerinde de büyük değişiklikler meydana gelebildiğine işaret etmektedir (Fischer, 1986; Chorodow, 1978). Bu önemli boyutların, iyi eğitimli genç kadınların, toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı değer, tutum ve beklentileri benimsemelerinde ve reddetmelerinde yeni olasılıklar yaratabileceği göz önünde bulundurularak, çocuk sahibi olmanın çalışmanın bulgularını da etkileyebileceği kaygısıyla, örneklem çocuğu olmayan genç kadınlar ile sınırlandırılmıştır.

Son olarak, çalışmada katılımcıların heteroseksüel olmaları beklenmiştir. Çünkü heteroseksüel ilişkiler, tüm ilişki çeşitleri arasında en çok geleneksel olma eğilimde olan, dolayısı ile toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı geleneksel değer, tutum ve beklentilerin de aynı zamanda en çok yeniden üretildiği yer olması nedeniyle bir katılımcı seçim kriteri olmuştur (Rudman ve Glick, 2008).

Görüşmeler esnasında katılımcıların yazılı onaylarıyla alınan ses kayıtları, her görüşmenin ardından deşifre edilmiş ve yazıya geçirilmiş verinin ayıklanmasının ardından tematik kodlama yöntemi ile toplanan veri analiz edilmiştir. Tematik kodlama yapılırken araştırmacı önce elle, ardından excel üzerinden veriyi ortak temalar oluşturarak kodlamıştır. Veriler yukarıda da bahsedilen, evlilik, boşanma, güç ilişkileri, cinsellik ve kadın bedeni temaları altında analiz edilmiş, her bir tema için bulgular gruplanmıştır. Çalışmanın en sonunda hangi temalarda toplumsal düzenin yeniden üretildiği, hangi temalarda ise dönüştürüldüğü bilgisine de erişilmiştir. İlgili literatür incelemesi belirlenen temaya göre farklılık gösterse de, çalışmanın teorik çerçevesinin özü, ağırlıklı olarak sosyal öğrenme teorisi, sosyalizasyon teorisi ve toplumsal cinsiyet ideolojisini içeren nesiller arası aktarıma ilişkin teorik bakış açılarına dayanmaktadır ve literatürün geri kalanı bu kuramsal çerçeve temelinde incelenmiştir.

Çalışmada, iki kuşak anneler ve kızlarının bilgisine kendi anlatıları yoluyla erişilirken, annelere kendi annelerini anlatma fırsatı da yarı yapılandırılmış saha soruları aracılığıyla verilmiştir ve annelerin anlatısı üzerinden, dolaylı ve sınırlı olarak anneannelerin kuşağına ait toplumsal cinsiyet değerleri hakkında bilgi sahibi olunmuştur. Aynı zamanda, anneannelerin de anneleri nasıl etkilediği bilgisine bu yöntemle erişilmiştir. Anneler ve anneannelerin evlilik, boşanma ve iktidar ilişkilerine bakış açılarında ortaya çıkan bazı bariz farklılıklar bulunurken, bu konularda, anneler ve kızlarının bakış açıları arasında daha az farklılıklar olduğu fark edilmiştir. Bu bağlamda, çalışmanın genç kadınlarının kuşağı (kızlar) ve onların anneannelerinin kuşaklarının toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı değerler, tutumlar ve beklentiler açısından birbirlerinden tamamen farklılaştığı bariz bir şekilde gözlemlenebilirken, çalışmanın genç kadınlarının annelerinden evlilik, boşanma ve güç ilişkileri konularında çok da farklı düşünmediği çalışmada bulunmuştur. Bu bağlamda annelerin, anneannelerden gelen bazı geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyet temelli değer, tutum ve beklentileri taşırken, kendinden sonraki nesil olan kızlarının kuşağının taşıdığı daha eşitlikçi toplumsal cinsiyet değerlerine de sahip olmaları nedeniyle annelerin, anneanneler ve kızları arasında bir köprü görevi gördüğü söylenebilir. Annelerin ya da kızlarının böylesi bir sürece nasıl adapte olduğu ise çalışmanın asıl odak noktası olmuştur.

Güçlü toplumsal normlar, değerler ve roller, günlük yaşamda kullanılan baskın anlatıyı, yani toplumsal değerleri şekillendirir. Bu şekilde kültürel anlatılar, günlük hayatı baskın anlatıya uygun olarak biçimlendirme gücüne sahipken belirli grupların öğretilerini diğerlerinin üzerinde geçerli kılma yetisine de sahip olur. Bir diğer deyişle, özellikle patriarkal toplumlarda, baskın kültürel anlatılar, yaşamın nasıl anlaşılması gerektiğine dair ortak bir anlayış sunar. Bu anlatılar, ataerkil toplumlarda söz sahibi olabilme yetkisini elinde bulunduranlarca yani erkekler tarafından dil aracılığıyla yeniden üretilmekte ve nesilden nesile aktarılmaktadır. Öte yandan tüm bu anlatılar ötekiler tarafından sadece pasif bir şekilde dinlenmekte ve öteki olanlara baskın anlatıya boyun eğmekten başka fırsat verilmemektedir. Bu şekilde, baskın anlatıyı ortaya çıkaran dilin ve sesin verdiği güç, konuşma hakkına sahip olanın

elinde toplanmış olur (Fivush, 2010). Bu ataerkil yapıda kadınların her zaman dinleyenler, yani ötekiler konumda olması ve bakın kültürel anlatının yaratıcısı olmamaları, yani sessiz kalmaları beklenirken, erkeklerin duyulma, dinlenme ve böylece kültürü inşaa etme özgürlüğü vardır. Öyle ki, dinleme eylemi sıklıkla sessiz kalmakla ilişkilendirilirken, aslında bir yandan da dinleme eylemi cinsiyetleştirilerek kadına atfedilen bir özellik halini alır (Barta ve Parks, 2018). Bu nedenle, diğer patriarkal kültürel pratiklerdeki gibi, dinlemek de eşit olmayan güç ilişkilerinin, kültürel özgüllüklerin, süreklilik ve değişimin dinamiklerinin karmaşık gerçekliğine kök salmıştır. Böylece çalışmanın evlilik, boşanma ve güç ilişkilerinin derinlemesine incelendiği bölümünde bu bakış açıları merkezileştirilerek, sesin aksine sessizlik, sesten farklı olarak dayatılan güç ve benlik kaybını ima eden bir biçimde işlevselleştirilir, tıpkı sessizlik kavramının feminist anlayışta kendini ifade etmeden yoksunluk olarak işlevselleştirildiği gibi (Arroyo ve diğerleri, 2020). Türkiye gibi ataerkilliğin hüküm sürdüğü toplumlarda, kadınlar kendini ifade etmeden bilinçli bir şekilde yoksun bırakılarak hayatın birçok alanında baskılanır ve bu sessiz olma hali, güçlü kültürel temeller aracılığıyla da nesilden nesile aktarılır. Bu bağlamda, kadınların kendi seslerine sahip çıkabilmeleri ataerkil toplumsal düzenin değişimi için oldukça kritik öneme sahiptir.

Annelerin anlatımına göre, anneannelerin, annelere çocukluk dönemlerinden başlayarak verdikleri ilk ve en önemli tavsiye "susmak ve uyum sağlamak" olduğu, her bir anne katılımcı tarafından dile getirilmiştir. Annelerin ortalama yaşları göz önünde bulundurularak anneannelerin yaşı tahmin edildiğinde, anneannelerin 1940lar ya da 1950lerde doğmuş olabilecekleri beklenirken o dönemlerde kadınların eğitim ve istihdama katılım (tarım alanı dışında) oranlarının çok düşük olduğunu, hatta okur yazarlık oranlarının dahi çok sınırlı olduğu bir kuşak kadından bahsetmiş oluruz. Dolayısıyla anneannelerin genellikle ev içi üretimden sorumlu taraf olması, beşeri sermayelerinin de yetersiz bırakılmış olması nedeniyle büyük şehirlere doğru kayan iş gücü piyasasında gerekli vasıflara sahip olmamaları, onları bu şehirlerde istihdama katılım fırsatlarından mahrum bırakırken aynı zamanda kamusal alandaki varlıklarını da kısıtlayıp toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı rollerin ve değerlerin yeniden

üretildiği ev içine hapsetmiştir. Anneannelerin çoğunun, görüldükleri ama duyulmadıkları, seslerinin ve otoritelerinin yok denecek kadar az olduğu geniş aileler içerisinde var olduklarını anlıyoruz.

Bu öğretiler içerisinde bu çalışmanın katılımcı anneleri, anneannelerden büyük ölçüde farklılaşarak en az lise mezunu olmuş ve 15 anneden sadece bir tanesi hariç hepsi ücretli, tam zamanlı bir işte çalışmışlardır. Bu sayede de toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı değer, tutum ve beklentileri kendi annelerinden farklılaşmış, geçmişte kendilerinin maruz kaldıkları çoğu patriarkal baskıları kendi kızlarına uygulamayı reddetmişlerdir. Anneler, toplumsal baskıya en çok maruz kaldıkları noktalarda seslerini çıkarabilmişler. Bu noktalardan en önemlisi 15 anne katılımcıdan 8'inin yaşamınında boşanma olarak dışarı vurulmuş.

Türkiye gibi toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin çok keskin bir şekilde ayrıldığı patriarkal bir toplumda, toplumsal olarak her açıdan ötekileştirilip yalnız bırakılacaklarını bilmelerine rağmen annelerin bir ilişkinin devamlılığını reddedip boşanmayı tercih etmesi bütün toplumsal cinsiyet düzenine dair sorgulamaları da beraberinde getirmiştir. Çünkü, bunu başarabilen bir annenin varlığı, sadece kendisini değil aynı zamanda hem kızını hem de kendi kuşağı içerisinde evlilik yoluyla baskıya maruz kalan diğer kadınları da özgürleştirmiştir. Çünkü bu anneler, kadınların her şeyi, başka hiç kimsenin desteği olmadan başarabileceklerini, kendi ayaklarının üzerinde durmakla kalmayıp çocuklarına da en iyi koşulları sağlayabileceklerini her açıdan gündelik her eylemleriyle kanıtlamışlardır. Dolayısıyla, boşanmanın hem anneyi hem de çocukları kötü etkilediğini ısrarla dayatan ve bütün araştırmalarına bu ön kabulle başlayan ana akım literatürün aksine bu çalışma, boşanmanın anneleri ve kızlarını uzun vadede güçlendirdiğini, çocukların empati yeteneklerini geliştirdiğini ve hem annelerin hem de kızlarının gelecek ilişkilerinden daha gerçekçi beklentilerde olmalarını sağlayarak daha sağlıklı ilişkiler kurduklarını ortaya koymuştur.

Sonuç olarak evlilik, boşanma ve güç ilişkilerindeki toplumsal düzenin değişip değişmediğini, ve değiştiyse nasıl ve neden değiştiğini araştırdığım çalışmamın bu

kısmında, yüksek eğitimli annelerin bu konulardaki toplumsal düzeni değiştirdiğini, eğitimleri ve istihdama katılımları, yani ekonomik bağımsızlıkları ve beşeri sermayeleri sayesinde hayatlarını negatif etkileyen ve baskılayan bir ataerkil ilişkiyi sonlandırmayı seçerek bu alanda egemen patriarkal düzene karşı ayaklandıklarını ve bunu kızlarına aktardıklarını ortaya koydum. Bu aktarımın da genç kadınlara uzun vadede güçlenme olarak döndüğünü açıkladım.

Çalışmanın ikinci bölümünde, kadın vücuduna ilişkin toplumsal cinsiyet temelli değer, tutum ve beklentilerin nesiller arası aktarımı araştırılmıştır. Kadın bedeni hakkında böylesi bir araştırma oldukça önemlidir çünkü, kadının bedeni üzerindeki yıllardır süregelen erkek egemen tahakküm, kadınları bedenleri aracılığıyla ikincilleştirerek, onları hayatın birçok alanında geri plana itmiş, ve kadın bedeni patrikal pratiklerin temel uygulama alanı haline gelmiştir. Çalışmada, 30 kadının; kadın vücuduna bakış açısı, ideal kadın vücudu algısı, kadın bedeninin özerkliği, dış bakışın önemi ve annelerin kızlarına bedenleri ile ilgili verdikleri tavsiyeleri ve bu tavsiyelerin aterkilikle içkinliği irdelenmiştir. Araştırmanın bu bölümünde hedeflenen başlıca iki amaç vardır: ilki, genç kadınların, kadın bedenine yaklaşımlarının oluşumunda annellerinin etkisini anlamak, ikincisi ise anneler ile kızları arasındaki bedene dair aktarımın toplumsal sonucunu anlamlandırmaktır.

Kadınlar sıklıkla başka insanların bakışını kendi fiziksel benliklerinin birincil görüşü olarak içselleştirmek için ataerkil toplumlarda kültürel olarak asimile edilirler. Bu içselleştirme her kadın için farklıdır, çünkü kadınların cinsel nesneleştirmeye yönelik deneyimleri ve tepkileri, sınıf, toplumsal cinsiyet, yaş, etnik köken ve kişisel ve diğer fiziksel özelliklerin çeşitli kombinasyonlarına bağlı olarak değişir (Fredrickson ve Roberts, 1999). Bu kombinasyon çeşitliliği, kadın bedeninin biyolojik bir varlık olmasından ziyade, toplumsal olarak kurgulanmış, karmaşık ve çok boyutlu yapısının bir sonucu olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Tıpkı belirli toplumsal normlar ve beklentiler içinde bir toplumda nasıl davranılması gerektiğini öğrenme sürecinde olduğu gibi, kadınlar da belirli bir kültür içinde bir toplumdaki bedensel varlıklarının anlamını farklı deneyimlerle, sosyalizasyon süreciyle başlayarak öğrenirler.

Özellikle zayıf ve kıvrımlı hatlara sahip idealize edilmiş kadınsı güzelliğin içselleştirilmesi, toplumda ve sosyal mecralarda sürekli yayılan, kültürel olarak basmakalıp güzellik standardının çok önemli bir bileşenidir (Levine ve Chapman, 2011). Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğini ilerletmeyi amaçlayan onlarca yıllık toplumsal çabaya rağmen, arzu edilen bir kadın vücut profiline yönelik bu kısıtlayıcı ve baskıcı algı, toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri üzerinde süregelen sosyal sınırlamaların derinleşmesine neden olur ve kadın bedenini nesneleştirme yoluyla baskı altında tutarak toplumsal cinsiyet kalıp yargılarının devamlılığını sağlar (Perloff, 2014). Kadınlar, toplumsal cinsiyet sosyalizasyon sürecinin bir sonucu olarak, içsel özelliklerden ziyade fiziksel güzelliğe yapılan toplumsal vurguyu içselleştirerek, bir süre sonra hem kendinilerini hem de etraflarındaki diğer kadınları da nesneleştirmeye başlarlar (Fredrickson ve Roberts, 1997). Dahası, kız çocukları birincil sosyalizasyonla edindikleri beden algısına, özellikle annelerinden gelen dış görünüşleri hakkındaki yorumlara ve uyarılara karşı daha bilinçli hale gelir ve toplumca tanımlanmış güzellik standartlarına uymaya yönelik daha fazla kaygı içerisinde olurlar (Perloff, 2014).

Çalışmada genç kadınların çocukluk ve ergenlik dönemlerinde, anneleri tarafından oluşturulmuş bedenlerine ilişkin algılarını, ömürleri boyunca sürdürdüklerini, hatta toplumca kurgulanmış ataerkil kadın bedeni portresine uymadıklarında, toplumun baskısından ne derecede etkileneceklerini ve nasıl tepki vereceklerini anneleri doğrudan ve dolaylı iletişim yoluyla kızlarına aktarıyorlar. Öyle ki, annelerin kız çocuklarının özellikle ergenlik dönemlerinde bedenleri hakkında yaptıkları her türlü yorumlar, bunlar olumlu, olumsuz ya da şakacı/alay eden bir üslupla dahi olsa, genç kadınların beden imajlarını oluşturmasında en belirleyici etkenler olarak bulunmuştur. Annelerin kızların bedenlerine ilişkin olumlu ve olumsuz yorumları kızları sadece olumsuz etkilerken, dalga geçerek ya da şaka yaparak kızlarının bedenlerine ilişkin yaptıkları yorumları genç kadınları en olumsuz etkilkeyen, hatta ciddi anlamda yaralayan bir etken olarak çalışmada bulunmuştur.

Ayrıca, annelerin kendi bedenleri hakkında açıkça belirttiği memnuniyetleri, kendilerine uyguladıkları diyet kısıtlamaları ve kendi dış görünüşleriyle ilgili yaptıkları yorumların da genç kadınların beden algılarının oluşturmasında ciddi bir önem taşıdığı çalışmada bulunmuştur. Tüm bunların yanı sıra, güzellik standartları ile ilgili medya mesajlarının içselleştirilmesi, hem annelerin hem de kız çocuklarının, her yaşında etkiliği olduğu çalışmada bulunmuştur.

Tarih boyunca doğum kontrol yöntem ve teknolojilerindeki gelişmelerle birlikte kadınlar bedenleri üzerinde daha fazla hak sahibi olmaya başlamıştır. Doğum kontrolündeki bu gelişmelerle birlikte son 20 yılda geleneksel olarak kısıtlanmış cinsel değerler ve normlar azalmaya başlarken, özgürlükçü cinsel tutum ve davranışlar da artmıştır (Mannila ve diğerleri, 1996). DeLamater ve MacCorquodale'e (1979) göre, anne ve babaların cinsel öğretileri, çocukların ilk maruz kaldıkları standartlardır ve bu standartlar çocukların ileriki yaşlarındaki sosyoseksüel gelişim için de bir çerçeve oluşturmaktadır.

Annelerin kadın cinselliğine bakış açılarının kendi kuşaklarına göre daha özgürleşmesinin temelinde, kadın cinselliğinin öneminin zamanla değişimi yatmaktadır ve bu en çok görücü usulü evlenmiş annelerde bulunmuştur. Kadın cinselliğinin önemi arttıkça, annelerin evlilik öncesi cinselliğe bakış açılarının da daha hoşgörülü hale geldiği çalışmada bulunmuştur. Ancak bu hoşgörülülük hali anneler tarafından bazı ön koşullara bağlanmıştır. Bunlardan ilki ve en önemlisi cinsel birliktelik yaşanacak partnerle duygusal bağ ve yakınlığa sahip olmak, ikincisi belli bir yetişkinliğe ulaşmak, üçüncüsü ise ilk cinsel birlikteliğin yaşanacak partnerin evlilik için olası bir aday olması şeklindedir. Öte yandan, genç kadınlarda cinsellik için herhangi bir ön koşul bulunmazken, annelerden çok farklılaşarak cinsel birliktelik yaşanacak partnerde herhangi bir duygusal bağ ya da romantik birliktelik aramak da söz konusu değildir.

Anneler kızlarının cinsel değer, tutum ve normlarını şekillendirirken, kız çocukları da aynı zamanda annelerinin tutum ve değerlerini iletişim yoluyla etkilemektedir. Ancak cinsel konular hakkında anneler ve kızları hala çok konuşmamaktadır.

Cinsellik hakkındaki sohbetlerin temelini cinsel sağlık oluştururken, cinsel sağlıkla ilgili konuşmalarda da sağlığın seks boyutunu da içeren, cinsel yolla bulaşan hastalıklar ya da bu hastalıklardan korunma yöntemleri konuşulmazken, menstürasyon, menapoz, doğum gibi daha *tehlikesiz* konular anneler ve kızları arasında konuşulmaktadır. Genç kadınlar, cinsellik hakkında konuşmaktan çekinmektedir çünkü hala annelerine tam güvememektedirler ve bu sebeple tam olarak açılmamaktadırlar. Bu güvensizliğin temelinde, annelerinin sevgisini kaybetme ya da cezalandırılma kaygısı ve utanç gibi dinamikler bulunmuştur.

Cinsel bilgiye erişimin temel kaynağı annelerin döneminde eşler olarak görülürken, cinselliğe olan bakış açısındaki değişimlerle ve cinselliğin artık evlilikle başlamasının da beklenmemesi ile, cinsel bilgiye erişim kaynaklarının genç kadınların nesilleriyle birlikte değiştiğini görüyoruz. Bu değişim içerisinde anneler tarafından temel ve güvenilir kaynak internet olarak görülürken, genç kadınlarda post castler ve sosyal medya da cinsel bilginin temel kaynakları arasında gösterildiği çalışmada bulunmuştur.

Çalışmanın yukarıda bahsedilen sonuçları özetlemektedir ki, evlilik, boşanma, güç ilişkileri ve cinsellik konularında toplumsal cinsiyet temelli değerler, tutumlar ve beklentiler nesilden nesile değişerek patriarkal toplumsal düzeni aşındırdığı bulunurken, toplumsal cinsiyet düzeninin yeniden üretimi, kadın bedeni meselelerinde açıkça görülmektedir.Anneler, kızlarına, cinsiyetçi ve toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı basmakalıp güzellik standartlarını kuşaklararası olarak aktarmakta ve kız çocukları da bu ilkeleri o içselleştirmektedir. Öyle ki bu içselleştirilmiş ataerkil güzellik standartları kız çocuklarını sağlıklarını riske atacak beslenme ve egzersiz uygulamalarına teşvik etmektedir.

Toplumsal cinsiyet düzeninin kadın bedeninde böylesine güçlü bir şekilde yeniden üretilmesi, toplumda, *gücün* kadın bedeni üzerinden tanımlanmasından kaynaklandığını düşünmekteyim. Teşvik ve ceza uygulamarını da içeren güce sahiplik, kaynakları yönetme ve başkalarını etkileme yeteneği olarak tanımlanabilir. Kültürel olarak tanımlanmış güzellik standartlarına daha uygun olan kadınların

toplum tarafından da daha fazla kabul gördüğü tartışılmaz bir gerçektir. Aynı şekilde bu tanımlanmış güzelliğin yokluğunda, geleneksel kadın güzelliği imgesinin varlığıyla gün ışığına çıkan fırsatların bir anda yok olması bu görüşümü destekler niteliktedir. Kadınlar toplum tarafından daha fazla kabul edildikçe, daha geniş bir insan ağına sahip olabilirler ve daha geniş bir ağ, onların işgücü piyasasında daha iyi bir iş bulmalarına izin verebilir ve hatta evlilik piyasasında değerlerini artırabilir. Dolayısıyla bu ataerkil güzellik, yükselen sosyo-ekonomik statü ile ödüllendirilir. Bu anlamda kadın bedeni, gücü elinde tutan bir araç haline gelir. Araştırmanın anne katılımcıları, kızlarının sağlıklarını önemseme kisvesi altında, kızlarını kültürel olarak tanımlanmış güzellik algısına yerleştirmek istiyorlar çünkü güzelliğin güç getirdiğini kendi deneyimleriyle biliyorlar. Bu nedenlerle anneler hem kendi bedenlerini hem de kızlarının bedenlerini nesneleştirirken, medya kanalları ve sosyal çevre farklı motivasyonlarla (kapitalist tüketim gibi) aynı ataerkil güzelliği güçlü bir şekilde destekliyor. Bu nedenle Türk toplumunda kadın bedeni üzerindeki baskı, nesiller arası aktarılmakta ve geleneksel değerler yeniden üretilmektedir.

Çalışmada Türkiye'de eğitimleri toplum ortalamasının çok üzerinde olan çok özel bir anne grubuna tesadüfen ulaşılmış ve onların ve kızlarının gerçeklikleri ortaya konulmuştur. Ancak bu grubun böylesine homojen olması çalışmanın sınırlılıklarındandır. Gelecek çalışmalarda daha farklı grupların çalışılması farklı gruplara mensup kadınların gerçekliklerini anlamamızda bize fayda sağlayacaktır.

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