

FATHERHOOD EXPERIENCES OF LOWER-MIDDLE CLASS MEN:  
THE CASE OF ESKISEHIR

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **FATHERHOOD EXPERIENCES OF LOWER-MIDDLE CLASS MEN: THE CASE OF ESKISEHIR**

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Like femininity, there is not one type of masculinity. Since there are different kinds of masculinities, there are also various types of fatherhood. Historical, cultural, economic, and social factors can affect fatherhood experiences in different ways. The aim of this thesis is to analyze the fatherhood experiences of lower-middle class men who live in Eskişehir and have at least one son. Within this context men's relations with their sons and their fathers will be the focus of this study. Issues such as early childhood experiences, maturity, work life, education life, and domestic division of labor will also be included with reference to the fatherhood experiences of the men in the sample.

**Keywords:** Fatherhood, Masculinity, Hegemonic Masculinity, Masculinity Studies, Feminism.

## ÖZ

# ALT ORTA SINIF ERKEKLERİN BABALIK DENEYİMLERİ: ESKİŞEHİR ÖRNEĞİ

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Kadınlık gibi erkeklik de tek bir şekilde var olan bir durum değildir; toplum içinde farklı erkeklikler ve bu nedenle de farklı babalıklar görülmektedir. Tarihsel, kültürel, ekonomik ve toplumsal faktörler erkeklerin babalık deneyimlerini farklı açılardan etkilemektedir. Bu çalışmada, amaç Eskişehir'de yaşayan ve en az bir oğlu olan alt orta sınıf erkeklerin babalık deneyimleri analiz etmektir. Bu bakış açısı ile erkeklerin oğulları ve kendi babaları ile olan ilişkileri bu tezin ana sorunsalını oluşturmaktadır. Bu nedenle erken çocukluk dönemi, ergenlik dönemi, eğitim hayatı, iş hayatı ve aile içi işbölümü gibi farklı konular ele alınmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Babalık, Erkeklik, Hegemonik Erkeklik, Erkeklik Çalışmaları, Feminizm.

To my father Faruk...

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## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

*For every people being born in a family is important for growing healthy. Also, family's reputation, especially father's reputation, is very valuable for a child (Topuz, G. 2010).*

Masculinity is not an isolated object; it is a part of the larger social structure. Similar to femininity, it is a gender category which is constructed by society. In other words, gender is a social structure which shapes social practices, such as behaviors, habits, and occupations. However, while it determines the borders of the relationships between sexes, it also refers to some limitations and contradictions in human behavior. Gender is more than a biological category; it is a process and a structural category including bodies, social practices, social roles, and (multiple) identities. As Connell wrote, ““Gender’ means practice organized in terms of, or in relation to, the reproductive division of people into male and female...Gender practice might be organized in terms of three, or twenty, social categories...Gender then, is a linking concept. It is about the linking of other fields of social practice to the nodal practices of engendering, childbirth and parenting” (1987, p. 140). Moreover, while sex can be accepted as a universal category, gender patterns change from one culture/society to another. Gender characteristics of an individual may also change during his or her life time.

As a starting point, patriarchy is the main reason for women's secondary position in society. Patriarchy is generally defined as the domination of a father (Grant, 1993; Tong, 1998; Marshall, 1999; Sancar, 2009). As Warnock claims, "Patriarchy is a society which worships the masculine identity, granting power and privilege to those who reflect and respect the socially-determined masculine sex role" (2009, p. 28). Moreover, since capitalism supports patriarchy, oppression of women has become more deep-rooted. Feminism has been studying unequal gender relations in society since the 17<sup>th</sup> century. According to Sancar, "Feminist theorists have been discussing both the consequences of and solutions to gender hierarchy and patriarchal social orders" (2009, p. 15). With the development of feminist struggle, women now have a chance to express their opinions about their bodies, sexualities, and position in the society. While women gain some social rights, patriarchy is able to maintain its power on women by reshaping itself. On the other hand, men as bearers of patriarchy were forgotten in gender and women's studies for a long time. As Sancar points out, "To understand how men maintain their positions in masculine power and how they build masculine domination should be as important as how women live oppression" (2009, p. 15). After the 1970s, masculinity started to be addressed in social sciences. According to Carrigan, Connell and Lee, "From several different directions in the 1970s, critiques and analyses of masculinity appeared...Much of this work could hardly be described as feminist" (in Whitehead, 2006, pp. 15, 26). With these studies it is now accepted that men are also oppressed by patriarchy. By referring to Connell's well known concept of hegemonic masculinity, it is possible to argue that there are hegemonic relations also among men in the society. In this thesis reproduction of masculinity and of patriarchy will be analyzed through father-son

relationship. The framework of this study is critical masculinity studies within the field of broader feminist approaches. The concept of hegemonic masculinity is used as the key concept for discussing the meaning of various masculinities in Turkey.

In this context I will provide an overview of various feminist theories which is important to explain the patriarchal structure and gender order in various societies. What follows is the history of masculinity studies in Western literature, which has been growing since the 1970s. According to Sancar, during the first years, those who studied masculinity focused only on interrogating the perception of “masculinity as a commodity” (2009, p. 26). In this literature there is limited discussion about the transformation of fatherhood. Like femininity and masculinity, there is not only one kind of fatherhood. Different economic, social and cultural structures affect the conception of fatherhood in different ways in different countries. Moreover, contrary to women, men’s socialization process is not based on being a good father; fatherhood is something that is generally learned by example, mostly after having a child. In other words, men reproduce masculinity through their relationship with their sons and wives.

Generally, history of fatherhood is divided into three periods in the Western literature; moral teacher, bread-winner, and nurturing fatherhood (Benson, 1968; La Rossa, 1988; Haywood and Mac an Ghaill, 2003; Williams, 2008). According to Williams;

The fathering types identified by Lamb are nonetheless also evident in Pleck's analysis: father as distant breadwinner, sex-role model and the 'involved' fathers. As with Lamb, a fault with Pleck's study is that it furnishes us with little sense of how fathers move between these stages over time, especially into what is, for many, the most controversial and recent type of fathering (2008; p. 489).

As Sancar argues, "While we question when and how did today's masculinity emerge, we should take into account different dynamics of growth of capitalism and the changes in the family structure which has been developing parallel to the process of participation in urban/industrial society" (2009, p. 121). Similarly, when we look at the history of fatherhood in Turkey, the first important transformation is the change in family types and family structures (Kongar, 2003). After the establishment of the republic in Turkey, family structure has changed from extended family to nuclear family. This is one of the consequences deriving from being a developing country. Especially in a society like Turkish society, which is still simultaneously traditional and modern, having a son is a central fact in the patriarchal system; being a father of a son is a source of pride for Turkish men. Additionally, men use the power of being a father both in the society and at home. As Sancar writes, "Especially for propertyless, lower-middle class men the 'success' of masculinity is not inherited; it is a success gained through the young man's own effort. Therefore, 'having a family' and being able to support the family means that a young man has his own 'power domain'" (2009, p. 124). Nevertheless, fatherhood has not yet been problematized in Turkish social sciences. As Kandiyoti claims, "Unfortunately, there is lack of research about the nature of intergenerational relations among men" (2007, p. 213). In this respect, this thesis aims to contribute to the masculinity literature in

Turkey by analyzing the fatherhood experiences of a group of men in Eskişehir with a critical masculinity perspective. By using such a perspective, a new dimension will be added to the masculinity studies in Turkey. For example, according to the data collected from the field, the three periods discussed in the Western literature about the transformation of the idea of fatherhood applies to the Turkish case as well. Men are still moral teachers and breadwinners for the family although some are now becoming nurturing fathers. Being a developing and a patriarchal country is one of the reasons for the emergent conflicting roles of fatherhood in Turkey.

The findings in this thesis are not representative of Turkey; thus, the conclusions cannot be generalized to the whole country. However, considering the gap in the literature about masculinity, it aims to make a modest contribution to the Turkish literature. Moreover, the research is about the fatherhood experiences of lower-middle class men. Although the number of the participants was limited (a total of twenty in-depth interviews), given the fact that middle class men and women are studied more by feminists in comparison to lower classes, this study can be considered as important. Moreover, it takes into consideration not only the experiences of lower-middle class men, but also the relationship between three generations of men in terms of reproduction of masculinity. Men chosen to be interviewed for this study is named as the second generation who were asked to comment about their relationship with their own fathers (named as the first generation) and their sons (named as the third generation). Those who were interviewed were between fifty and seventy years of age. One interesting point is that the youngest (third) generation was in transition to the middle class. This provided an

opportunity to compare some of the characteristic patterns of behavior of lower-middle class (traditional) men with that of middle class men (modern) in terms of reproduction of fatherhood.

The methodological approach of the thesis is based on men and masculinity/ies studies with a feminist point of view. There are some reasons for choosing this approach. First of all, if one accepts that patriarchy is the main reason for gender inequality in a society, then masculinity must be taken into account. Feminism tries to explore, explain and struggle against patriarchy for a long time. Some feminists who are essentialists oppose the idea of men being involved in feminism. Others believe that men's participation in the feminist movement increases the potential for social change toward women's advantage. However, men's participation in feminism should not be viewed in a hierarchical order. For example, as Tarrant claims, "Men's participation in feminism is not an invitation for male chivalry or for 'protecting our women'. A protectionist model actually perpetuates the gender stereotypes that are part of the problem, not part of the solution" (2009, pp. 17-18).

It is possible to argue that men are not generally aware of the patriarchal structures in a society in comparison to women. Moreover, even if they are aware, they do not or cannot express themselves well since they are like a black box. In this respect although men and masculinity studies have always attracted me, it was only after the death of my father that I decided to study fatherhood. In this thesis I analyze the process of reproduction of masculinity through the relationship between fathers and

sons. I accept the understanding that biology is not a destiny. As Tarrant notes, “Feminism explains that masculinity and femininity are things we learn to perform, not behaviors we’re born with” (2009, p. 59). Gender is a complex structure and it starts to develop with the socialization process. Although socialization first begins with pink and blue objects, Tarrant writes “The current pink-is-for-girls and blue-is-for-boys assumption was not uniform until the 1950s” (Tarrant, 2009, p. 59). In other words, parents use these colors in order to clarify their baby’s sex. This is an evidence for how deep social conventions about femininity and masculinity are.

Following the feminist point of view, qualitative research method was used for collecting information about fatherhood. In qualitative research methodology there are techniques such as focus groups, oral history, and interviews. The method of in-depth interviews was chosen for the field study. A total of thirty eight questions, most of them structured and some open-ended, were asked to the respondents. Qualitative research methods aim to establish a relationship between the participant and researcher based on empathy. Thus, the interviews were carried out in a comfortable atmosphere each of which lasted for about two hours or more. However, there are also some limitations about structured interviews since it does not allow the researcher to ask new questions while carrying out the research in the field. For example, if ethnographic methods were used in this study, the “black box” could have been opened more. This difficulty was partly balanced through some open-ended questions. Moreover, the participants can sometimes be biased about some of the questions asked. For example, during the field research almost all of the participants positioned themselves among the top five “best men”. In other words,

none of them dispraised themselves. Likewise, the participants gave some details or some examples about simple situations assuming that I would not know as a woman. In addition, since I am a woman researcher, the participants did not consider some of the confidential questions as a threat to themselves. While the size of the sample was small, it provided detailed information about the cultural transformation of fatherhood experiences in Turkey parallel to the one described in the Western literature. Finally, another shortcoming was their silence about domestic violence since the researcher was a woman. Most of the respondents were beaten by their fathers and some mentioned that they, too, have beaten their sons. This appears to be an important dimension of father-son relationship which draws one of lines between “good fathers” and “harsh fathers” as named by the interviewees themselves.

More information was collected by using the Likert Scale in order to measure the perceptions of the respondents toward masculinity and fatherhood. In this Scale a five-point approach was used; the answers included totally disagree, disagree, partly agree, agree, and totally agree. When analyzing the data collected through the Likert Scale, all answers were grouped as “agreement” or “disagreement”. Since the sample size was small, the answers had to be grouped under two broad categories to be able to identify meaningful and comparable patterns of attitudes toward masculinity and fatherhood.

The field research of this study was done in Eskişehir which is in close proximity to Ankara and also my hometown. Eskişehir is an Anatolian city with a high literacy

level and an advanced economy. There are also two well-known universities that are located in the center city. This makes Eskişehir an attractive location for students which offer them a distinct lifestyle. According to the 2010 National Census data, the total population of the city is 629,609. In terms of socio-economic development, Eskişehir is one of the most advanced cities in Turkey.

The interviews were carried out in November 2011. Twenty men participated in the research and snowball sampling was used to reach them. All the men interviewed had at least one son. All interviews were tape-recorded with the participant's permission. The first interviewee was my neighbor and he guided me to his friends. Six of the men lived in a town close to Eskişehir. These six men were mostly retirees who used to work at a fabric in the town. Additionally, there were two brothers who were interviewed separately. This case provided a chance to see the hegemonic classification of men from the same family background. The rest of the interviewees lived in Eskişehir. Numbers are given to participants for anonymity reasons.

In Chapter Two theoretical approaches within gender studies will be presented. Feminist theory is the focus of this work since it provides a framework for broader theoretical discussions. In this context I will also mention the three waves of feminism in a historical context. Then the main feminist approaches will be briefly introduced. Since masculinity studies are the second abstraction level in this thesis, the historical development of masculinity studies and main approaches to masculinity will be summarized. Critical man and masculinity studies are the main

theoretical approaches used in this study. Connell's understanding of hegemonic masculinity, which is one of the basic concepts of the thesis, will also be discussed in this chapter. Finally, theoretical approaches to fatherhood will be provided in the same chapter. Accordingly, based on some surveys which were conducted in different countries, various understandings of fatherhood will be introduced.

Chapter Three will focus on the projections of theoretical approaches developed in Turkey. Feminism in Turkey, similar to the Western pattern, can be explained through three waves. Although there were some earlier forms of feminism in the late Ottoman Empire, Kemalist groups (who were the state-builders) influenced and shaped the women's movement in Turkey after the establishment of the republic. Feminist movement in Turkey named as state-sponsored feminism by Gürpınar (2006, pp. 41-51) and Diner and Toktaş (2010, pp. 43-47) remained under-developed until the 1980s. However, after the 1980s, following the broader social and political changes in Turkey, feminism began to develop and take a new shape. While Turkish feminism was manifest mostly on the streets, it started to find a ground in the academia, too. In the 1990s, rising identity politics influenced Turkish feminism. Kurdish nationalism and Islamist politics played a key role in its development. Within this context Turkish masculinity studies will also be outlined. Although there were some studies about masculinity in the 1990s, after the 2000s critical masculinity studies began to foster. However, as Atay argues, masculinity still is a "blind point" in Turkey. In the Turkish literature, studies about masculinity are mainly about how men are presented in the media and literature or about psychologies of men or men's

position in the society. Major studies about fatherhood in Turkey will be summarized in this chapter.

In Chapter Four socio-demographic characteristics of the participants including their age, level of education, and their jobs will be provided first. Then the respondents' fatherhood experiences will be analyzed through the interview data collected in Eskişehir. While the analysis is based on in-depth interviews, Likert Scale data will also be used to support the arguments in this chapter. The main question which will be discussed in this chapter is whether men's job, age, level of education or the number of children they have affects their fatherhood experiences. Based on the data two types of fathers were identified: "good fathers" who are supportive, confidant, and concerned about their children and "harsh fathers" who are generally harder on their children, more authoritarian, neglectful, and interfering. It is important to note that these two groups are not mutually exclusive and that it is difficult to establish a clear-cut line between the two. There are some "grey points" which will be touched on during the analysis. The participants' understanding of the "ideal father" will also be discussed in the same chapter to provide more information about their strengths and shortcomings as fathers. These different trends in fatherhood patterns will be analyzed further with reference to hegemonic relations among men in the broader society. In order to exemplify the hegemonic relations among men, participants' positioning themselves in the society was taken into account. For a discussion of hegemonic relations, participants' answers to some questions like how they relate themselves to their family, to their job, friends, and to the society as a man were

used. These provide important clues about how the participants perceived masculinity.

According to the Western literature on masculinity, there is a process of transformation in the experiences of fathers with their children (La Rossa, 1988; Haywood and Mac an Ghaill, 2003; Brannen and Nilsen, 2006; Williams, 2008). According to Lamb, there are four distinct periods in the history of fatherhood. Each period created four successive role models for fathers. These were moral teachers, bread-winners, sex-role models, and nurturing fathers (as cited in Williams, 2008, p. 488). Haywood and Mac an Ghaill also argue that “The accounts embedded in the shifting semantics of fatherhood are historically specific in producing gendered subjects. We can trace the shift from a narrative of the pre-modern (Christian-based father figure), through the modern (economic breadwinner), to the post-modern (ambiguous domestic identity)” (2003, p. 47). The development of different trends in fatherhood in Turkey is similar to the one outlined above. “Good fathers” as identified in this study is a type between modern and postmodern fathers. “Harsh fathers” on the other hand appear to be a combination of pre-modern and modern types of father. It has to be noted that unlike the Western examples, Turkish fathers still preserve their patriarchal characteristics. Consequently, traditions appear to play a key role in the continuation of patriarchal relationships although modern types of role models are being adopted by younger generations.

The concluding chapter will summarize the findings and arguments of the thesis. Contributions and shortcomings of the study will also be mentioned. Lastly some points will be made about the future research on the topic.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **MAPPING THE THEORETICAL TERRAIN**

*It has never been a normal father – son relationship between us. Neither I was like a curious child who asked everything to his father, nor need you to sit and explain something to me. Because of this, I have never learned some parts of world (Oğuz ATAY, Letter to My Father – 2).*

#### **2.1. Introduction**

This chapter provides an overview of feminism as the first endeavor formed on the basis of gender relations. The primary concern of feminism is to discuss and analyze the sources of gender inequality and the secondary position of women in a patriarchal society. In this context, a short history of feminism as well as different types of it will be provided. Feminist studies, which generally focus on the oppression of women in the patriarchal order, deal with masculinity with a critical perspective. For example, it argues that while men are the main bearers of patriarchy in the society, they are also oppressed by the same system. In this context I will summarize the main arguments of men and masculinity studies through the conceptualization of hegemonic masculinity. Masculinity as a gender type is learned. Moreover, fatherhood plays an important role in the reproduction of masculinity. That is, the socialization process where the family appears to be the primary agent has a

significant effect on reproduction of masculinity. It is on this basis that the literature on fatherhood will also be summarized in this chapter.

## **2.2. Feminist Theory**

Feminism is both an intellectual endeavor and a political discourse that aims to reach an equal, free, and a non-patriarchal society (Weedon, 1987; Grant, 1993; Tong, 1998; Donovan, 2009). Feminism has focused on various fields like theory, social movements, policy, and philosophy since the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Its core concepts are “women, experience and personal politics” (Grant, 1993, p. 4). These are connected to each other and the first two shapes the last one. Before feminist critiques, in modernist science, biological sex categories were constructed as binary oppositions. Men were linked to power, mind, science, and public while women were related with weakness, senses, culture, and private. However, feminism argues that sex should refer only to our biological characteristics whereas gender refers to patriarchal social roles which the society imposes upon individuals. According to Connell, “The patterns of gender and sex...are not just an important feature of human life; they are specifically social (1987, p. 16). Although feminism was formed during the period of modernization, it criticized modernist sciences (their methodology, data collection, and the relationship between the researcher and participants) for being gender blind; thus, contributing to the reproduction of the patriarchal system. Consequently, feminism created a methodology which is based on the personal experiences of women. As MacKinnon argues;

A feminist epistemology, without asking the questions that would enable her to argue convincingly for the inevitable differences between female and male epistemological stances, or metaphysical experience... (Feminism) rejects all traditional

methodological approaches to social and political theory as reflecting an exclusively male viewpoint. In contrast, feminist theory is neither materialist nor idealist; it is feminist (as cited in Ring, 1987, pp. 754-755).

According to feminist methodology, the main aim is to decrease and dissolve the ascendancy of the researcher. For this, feminists try to conduct their research which is based on empathy. They use some interactive methods such as oral history and/or unstructured or structured interviews for collecting more intimate knowledge. On the other hand, the activist dimension of feminism attempts to be effective in social and political movements. “Personal is political” is a well-known slogan used in these movements and it points to the individuals’ private lives which has a dynamics of its own. Feminist researchers’ aim is re-evaluating data that are collected from the fields of these movements.

History of feminism can be classified under three main topics with reference to Donovan (2009), Tong (1998), and Krolokke and Sorensen (2006). During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the period known as “first-wave feminism”, women’s right to vote and equality between sexes were the themes discussed both theoretically and practically (Tong, 1998, pp. 10-44; Krolokke and Sorensen, 2006, pp. 2-7; Donovan, 2009, pp. 15-68). As Krolokke and Sorensen notes, “In the early stages, the first wave of feminism in the United States was interwoven with other reform movements, such as abolition and temperance, and initially closely involved women of the working classes” (2006, p. 3). During the “second-wave feminism” which started in the early 1960s and lasted until the 1990s, the issue of women’s

discrimination received more attention from the scholars. With the slogan “personal is political”, feminism focused on women’s personal experiences (Tong, 1998, pp. 45-93; Krolokke and Sorensen, 2006, pp. 7-15; Donovan, 2009, pp. 267-322). It was during this period when most of the main concepts of the feminist theory were developed. While overcoming legal obstacles was the main aim during first-wave feminism, second-wave feminism focused on unofficial inequalities, sexuality, reproductive rights of women, and the family. As Krolokke and Sorensen writes;

In the early phase, radical second-wave feminisms were characterized by a claim for sisterhood and solidarity, despite differences among women and a simultaneous investment in the slogans “Woman’s struggle is class struggle” and “The personal is political,” directing the feminist agenda to attempt to combine social, sexual, and personal struggles and to see them as inextricably linked (2006, p. 10).

After the 1980s, some feminist groups started to struggle against pornography and sexual representation. This period is known as the “third-wave feminism”. At that time feminists criticized the first and second waves of feminisms discussing that they were racist, focusing just on white and upper-middle class women’s experiences. For this reason third-wave feminism attempted to incorporate other women’s experiences like Black women, working class women, and women from different ethnic groups into the feminist discussions (Krolokke and Sorensen, 2006, pp. 15-21). Moreover, sexuality, body, patriarchy, and subjectivity became significant concepts in the literature on feminist theory. According to Krolokke and Sorensen;

Third-wave feminism is tied up with the effects of globalization and the complex redistribution of power, which challenge feminist theory and politics. It also mirrors the diversification of women’s interests and perspectives and the

breakdown of master stories of oppression and liberation (2006, p. 19).

### **2.2.1. Theoretical Approaches within Feminism**

According to Grant, “There is no one feminist theory. Rather, feminist theory is multicentered and undefinable” (1993, p. 1). Like all kinds of theories, feminism is also classified dissimilarly by different scholars. For example, Tong classifies different kinds of theoretical approaches such as radical mothering, radical sexuality, essentialist, and psychoanalytic approaches (1998, pp. 45-94, 130-173). Likewise, Donovan also classifies feminism as cultural, Freudian, and existentialist (2009, pp. 69-129, 175-223, 223-267). On the other hand, Elshtain and Jaggar discuss feminism under four main approaches; liberal, radical, Marxist, and socialist (as cited in Grant, 1993, pp. 1-2). Below I will provide a short discussion of this last classification which is accepted by many as the most valid classification of feminist approaches.

First of all, liberal feminism focuses on the equality issue in society. As Tong writes, “The overall goal of liberal feminism is to create ‘a just and compassionate society in which freedom flourishes’. Only in such a society can women as well as men thrive” (1998, p. 12). Moreover, according to Lorber, liberal feminists believe that individuals should not be evaluated by their sexes; they should be treated by their personalities and talents (1998, pp. 27-28). When doing this, this approach does not try to recreate the society. Instead, it aims to change laws, education system, and the political order to open up new opportunities for women (Lorber, 1998, pp. 40-41; Tong, 1998, pp. 43-44). With liberal feminist activism it became possible to deal

with some obstacles standing in the way of principals like equal pay for equal work in favor of women. According to Lorber, “Although men in work and other organizations still bypass women for promotion the liberal feminist goal of workplace gender equality is a major accomplishment” (1998, p. 33).

Likewise, radical feminism focuses on equal rights for women. However, according to Tong, the most obvious difference between radical and liberal feminism is about the emphasis on body and sexuality in the former (1998, p. 45). Radical feminists claim that patriarchy is more widespread than capitalism (Donovan, 2009, p. 268). In Donovan’s words, “Arguments such as the personal is political, patriarchy or hegemony of men –not capitalism- is the main reason of women’s oppression, women should reorganize their energy against men who are oppressed by them are the main discourse of radical feminism” (2009, p. 268). Thus, women’s oppression is more important to them than class oppression. Moreover, the transformation of unequal patriarchal relationships in a society is harder than the transformation of capitalism. A minor group of radical feminists known as “separatist feminists”, claim that women and men are constructed by heterosexist relations in a society (Tong, 1998, p. 47). These kinds of relations cause inequality between sexes which makes it impossible to redesign the society on the basis of equality (Tong, 1998, p. 48).

According to Marxist feminism, women’s lives are based on a double burden. In other words they are workers in factories and also in their houses. Marxist feminists believe that capitalism is the main enemy of women since it creates inequality in a

society through class relations. In her book, Tong claims that Marxist feminists explain women's secondary position in society through economic concepts such as domestic labor and work life (1998, p. 105). Following this line of argument Tong proposes to pay wages for housework in order to decrease women's exploitation at home (1998, pp. 108-112).

Socialist feminism is a synthesis of Marxist feminism and radical feminism. Both are interested in capitalist and patriarchal systems and public and private spheres. However, socialist feminists criticize Marxism and Marxist feminism. According to the socialist feminists, Marxism is gender-blind and worker's oppression is more important than women's oppression (Tong, 1998, p. 119). They also criticize Marxist feminism for ignoring patriarchy (Tong, 1998, pp. 116-118). As Tong notes, "Jaggar, asked what specifically *feminist* about a Marxist feminist analysis and whether it is true men are merely the secondary, or indirect, oppressor of women" (1998, p. 116). Socialist feminists on the other hand accept some of the arguments of radical feminism which claims that patriarchy is the main reason for oppression of women. According to Tong, "To overcome what they perceive as the limitations of traditional Marxist feminist thought, socialist feminists seek to explain the ways in which capitalism interacts with patriarchy to oppress women more egregiously than men" (1998, p. 119).

According to socialist feminism, economic dependence on men is the main reason for women's oppression. Tong argues that for socialist feminists the collapse of

capitalism will not be enough for women's liberation; patriarchal social relations should also change (1998, pp. 118-119). According to socialist feminists, women's liberation will be part of the overall justice in society (Tong, 1998, p. 119; Donovan, 2009, p. 148). In other words powerful positions will not be enough for women; power should be redistributed throughout society. In this respect collective change and empowerment are the main issues for socialist feminists.

Feminist theory is based on these four approaches on early times. With the third-wave feminism, theoretical studies have also diversified. Two of them affect psychoanalytic feminism which is a theory of oppression and which asserts that men have an inherent psychological need to subjugate women (Tong, 1998, p. 131). Psychoanalytic feminism is rooted in Freud's theory of sexuality which includes children's psychosexual development stages (Tong, 1998, pp. 131-135). According to Chodorow, sexual division of labor is not a simple socialization problem (Tong, 1998, p. 146). Its roots are based in the process of pre-childhood psycho-dynamics which are analyzed by Freud. Chodorow also claims that sexual division of labor, separation of public and private spheres, and women's secondary position in public sphere are the reasons behind the oppression of women. Moreover, the strict process of reproduction of sex-roles in the family causes the continuation of sexual division of labor (Tong, 1998, pp. 145-150). At the end of psychosexual development, the boy should reject any kind of feminine characteristics, especially the impact of his mother when transforming into a man. The opposite is true for the psychosexual development of girls, too. This rejection process brings about antipathy against the

other sex. Consequently, psychoanalytic feminists suggest that if we use coeducation system when we are raising our children, we can avoid the gender-centered structure of society (Tong, 1998, p. 148).

The other feminist approach is known as postmodern feminism. However, according to Tong, the concept of postmodern feminism is vague (1998, p. 193). According to Grant;

Postmodernism itself can be thought of in one of three ways: First, it is a term used to describe an epoch...Second, postmodernism can be thought of as a philosophical stance that challenges generally accepted beliefs about reality, knowledge, truth, and transcendence...Postmodernism, in a third way, is connected to avant-garde movements in literature and the arts (1993, p. 129).

While feminism criticized modernism, it has occurred within the modernist discourse. Nevertheless, postmodernism is exactly the opposite of modernism. Postmodernism claims that modernism uses strict structures for explaining science, society, cultures, and life. Because of this, postmodernists use deconstruction as a method. As Tong emphasizes, “As much as possible, they (deconstructionists, postmodernists) challenge arbitrary boundaries between concepts such as reason and emotion, mind and body, and self and other, as well as senseless barriers between art and science, psychology and biology, and literature and philosophy” (1998, p. 195). According to postmodern feminists, becoming a perfect feminist is not based on an obvious path to be followed (Tong, 1998, p. 193). Moreover, postmodern feminism criticizes modernist feminism for concentrating only on white, heterosexual, and

middle class women. For postmodern feminists there are multiple truths, roles and realities. They are also concerned about other women's experiences who are black, lesbian, and who are from different ethnic groups or classes (Grant, 1993, pp. 132-144). Postmodern feminists are interested in the process of construction of language and identity. Moreover, many postmodern feminists reject the label of "feminism" since any word ending with "ism" refers to modernist science (Tong, 1998, p. 199).

### **2.3. Men and Masculinities Studies**

Meanings about masculinity are not produced in isolation. That is, masculinity is produced in relation to the larger social system. Masculinity can be defined in several ways each of which is based on some strategies. Masculinity has four different types: essentialist, positivist, normative, and semiotic, respectively (Connell, 2005, p. 68). While the essentialists focus on the core characteristics of masculinity, positivist definitions of masculinity are mainly concerned about what men actually are. Normative accounts of masculinity, on the other hand, concentrate on how men should be. Finally, semiotic definitions of masculinity work on developing a system of symbols in order to analyze masculinity (Connell, 2005, pp. 68-71).

I follow the definition developed by Connell who defines masculinity as a process and a relationship in the construction of gender. According to Connell, "'Masculinity' is simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture" (2005, p. 71). Masculinity, like femininity, is a gender category which is constructed by society. Therefore, gender is

a social structure which restricts social practices. However, while it determines the borders of life, structures, and gender, it also includes some contradictions. Gender is more than biological sex; gender includes bodies, social practices, social roles, and identities (Connell, 1987, 2005; Tarrant, 2009; Haywood and Mac an Ghaill, 2003). Moreover, masculinity is learned through socialization where parents are the key agents of socialization. In other words children learn gender stereotyped behavior from these agents. The broader social environment is also part of this socialization process. Thus, although sex is universal, gender roles change from one culture/society to another. Moreover, the characteristics of gender can be different in a person's lifetime.

According to Hearn (1987), the current interest in the study of men and masculinities started towards the end of the 1970s. After 1987, this interest began to increase. Whitehead and Barrett argue that sociology of masculinity “seeks to highlight the ways in which men’s power come to be differentiated, naturalized and embedded across all cultures, political borders and organizational networks” (2005, p. 13). Within this framework, sociology of masculinity analyzes men’s behavior, practices, and values as well as the power relations among and between men, and the relations between men, women and the broader society. According to the same authors, sociology of masculinity was first interested in “male role” performance during the 1950s (Whitehead and Barrett, 2005, p. 14). Later in the 1980s, hegemonic masculinity studies started to gain importance where “male power” became the central concept (Whitehead and Barrett, 2005, p. 15).

### **2.3.1. The Main Approaches in Men and Masculinity/ies Studies**

Critical studies on men and masculinit(ies) will form the basis of the theoretical approach in this thesis. These studies were developed in the 1970s, especially during the late 1970s (Carrigan, Connell and Lee, 2006, pp. 26-34) by a group of men who wanted to challenge patriarchy together with the feminists. The article “Towards a New Sociology of Masculinity” which was written by Carrigan, Connell and Lee was the first work theorizing critical studies on men and masculinities. In this famous article, the authors first make a summary of the studies on masculinity and then suggest new ways for studying masculinity from a feminist point of view. In doing this, they also develop the concept of hegemonic masculinity which is still influential in gender studies. Carrigan, Connell and Lee also discuss the origins of sociology of gender and sex roles in the same article (2006, pp. 17-21). Categorical theory is very important for Connell’s understanding of masculinities before 1990. However, she later dropped this approach and combined her understanding of masculinities with Marxist structuralism and with the concept of hegemony. The above mentioned authors provided a list of books which were published in the 1970s. These works categorized the first studies on men and masculinities issues. According to them, the earlier works had four principal themes which are as follows;

The first is the evils of traditional masculinity and men’s discomfort in it. In a number of key texts this became the theoretical proposition that men are oppressed too, by their roles. This implied the second theme: men too need liberating... To do so, they needed techniques of change. The ways in which masculinity has been formed and ways it might be reformed were the third main theme of the genre... Though some of these notions (like role sharing with one’s wife, consciousness-raising groups which are techniques of change) show the genre addressing the question of change in

masculinity; and this was its fourth main theme (Carrigan, Connell, and Lee, 2006, p. 30).

Carrigan, Connell and Lee refer to Pleck and Farrell in order to show the influence of sex-role theory and men's liberation movement on the sociology of masculinity. Although Pleck criticized sex-role theory, he rejected biological determinism and masculinity/femininity division; he still used a different kind of sex-role theory by referring to concepts like roles, norms, and role strain. Thus, "Pleck's work has three main components: theoretical writing about how to understand sex roles, a program of empirical research, and practical arguments about gender politics and associated social issues" (Carrigan, Connell and Lee, 2006, p. 31). Moreover, according to Pleck, men's power stemmed from the sexual division of labor within families (Carrigan, Connell and Lee, 2006, p. 32). Farrell also wrote "The Liberated Man" in 1970 and following the publication of this book, men's centers were established quickly to gather men together like women do (Carrigan, Connell and Lee, 2006, p. 34). In these centers men met and shared their experiences and they joined consciousness-raising groups. However, in these centers it was claimed that men were also oppressed and that they should be liberated, but at the same time they should still have power over women.

Carrigan, Connell and Lee also developed a social analysis of masculinity in the above mentioned book. According to them, for an understanding of masculinity one should look at the social relations which men, as a gender category, are involved in (Carrigan, Connell and Lee, 2006, pp. 38-39). They use Mitchell's understanding of

the basis of social organization, i.e., gender division of labor and the structure of power, and add more to the social organization of sexuality (Carrigan, Connell and Lee, 2006, p. 42). Since this organization of sexuality is based on the subordination of women, men generally have advantages in this organization. As such it is argued that “To say ‘men in general’ is already to point to an important complication in power relations. The global subordination of women is consistent with many particular situations in which women hold power over men or are at least equal” (Carrigan, Connell and Lee, 2006, p. 49).

Connell book, entitled “Gender and Power” (1987) is based on the idea mentioned above. Connell’s theoretical approach became more detailed in this book. She discussed gender structure with reference to three main points: power, production and cathexis (Connell, 1987, p. 97). The first leg is the power relations in gender, which is named as patriarchy in the contemporary world (Connell, 1987, pp. 107-111). Patriarchal social structure is based on the domination of men and subordination of women and it appears like a very regular, determined structure. However, men’s authority is not absolute, sometimes women are more authoritarian and sometimes men’s authority can become controversial. The second leg is the production relations which can be named as gender division of labor (Connell, 1987, pp. 99-106). Gender division of labor means particular types of work allocated to men and women; capitalist economy is based on this structure. Gender division of labor is a basic characteristic like the class division of capitalist economy (Connell, 1987, p. 100). In other words gender division of labor is not a consequence of class

division. Although they are related, each has a different dynamic. Gender division of labor causes a separation between men and women which accounts for almost everything. For example, men and women can work in the same factory, do the same or similar jobs, but men get paid more than women. The last leg is the emotional structure of gender which Connell calls cathexis in Freudian terms (Connell, 1987, pp. 111-116). As Connell wrote, “Freud used the term ‘cathexis’ to refer to a psychic charge or instinctual energy being attached to a mental object, i.e., an idea or image” (1987, p. 112). Connell, on the other hand, uses cathexis for explaining the emotional relationships between humans (Connell, 1987, p. 112). Emotions are generally based on prohibitions such as incest, rape, and homosexuality on the one hand and on propulsion on the other. In the latter, women’s bodies are used. This is because men and women are viewed as different and unequal. Consequently, women are seen as sex objects and this understanding allow man to be a law unto himself.

Women started to gain some rights after the 17<sup>th</sup> century with the first wave feminism (Tong, 1998; Donovan, 2009). According to Messner, men’s responsibilities are increasing as a consequence of modernization, industrialization, urbanization, and bureaucracy (2006, p. 65). Long work hours and capitalist competition policies caused the isolation of fathers from their children. As a consequence, what Messner named as “fear of social feminization” became the first crisis of masculinity (2006, p. 71). Masculinist men responded to this crisis by creating homo-social institutions “in which adult men, separated from women, could engage in ‘masculine’ activities, often centered around that development and

celebration of physical strength, competition, and violence" (Messner, 2006, p. 71).

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, women became aware of their bodies, their values and the patriarchal structure of society. Women's movement was more about the subjectivity of women and the importance of experiences. This second wave of feminism caused the second crisis of masculinity (Messner, 2006, p. 73).

According to Connell, we can use the three legs of gender structure in order to understand masculinity and the crisis of masculinity;

Power relations show the most visible evidence of crisis tendencies: a historic collapse of the legitimacy of patriarchal power and a global movement for the emancipation of women... Production relations have also been the site of massive institutional changes (For example, after II. World War, women started to get involve the economic life)... Relations of cathexis have visibly changed with stabilization of lesbian and gay sexuality as a public alternative within the heterosexual order (2005, p. 85).

During the construction of gender there are also some other factors which affect this process. These are race and class. For instance, the structure of white men's masculinity is related not only with white women but also with black men. The structure of white working class men's masculinity is also related with other men's masculinities from different classes. This point of view leads us to the understanding of hegemonic masculinity which is Connell's most popular concept, as will be discussed further below.

### **2.3.2. The Understanding of Hegemonic Masculinity**

The concept of hegemonic masculinity is very important for sociology of masculinity. It was first developed by Carrigan, Connell and Lee in their article, entitled “Towards a New Sociology of Masculinity”. According to them, “Hegemonic masculinity is a question of how particular groups of men inhabit positions of power and wealth, and how they legitimate and reproduce the social relationships that generate their dominance” (Carrigan, Connell and Lee, 2006, p. 51). In the concept of hegemonic masculinity there is a pre-acceptance of inequality among men. Although all men have positive benefits in the patriarchal system by subordinating women, some men who have more economic or political power subordinate other men; thus, gain more from the system. According to the same authors, there is no one, homogenous, and clear masculinity. There are differences stemming from race, ethnicity or from the sexual preferences of men (e.g. homosexuality) (2006, p. 49-50). In other words, there are various types of masculinities. Additionally, there is a hegemonic arrangement among these different masculinities.

After suggesting the concept of hegemonic masculinity in the “Towards a New Sociology of Masculinity”, Connell improved it in “Gender and Power” (1987). She referred to Gramsci when discussing the concept of hegemony. She claimed that “hegemony” includes not only “power contentions”, but also “acquired power” which stems from the social forces in individuals’ private lives and from cultural processes (1987, p. 184). According to Connell, hegemony and ascendancy based on

power are connected. It is not easy to explain the connection, but it cannot be ignored either (1987, p. 184). In addition, while hegemonic relations do not create a total cultural dominance, they push some groups into secondary position. Hegemonic masculinity is about the interaction among people; thus, it is very public (Cornell, 1987, p. 185). As worded by the author;

The public face of hegemonic masculinity is not necessarily what powerful men are, but what sustains their power and what large numbers of men are motivated to support. The notion of ‘hegemony’ generally implies a large measure of consent (Connell, 1987, p. 185).

Cornell suggests that patriarchal structure needs to create a gender-based hierarchy among men. She argues that understanding of diversity in masculinities is not enough for the sociology of masculinity. Instead, the relationship between types of masculinities should be understood (1987, pp. 180-183). As Cornell writes, “In general, then, a hierarchy is created with at least three elements: hegemonic masculinity, conservative masculinities (complicit in the collective project but not its shock troops) and subordinated masculinities” (1987, p. 110). Connell also developed the concept of “marginalized masculinities” in her later work, entitled “Masculinities” (1995, pp. 76-81).

Hegemonic masculinity can be defined as a response to the legitimacy problem in the patriarchal system since it produces a classification among men. Hegemonic classification is based on the correspondence between institutional power and cultural ideal. As a result, business men and military men are generally ranked at the

top of hegemonic classification. Furthermore, homosexual masculinity is subordinated by heterosexual masculinity. Thus, in subordinated masculinities, hegemony and cultural dominance work hand in hand restricting homosexual men's everyday practices. The majority of men gain advantage from the patriarchal structure of the society. This is because, as mentioned earlier, men's profits are not equal in hegemonic relations. In other words, patriarchy needs a complicit definition of masculinity in order to keep the existing inequality among men. Finally, patriarchal classification marginalizes race and ethnic differences among men. For instance, white men are at the top in this classification compared to black men.

Since there is limited space for women to build power relationships over others, relationships among women are not like men's hegemonic relations. Moreover, the organization of femininity does not contain a hegemonic construction. Besides, there is no pressure for subordinating other forms of femininity in the structure of hegemonic masculinity.

As mentioned before, hegemonic masculinity is the most popular concept in the literature on men and masculinities although it is still being debated and criticized in academic circles. While some criticize its usage, others criticize its conceptualization. In reply to these criticisms Connell wrote an article, entitled "Hegemonic Masculinity, Rethinking the Concept". In this work she aimed to develop the concept further (2005, pp. 829-859).

According to Cornell, the criticisms about the concept of hegemonic masculinity fall into five groups (2005, p. 836). The first is about the underlying concept of masculinity. For instance, Jeff Hearn developed another concept in his work named “From Hegemonic Masculinity to the Hegemony of Men”. According to Hearn, men studied men for a long time, but these studies did not generally problematize masculinity itself (2004, p. 49). In his article he first discusses power, hegemony, and critical men’s studies. Then, he writes about Connell’s concept of hegemonic masculinity. In his words this concept “has been proposed as a form of masculinity or configuration of gender practice which is in contrast to other less dominant or subordinated forms of masculinity-complicit, subordinated, and marginalized” (Hearn, 2004, p. 55). Hearn did not have a problem with this definition of the concept of ‘hegemony’. However, he thought that focusing only on masculinity was too narrow. For Hearn, masculinity as a concept is not clear since it ignores power and domination relationships (2004, p.59). Moreover, he suggested another concept named the “hegemony of men” (Hearn, 2004, p. 59). With this concept the meaning of “hegemony” became closer to Gramsci’s original concept. As he defined, the hegemony of men “seeks to address the double complexity that men are both a social category formed by the gender system and dominant collective and individual agents of social practices” (Hearn, 2004, p. 59). Hearn claimed that men’s relations with women, children, and other men become clearer through his concept of “hegemony of men”. This is because all men are formed under men’s hegemony and at the same time they form hegemony; men can be the “ruling class” and the “managed class” simultaneously (2004, p. 61).

On the other hand, Clatterbaugh discussed some of his concerns about the usage of masculinity and masculinities in his article “What is Problematic about Masculinities?”. He accepts the fact that masculinity is not only biologically grounded, but also socially and culturally constructed (2004, p. 200). However, he also wrote that “My concerns are that these terms (masculinity and masculinities) carry a lot of historical baggage, which unless great care is exercised in their use, leads to confusion and careless thinking” (Clatterbaugh, 2004, p. 201). First of all, he thought that there is still a discussion about what masculinity is. On this basis he pointed to the fact that there are ongoing discussions whether masculinity is a gender role or sex role. Men researchers argue that if masculinity is culturally and socially constructed, maleness cannot be a point for men’s studies since the common strategy is not to talk about gender roles. Clatterbaugh wrote about the option of postmodern approaches instead of modernist ones and argued that in the modernist approach we need a consistent and a clear definition of masculinity (2004, pp. 201-205). According to the same author, “Among the various kinds of postmodern efforts is to treat the individual ‘as being produced by a multitude of discourses’. Not only individuals are thought of as subjects of various discourses, but also being male, being masculine, being masculine in a particular way are also subject of various discourses” (Clatterbaugh, 2004, p. 205).

With postmodernist discourse analysis some of the differences and polarities in the literature on masculinity can be identified. However, there are also problems in this insight, too. Firstly, we need an independent definition of masculinity in order to

deconstruct the discourse. Additionally, discourses are human made. In other words, discourses are affected by people's beliefs. Besides, an individual can be the subject of different discourses which means that there are as much masculinities as there are individuals. Moreover, Clatterbaugh considers the subjectivity option and writes that;

One of the common strategies is to talk about how masculinity is perceived by an individual, either oneself or another. Then, masculinity becomes a personal achievement, something we do, something we accomplish, an undeniable truth for any male who has grown to manhood (2004, p. 207).

However, this, too, does not provide a clear, independent understanding of masculinity. Finally, Clatterbaugh argued that the articles about men written by women are not really about masculinities (2004, p 209). While men researchers are writing about men and masculinities, women researchers actually write about the images, stereotypes about men. At the end he adds that "we shall be unable to build the kind of discipline that we need, unable to articulate the goals that we seek, and unable to generate the kinds of political change, which we agree needs to occur, if we persist in the kinds of equivocations that are pervasive in our literature" (Clatterbaugh, 2004, p. 210).

The second criticism is about hegemonic masculinity being an ambiguous concept. Martin wrote that hegemonic masculinity sometimes refers to a fixed type and sometimes it means a dominant type at a particular time period (2005, p. 838). For Connell, this ambiguity is normal since the concept of hegemonic masculinity was

just a model for understanding the relationships among men in a patriarchal society (2005, p. 838).

The third criticism is about the problem of reification. In this context Holter claims that the conceptualization of hegemonic masculinity was based on women's experiences, not on women's subordination (2005, p. 839). Following Holter, Connell and Messerschmidt suggest that;

Holter certainly is correct that it is a mistake to deduce relations among masculinities from the direct exercise of personal power by men over women. At the least, we also must factor in the institutionalization of gender inequalities, the role of cultural constructions, and the interplay of gender dynamics with race, class, and region (2005, p. 839).

Another group of authors like Wetherell and Edley, Whitehead, and Jefferson, who use a psychoanalytical approach, also criticized the concept arguing that the theory of the subject is inadequate. They claimed that the concept of hegemonic masculinity refers to a unitary subject although psychology argues that the subject is divided (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005, pp. 841-843). In reply to this criticism, Connell and Messerschmidt argued that;

The concept of hegemonic masculinity originally was formulated with a strong awareness of psychoanalytic arguments about the layered and contradictory character of personality, the everyday contestation in social life, and the mixture of strategies necessary in any attempt to sustain hegemony. It is somewhat ironic that the concept is criticized for oversimplifying the subject, but it is, of course, true that the concept often has been employed in simplified forms (2005, p. 843).

The last criticism is about the pattern of gender relations. Demetriou claimed that although the concept of hegemonic masculinity includes the historicity of gender, there was a simplification of the concept of hegemony (2001, p. 340). According to Demetriou, there are two forms of hegemony which are external and internal (2001, p. 341). In reply to this criticism Connell and Messerschmidt writes that;

‘External hegemony’ refers to the institutionalization of men’s dominance over women; ‘Internal hegemony’ refers to the social ascendancy of one group of men over all other men. Demetriou argues that the relationship between the two forms is unclear in the original formulation of the concept and unspecified in current usage (2005, p. 844).

Additionally, Demetriou argued that different types of masculinities such as subordinated, complicit, and marginalized masculinities seemed to have no effect on the construction of hegemonic masculinity (2001, pp. 342- 343). However, this kind of understanding caused to lose the “dialectical pragmatism” of internal hegemony (Demetriou, 2001, p. 345). A different view of historical change in masculinities was developed following this new dialectical understanding. Hegemonic masculinity cannot change easily and also cannot quickly adapt to change. It consisted of two dimensions: “Reconfiguring itself and adapting the specificities of new historical conjunctures” (Demetriou, 2001, p. 355). Connell and Messerschmidt responded this criticism, too, arguing that;

Demetriou’s conceptualization of dialectical pragmatism in ‘internal hegemony’ is useful, and he makes a convincing case that certain representations of masculinity, and some heterosexual men’s everyday gender practices, have appropriated aspects of gay masculinities. Clearly, specific masculine practices may be appropriated into other masculinities, creating hybrid. Yet we are not convinced that

the hybridization Demetriou describes is hegemonic; at least beyond a local sense (2005, p. 845).

Based on these criticisms Connell and Messerschmidt reformulated the concept of hegemonic masculinity. According to them, firstly, the multiplicity among masculinities and the hierarchy of masculinities are still important for the definition of the concept. Secondly, the idea of global dominance of men over women should be reviewed. Finally, they reformulated the concept of hegemonic masculinity with reference to four main areas, as will be discussed below. Overall, growing academic works on men and masculinity/ies caused an attempt to reformulate the concept. According to Connell and Messerschmidt, “In the late 1980s and early 1990s, research on men and masculinities was being consolidated as an academic field, supported by a string of conferences, the publication of textbooks and several journals, and a rapidly expanding research agenda across the social sciences and humanities” (2005, p. 833). Health, education, media, race-ethnicity, crime, and also family-fatherhood are the general research topics in the academia. For example, in media studies, the presentation of masculinity in advertisements, films, and TV serials were and still are being analyzed. Similarly, with increasing violence against women, honor killings or hate crimes all over the world, some studies focused on the relation between violence and masculinity.

Firstly, the concept of hegemonic masculinity was reformulated through the “gender hierarchy” understanding. New studies on race and ethnicity suggest that there are different types of masculinities especially in local areas. Moreover, homosexual

masculinity is another field of study. Gay movement has an important place in gender studies. Queer theory also began to improve in social sciences, which tries to explain the relationship between gender and sexuality and also to understand the construction of sexuality. The second reformulation is about the geography of masculinities. Although local differences were not ignored when the concept of hegemonic masculinity was developed, with the development of men and masculinities studies and with the process of globalization, many different experiences of masculinity from all over the world came to the scene. Social embodiment was another ground for reformulating the concept. Masculine embodiment is extremely important for constructing identities and behavior. However, early conceptualizations of hegemonic masculinity ignored this dimension. The last reformulation includes the dynamics of masculinities and the internal contradictions in the process of construction of masculinities. As Connell and Messerschmidt argue, “Masculinities are configurations of practice that are constructed, unfold and change through time. Hegemonic masculinities are likely to involve specific patterns of internal division and emotional conflict, precisely because of their association with gendered power” (2005, p. 852).

Since gender relations are under tension, masculinities/femininities can and do reshape. Thus, the conceptualization of hegemonic masculinity is open to revision. Early understandings of hegemonic masculinity focused only on the construction of manhood; it overlooked the importance of women’s practices in the construction of

masculinity. Therefore, sociology of masculinity needs to study the mothers' effect on masculinities.

At this juncture, family appears as an important field of study for the sociology of masculinity. Family is the institution for every basic relationship between men and women. Socialization, gender division of labor, and child rearing are some of the important topics also for men and masculinity/ies studies. The structure of families varies greatly from one culture to another and from one society to another. In the past families mainly consisted of a father, mother and child/children where women were housewives and men breadwinners. However, in today's world there are many one-parent families or families where the women are the breadwinners.

If we accept the thesis that masculinity is socially constructed, we can find the roots of masculinity in family relations. In other words, the relationship between a father and a son is very important for the reconstruction of masculinity. Also we can find some clues for explaining the internal contradictions of the process of construction of hegemonic masculinity. Below I provide a summary of the Western literature on fatherhood.

After summarizing various feminist perspectives and men and masculinity/ies studies, I argue that from the point of view of liberal feminists, women have less chance for equal political rights in comparison to men. However, men and masculinity/ies studies argue that men also encounter some difficulties in the society. This argument suggests that men should avoid emotional behavior which is

associated with women and defined as “feminine”. Moreover, they argue that life is getting harder for men since they should not cry, should be strong, and should protect their family’s honor. Radical feminist thoughts on the complexity of human experience and body politics also affect men and masculinity/ies studies. Based on these arguments it can be said that men and masculinity theorists criticize radical feminism for being essentialist and universalistic. Men and masculinity/ies studies argue that their understanding of femininity and masculinity is based on innate characteristics. Finally, Marxist and socialist feminists believe that men are socialized into exploitative social roles in the capitalist society. In this context, Kahn claims that “Socialist feminism has been helpful in viewing both the barriers that many men have in the world of work and how that interfaces with their understanding of what it means to be a ‘man’” (2009, p. 11).

#### **2.4. Main Theoretical Approaches about Fatherhood**

Family is a universal institution although there are many different forms of it. As the basic socialization unit during early childhood, families teach children social norms, cultural values, language, and rules for social behavior. On the other hand, family is a prototype of all hierarchical relations in the wider society. As an organization it has two important functions. The first is creating an authority structure based on age and the other is creating a division of household labor based on sex. Consequently, in a marriage husbands are usually older than wives; thus, they have authority over women. Additionally, in the division of household labor men are traditionally breadwinners, whereas women are housekeepers. Therefore, men gain power from both positions. In every kind of family there is only one (or more in polyandry) father and one (or more in polygyny) mother. Moreover, the father is the male parent

of the offspring. Fathers are also breadwinners, family's face in the public sphere, decision-maker for the family, and a projection of the state. Fatherhood as a sociological research topic has been under study only over the last two decades. Here, theoretical approaches and some major studies about fatherhood will be outlined.

As discussed above, construction of masculinity occurs first in the family where women focus on motherhood roles in the socialization process and men on other social roles. According to Tanfer and Motto, “A man becomes a *father* when he has his first child; this status is fixed, such that, once a man becomes a father he is always a father” (1997, p.2). Thus, even though a man gets divorced or his child leaves the home he is always a father. Similarly, Benson claimed that men do not learn to be a father while they are growing up whereas women do learn to be a mother. In other words construction of womanhood is almost always based on motherhood (Benson, 1968, p. 4). In this regard, men do not know how to be a “good father”; knowledge about fatherhood generally comes from wives or children. In Benson’s own words;

Girls are schooled in their duties long before they become pregnant and are constantly reminded of these responsibilities as they pass through the childbearing years. By comparison, boys are left unadvised about their approaching parental duties, except when they are facetiously counseled to avoid them. As we might expect, males do not discipline themselves for “father work” during or after they grow up, but society manages to endure (1968, p. 5).

Fatherhood is an indispensable or irrevocable status for man. Looking at the historical transformation of family organization, one can see some changes about the conception of fatherhood. Before the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in agrarian societies families were generally extended and the responsibilities for the house belonged to men. Traditional fatherhood was connected to the moral teacher role. According to Tanfer and Motto, “A father's moral role persisted through childhood into adult life. His influence was pervasive and usually exceeded the mother's responsibilities over the child” (1997, p. 3). However, after the industrial revolution, the separation of work and home became sharp. This was parallel to the process of nuclear family becoming the dominant family type. As a consequence of these developments paternal roles changed. While women were stuck at home, men were driven apart from it. According to Tanfer and Motto, “For fathers, this was the beginning of an almost exclusive emphasis on economic responsibilities, which naturally, curtailed the men's day-to-day contact with their children” (1997, p. 3). With the separation of fathers from home, although their hegemonic roles still continued, their emotional relations with their children were cut off. As Tanfer and Motto's describes, “Furstenberg (1988) states that these changes were in effect sociologically ‘over-determined’, meaning that changes in the family and in the meaning of fatherhood would have happened even if some of the social structural or ideological changes had not occurred when they did” (1997, p. 5).

Nowadays, fathers play an authority role in the family in order to reduce behavioral problems of their boys and psychological problems of their girls. If a child has a

close relationship with his/her father, he/she will be more self-confident, more mentally healthy, and more talented. Thus, fathers also have a role in their children's identity construction process. Girls and boys learn to submit to this authority figure during the early socialization process in the family. Fathers' duties and responsibilities are generally outside the home. According to Parsons; "He (the father) stands at a crucial point of articulation between the family subsystem and that of the wider society, which is the primary basis for this symbolic significance and the main reason that he is the family's chief representative of the non-family world" (as cited in Benson, 1968, p. 19). Freud, too, described the same situation as follows; "The role of father as the source of the superego, serving as a moral control over his children's behavior" (as cited in Benson, 1968, p. 14). In sociology the difference between men and women is based on two distinct modes of behavior. The first one is called "expressive roles" which are the basic predispositions toward pleasing others. The second one is called "instrumental roles" which are based on goal-centralism.

According to Benson;

Males are expected to combine expressive and instrumental qualities; they are called upon to play the dissimilar roles of breadwinner and husband, the former stressing instrumentalism and the latter demanding greater expressive emphasis. When he becomes a father, the man plays still a third role that combines instrumentality and expressiveness to a greater extent than either the breadwinner or husband role (1968, p. 28).

On the other hand, in the family, expressive roles are mostly seen as women's roles. Thus, mother becomes the primary caregiver who is responsible for performing the routine work in the family. Moreover, women also keep the family together and use

the resources beneficially. These are all described as instrumental roles which are explained by biological and other social factors. During the first year, the mother and child develop a very close relationship since it is the mother who gives birth to the child. After the first couple of years, however, the relationship between the mother and child becomes more like a dependency relationship. As Benson notes, “Womanliness is still often equated with motherliness and succorance; manliness is hardly ever identified with fatherhood, especially in modern industrial societies” (1968, p. 4). In other words woman are understood as a mother whereas men are not understood as a father. Again in Benson’s words, “Men are characteristically less patient with children or with immaturity and incompetence of any kinds, unless that is precisely what they have been trained for” (1968, p. 8). Within this framework I now discuss some of the major studies about fatherhood.

#### **2.4.1. Some Studies about Fatherhood**

Although there are many works about motherhood in different scientific branches like biology, sociology, psychology, and history with different points of view such as psychoanalysis, modernist, postmodernist or feminism, fatherhood is a new topic in social sciences. There are also some articles about fatherhood in genetic science and these are generally about the number of sperms and the possibility of being a father. There are some about men’s support for expectant mothers (Dugdeon and Inhorn, 2009, pp. 72-102; Ivry, 2009, pp. 281-304; Han, 2009, pp. 305-326). In social sciences fatherhood is generally discussed through psychoanalytical studies. This is mainly because the role of the father is very important when explaining the oedipal complex. Following increasing divorce rates, feminist studies focused on fatherlessness and single-parent families. Moreover, academicians who work on

child development conducted research about violence against children including sexual harassment and rape. Among these studies some refer to the role played by the fathers.

Fatherhood has been a very popular topic for men and masculinity research since the 1990s in America and Europe. There are some sociological studies that focus on the socialization process, reproduction of masculinity, and the historical development of fatherhood. However, these studies are generally conducted in Western countries. In these countries there are some ongoing legal and moral changes which affect the lives of women and men. The literature on fatherhood generally focuses on three main topics; “The symbolic representations, ideologies and cultural images of fatherhood; men’s perceptions about their fatherhood identity and roles; and the ways in which resident and nonresident fathers interact with their children, and the extent of their involvement” (as cited in Tanfer and Motto, 1997, p. 12).

Rotundo also makes a historical classification of fatherhood in the United States. According to Rotundo, there are two major periods in the US history. The first one is named as “patriarchal fatherhood” period (1620-1800) and the second as “modern fatherhood” period (1800 to present). Social, economic and cultural factors are the source of the differences between these two types of fatherhood. Moreover, economic growth and increasing divorce rates affect the family structure in America. Thus, Rotundo adds a new classification named as “androgynous fatherhood” period. Androgynous fathers are the ones involved in the childcare process. In other words,

androgynous father “plays a larger part in the socialization process than did patriarchal or modern fathers”. For androgynous fathers, who are mostly upper class fathers, daughters and sons are equally important.

According to Lamb, on the other hand, there are four periods when explaining fatherhood historically. The first period produced the “moral teacher” role for fathers, which was the common type before the capitalist system (as cited in Williams, 2008, p. 488). During this period fathers were responsible for their children’s religious education. The “breadwinner” role emerged during the second period which started with the industrial revolution. This overlaps with the emergence of the concept of gendered division of labor (as cited in Williams, 2008, p. 489). The third period produced the “sex-role” model. In this period fathers’ obligation was teaching their sons how to be a man and how to behave in the society. Finally, the “nurturing father” role emerged during the fourth period which is considered by Lamb as an evolutionary step toward fatherhood (as cited in Williams, 2008, p. 489). In this last period, fathers are conceived as being actively involved in the childcare process.

Like Lamb, Pleck also divided fatherhood experiences into three periods. According to this classification there are three types of fathers: father as “moral oversees”, father as “distant breadwinner”, and father as “sex role” model (1987, pp. 83-93). The first period was from the 18<sup>th</sup> century to early 19<sup>th</sup> century. During this period fathers were accepted as moral teachers. As Pleck writes, “The father was viewed as

a moral pedagogue who must instruct children of both sexes what God as well as the world required them" (1987, p. 84). At that time since women were seen as weak and emotional, men were involved in the child care process. The second period was from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century to mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. During this period, with the growth of capitalism, men became a distant breadwinner. Moreover, "At the same time, infancy and early childhood (as opposed to middle childhood and adolescence) received greater emphasis; mothers were thought to have a special influence in these earlier periods" (Pleck, 1987, p. 86). In this period fathers' authority decreased, but he was the one who still made the final decisions. According to Pleck, the third period is the period between 1940 and 1965. During these years sex role fathers emerged. This was also the time when fathers were absent due to the World War II. Pleck claimed that after this third period maternal and paternal roles of parents became more clear and distinct (1987, p. 92). As he writes;

The new conception did not become dominant; the distant father-breadwinner still prevailed. Nonetheless, the sex role model interpretation of fathering is historically important as the first positive image of involved fatherhood to have a significant impact on the culture since the moral overseer model of the colonial period (Pleck, 1987, p. 90).

Brannen and Nilsen conducted a research about the transition of fatherhood in Britain (2006, pp. 335-352). They examined three generations who belonged to different classes and argued that "The restructuring of the labor market is changing fatherhood especially for some groups of men" (Brannen and Nilsen, 2006, p. 336). Brannen and Nilsen interviewed thirty-one fathers and claimed that the changes in the perception of fatherhood do not follow a linear process. They classified the

interviewees into three groups: “work-focused” fathers, “family men”, and “hands on” fathers (Brannn and Nilsen 2006, p. 340). Work-focused fathers identify themselves with their jobs; they are generally middle class men. Family men not only continue their breadwinner role, but also participate in the childcare process. Finally, hands-on fathers work for short periods and they generally take their children seriously. According to them, “The hands-on fathers, like many mothers, described being at home with young children as ‘hard work’” (Brannen and Nilsen 2006, p. 340).

While Lamb makes a classification of fatherhood historically, La Rossa makes a classification depending on the essence and the conduct of fatherhood (1988, p. 451). According to La Rossa, fatherhood can be divided into two categories. The first is “culture of fatherhood” and the second is “conduct of fatherhood” (La Rossa, 1988, pp. 451-452). Culture of fatherhood is about common norms and beliefs of fatherhood, whereas conduct of fatherhood is about how men behave toward their children. La Rossa claims that culture of fatherhood is affected by social and economic changes, while conduct of fatherhood is more rigid and against social change (1988, p. 452). For La Rossa, changes in culture of fatherhood are a response to the changes in the conception of motherhood (1988, p. 452). After the increase in the numbers of women in the labor force, women have to be mothers and workers at the same time. This causes a double burden on women forcing fathers to be involved in childcare willingly or not.

As argued, some scientists believe that fatherhood has been changing with the transformations in social, political, and economic spheres. However, Cherlin claims that transformation of “fatherhood” to “fathering” is not suitable to men since they are not socialized for being involved fathers (1998, pp. 41-46). Additionally, fathering creates tension for men between being “a good father” and “a patriarchal father”. Therefore, it is possible to argue that the change in fatherhood experiences of men is a big step toward increasing fathers’ nurturing behavior. Moreover, even though there are some studies about the symbolic representation of fatherhood, these studies do not focus on the differences between “ideal type” fatherhood and “stereotype” fatherhood. Additionally, different experiences of fathers such as stepfathers or foster children’s fathers are not taken into account in fatherhood studies. As Cherlin writes;

Fatherhood is a role with great flexibility and wide variations...My point is that we should not interpret the historical flexibility of fatherhood to mean that it will be easy to further increase fathers’ nurturing behavior toward young children. It is not a role they have been socialized for and not one they have historical experience with (1998, p. 45).

I will now provide a review and an evaluation of the Turkish literature on masculinity studies.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **THEORETICAL DISCUSSIONS IN TURKEY**

*You told with your hands, you said with  
your tongue*

*You loved with your eyes, but you never  
evinced*

*I know and I believe that you are still  
watching and protecting me from the sky  
(Cem Karaca-Father)*

#### **3.1. Introduction**

Following the discussions about feminism, men and masculinity/ies studies, and fatherhood studies in the Western literature, I will now provide an overview of the theoretical developments in Turkey about feminism and masculinity studies. Feminism started to develop after the establishment of the Turkish republic in 1923. Many studies were carried out in Turkey about women's level of education, their participation in the labor market, and their role in Turkish politics. However, women's issues in general were understudied compared to many other Western countries. Nevertheless, feminism in Turkey continues to grow both in academic and activist circles. This chapter will provide a brief history of feminism in Turkey. What will follow next is masculinity studies. Although masculinity was a missing area of interest until the 1990s in Turkey, it has now become a popular, debatable, and censurable topic of study. Masculinity/ies studies in Turkey generally focus on hegemonic relationships among men, contradictions of being a man, and the

projection of masculinity in the media. This chapter includes the major works on men and masculinity in Turkey.

In Turkey “father” is used as an important symbol not only by politicians, but also by religious authorities, educators, and directors. In the Turkish society father is a pillar of the house, a guardian of the honor of his family, a director of the state, and lastly a man who has a son. Although “father” has a powerful symbolic meaning in the Turkish culture, fatherhood has not been evaluated from a sociological perspective. Below I will first summarize the development of feminism in Turkey and then discuss some of the major works on fatherhood and masculinity.

### **3.2. Feminism in Turkey**

Feminism is not only an extensive philosophy, theory, and methodology, but also a movement fighting for equal rights considering the diverse identities in Western countries. According to Kandiyoti, there are three stages of feminism in Turkey (2011, pp. 43-44). The first stage is named as “epistemological criticism”. In this first stage feminists criticized the male-dominated understanding of science. They claimed that science ignored women, women’s knowledge, and women’s experiences. During this stage, feminism became institutionalized in academic circles in Turkey. The second stage of feminism is marked by the dominance of grand theories like Marxism or patriarchy. During this second period radical, liberal, and socialist feminist orientations became popular. Discussions were focused on women’s secondary position in the society which was seen as the result of patriarchy and capitalist exploitation. Until the end of the 1980s, this second stage was

dominant in Turkey. However, during the 1990s, we see the beginning of the third stage. During this period “differences” became important and the concept of “other” appeared as one of the central concepts in feminist theory and activism.

With reference to Kandiyoti’s theorization of feminism, the women’s movement in Turkey can be divided into three periods. The first was the early republican Kemalist reforms period, which was the first wave of feminism. The second was the period when women’s movement focused on several issues like violence against women, misrepresentation of women in the media, ineffective participation of women in the policy-making process, and low levels of education among women. The final wave has a wider scope and more to do on its agenda since the moment now includes minority groups like the Kurds on the one hand and the Islamists and gay-lesbian-bisexual-transsexuals on the other who demand more rights from the state.

Although some feminist origins can be found in the late Ottoman period, major feminist theoretical studies as well as the feminist movement began to develop after the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923. In the first years of the republic main target was to construct a new, modern, and a developed country. For this aim, mothers, who transfer cultural values to the new generations, in particular and women in general played a significant role. Additionally, after the Turkish War of Independence, as the male population was significantly reduced, women had to be a part of the public sphere alongside with being positioned mainly in the private

sphere. In order to integrate women in public life, different types of reforms were accepted. For example, with the adoption of the Swiss Civil Code, Turkish women gained some basic rights like divorce and inheritance. *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* (The Turkish Women's Union) was founded at that time that fought for increasing women's visibility in politics. Voting rights for women were guaranteed by the National Election in 1934. After that step, The Turkish Women's Union was perceived as having too much of an independent voice in the public realm, as being sectarian and individualistic, and somehow threatening to the national interest. Hence, after the ratification of the legislation that allowed women's political rights, the Turkish Women's Union was closed in 1935 (Diner and Toktaş, 2010, p. 44). Consequently, Kemalist reforms led to gender equality in politics. Since women obtained some social rights with these new regulations, the first wave of feminism in Turkey can be named as state feminism. After the military coup in 1980, Turkey changed both socially and politically. Nearly all of the political parties were closed except the ones linked to the military. Some of the leaders of labor unions, political parties and organizations were arrested. Although the new constitution was accepted in 1982 which was claimed to be more liberal, promoting equality, these developments caused the depoliticization of the Turkish society. However, on the other hand, after almost fifty silent years of feminist movement, in the 1980s, feminism in Turkey reemerged with a focus on activism. According to Kandiyoti, *Türk Toplumunda Kadın* (Women in Turkish Society) symposium which took place between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> of May, 1978 was an important step in the history of feminism in Turkey. This was because women's participation in the labor market and their achievements in educational, political and other activities were discussed

openly for the first time. Participants of the symposium who were experts on women's studies were generally coming from different academic branches such as sociology, economy, social psychology, and demography among others (Kandiyoti, 2011, p. 41).

Some of the feminist researchers believed that some women's connections with certain leftist organizations in the 1970s led to questioning the feminist position. As a result, feminists concluded that the military coup eliminated the patriarchal elements in the left-wing movement. According to Diner and Toktaş, "Formerly leftist women not only questioned and gave accounts of what went wrong in the leftist movement in the 1970s, but they also questioned their positions as women in these leftist organizations" (2010, p. 45). Those feminists who were mostly members of the middle class and who were mostly professional women with high levels of education, carried feminism to the streets for the first time in Turkey. This activist feminist group's aim was to make domestic violence visible in the public sphere.

In the meantime, women's movement started to become institutionalized in academic circles. In 1990, Women's Library was established and all academic and literature books written by women were collected here. Additionally, some universities like the Middle East Technical University, Marmara University, and Dokuz Eylül University opened gender/women studies departments or research centers on women. In these departments and centers feminism started to become an academic topic where many

studies and publications were carried out. Moreover, some women's organizations started to publish women's magazines regularly. During this same period, which is the second wave of feminism in Turkey, some shelters and consultancy centers for women were also opened. At the present there are eighty-one shelters which were established by the state, non-governmental organizations, and private enterprises to protect women. These places have the capacity to house almost 1,820 women. The *Mor Çatı* (Purple Roof) is one of the best known shelters which provide legal and medical services for women who suffer from domestic violence.

In the 1990s, rising identity politics influenced not only Western feminism but also feminism in Turkey. While black and lesbian feminists criticized mainstream Western feminism, Kurdish and Islamist activists in particular shaped the next stage of feminism in Turkey. Towards the end of the 1980s, Kurdish nationalism began to take a new shape due to the growing conflict between the Turkish armed forces and the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK). According to Diner and Toktaş, "The influences of the Kurdish conflict on women were twofold. On the one hand, the environment of violence and insecurity increased the vulnerability of Kurdish women in the region. On the other hand, it led to the politicization of Kurdish women" (2010, p. 48). In this context, Kurdish women started to voice their ethnic identity more strongly in the public sphere. KAMER is an important example of Kurdish women's organizations. Its core focus is about increasing awareness for domestic violence against women, especially in eastern and south-eastern regions of Turkey. Kurdish women have two important arguments. The first is women's secondary position in

the Kurdish nationalist movement and the patriarchal structure of the Kurdish population. The other one is their critical stance towards Turkish feminist movement which, in their view, does not pay attention to the Kurds' and Kurdish women's problems.

The second effective movement of third wave feminism in Turkey is the Islamist movement. After the Justice and Development Party (JDP) started to govern Turkey in 2002, Islamic life-style became more visible in the public sphere. Islamist politics created its own intellectuals, bourgeoisie, and its cultural norms and values. During this process women played an important role by spreading their ideas and by creating large networks with a broader group of women. The headscarf ban has been a significant issue in Turkey for many years and it was generally discussed by men. Islamist women were critical of the arguments developed by men since they thought that the discourse of Islamist men was based on a misinterpretation of traditional Islam when discussing the position of women in Turkey. According to Diner and Toktaş, “Islamist women also tried to show the hypocrisy of Islamist men arguing that while they were using computers at work, they criticized women for using washing machines at home. They also argued that religious marriages were used to legitimize keeping mistresses” (2010, p. 51). The Islamist groups, especially men, were not ready to confront such criticisms since they have never thought that there would be Muslim women intellectuals who could interpret the Koran. They simply believed that women have two important roles in the society; being a good wife and being a good mother. While this was the view of Islamist men, Islamist women questioned whether Islamic feminism was possible or not. This quest gave rise to

other discussions about the history of Turkish modernization. Some claimed that secularism was a significant indicator of being a modern and a developed country. In this context Kemalist ideology was seen as an ideology that protects women's freedom. However, Islamist women intellectuals criticized both of the ideologies mentioned above since both isolated women with headscarves from the public sphere.

With the third wave of feminism, discussions about gender and patriarchy nowadays became popular in the academy. According to Kandiyoti, feminists started to conduct studies about the male-dominated structure of the state, labor market, and the military in order to analyze gender relationships further (2011, p. 45). These studies claim that all social structures are sexist and that these structures reproduce masculinity and femininity. Some of these works were based on Connell's understanding of hegemonic masculinity. According to Kandiyoti, these studies paved the way to many other empirical studies about different masculinities and sexualities (2011, p. 45). Some examples will be provided in the section below.

### **3.3. Men and Masculinity/ies Studies in Turkey**

Men and masculinity/ies studies have been a significant topic for social sciences in the West since the 1980s. However, as mentioned before, at that time feminism in Turkey did not yet have roots in the social science departments and gender and women's studies were in limited numbers. However, there are now many inquiries about women's issues. Men and masculinity/ies studies, on the other hand, are yet to be developed in Turkey although some progress has been achieved. Western

masculinity literature started to affect Turkish literature since the 1990s when discussions about the postmodernity and globalization became popular. According to Atay, “It is understandable that focusing on women who are visible victims of patriarchy has priority. However, men are invisible victims of male power and male identity” (2012, p. 51).

On the other hand, masculinity is a “blind spot” in Turkey. As Atay argues, the devastating impact of masculinity can only be analyzed empirically. However, men resist to demonstrate the impact on them (2012, p. 55). While it is difficult to study masculinity, men and masculinity/ies studies began to develop in Turkey in the 1990s. During this period some books like Segal’s “Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities” and Connell’s “Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics” were translated into Turkish. However, these translations still did not catch up with the speed of the editions in the Western world. There were very few studies about masculinity in Turkey. One of them is *Kışkırtılmış Erkeklik, Bastırılmış Kadınlık* (Simulated Masculinity, Repressed Femininity) written by Erdal Atabek. In this book he tried to reveal the constitution of gender with a historical point of view. Moreover, he emphasized the binary oppositions in the society. Atabek indicated that “hayat adamlı” (life man) refers to a successful man who overcomes difficulties quickly and solves problems practically. On the other hand, when we use “hayat kadını” (street walker), we refer to a prostitute (1989, p. 182). Another one was a research conducted by Ali Atıf Bir from the Department of Communication in Anadolu University about the role and attitudes of men in Eskişehir. The research

was conducted with 250 women and 250 men who were over the age of eighteen. The researchers investigated the attitudes of participants about the socially notified behavior of men and the required characteristics of men. This study showed that age and level of education affect the understanding of men's roles. The researchers claimed that with increasing age and decreasing educational level, participants' attitudes became more traditional. In the survey there were some questions about the topic of this thesis. For example, most of the participants claimed that men should be the household head, men should make decisions about household expenses and children's school, and that men can do housework but these are not "men's job" (Onaran, Beker and Bir, 1998, pp. 34,36).

In the 2000s, there were more academic writings about masculinity. For example, in 2004, Elif Bilgin wrote a PhD dissertation about Turkish modernity through the discourses of masculinities. In the thesis Bilgin tried to analyze the relationship between Turkish modernization history and gender construction, especially the production of masculinity. She used the Islamist and Kemalist discourses in order to demonstrate the differences and similarities between these discourses when the topic is gender construction. For example, according to Bilgin, the Ottoman society was basically based on father-son relationship; the empire was managed by the policy of passing authority from father to son. After the establishment of the Turkish Republic and after the adoption of many Kemalist reforms, the relationship between fathers and daughters became more important, especially among the upper-middle class fathers. In 2005, Yasemin Akis wrote a master thesis about men who were struggling

against patriarchy in the academy. At the end of the thesis, she summarized her thoughts about the possibility of allying with women against patriarchy. The participants in the study were affected by feminism; some of them witnessed the most popular times of the feminist movement in Turkey and some read the articles written by feminist academicians. On the one hand, the participants claimed that because of the effects of feminism, they tried to criticize the traditional understanding of gender roles. According to the author, “A majority of the men in the research group agreed with the idea that it is a thorny process for men to detect their own masculine hegemony, and even if they can to some extent, it is far more difficult to deny those patriarchal privileges actual practice” (2005, p. 137). On the other hand, maybe because of the difficulty to criticize their own masculinities, most of the participants were shy to name themselves as a feminist. Lastly, in 2006, Pınar Farımaç made a discourse analysis of a men’s magazine *Erkekçe* (Manly) as her master thesis. She discussed the reproduction of understanding of hegemonic masculinity after the 1980 military coup. According to her, with new neo-liberal politics, society needed a “new man” who is more responsible, successful in business, and conscious about birth control.

Important books about men and masculinity/ies studies are being published since the late 2000s. These books are mainly about the presentation of men in the media and literature, psychology of men, and men’s position in the Turkish society (Saraçgil, 2005; Kuruoğlu, 2009). Additionally, two other significant studies were published in 2008 and 2009. One of them was written by Pınar Selek, entitled *Sürüne Sürüne*

*Erkeklik* (Crawling Masculinity). Selek conducted a field research with fifty eight men who completed their military service. She analyzed how men learn masculinity, which institutions socially affect the production of male identity, how male identity is affected by the masculinizing process, how men define themselves, and how power relationships among men play a role in the reproduction of patriarchy (Selek, 2008, p. 10). Selek called military service as a laboratory for masculinity since a man must do his military service in order to become a “real man” in Turkey. Moreover, once military service is completed, all men tell their stories until the end of their life. They also criticize and make fun of other men who do their military service short-term. Military service is accepted like a university education for men. After completing military service, men are ready to work and marry. Thus, the author claims that relationships among men in the military are good examples for explaining hegemonic masculinity relationships in Turkey.

Another important book is the one written by Serpil Sancar, entitled *Erkeklik: İmkansız İktidar: Ailede, Piyasada ve Sokakta Erkekler* (Masculinity: Impossible Power: Men in Family, Labor Market and on the Street). In her book Sancar provides a brief summary of men and masculinity/ies studies in the Western literature. Then she focuses on different topics like globalization, work life, fatherhood, military service, and masculine domination. Based on forty eight interviews and five focus groups, Sancar argues that Turkey is in a transition process. On the one hand Turkey is still a rural society and on the other it is modern. Stemming from this conflict, dominant male identity is forced to change. In the past, age played a major role in

forming hegemonic relationships among men. However, today sons have power over their fathers since they are now more advantaged in the labor market. However, as Sancar argues, “Rather than the power of an old man who has his place in the traditional chain, power of a young man who sells his labor in the capitalist market to start a family and to take care of his family better demonstrates the different forms of male domination in a society” (2009, p.122). Sancar also claims that the reproduction of male identity is changing. She sees this as an inevitable process and argues that these changes may force men to struggle against dominant patriarchal relationships. Men who desire a more egalitarian and a liberal society are important actors since they are the ones who can transform traditional patriarchal relationships.

Moreover, in general, fatherhood is not studied from a sociological point of view in Turkey. Sancar’s book can be given as one of the rare examples of a sociological analysis on fatherhood. As Sancar writes;

Most of the men I have interviewed define a conflictual, distant, and a cold relationships with their fathers and this is quite surprising. In this case, dominant masculinity values are not easily passing from father to son in Turkey. It is clear that the young generation men are now facing a serious crisis of masculinity. It can be more accurate to say that family is losing its importance about the reproduction of masculinity and masculinity values which are transferred from father to son; these values are fractured rather than being continuous (2009, p. 125).

Moreover, there is now some consciousness raising groups for men in Turkey. For example, *Erkek Muhabbeti* group (Male Affection) which was organized by the *Sosyal Kalkınma ve Cinsiyet Eşitliği Politikaları Merkezi Derneği – SOGEP*

(Association for Social Development and Gender Equality Policy Center) was established in 2010 and closed in 2011. Mehmet Bozok moderated these group studies where only men could join. Bozok summarized the conclusions of these studies and SOGEP published the report as a book. According to Bozok, “Briefly, men for the sake of “being a man” lose their psychological and physiological health altogether. They are becoming the losers of a game that they seem to be winning. In fact, no one can win this game” (2011, p.14). With this point of view, the group attempted to discuss their male identity, patriarchal social relationships, and other men’s experiences of masculinity. Socialization process came to the forefront in most of the discussions. As Bozok argued;

Masculinity is initially constructed in the private sphere during childhood and reproduction of masculinity is again realized during adulthood in the private sphere. Men -until father becomes prominent as the role model in the advancing ages- learn to “be a man” in the private sphere through their mothers during early socialization....Codes of masculinity in many patriarchal societies are based on the idea that men are not “woman” and/or “queers”. Individuals who experience such a process of socialization become homophobic, who oppress and subordinate women and queer people as required by patriarchal capitalist society (2011, pp. 53-54, 59-60).

Following these discussions, the general opinion reached was that masculinity is not a destiny, not eternal, and not unchangeable. Thus, in Bozok’s words “Rejection of patriarchal codes by men and living according to gender equality will provide the appearance of masculinities different than today’s” (2011, p. 24).

While young men learn masculinity values from their friends and media, the same men at their middle ages, mostly after becoming a father, start to think about their fathers and behave like them. According to Bozok;

As for being a father, it is not an enthusiasm about a new life that comes with a newly born child when the question is the patriarchal socialization process. On the contrary, it signifies men's "faculty of continuing his bloodline". More importantly, being a father symbolizes men's being the actual "head" of the family, which is seen as the smallest component of the society. Thus, it becomes the "peak of male domination" (2011, p. 62).

In 2011, a book, entitled *Medyada Hegemonik Erkek(lik) ve Temsil* (*Hegemonic Masculine(ity) and Representation on Media*) was published. İlker Erdoğan gathered fifteen articles about masculinity and the media in this book. The editor aimed to discuss how masculinity was built in the media. He also wanted to question if fictions of masculinity changed or not. The articles questioned the construction process of masculinity within male magazines, television serials, movies, and advertisements. The authors tried to analyze different kinds of relationships between man and women and also men in the media.

Additionally, *Toplum ve Bilim* (2004), *KAOS GL* (2007), and *Varlık* (2009) magazines published a special edition on masculinity. In *Toplum ve Bilim*, Onur and Koyuncu wrote an article about production of masculinity during early socialization process. According to them;

Nowadays, socialization of boys has changed since 'fatherless society' is growing especially in the West... fatherless society,

contrary to expectations, may affect the transformation of masculinity in a negative way... Apart from this, due to increasing competition in business environment, it can be observed that men's involvement in children's education is decreasing. Considering these reasons, the assumptions about men's involvement at home, family, and children's education can be claimed to be an exaggeration (2011, pp. 42-43).

Mehmet Bozok's article published in *Cogito; Feminism* in 2009 is an important contribution for classifying men. According to Bozok, there are three approaches in men and masculinit(ies) studies. These are masculinist approach, men's liberation approach, and profeminist approach. Masculinists can be named as anti-feminists or misogynists. While masculinists try to develop a theoretical approach against feminism, men's liberation movement blames patriarchy for making men unhealthy, competitive, and macho. Both of these approaches try to protect men's power over women, but men's liberation movement cannot go beyond these theoretical discussions. Finally profeminists who are known as the founders of critical studies on men and masculinity claim that patriarchy is the source of inequality between men and women. Thus, they reject patriarchy as well as men's power over women and homosexual men (Bozok, 2009, p. 291).

Finally, Tayfun Atay who wrote an article in *Toplum ve Bilim*, entitled '*Erkeklik' En Çok Erkeği Ezer*' ('Masculinity' Crushes Men the Most) in 2004. In this article he summarizes masculinity through an anthropological point of view and through the Western literature on masculinity. As Atay argues;

Masculinity crushes men; even its problematization is not an easy issue. Masculinity relations are different forms of unequal relationships compared to other identity relationships. The oppressive relationship between masculinity and men is based on an identity and a ‘personality’” (2004, p. 22)

Atay also published a book in 2012. In this book *Çin İşi Japon İşi - Cinsiyet ve Cinsellik Üzerine Antropolojik Değiniler* (Chinese Made, Japanese Made – Anthropological References on Gender and Sexuality), he gathered his own twenty articles. Atay claims that “The point is about the ‘poisonous’ life conviction of ‘practitioner’ man who carries but does not have ‘power’. In short, ‘masculinity’ becomes ‘toxic’ for men” (Atay, 2012, p. 11).

There are also some activist efforts about men and masculinity/ies studies in Turkey. When Pippa Bacca was travelling all over the world for world peace, she came to Turkey in 2008, where she was raped and killed. After her murder, some anarchist and anti-authoritarian men established the group *Biz Erkek Degiliz İnisiyatifi* (BEDİ) (The Initiative of We Are Not Men) and protested the event. This was the first feminist movement which was organized by men. According to BEDİ blog, they are an anti-authoritarian initiative and they are against dominant forms of masculinity, sexism, imposed gender identity, and homophobia. Their main slogan is as follows; “If rape is being masculine, if killing is being masculine, if being against homosexuality is being masculine, if violence against women is being masculine, ‘We Are Not Men’”. Moreover, in 2012, a blog page named *Rahatsız Erkekler* (Uncomfortable Men) was created by a group of men who had ties with different political circles. According to them, the most important thing is to create different

platforms for men who want to convert their masculinity against sexism, heterosexism, and masculine violence. In this blog there are articles, books and videos about the main masculinity issues. The blog owner expressed his views as follows; “How did we turn into strange beings who cannot even cry on a friend’s shoulder?”

As Akca and Tönel wrote, “When Western masculinity studies entered the third stage in the West, these studies only started to develop in Turkey. Therefore, the emergence of masculinity movements and development of academic studies on masculinity in Turkey was quite late” (2011, p. 37). The concept of masculinity should be discussed for a better understanding of patriarchal social structures although it is widely accepted that men have power in society and that men always benefit from patriarchal relationships compared to women. There are more obstacles inhibiting the growth of masculinity studies in Turkey. Firstly, feminism and consciousness about gender issues were not widespread in Turkey as it was in Western countries. Although gender studies are now spreading in the academic literature, providing gender equality still is not the main aim in political decisions. Moreover, in the Turkish culture mothers, hence women are sacred; thus, feminist efforts do not find many supporters in the society. Similarly, interrogating the roles attributed to men cause people to question women's issues in Turkey where there is a still high rate of domestic violence, honor killings, second wives, and unofficial marriages. These issues are still understudied in Turkey (Akça and Tönel, 2011, pp. 32-33). It is important to note that the works mentioned above were generally written

by women. It seems like the above listed issues which can provide important improvements in terms of gender equality if they are dealt with properly, is not being addressed from a feminist point of view. Therefore, it can be said that more time is needed for the development of masculinity studies in Turkey.

Although there are some encouraging developments about masculinity studies in Turkey, it needs to grow further to be able to describe, explain, and analyze the construction, creation, and reproduction of various masculinities in the Turkish society.

### **3.3. Fatherhood in Turkey**

As Selek argues, “In Turkey, if a man wants ‘to be a man’, he has to pass through four stages. The first is circumcision. The second is to complete military service. The third is to get a job. The fourth is to get married” (2008, p. 19). All of these stages, except for military service, have a connection with family. In the patriarchal masculinity relationships, becoming a father also means to move forward in the hierarchical gender order, especially after having a son. Thus, father–son relationships are important for understanding and analyzing patriarchal relations in Turkey. According to Bozok, “Masculinity as a gender category is the product of social and cultural circumstances. These social and cultural circumstances form masculinities via institutions such as family, socialization, education, economy, law, politics and media” (2011, p. 52).

In general, family structure in Turkey is patriarchal. As Sancar writes, ‘Modernized’ fatherhood is the most common type in Turkey. In this type of families fathers generally take all the responsibilities in the family, while women only do housework. In these families daughters are not accepted as equals to sons (2009, p. 126). In the past, extended family was a more common type than it is now.

This was because the Turkish society was mainly agricultural until the 1950s. However, after the 1950s, following the mechanization of agriculture, migration from rural to urban settlements began. Consequently, extended families were gradually replaced by nuclear families. However, as different from Western societies, strong kinship relationships continued to exist. In other words, relatives still have strong contacts with each other and they collectively struggle against problems like poverty. Although family types have changed, traditional patriarchal norms and values are still very strong and effective. Consequently, father figure is still important since fathers continue to play a key role in the transition of cultural values from one generation to the next. As mentioned before, fathers are generally a symbol of power; thus, children learn and internalize hegemonic values in their first years of life (Sancar, 2009; Bozok, 2011).

After the 1980s, Turkey started to develop and change rapidly. Divorce rates and level of education of both men and women increased considerably, while the number of arranged marriages and the number of children families have decreased. All these changes affected fatherhood in different ways. In general changing fathering patterns

constitute a challenge to traditional hegemonic forms of masculinity. For example, in Britain “From the 1970s onwards, there is much reference to the ‘crisis of the breadwinner father’, while others prefer to speak of ‘fatherhood in transition’. In Britain, the pattern may be polarized with some fathers having little interaction on a daily basis with their children” (Brannen and Nilsen, 2006, p. 336). In the literature on fatherhood and fathering, there are different concepts and definitions. However, the concept of fathering in general means that a father takes (emotional) responsibility in child care. Some scholars expect that in modern times, fathering will increase and that fathers will not only be more concerned about the emotional well-being of their children, but they will help more with household duties.

Unfortunately, there are only a few studies about fatherhood in Turkey. While some theses were written about fatherhood since 1988, they were mostly written in departments of education, law, and psychology. Another thesis which is about sociological fatherhood was written by Meral Poyraz in 2007. In her thesis, she conducted a research with 389 fathers whose children were at kindergarten age. She tried to analyze the factors which influence fathers’ perceptions of the role of fatherhood and the relationships between participants’ parents’ attitudes and their perception of fatherhood. According to Poyraz, traditional father’s roles include;

Being family breadwinner, applying strict discipline, and sometimes being playmate. With the traditional role of father, they not only spend less time with their children, but also undertake less responsibility in child care. For them, child care means providing financial support and imposing strict discipline (2007, p. 3).

Consequently, she claimed that educational level, occupation, age that man became a father, gender of children, number of children, and the structure of father's family affects the participants' perception of fatherhood.

There are also some other non-academic publications about fatherhood. For example, Ahmet Nezihi Turan and Gökhan Yavuz Demir gathered several stories about the fathers of some famous men in a book, entitled *Oğullar ve Babaları: Ölümllerine Yakın Sevilen Babalar* (Sons and Their Fathers: Fathers are Loved near Death) in 2010. In this book thirty five famous men who were authors, academicians, journalists, and industrialists wrote their short stories about their fathers who were all dead. Gökhan Yavuz Demir and Alper Kanca also edited a book, entitled *Kızlar ve Babaları* (Girls and Their Fathers) in 2011. In this book fifty six women from different generations who had different jobs and ideological views and who lived in different cities or countries wrote their experiences and relationships with their fathers. Although these are not academic works, it is worth mentioning them since there is very little written about fatherhood experiences in Turkey. The above mentioned books give some insight about different fatherhood experiences in Turkey which is a topic difficult to study.

All the texts referred to in this chapter are important for understanding masculinity and fatherhood issues in Turkey. However, for some of these studies fatherhood is not the main topic. Some of them do not use profeminist, critical men or masculinit/ies study approaches. Some of them use only quantitative data. Lack of

sociological analysis about fatherhood causes some definition problems. This is not only a barrier to grasp the richness of this subject, but also a barrier for studying the dynamics of patriarchal relationships in Turkey which form the basis of perceptions of masculinity. As Williams wrote, “Specifically, the analysis considers whether, from the perspective of fathers themselves, it is possible to discern any key differences between how they perceive *their* role as fathers and how they view the performance of their own fathers” (2008, p. 488). Following this point, the chapter below will analyze the process of reproduction of masculinity through father–son relationship. Moreover, characteristic aspects of fatherhood, how father identity affects other identities such as male identity, and how grandfathers affect fathers’ perception of fatherhood will be discussed. These discussions will be based on the field research carried out in Eskişehir. Like other researcher who conducted some research about fatherhood, I believe that the Turkish case has significant differences from Western countries. This is because in Turkey traditions still have a strong impact on all types of relationships in the family cutting across other divisions stemming from different levels of education, social status or class divisions.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **MEN'S FATHERHOOD EXPERIENCES**

*In fact, man's father has died when he himself died (Öyle Bir Geçer Zaman ki-TV Serial).*

#### **4.1 Introduction**

As Sancar notes, “Being a father is the most difficult situation of being a man” (2009, p. 120). As distinct from being a mother, being a father is not something that is established on a biological bond. As discussed in Chapter Two, fatherhood is studied in three periods in the Western literature (Pleck, 1987; Haywood and Mac an Ghaill, 2003; Williams, 2008). In the first phase, which is the early period of modern age, father was perceived as God. As Thoma indicates in his book, entitled “Fathers”, “The long farewell process from patriarchy reorients fathers; anymore, they have not thought that they are the small Gods on the earth” (2011, p. 306). During the second phase, which is the modern capitalist world, fathers appeared as ‘breadwinners’. The last phase, which is the postmodern world, fathers effectively take place in the bringing up process of their children. However, in Turkey, these phases are not clear enough to part. In Turkey, fathers are responsible for earning money in related to their position in business world and moreover, they are face of the family in the public spare. Shortly, as Sancar expresses;

Fatherhood is a social practice, a ‘situation’ that has been positioned as ‘breadwinner’ in the family, ‘worker’ in the market and ‘head of the family’ in the community. This situation has been shaped by the relations within the family, market, and community and it has connected all three levels (2009, p. 121).

I will now analyze the data on the fatherhood experiences of a group of lower-middle class men who live in Eskişehir. During the field research, interviews were made with men who had a son in order to understand their fatherhood experiences. In this context it was aimed to study how manhood was being rebuilt. For this reason a question form was designed. The form had eighteen close-ended questions which were prepared for analyzing the participants’ socio-demographic characteristics. In addition to this, there were thirty eight open-ended questions. A Likert Scale questionnaire was also used to measure the respondents’ attitude toward fatherhood. Forty two well-known statements like “men don’t cry” were read to the respondents and they were asked whether or not they agreed with the statement. The response scale was as follows: totally disagree, disagree, partly agree, agree, and totally agree. Based on the data gathered, perceptions of masculinity and fatherhood were measured. When analyzing the Scale data, answers were grouped in two broad categories as “agree” or “disagree” to be able to trace and analyze the general patterns.

Below I first provide information about the participants’ socio-economic characteristics. This will include their age, level of education, job, health security, and the number of children they have. What follows next is the analysis of qualitative

interview data under two different headings. The first heading is “good” fathers and the other “harsh” fathers. These two typologies of fathering will be discussed separately. “Good” fathers spend more time with their children, share their sorrow, and decide together with their wives about important family issues. “Harsh” fathers, on the other hand, are more authoritarian, reckless, and nervous. In the families with “harsh” fathers’, mothers are generally a buffer between their husbands and children. In these families, fathers have the last say in all issues.

Participants’ understandings of “ideal” fatherhood and masculinity will also be discussed in this chapter. During the interviews participants gave inconsistent information about some matters such as positioning themselves within the community or when commenting about violence against women or children. This situation can be interpreted as a challenge created by the tension talking to a woman researcher. It was observed that the participants could not express their true thoughts about women and about violence in general.

#### **4.2 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Participants**

Twenty men participated to the field research. All the men were married and they had at least one son. Their age ranged from thirty seven to seventy two. The first man (Respondent 1) was a neighbor of the researcher and the others were reached through snowball sampling. Only four of the participants were born in Eskişehir, while nine were born in different districts of Eskişehir such as Sivrihisar, Mahmudiye, and Mihallıçık, all in close proximity to Eskişehir. Seven interviewees, on the other hand, were born in different cities such as Kütahya, Aksaray, and Bayburt.

In order to exemplify a relationship between brothers and between them and their fathers, two different pairs of brothers were chosen for the research sample. Thus, there were only eighteen fathers in the first generation although twenty men were interviewed. In addition, while three of the interviewees had five children, two of them had four, six of them had three, and nine of them had two children. These children will be referred to as the third generation. As a result, twenty participants had twenty two daughters and thirty seven sons. The total of fifty nine children's average age was twenty six.

With respect to participants' occupations, five of them were still working. One of them was a worker and the others were working as constructors. Fifteen of them were retired. Before retirement, seven of them were workers, two were teachers, two were constructors, two were tradesman, one was a peasant, and the last one was service sector employee. Sixteen participants had Social Security Institution (SSK) coverage since they were workers. Two of them had Pension Fund for the Self-Employed (*Bağ-Kur*) coverage since they were tradesman, craftsman and self-employed. The rest had Republic of Turkey Pension Fund (*Emekli Sandığı*) coverage since they were civil servants. Four participants continued to work after retirement. One was a tradesman, one was village headman (*muhtar*), one was a gatekeeper, and the last one was a service sector employee.

When we look at the jobs of the first generation men, ten were farmers, five were tradesmen, two were constructors, and only one was a worker. We can see that the

second generation has experienced upward mobility in comparison to the first generation of fathers (inter-generational mobility). In other words, the second generation worked in jobs with higher salaries. All of the participants' mothers were housewives. On the other hand, when we look at the jobs of the third generation men, except students (a total of fifteen), twelve were workers, six were constructors, three were service sector employees, three were military personals, three were housewives, two were policemen, two were teachers, two were truck drivers, one was a civil servant, one was an engineer, one was an editor in the media sector.

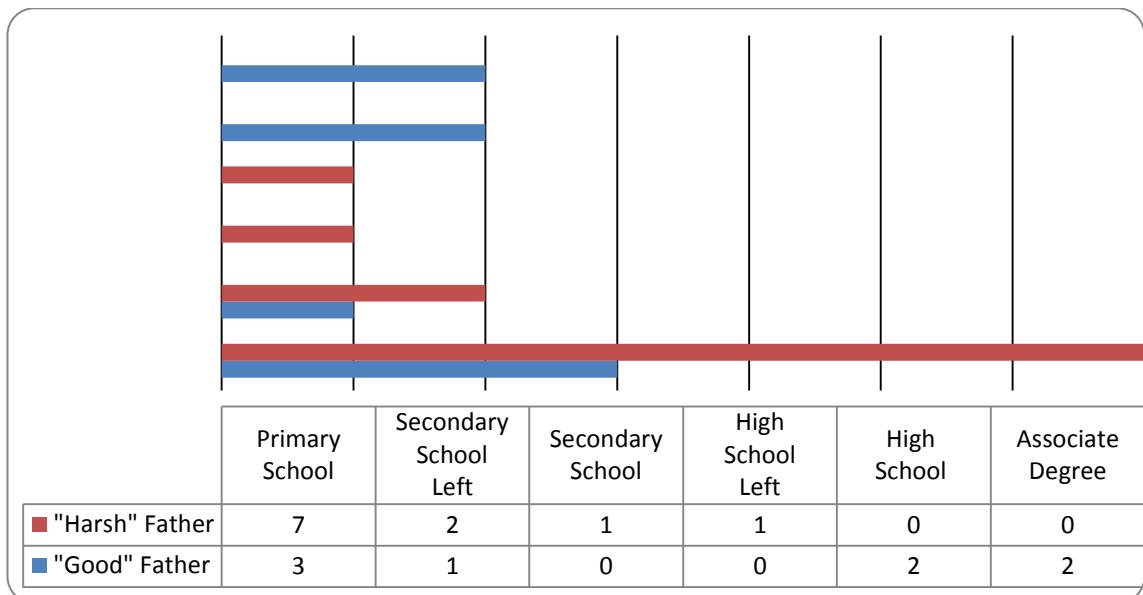
The education level of the three generations is demonstrated in the table below. As it can be seen in the table, the level of education of the first generation is considerably low when compared to the level in the second generation. Level of education of the third generation, however, portrays a radical improvement in comparison to their father's and grandfather's level of education. Most of the children were university graduates or still studying at a university. Thus, there is a remarkable increase in levels of education when three generations are compared.

**Table 1: Three Generations' Level of Education**

<b>Level of Education</b>	<b>First Generation (Participants' Father)</b>	<b>Second Generation (Participants)</b>	<b>Third Generation (Participants' Children)</b>
Illiterate	1	-	1
Literate	4	-	-
Elementary School graduates	<b>12</b>	<b>10</b>	3
Left out of Secondary School	1	3	-
Secondary School graduates	-	1	6
Primary School student	-	-	7
Left out of High School	-	1	-
High School graduates	-	3	12
High School student	-	-	3
Associate Degree	-	2	2
University Graduates	-	-	<b>21</b>
University student	-	-	4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>59</b>

The table below provides information about how level of education is related to the two different types of fathers, “good” and “harsh”, among the second generation men.

**Table 2: The Relationship between Education Level and Types of Fathers**



As it can be seen in Table 2, “good” fathers are mostly the ones who have higher education compared to “harsh fathers”. Besides, when asked if education level was important for making a classification among men, only five of the participants said that education level was not important when ranking men in terms of being a good father. In other words, education was valued by the majority of the second generation fathers.

Below, some basic information is provided from the data collected through the Likert Scale. This is done to describe the public perception of manhood of the interviewees. According to the table below, most of the participants claimed that men’s life is

tiring and that they have more responsibilities compared to women. The majority of the participants (eighteen of them) described men's role in the family as 'guardian of morals'. In addition, the majority (fourteen of them) said that their fathers were the ones who provided them religious education. Nearly all participants (nineteen of them) said that one of their duties was to give their children religious education. Taking and giving religious education appears to be important for the group of men in the sample.

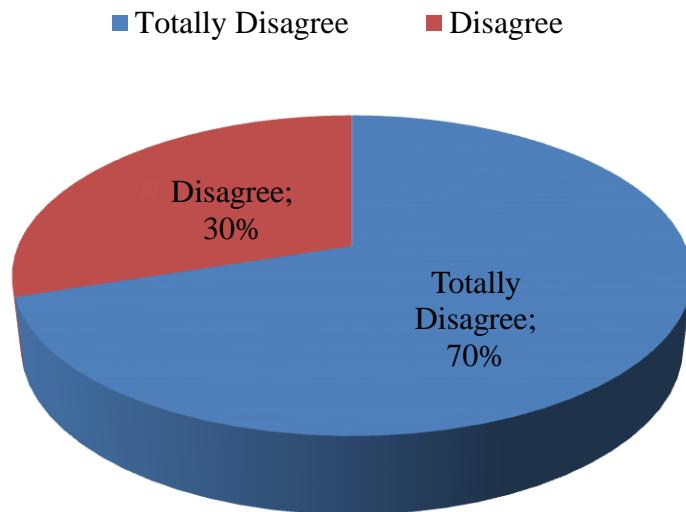
**Table 3: Manhood Perception of the Sample**

General Expressions about Masculinity	Agreement		Disagreement	
	“Good” Fathers	“Harsh” Fathers	“Good” Fathers	“Harsh” Fathers
Men’s responsibilities in life tire them out.	8	7	1	4
Men’s responsibilities in life cause them to die at an early age.	3	7	5	4
Some men in public are more powerful than others.	9	10	0	1
The eldest man in the family is more powerful than the younger ones.	5	10	3	1
More responsibility is given to the eldest man in the family.	5	10	3	1

According to the above table, the implicit attitude is that men rank their responsibilities and duties as more important and essential than women's. However, they also rank men according to the power they hold in the society and respect elder men. This suggests that age is still an important criterion in determining men's status in the society.

One of the most common judgments about men, "men never cry" was also read to the participants and they were asked whether they agreed or not with this statement. The majority expressed that they do not agree with this judgment. The percentage of those who agree and those who do not agree are shown in the table below.

**Table 4: Participants' views on the statement "men never cry"**



Participants were also asked some questions about their relationships with their own fathers (first generation) and also with their children (third generation) as fathers. One of the participants lost his father at an early age and therefore, questions about

his relationship with his father was not asked to him. The questions asked aimed to gather information about participants' perception of fatherhood in general. Their answers are portrayed in table below.

**Table 5: Participants' Fatherhood Perception**

<b>General Expressions about Fatherhood</b>	<b>Agreement</b>		<b>Disagreement</b>	
	<b>“Good” Fathers</b>	<b>“Harsh” Fathers</b>	<b>“Good” Fathers</b>	<b>“Harsh” Fathers</b>
Economic situation affects men’s fatherhood experiences.	6	6	3	5
Cultural differences affect men’s fatherhood experiences.	<b>9</b>	<b>6</b>	0	5
Fatherhood experiences vary from generation to generation.	<b>8</b>	<b>11</b>	1	0
Fatherhood experiences cannot change historically.	3	0	<b>6</b>	<b>11</b>
I support my children for all matters.	<b>9</b>	<b>11</b>	0	0
My father shows his affection for me.	5	3	4	8
I show my affection for my children.	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>	0	1
I believe that I am an involved father.	<b>9</b>	<b>11</b>	0	0
I was afraid/ I am afraid of my father.	<b>9</b>	<b>8</b>	0	2
My child/ children should refrain from me.	<b>6</b>	<b>9</b>	3	2

According to the table above, men think that cultural variations are more influential than economic variations. However, when analyzing the open-ended questions, participants commented that financial issues affected their fatherhood experiences. For instance, most of the participants claimed that there is a correlation between financial matters and being an “ideal” father. Besides, nearly all of the participants expressed that fatherhood experience changes from one generation to the other. This means that fatherhood is perceived as being transformed.

Strikingly, second generation participants claimed that they support their children for all matters and show their affection for them. Most of the second generation men said that they were afraid of their own fathers. This may be the reason why they commented that their children (the third generation) should refrain from them. In other words, the second generation fathers do not want to establish a relationship with their children based on fear, but want them to establish a formal relationship with them. Since the second generation men were raised up according to traditional values, they had a similar perception to that of their fathers with respect to fatherhood. Participants’ perceived their fathers as “harsh”; thus, more authoritarian. Additionally, although the second generation men tried to be more “modern”, i.e., considerate fathers toward their children, they still valued a formal father-son relationship.

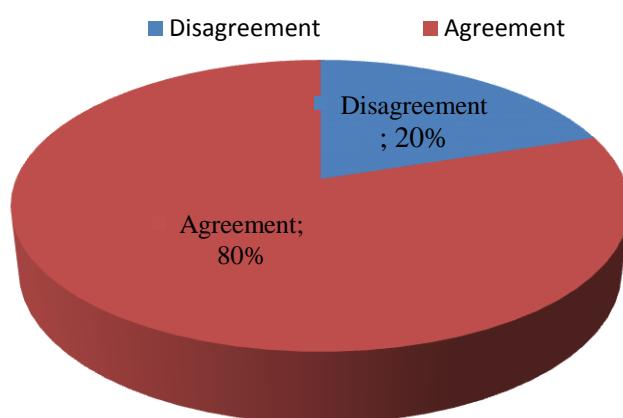
In the Likert Scale questions, there were some statements about women to collect some information about the participants' relationship with women with respect to fathering and fatherhood. Their comments are shown in the table below.

**Table 6: Participants' Femininity Perception**

<b>General Expressions about Femininity</b>	<b>Agreement</b>		<b>Disagreement</b>	
	<b>“Good” Fathers</b>	<b>“Harsh” Fathers</b>	<b>“Good” Fathers</b>	<b>“Harsh” Fathers</b>
Men are more powerful than women.	<b>7</b>	<b>10</b>	2	1
Men are less sensitive than women.	5	8	4	3
Men make more logical decisions than women.	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	2	3
Mothers have more roles in bringing up a child.	<b>9</b>	<b>11</b>	0	0
The bond between a father and a child weaker than the bond between a mother and a child.	<b>7</b>	<b>10</b>	2	1
Mothers are more effective about teaching children social norms and values.	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	1	2

According to the table above, the most important finding is the role attributed to mothers when bringing up children. As mentioned before, second generation men were socialized in accordance with traditional values. Although they claimed that they were considerate fathers, they still did not refer to a model where mothers and fathers take equal responsibilities when raising children. They generally agreed with the traditional value judgments about women. They mostly believed that men are more powerful, rational, and less sensitive compared to women. Even though the participants were members of lower-middle class and less educated, they considered themselves as more powerful than women only because they were “men”. This perception of being superior to women can be seen as an evidence of traditional masculinity in Turkey. This attitude reflects itself in the sharp division between women’s domestic responsibilities and men’s outside responsibilities. Men worded this by saying “Men are the Minister of Foreign Affairs; women are the Minister of Internal Affairs;” As it can be seen in Table 7 below, the majority of the participants (a total of sixteen) shared this view.

**Table 7: Responsibilities of men and women: “Men are responsible for outside responsibilities, women for domestic responsibilities”**



In the open-ended questions, there were two questions about domestic violence. One of these questions aimed to see how the respondents evaluated domestic violence. They were asked if men were prone to violence compared to women. Nineteen of them said that they agreed with the statement. Fourteen of the participants thought that domestic violence stems from economic problems. Six of them believed that cultural differences, repressed sexuality, lack of education, being unprincipled, and feeling discontent about their lives cause domestic violence.

Most of the participants (a total of thirteen) defined themselves as “good” fathers, four of them as “moderate” fathers and the rest as “bad” fathers. However, when analyzing the whole interview data, participants were classified as “good” and “harsh” fathers. I now discuss participants’ fatherhood experiences under two different headings.

#### **4.3 “Good” Fathers**

In the fatherhood literature there were some discussions about “good dad- bad dad” (La Rossa, 1988; Furstenberg, 1988; Marsiglio1995). This dichotomy about fatherhood was supported by media, especially by advertisements and TV serials. However, in everyday life, class position was a direct effect on fatherhood experiences. As Marsiglio stated, “Historically, males who rejected their fatherhood roles were more likely to be economically disadvantaged... Meanwhile, Griswold has observed that social class has played and continues to play a major role in shaping fatherhood imagery” (1995, p. 5). In this study, participants could be

classified in two main groups, “good” and “harsh”, by looking at their relationships with their children and wives.

Participants who were more supportive, participative, and affectionate were classified as “good” fathers in the analysis. There were nine fathers in this typology. Spending time with children was an important indicator in the fatherhood literature. For example, La Rossa (1988) used this question as a criterion for measuring paternal involvement and to follow the transition in the culture of fatherhood. When we look from this point of view, “good” fathers spent more time with their children. “Good” fathers, additionally, made co-decisions with their wives when the topic was about children. They were also concerned with children’s private lives. Second generation men tried to be different from the first generation about child care. When this group of participants’ father committed domestic violence to their wives or children, they, generally, tried to avoid.

Most (a total of eight) defined themselves as “good” fathers because they thought that they did their best. They knew their experiences were not excellent, but their efforts were remarkable. For example, Respondent 15 openly worded; “I’m a father who is affectionate, exerciser of fatherhood duties, I’m such a father who is little quick-tempered, but, at the end, I realize my mistake and can apologize”. As this answer showed, fathers were aware of their errors about their experiences, but they later corrected their mistakes. In addition to this, one said, “I’m a father neither good

nor bad, let's says mildly sweetened". This could be interpreted as he was aware of himself and he regretted certain things about his experiences.

All "good" fathers claimed that they did not spend too much time when their children were new-born. They explained that they spent only three hours because of their work schedule. Moreover, they legitimize their spending little time through the biological bond between mothers and the new born babies. Four were living in villages when they had their baby and they claimed that peasants did not have much leisure time. Additionally, in the village, extended family type was still dominant. Therefore, there were at least two women (mother and grandmother) who take care of the children. Due to the traditional structure in the village, fathers also could not show their sympathies to their children. This was not an acceptable thing for society and for hegemonic understanding of masculinity. For example, Respondent 9 said;

There were customs. Their grandfather was alive, so we didn't have a chance to care about our children. Barely could we love our children; only after the grandfather went to bed. There was a distance between me and my children. When my children started school, after their grandfather died in 1987, we started to spend more time with them.

Third generation's adolescence period became more interactive, according to the participants. All said that they were like a friend with their children. Father-son relationships were based on men talks such as sexuality, soccer, girls' problems, and business life. Additionally, three of the men who lived in the village when their children was newborn, later moved to the city. Therefore, their jobs changed and

they had more leisure time to spend with their children. Also, their family structure became nuclear family. As Respondent 8 summarized, “We moved to the city and became a smaller, nuclear family. Because of this, our relationships with children became better”.

There was an assumption like “good” fathers should enjoy doing something together with their children. Although it was asked in capital letters, what they liked doing with their children was community activities. Most of the participants (a total of six) said that they enjoyed having a picnic with their family and the rest said that they enjoyed playing or watching soccer with their children. When it was a picnic, second generation men, their wives, their single children, and also their married children and their families came together. Sometimes the first generation men and their families also participated in these picnics. We can conclude that there is a relationship between having a picnic and the transformation of family structure. By having a picnic with the larger family, nuclear family members could maintain their close ties with their extended family.

Four participants also differentiated their activities with respect to the age of their children. One said that when his children were young, he enjoyed playing soccer. However, after his children grew, they enjoyed playing backgammon. One participant said that his father-child activities were not as he expected. With Respondent 1’s own words, “We didn’t say let’s go fishing, let’s go do something on

Sundays as we saw in television programs". Although this group of men was classified as "good" fathers, they were still traditional in character.

As mentioned before, when the topic was about children "good" fathers and their wives made collective decisions. Although there were some opposite cases, most (a total number of five) claimed that they tried to behave similarly. In order to protect the children's psychological health parents should behave consistently, according to the participants. Actually, in this group two men's wives were working. Thus, their deciding together was something expected. On the other hand, the rest saw their wives as a buffer in their relationships with their children. These four men hid behind their outside responsibilities. For example, Respondent 1 said "Because we are outside, children shared their problems with their mothers. Then, mother conveyed the children's needs". In families where the women did not work, buffer mechanism was more effective. Since women were seen as responsible for the care of children, they were torn between their husbands and children.

When the relationships between parents and children were considered, the way of sharing and solving problems became more meaningful. As mentioned before, mothers were buffer mechanism in the family, and generally children shared their problem with their mother firstly. Then, mother transferred to father and father played problem solver role in the family. When it was asked to participants how they were on the case about children, they understood just economic problems at the first

blush. Six were claimed that they were tried to provide children's material needs, as far as possible. Even this group of men was accepted more "involved" fathers; their understanding of problem was just focused on material things. When it was emphasized that the problems should not be relevant with economic issues, participants claimed that their children could share every kind of problems with them. At such times, participants claimed that they tried to warn and show the right way to their children. Respondent 4 openly worded; "They weren't at a beatable age, they were old... so we could just warn them". Finally, all "good" fathers claimed that they provided moral and material support for their children.

As portrayed before, first generation men belonged to lower class. First generation men's fatherhood experience could be interpreted as between 'moral teacher' and 'breadwinner'. With respect to "good" fathers' relationships with their fathers, the answers can be classified into two main groups. First kind of relationship was based on fear, while the other was based on sympathy. Six participants described their fathers as traditional, authoritarian, and harsh. Two of six claimed that their fathers did not allow them to continue their education although they wanted to. One of six, on the other hand, who had an authoritarian father, decided to migrate from his village to the city so his children could receive a better education. The participants whose fathers were authoritarian identified their fathers' behavior saying that "it was those days' conditions". According to them, the traditional social structures (customs and norms) affected their relationships with their fathers. For instance, Respondent 1 said, "According to those times, according to manner of life, not like today's fathers,

we couldn't talk friendly with our fathers; they expected us to fulfill their desires as soon as possible". Rest (a total of three) claimed that while their fathers were poor and had many children, they were still good, soft, modest, and involved. In Respondent 20's words, "We lived in poverty. My father didn't take care of us enough because he had five children. However, may God be pleased, he sent us to school, he went to the ends of the earth". Second generation men's relationships with their fathers affected their fatherhood experiences. The effects were sometimes positive and sometimes negative. Some fathers (a total of three) claimed that they were "good" fathers since their fathers were good, too. On the other hand, the rest (a total of six) explained that their fathers were authoritarian and harsh so they became "good" fathers trying to avoid the mistakes of their fathers.

Actually, all "good" fathers claimed that being a father was a learning process through experience. Six participants did not imitate other fathers to guide their behavior as fathers. As respondent 14 worded, "I haven't followed anybody's to guide me as a father; neither my father nor my brother. I behave the way I want". For those who share these thoughts, fatherhood is a continuous process which is learned after a man has a child. It can be concluded that fathers who do not have a role model depend more on their personal experiences based on trial and error. The rest (a total of three) openly worded that their fathers were their role model. On the other hand, seven claimed that they were affected by their fathers. The four participants who caused the numerical differences mentioned above accepted the influence of their fathers on their own fatherhood experiences. However, they refused to take their

fathers as a role model. They claimed that they tried to avoid their fathers' behaviors, especially about domestic violence. For example, Respondent 20 described his father as follows;

He was quick tempered when he got angry. He reflects this anger by attacking. I have never done such a thing. Of course, I get angry, too, but I have never beaten my children.

Domestic violence was an important topic during the interviews. None of the participants told a story about domestic violence against their wives. As mentioned before, it was assumed that "good" fathers did not commit domestic violence against their children. Five participants said that they were subject to domestic violence when they were young or they witnessed domestic violence in their environment. However, they also noted that they themselves never have committed domestic violence. As Respondent 9 openly worded;

I was always friends with people who were ten years older than me in the village. They talked about their marriages. A brother who was newly married and had a new born baby told that he once beat his three or four year-old child and damaged his ear. He also beats his wife when he is angry. Another brother also told that he beat his child and caused a permanent damage on the eyes of his child. After listening to these stories, no matter how mad I get, I never beat my children. Children can make mistakes.

Three participants claimed that they never beat their children since their fathers were not blood-thirsty men. These men believed that men generally follow their fathers' behavior in their own experiences with their children. As Respondent 15 worded, "If I was exposed to violence or unfriendly behavior, I would do the same to my own children. I was never exposed to such kind of behavior". There was one father who

could not be classified among the “good” fathers. However, his regret is worth mentioning here. Although he was not obliged to tell this story with the researcher, he nevertheless shared it;

My father is blood-thirsty. I also slapped my children, but then I changed my mind and I quit beating...My child said you behaved very harsh to me and you have beaten me. His wife was listening to our conversation...I said I don't remember such a day! (Respondent 14)

In sum, “good” fathers (a total of nine) could be placed between ‘breadwinner’ and ‘involved’ father typologies as discussed in the literature. While they were affected by traditional fatherhood roles, they tried to establish a better relationship with their children. For this reason, they developed a more interactive relationship with their wives and tried to avoid their fathers’ negative effects on their own fatherhood experiences. I now discuss “harsh” fathers whose experiences are opposite of “good” fathers.

#### **4.4 “Harsh” Fathers**

The participants who were more authoritarian, uncompanionable, and confrontational were classified as “harsh” fathers. There were eleven participants who were attached to this type. When we look at the number of men in the third generation, “harsh” fathers had more children than “good” fathers. Additionally, during the interviews, it was asked to all of the participants if they wanted a boy or a girl after they got married. Only one participant (Respondent 13) openly shared his opinion;

I had a cousin who was married to a drunken man. He beat my cousin every night. Also, there were a few examples in the village. Because of that, I didn't want to be a girl's father. I thought, this was before I got married, if I had a daughter and she gets married and a drunken, blood-thirsty man beats her, how could I handle this situation?... I prayed so I had a son ...

At the end, when I had a son, twenty two years ago, I gave five thousand liras to the nurse... My wife still tells me that she was the one who gave birth to a son, but the nurse took the money.

In comparison to “good” fathers, “harsh” fathers were lower-educated and working in low-paying jobs. They generally spent less time with their children. In their relationship with their children, they accepted their wives as a buffer; children shared their problems with their mothers first. Mothers later informed them about these problems. “Harsh” fathers expected respect from their children and wives. They also interred to their children’s lives; especially about their job or spouse selection. They did not have an interactive communication with their children. They were generally supporting their children only economically. By doing just this, they believed that their fatherhood responsibilities were completed. However, they did not try to understand the reasons for their children’s problems. These fathers were totally affected by their own fathers’ behavior. Since their fatherhood experiences were more traditional, they sought to behave like their fathers.

While these eleven participants were classified as “harsh” fathers in the analysis, five of them defined themselves as “good” fathers. They considered themselves in this category since they believed that they did their best when raising their children. However, their definitions were not objective; they did not consider what their children thought about them as fathers. For example, when Respondent 7 answered this question during the interview, he said, “I see myself as a “good” father, but I didn’t know how *they* thought about me”. In this answer, ‘they’ referred to the

participants' three children, but his wording was like his children were worthless. Another significant example was related to Respondent 12, who said, "I consider myself a very good father and that nothing could be better. However, if children are not successful after all the opportunities we provide, they are the ones to blame". Three participants evaluated their fatherhood experiences as "moderate". They thought that they were not so authoritarian, but at the same time, they protected their children. They did not show their love to their children, but they did not beat them either. Two fathers defined themselves as "redoubtable" since they were not tolerant about their children being idle. Finally, one participant defined himself as "not good". He said that his children's heads were in the clouds. In general, these fathers thought that they did their best, so they deserved to be good and redoubtable fathers. However, their point of view appeared to be limited since none of them was regretful for not doing better.

Because of difficult working conditions, all "harsh" fathers said that they did not spend too much time with their new-born babies. Seven of them said that they spent three or four hours with their children during the day, but it was just playing with them. They did not feed their children, change their diapers or help the baby to go to sleep. Respondent 2 said, "Because he always cried, I looked for a place to hide". On the other hand, the rest of the participants were working abroad when their children were just born. They came to Turkey three or four times in a year. Thus, they argued that they were not able to share the responsibilities of their babies. After these fathers returned home, they did become involved in their last child's life from birth. While

working abroad, they were disconnected from their children. Respondent 19 described this situation as follows, “I was abroad when my eldest son was born... After I came back, it took a year for him to get used to me”.

Only one participant claimed that his relationship with his son was very satisfying and interactive. He told that he was interested in his son’s school, friends, and stamping grounds. He said ‘I never slept before he came home’. The rest claimed that when their children became adolescents, their problems got even bigger. The issues mentioned by the participants were generally about material problems. They mostly complained that their children were not happy with what they have done for them. Moreover, since “harsh” fathers had more children, they could not suffice their children’s financial or moral needs. Respondent 10 summarized this situation openly;

After our number of children increased, time spend with each decreased. I have spent a lot of time with my oldest and less with the second. Although we lived together with my youngest child, I could seldom take care of her. Older children did not make me feel upset, but the youngest sometimes does.

In sum, “harsh” fathers did not try to communicate with their children emotionally. Their stories were generally based on material issues and respect. Although these fathers did not spend time with their children, they nevertheless claimed that they were involved fathers.

During the interviews, it was asked to the participants what kind of activities they enjoyed doing with their children. They listed many different activities such as picnic (four participants), working together (three participants), watching soccer game (two participants), and worshiping together (two participants). Like discussed with “good” fathers, picnic was the most popular activity among “harsh” fathers, too. They considered picnicking equal to strolling around or rollicking. Furthermore, “harsh” fathers attributed a meaning to picnicking. In a picnic all family members came together which strengthened family ties. According to the participants who once lived in a village, working together in the farm was very important since agricultural production needed labor power. For instance, Respondent 17 said, “I enjoy working together and each time I prided myself on finishing the job successfully”. On the other hand, when we look at the fathers who lived in the city and worked as employees, their main enjoyment was watching television together with their children. Because their work shifts and because their children had to go to school, they did not have enough time to enjoy together with their children. Finally, two of the participants enjoyed praying together with their children. One of them taught the Quran to his children and the other said, “Me and my oldest son held hands and made praised (zikir) together once a week. Sometimes my youngest son, who is a graduate of religious vocational high school (*İmam Hatip Lisesi*) and who now lives abroad, was our *imam*”. These examples show that “harsh” fathers attribute a strong value to traditions when describing their relationship with their children.

When we look at the family structure of “harsh” fathers, we see that mothers have a key role in the relationship between fathers and their children. Most of the participants (a total of nine) said that they, as a father, “heard everything last”. According to them, children shared their problems with their mothers because they were leery of fathers. For example, Respondent 11 said, “Children told the problem to their mother first. Then their mother started blah blah to me”. For these families we can argue that mothers were a buffer mechanism. However, they still could not ingratiate themselves within the family. The rest (a total of two) said that their children could share every kind of problems with them. However, when we look at these participants’ interviews as a whole we see that their self-reflection is different than the reality. For example, Respondent 7 did not want to hear good or bad news about his children’s private life (e.g. news about girl or boys friends). All “harsh” fathers in general claimed that they strained every nerve for solving all kinds of problems related to their children. However, for the participants children’s problems generally meant material problems in the first place. Since children did not share their problems with their fathers, mothers generally became involved. Mothers reported the problem to their husbands only when they could not cope with it by themselves. Problems about money were shared with the fathers. It was asked to the participants again and again to comment about problems other than money. After thinking for a while, all of the interviewees told that they heard these kinds of problems only if their wives told them. Four of them said that they gave advice about moral issues and others (a total of seven) claimed that they have never encountered these kinds of problems before. These answers were clear evidence for mothers’ role in the family. Mothers were responsible for not only raising a child, but also

responsible for solving all kinds of problems related to their children. “Harsh” fathers, consequently, were not interested in their children’s daily lives and problems.

In sum, “harsh” fathers did not pay enough attention to their children. If we accept the hypothesis that fathers learn fatherhood from their fathers, we should analyze the relationships among first and second generation men. One participant’s father died when he was three years old; thus, he did not answer the questions which were about the first generation. Six participants claimed that their fathers were “good” people; however, they did not provide children’s needs because of financial difficulties. For example, Respondent 19 said, “He (his father) took care of us, but he couldn’t be successful about everything. In another words, he couldn’t suffice for thirteen children who were born from one mother, normally”. These six participants thought like that because of the traditional and cultural circumstances they were raised. These structures prevented them from criticizing their fathers. Furthermore, they were bound to respect their fathers. During the interviews the participants were asked whether they respected their fathers or not. Only one participant told that he did not respect his father. The rest (a total of four) clearly worded that their fathers were dictators, selfish, and blood-thirsty. For example, Respondent 12 sarcastically said;

He was so connected with us! He did not let us play; he beat us and forced us to work. There were no toys, so we drew a line on the ground and jumped from one side to the other. He beat us because of this. We did not want money... Ok, our youth passed like this. Then, we made it up and after we started to work and earned money for home.

These four “harsh” fathers legitimized the first generation men’s behavior with reference to the living conditions in those days. According to these men, society was based on customs and norms which existed at that time and because of this their fathers could not show their love to the children. Respondent 1 summarized the situations as such, “I could chat with my children friendly, but my father didn’t or couldn’t because of consuetude”.

Most of “harsh” fathers (a total of ten) believed that fatherhood was a learning process and that it could be learnt only after being a father. For example, Respondent 17 said, “It was learned, after being a father. When he got angry with us, our father said you will understand when you became a father. It was really true; he told the truth, you don’t understand before you have a child”. This learning process was obligatory and not all men were successful at the end. Additionally, being a father modified men’s identity. As Respondent 5 summarized;

Definitely, each man wants to be a father, wants to feel being a father. After a man has a child, he starts to understand the meaning of fatherhood. This happens during the bringing up processes of a child. As the problems get bigger, the man understands that he has to change. It is not easy, man has changed; man is getting older. Military age, marriage age, working age and life goes on like this.

Only one participant said that being a father was a disposition and a father could not be a father by imitating others. Moreover, their fathers were a role model for six of the participants in their fatherhood experiences. These “harsh” fathers found the modeling process as normal and obligatory because they did not see different

examples to imitate. Respondent 10 summarized this by saying, “I tried to avoid some of the behavior of my father … but my wife said you criticize your father, but you resemble your father more day by day. This is a vicious circle”. Three interviewees saw their relatives, neighbors or friends as their role model. Respondent 19 said, “I envy my uncle…my uncle is a very good father and I try to imitate him…their economic situation is not good, but being a caring person is enough”. Additionally, one participant claimed that he was not affected by his father or by his family members or friends. He did whatever he wanted to do during his fathering experience. The last interviewee who lost his father at an early age shared his sadness telling that he was not able take his father as a role model for his own fatherhood experience.

While there were no questions about domestic violence in the questionnaire form, the participants shared their violence stories during the interviews. According to “good” fathers, “harsh” fathers were more subject to domestic violence. Additionally, they continued first generation’s bad behavior because they accepted their own fathers as a role model. As Sancar wrote “Men who saw themselves as responsible for their family’s discipline and order, they felt justified when they committed economic, emotional or symbolic violence and sometimes physical violence against family members” (2009, p. 127). In this context, four of the “harsh” fathers accepted that they commit domestic violence against their children. For example, Respondent 6 said, “My father used to beat us a lot… I beat my children, too…but not as hard and frequent as my father did”. Similarly, according to Respondent 13, “I have beaten my

children mistakenly...I have beaten him only once or twice. At those times, it was normal for him to do mistakes, but I was sorry after I have beaten him. Actually, it couldn't count as beating, it was just a slap." As the examples suggests, while "harsh" fathers did commit violence, they were not as cruel as their fathers. However, in contrast with "good" fathers, "harsh" fathers did not regret their beating.

Finally, "harsh" fathers' fatherhood experiences were similar to the first generation men's experiences. Thus, it is possible to argue that "harsh" fathers (a total of eleven) are placed between "moral teacher" and "breadwinner" typologies in the fatherhood literature. They generally continued to place importance on what they saw from their fathers. They established a relationship with their children based on material issues and customs. According to this group of men, being authoritarian was a significant criterion for being a father. Since "harsh" fathers were offish, mothers undertook more responsibilities when raising children. Below I will discuss the interviewees' thoughts about and perception about ideal-fathers.

#### **4.5 "Ideal" Fathers**

According to the fatherhood literature, fatherhood for men is not biological or instinctive. Apart from women, men do not learn being a father during the socialization process. In this context, it is claimed that men learn being a father only after they have a child (Benson, 1968; Sancar, 2009). Actually, "ideal" father is not a perfect type of fatherhood. It is about the essential characteristics of a father. During the interviews, participants were asked what the characteristics of "ideal" fathers

were. In general it was argued that they imitated their fathers. It can be claimed that the interviewees have a narrow scope of an ideal father since they see their own fathers as the only role model. They were not able to provide a detailed list about the qualities of an ideal father. Similarly, they could not suggest a transition between generations. Better economic conditions were the most important criteria for being an “ideal” father according to more than half of the participants (a total of twelve). Since fatherhood was synonymous with providing for children and wives economically as Sancar notes (2009, p. 120), they focused only on money with respect to “ideal” fathers. The rest (a total of eight) mentioned respect, culture, education, insightfulness, and tenderness as main criteria for “ideal” fathers. The majority in this group (a total of five) were accepted as “good” fathers. In fact, some of these criteria were still connected to economic variables. In this context while second generation men took their fathers as a role model, their thoughts about ideal father was in transition. Nevertheless, like Cherlin’s assertion (1998), these transformation efforts were not enough for being an “involved father”. Participants still could not imagine a more interactive and consensual relationship with their children while they were defining “ideal” fathers. Now, I will provide some examples to clarify the thoughts of the participants.

As mentioned above, nearly all of the participants referred to better economic conditions since they thought having more money help to be a better father. In this context respondent 13 argued;

Being an ideal father means having the conditions to give your child education. This means you can put money for his/her expenses...If there is money, I can...Eighty percent of these can be done with money...When you give money to your children, even the tone of their voice changes when they call you. A father is respected according to how much money he earns...For example, if I have money, I will give 100 million to my child as house money or 20 million as car money.

For the participants classified as “good” fathers, the description of an ideal father referred to a father-children relationship that is established on “mutual love” and “understanding”. In this context respondent 14 said;

Sharing all problems is not possible, but children should have the capacity to understand problems. It does not matter what kind of a problem we are talking about. A man should be able to find a solution to all problems. Of course there is a distance between a father and a child, but this should be very short. A father can be friends with his children while at the same time he is their father...Neither a close friend nor a despotic father... I don't mention the expenses for children, expenses for school or other things because a man has to pay school expenses and also try to lead his children to the best.

“Harsh” fathers thought that respect is as important as economic power when discussing “ideal” fathers. As was discussed in the previous sections, “harsh” fathers are more authoritarian, and being respected is essential for their authority. Respect also refers to their capacity to interfere with their children's decisions. Respondent 5's view is a good example for this attitude;

You should be in good condition and do things rightly, and then you can tell your child to be careful about his friends...tell your child not to be friends with bad people. Bad things happen in life just because you choose bad friends...We were brought up with these ideas which our fathers and mothers always told us.

Finally, although the interviewees saw their fathers as a role model for themselves, they tried to avoid repeating their father's mistakes and avoid imitating their bad behavior. All participants commented that economic power affects men's fatherhood experiences. Being respected by their children was also a topic emphasized frequently. However, understanding and affectionate father figure was also important for their understanding of "ideal" fathers. Finally, I want to discuss the interviewees' thoughts about their positions in the family and society to revealing the hegemonic relationships among men in the wider society.

#### **4.6 The Order of Hegemonic Masculinity**

As Sancar noted, "I think masculinity is a training program and it is the father who is there from grade one until graduation. Since we transfer the role of a "father", a father becomes first a commander in the military, a guardian in prison, and a prime minister: a father is always with us" (2009, p. 120). In this context, one of the aims of this study was to analyze the fatherhood experiences of men through their relationship with their fathers and sons. The other was the dynamics of the reproduction of hegemonic manhood again through the relationship between fathers and sons. Moreover, information about domestic division of labor was also collected and analyzed based on the in-depth interviews to have a better idea about the other issues mentioned above. The respondents were asked to comment on their specific characteristics as fathers and to position and rank themselves in their extended family and in the wider society.

As discussed above, most of the second generation men thought that their primary responsibility was non-domestic tasks whereas women were responsible for childcare and domestic work. In other words, there was a strict division between public and private spheres in terms of areas of activity for husbands and wives. This was expressed well in the words of Respondent 13 who was classified as one of the “harsh” fathers. As he told, “I have to work out of the house and also do housework? I would never poke my nose into housework. She is the Minister of Internal Affairs; I’m the Minister of Foreign Affairs”.

However, respondent 18 who was also considered as a “harsh” father said, “My wife generally asks me to cook. I can do the dishes or clean the house...I never feel offended just because I’m a man”. This was the only contrasting case among the “harsh” fathers. The rest stated that domestic work was women’s primary responsibility.

Some of the participants who were grouped as “good” fathers said that they helped their wives when they were sick, when they were not at home or when they asked for help. For example, respondent 16 said;

To give an example, after I come home, if my wife asks me to bring things or to buy things, I do them all. It does not matter...I try to do what she can’t.

Another respondent who was grouped among the “good” fathers argued the position. As he worded, “My wife has never expected me to do housework. We don’t

collaborate. I've never helped her, I never will. No one expects anything from me. She knows the way I was raised... She knows I will never help her."

On the other hand, two of the "good" father wives actively started to work. One of these two women worked as a teacher, the other worked in the service sector. These participants said that they have responsibilities such as making salad, doing the dishes, sweeping the floor, and heating home before there was central heating.

Three of the participants had to work abroad sometimes for a year; thus, they were away from their families. These men expressed that they did all kinds of housework when they were away. For instance, Respondent 19 told that he is the "best cook" among his bachelor friends, but his wife did all the housework when he came back home.

Apart from the questions about collaboration in the family, it was also asked to the participants to rank themselves in comparison to the bachelor and married men in their extended family. Half of the participants ranked themselves in the middle. They explained their position with reference to their age; the older a man was, the more respect (and advantages) he had in the extended family. As shown in Table 2, the idea of giving more responsibilities to the men who is the eldest in a family is supported with the answers given to the open ended questions by the participants.

Respondent 15, who was grouped as one of the “good” fathers, explained this situation as follows: “I’m at the center of this family now because there is nobody in the family who is older than me. All family members do whatever I want them to do.” Similar to this point, Respondent 12, who was also in the “harsh” father category, summarizes this situation by saying, “I’m at the top now, and I am the eldest of all. All the family members have great respect for me”.

Some of the participants (three of them) mentioned that changing conditions of life forced extended families apart. Respondent 1 said, “All family members live far away from each other; it’s not the same as it was in the old days... I can’t think examples of opposite; I’m sure you can’t either. As time passes, we lose our customs slowly”.

Rest of the participants claimed that they tried to avoid being in a powerful position in their family because establishing family bonds that depend on such types of relationships could be seen as an interfering position by the others. Thus, this was a responsibility too heavy to carry. In this context Respondent 14 said;

When I used to live in the village, I felt the same. When I was in my father’s home, I felt myself as a brother; sometimes more than feeling like a brother. It was feeling like a father... I dealt with all of their problems... Now, I keep away from this...I try to be invisible... If I knew then what I know now, I would never have poked my nose into their lives. This is because when they fail at life, you feel responsible for their failures.

The participants were also asked to rank themselves in comparison to the male members in their families and to comment on the characteristics they attribute to themselves when doing this. Accordingly, more than half of the participants (a total of thirteen) ranked themselves at the top, while the rest in the middle. None of the men ranked themselves below the middle or at the end. This suggests that men generally do not believe in the idea that “men suppress other men”, as Atay (2004) argues. On this subject, Respondent 1’s answer was important. As he told, “In all conversations, everybody talks about their positive side: None of them talks about beating their children, which is a fact. This is the reality; no one knows the facts about other people”. Respondent 9 also made a similar comment and argued that other men criticized him because he was being kind to his family members;

I feel myself to be superior to others because of my attitude toward my wife and my children. This is because I am kind to them. However, none of my friend encourages me for doing this. To the contrary, they criticize me and say we will never behave like you.

In summary, being a hardworking, careful, caring, patient, helpful, clever, and a provident men were listed as positive characteristics which were required to be in upper ranks. Respondent 12, who considered himself as a successful man, told that he was different because of his job. As he worded;

My job, being a director and having passion for my job, makes me a person who achieves 80% of what I have. My aim is to help my children to be successful and be like me; not only in their professional life, but also as a person.

The participants who ranked themselves in the middle of the scale referred to bad habits like smoking, drinking, gambling, and beating their wives or children for being ranked at the bottom. They described themselves as very affectionate fathers. For instance, respondent 18 described himself as follows;

I have never been violent against my family members. I don't have any bad habits. I never take alcohol or go gutter ways. Please don't misunderstand me, I have spent my years abroad but never made a mistake...I have never cheated on my wife.

When the participants answered to the question where they positioned themselves in terms of their relations with their wives, families, and other men, they all considered themselves to have a superior position. When family was discussed, the participants who did not want to take a responsibility about housework appeared to intervene in the relations among family members claiming that their age is an advantage. Since the participants see themselves at higher ranks compared to younger men, one can conclude that age is an important factor for having high self-esteem when approaching other family members.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CONCLUSION**

Men are always in the middle of something. One of their legs should be in the public where they should be successful and powerful for being ranked at the top. The other leg should take responsibilities in the private sphere; they should take care of need of their families. However, men also should not be too intimate with their family members. This is because they do not want to be labeled as “weak”. This dilemma makes men’s lives harder day by day. Masculinity is the underlying topic of this study. Like femininity, masculinity also cannot be studied without reference to the patriarchal social order. This is because it is a socially constructed concept. Critical studies on men and masculinity try to explain the unequal structure of society, the effects of patriarchy on gender, and the main components of masculinity. For this reason, in this study, it was aimed to analyze the reproduction of masculinity through the father-son relationship.

Fatherhood, which is the subject of this study, is a significant role for children, wives, families, and also for society. Although men are not socialized for being father, they have responsibilities in raising children. Men learn how to be a father as late as they have their own child. In the Western literature father play three main

roles historically. In the early ages fathers were “moral teachers” and they were totally authoritarian. After the industrial revolution, men started to play the “breadwinner” role for a long time. Finally, with the emergence of the “sex role” model, fathers began to take more responsibilities and started to be more related to their children. Some recent studies suggest that fathers started to be involved more in the child rearing process. These “involved” fathers generally belong to upper or upper-middle class and they are interested in the methods of child-care education.

On the other hand, concepts like masculinity and fatherhood are new in Turkish social science. Although “father” has a powerful, traditional and conservative meaning in the Turkish culture, fatherhood has not yet been evaluated from a sociological perspective. Moreover, critical men and masculinity studies are only emergent approaches in Turkey.

Fatherhood and construction of masculinity within the relationships between fathers and sons were discussed in this study. The concept of hegemonic masculinity and the approach of critical men and masculinity were used when the results of the study were analyzed. The study was conducted in Eskişehir with twenty lower-middle class men. Snowball sampling method was used to reach to men to be interviewed. A question form which included three groups of questions was designed for the study. In the first group, there were eighteen questions and the aim was to collect information about the socio-demographic characteristics of the participants. Thirty

eight open-ended questions were included in the second group and they were prepared to study the relationships between three generations of men, second generations relationship with their wives and second generations experiences about being a father and a men. Finally, there were forty two close-ended questions to measure the participants' attitudes toward masculinity and fatherhood.

All of the participants were married and they had at least one son. The average age of participants was fifty five. The participants were generally born in center Eskişehir or in the districts of Eskişehir. There were eighteen first generation men (grandfathers). Moreover, there were fifty nine third generation people who were the children of the participants. Twenty two of these were women and thirty seven were men. Considering the education level of the participants, the level of education of the second generation was not as low as the level of education of the first generation. Strikingly the third generation had a much higher level of education compared to the first and second generation men.

When analyzing the results of the study, the participants were divided into two main groups. The first group of men was called “good” fathers and the others were called as “harsh” fathers. There were some interesting common grounds between the two groups. For example, all of the participants correlated fatherhood experience with money. At first glance, they answered the questions from a material point of view. This was a result of the breadwinner role of the participants. Almost all of the

participants (a total of seventeen) believed that mothers were more effective in the child rearing process. Therefore, they were not involved in the process as mothers were. Associatively, the participants relied basically on the distinction between private/public and women/men. Additionally, most of the participants (a total of thirteen) accepted their fatherhood experiences as “good”. Even some fathers who openly told that they have committed domestic violence against their wives and children, they still accepted themselves as “good” fathers. This was because they believed that they were able to support their families economically. Picnic was the most popular activity for the participants. They were not able to mention activities other than having a family picnic. Moreover, all of the participants claimed that they could support their children on all matters and that they were all involved fathers. However, they did not spend much time with their children.

Nevertheless, the “good” fathers were more emotionally connected to their children. They spent more time with them compared to “harsh” fathers and they appeared to be more concerned in their problems. In addition, this group of men was more egalitarian in their relationships with their wives. They were inclined to make co-decisions with their wives when the topic was about their children’s problems. Although these nine men were affected by their fathers, they generally tried to avoid their fathers’ bad behavior. They tried to establish a relationship based on affection although they highly valued traditions. For example, they shared some stories about domestic violence against their children. Consequently, they could not be counted as “involved” fathers, but they were closer to “involved” fathers.

“Harsh” fathers were less educated than “good” fathers. While “harsh” fathers were working in low-paid jobs, they had more children than “good” fathers. This may be one reason for spending less time with their children and for not paying much attention to their children’s’ problems. With respect to the relationships with their wives, there was an obviously difference between “good” and “harsh” fathers. In “harsh” father families, women were the buffer mechanism between fathers and children. In these families the children shared their problems with their mothers first. Mothers generally conveyed the material problems to fathers only when the mother was not able to solve the problem. “Harsh” fathers were the decision-makers in their families. Moreover, “harsh” fathers were more traditional than the “good” fathers. For them, respect was necessary in their relationship with their sons. Most followed their fathers’ behaviors while some criticized the first generation. “Harsh” fathers also committed domestic violence against their children.

“Ideal” father was another concept looked at in the analysis. “Ideal” fathers did not mean flawless men. It included the required qualifications for living “ideal” experiences of fatherhood. It was asked to the participants to comment on “ideal” father. Twelve of them associated the “ideal” father with those who were better off economically. Because they thought that if man had more money, he could make a good father. A few of the participants emphasized more emotional relationships, such as mutual love and understanding, while a few pointed to a relationship based on respect. Consequently, it was not possible to detect a clear-cut classification of an

image of an “ideal” father. Most of the participants did not have an image of an ideal father or vague thoughts about the qualifications required for being an “ideal” father.

In addition to these fatherhood typologies, hegemonic relationships among men were also analyzed. Arrestingly, thirteen of the participants claimed that they were at the top when asked to rank themselves among their extended family or in the wider society. The remaining ranked themselves in the middle. None of the participants ranked themselves in the bottom. This suggests that men do not consider themselves at a low position due to their strong masculine identity. Similarly, most of the participants (a total of sixteen) believed that women’s responsibilities were limited to the private sphere, while men’s were considered as those related to the public. Generally they thought that doing housework meant being weak. Only a few participants said that they helped their wives with housework, including making salad or barbecuing when having a picnic.

The findings of this study provide important clues about the dynamics of masculinity and fatherhood in Turkey. However, there are some limitations as well. Unfortunately, the number of participants was not enough for making broader generalizations. In this thesis only lower-middle class men are taken into account. Although one of the aims of the thesis was to show the changes between three generations, only the second generation of men was interviewed. For further research ethnographic research methods can be used for obtaining detailed information about

the topic. Different criteria such as class, level of education, and ethnicity can also be used when choosing the participants. A similar study can be carried out in different parts of Turkey in order to see the effects of different cultures on masculinity and fatherhood. Finally, in order to overcome gender inequality, understanding and analyzing various sources of masculinity can be a meaningful step.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **A.INTERVIEW FORM**

### **FARKLI SINIFSAL KATEGORİLERDEN ERKEKLERİN BABALIK DENEYİMLERİ**

### **NİTEL ARAŞTIRMA GÖRÜŞME FORMU**

Merhaba,

Bu çalışma Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Sosyoloji Bölümü’nde devam ettiğim lisansüstü eğitimimi tamamlamam için gerekli olan tez çalışmam için yürütülmektedir. Tez çalışmam kapsamında farklı sınıfal kategorilerden erkeklerin babalık deneyimleri incelenmektedir. Sizinle yapacağım görüşme sırasında vereceğiniz cevapların ve aktaracağınız bilgilerin doğru ve içten (samimi) olması bu açıdan oldukça önemlidir. Öte yandan, isminiz çalışma kapsamında gizli tutulacaktır. Bu görüşme yaklaşık olarak 1 saat sürecektr. Bana ayırdığınız zaman için şimdiden çok teşekkür ederim.

#### **A. Görüşmeye Ait Bilgiler**

Tarih:.....

Görüşme No:.....

Görüşmenin Yapıldığı İl/ Mahalle.....

Görüşmenin Başlama Saati: .....

Görüşmenin Bitiş Saati: .....

#### **GÖRÜŞMECİNİN GÖZLEMLERİ**

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

## B. GÖRÜŞÜLEN KİŞİYE AİT BİLGİLER:

- Adı-Soyadı: .....
- Doğum Yeri/ Tarihi: .....
- Adresi: .....
- Eğitim Durumu: .....
- Medeni Durumu: .....
- **Evliyse**, Kaç Senedir Evli:.....
- Yaptığı İş: .....
- Sosyal Güvence Türü: .....
- Sağlık Güvence Türü: .....
- Hanede Devamlı Olarak Yaşayan Kişi Sayısı: .....
- Hanedeki Çocuk Sayısı: .....
- Çocukların Cinsiyeti/ Yaşı:
  - 1. Çocuk:...../ .....
  - 2. Çocuk: ...../ .....
  - 3. Çocuk: ...../ .....
  - 4. Çocuk: ...../ .....
  - 5.Çocuk: ...../ .....
  - 6. Çocuk: ...../ .....
- Çocukların Eğitim Durumu:
  - 1. Çocuk:...../ .....
  - 2. Çocuk: ...../ .....
  - 3. Çocuk: ...../ .....
  - 4. Çocuk: ...../ .....
  - 5.Çocuk: ...../ .....
  - 6. Çocuk: ...../ .....
- Kaç kardeşiniz?(Kadın/Erkek) .....
- Babanızın Eğitim Durumu: .....
- Annenizin Eğitim Durumu: .....
- Babanızın Mesleği: .....
- Annenizin Mesleği: .....

## C. BABA-OĞUL İLİŞKİSİ

1. Çocuğunuzun/ çocuklarınızın eğitim durumu nedir? **Okuyorlarsa;** kaçinci sınıfa gitmeyenler? Özel okula mı devlet okuluna mı gitmeyenler?
2. **Okumuyorsa;** Çocuğunuzun/çocuklarınızın mesleği nedir?
3. Çocuğunuzun / çocuklarınızın okul dışında başka aktivitelere katılmasını teşvik etmeyenleriniz var mı?
4. Doğumdan sonraki ilk zamanlarda, çocuğunuzla ne kadar zaman geçirdiniz? Bu zaman diliminde neler yapardınız? (Günde, haftada, ayda?)
5. **(Çocuğu ergenlik döneminden geçmiş babalara sorulacak)** Çocuğunuzun/ çocuklarınızın ergenlik dönemlerinde onunla ne kadar zaman geçirdiniz?
6. Çocuğunuzun/ çocuklarınızın eğitimiyle nasıl ilgilenirsiniz? Neler yaparsınız?
7. Çocuğunuzun/ çocuklarınızın başarılı olması için neler yaparsınız? Başarılı olduklarında bunu nasıl paylaşırız?
8. Çocuğunuzun /çocuklarınızın başarısızlığı karşısında nasıl tepki verirsiniz? Onların başarısızlıklarını nasıl paylaşırınız?
9. Çocuğunuzla/çocuklarınızla olan ilişkinizi nasıl değerlendirdirirsiniz?

- 10.** Çocuğunuzla/ çocuklarınızla beraber neleri yapmaktan hoşlanırsınız?
- 11.** Çocuğunuzun/ çocuklarınınızın arkadaş/sevgili gibi özel hayatına ilişkin bilgileri nasıl takip edersiniz?
- 12.** Çocuğunuzun/ çocuklarınınızın problemleriyle nasıl ilgilenirsiniz?
- 13.** Hangi konularda oğlunuzla ilgili endişe duyarsınız?
- 14.** Çocuğunuzun/ çocuklarınızın sizin en çok kızdırın özelliği nedir?
- 15.** Çocuğunza/çocuklarınızla ilişkinizde kendinizi çaresiz hissettiğinizde ne yaparsınız? Kimle paylaşırınız?
- 16.** Çocuğunuzun/ çocuklarınınızın hangi mesleği seçmesini istersiniz? Neden?
- 17.** Çocuğunuzun/ çocuklarınınızın geleceği için nasıl bekłentileriniz var?
- 18.** Kendi babanızla olan ilişkinizi anlatır mısınız?
- 19.** Erkek kardeşi olanlara sorulacak; Babanızın size ve kardeşinize eşit davranışını düşünüyor musunuz? Hayırsa; hangi konularda eşit davranışmadı?

#### **D. ERKEKLİKTEN BABALIĞA GEÇİŞ**

- 20.** Baba olmak öğrenilir bir şey midir? Evetse; baba olmak kimden öğrenilir?

- 21.** Baba olmayı nasıl öğrendiniz? Rol modeliniz kimdi?
- 22.** Babalık rolünüzde kendi babanızın etkisi nedir?
- 23.** Babanızı örnek aldığınız ya da onun gibi davranışmaktan kaçındığınız durumlar var mı? Varsa, anlatabilir misiniz?
- 24.** Babanızın hangi davranışlarını neden devam ettiriyorsunuz?
- 25.** Babanızın hangi davranışlarını yapmaktan kaçınıyorsunuz?
- 26.** Babanızla kıyaslandığında, kendi babalık deneyiminizi nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?
- 27.** Çocuk yetiştirmeye konusunda kendinizi nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?
- 28.** Çocuklar konu olunca eşinizle iletişiminiz nasıldır?
- 29.** Baba olmanın önemli yanları nelerdir?
- 30.** Baba olmanın zor yanları nelerdir?

#### **E. KİMLİK**

- 31.** Kendinizi bir baba olarak nasıl tanımlarsınız?
- 32.** Baba olmanızın diğer kimliklerinize etkisi nedir?

**33. (Eşi çalışan erkeklerle sorulacak)** Eşiniz de çalıştığı için, aranızda bir işbölmü var mı? Varsa anlatır misiniz?

**34. (Eşi çalışmayan erkeklerle sorulacak)** Eşiniz çalışmadığı için, aranızda bir işbölmü var mı? Varsa anlatır misiniz?

**35.** Sizce ideal baba tanımı nedir?

#### **F. KENDİNİ TOPLUM İÇİNDE KONUMLANDIRMA**

**36.** Cevrenizdeki erkeklerden farklı olduğunuzu düşündüğünüz özellikleriniz nelerdir?

**37.** Kendinizi diğer erkeklerle karşılaştırdığınızda nasıl tanımlarsınız?

**38.** Kendinizi ailenin (hem evlenmeden önceki aileniz hem de evlendikten sonraki aileniz için) içinde nerede görüyorsunuz?

## G. ERKEKLİK/BABALIK ALGISI

	Kesinlikle Kartalmaxorum	Katılmıyorum Kartalmaxorum	Kısmen Kartalmaxorum	Katlıyorum Kartalmaxorum	Kesinlikle Kartalmaxorum
Erkeklerin hayat içerisinde alındıkları sorumluluklar onların yorulmalarına neden olmaktadır.					
Erkeklerin sorumlulukları onların erken yaşlarda ölmelerine neden olmaktadır.					
Erkekler kadınlarla göre daha güçlüdür.					
Erkekler ev işi yapmazlar.					
Erkekler ev işi yapamazlar.					
Erkekler ailenin dış işlerini kadınlar ise ev içindeki işleri yapmakla yükümlüdür.					
Erkekler ağlamaz.					
Erkekler ailenin namus bekçileridir.					
Erkekler Allah'ın toplumdaki birer görüntüsüdür.					
Erkeğin en temel görevi karısı ve çocukları için para kazanmaktır.					
Erkekler gündelik hayat içerisinde ezilmektedir.					
Erkekler gündelik hayat içindeki ilişkilerinde her zaman kazanır.					
Maddi durum erkeklerin babalık deneyimlerini etkiler.					
Kültürel farklılıklar erkeklerin babalık deneyimlerini etkiler.					
Babalık deneyimi nesilden nesile farklılık gösterir.					
Babalık deneyimleri tarihsel açıdan değişme göstermez.					
Baba ile çocuk arasında kurulan bağ anne ile çocuk arasındakine göre daha kısıtlıdır.					
Çocuk gelişiminde annenin rolü daha fazladır.					
Çocuk gelişiminde baba da anne kadar etkin bir rol oynamaktadır.					
Baba erkek çocuğuna toplumsal yaşamda gereklilik olacak kuralları öğretir.					
Babam iyi bir babaydı.					
Babam benimle ilgili konularda ilgisizdi.					

	Kesinlikle Katılımoxum	Katılmıyorum	Kısmen Katılımoxum	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılımoxum
Babamla ben çocukken/gençken yakın bir ilişkimiz vardı.					
Babam dini konularda beni eğitti.					
Çocukken babama saygı duyardım.					
Babam beni anladı.					
Babam bana olan sevgisini gösterirdi.					
Babamdan korkardım/korkarım.					
Çocuğuma her konuda destek olurum.					
Çocuğuma olan sevgimi gösteririm.					
Çocuğuma dini konularda yol gösteririm.					
İlgili bir baba olduğumu düşünüyorum.					
Çocuğum/çocuklarım benden çekinmeliler.					
Çocukların toplumsal hayatı ilişkin kuralları öğrenmesinde anne etkilidir.					
Erkekler kadınlara göre daha az duygusaldır.					
Erkekler kadınlara göre daha mantıklı kararlar verebilmektedir.					
Toplum içerisinde bazı erkekler diğerlerine göre daha güçlüdür.					
Aile içerisinde büyük olan erkek diğerlerinden daha güçlüdür.					
Aile içerisinde büyük olan erkeğe diğerlerinden daha çok sorumluk verilmektedir.					
Eğitim durumu erkeklerin arasında bir sınıflandırmaya neden olmaktadır.					
Erkekler kadınlara göre daha şiddet eğilimlidir.					
Erkeklerin şiddet eğilimli olmalarının nedeni ekonomiktir.					

**B. THE SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS**

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Birthplace</b>	<b>Level of Education</b>	<b>Marital Status</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Social Security</b>
<b>1</b>	62	Eskişehir	Ortaokul Terk	Evli	Esnaf/ Camcı	SSK
<b>2</b>	63	Mahmudiye	İlkokul	Evli	Emekli	SSK
<b>3</b>	48	Mihallıçık	İlkokul	Evli	Emekli/ Kapıcı	SSK
<b>4</b>	63	Eskişehir	Lise Mezunu	Evli	Emekli/ Düğün organizatörü	SSK
<b>5</b>	46	Eskişehir	Ortaokul Terk	Evli	Arçelik'te işçi	SSK
<b>6</b>	72	Türkmen Mecidiye	Lise Terk	Evli	Emekli	Bağ-Kur
<b>7</b>	46	Aksaray	İlkokul	Evli	İnşaat/Badanacı	SSK
<b>8</b>	56	Oklubal	İlkokul	Evli	Emekli.	SSK
<b>9</b>	64	Oklubal	İlkokul	Evli	Emekli/Çiftçi	Bağ-Kur
<b>10</b>	48	Bayburt	İlkokul	Evli	Emekli/Muhtar	SSK

**TABLE B: (continued)**

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Birthplace</b>	<b>Level of Education</b>	<b>Marital Status</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Social Security</b>
<b>11</b>	61	Bayburt	İlkokul	Evli	Emekli/İnşaat	SSK
<b>12</b>	53	Oklubar	Ortaokul	Evli	Emekli	SSK
<b>13</b>	51	Oklubar	İlkokul	Evli	Emekli	SSK
<b>14</b>	58	Eskişehir	Önlisans Mezunu	Evli	Emekli/ Öğretmen	Emekli Sandığı
<b>15</b>	55	Sivrihisar	Önlisans Mezunu	Evli	Emekli/ Öğretmen	Emekli Sandığı
<b>16</b>	62	Kütahya	Meslek Lisesi Mezunu	Evli	Emekli	SSK
<b>17</b>	51	Aksaray	İlkokul	Evli	İnşaat/Badanacı	SSK
<b>18</b>	37	Aksaray	Ortaokul Terk	Evli	İnşaat/ Dekorasyon	SSK
<b>19</b>	54	Aksaray	İlkokul	Evli	İnşaat/ Badanacı	SSK
<b>20</b>	49	Sivrihisar	Lise Mezunu	Evli	Emekli	SSK

**C. THE GENDER AND AGE OF PARTICIPANT'S CHILDREN**

<b>Participant</b>	<b>The Gender of 1st Kid</b>	<b>The Gender of 2nd Kid</b>	<b>The Gender of 3rd Kid</b>	<b>The Gender of 4th Kid</b>	<b>The Gender of 5th Kid</b>	<b>The Age of 1st Kid</b>	<b>The Age of 2nd Kid</b>	<b>The Age of 3rd Kid</b>	<b>The Age of 4th Kid</b>	<b>The Age of 5th Kid</b>
<b>1</b>	Erkek	Kadın	0	0	0	38	34	0	0	0
<b>2</b>	Erkek	Erkek	Erkek	Erkek	Kız	41	40	33	30	28
<b>3</b>	Erkek	Erkek	0	0	0	27	25	0	0	0
<b>4</b>	Erkek	Kadın	Erkek	0	0	37	36	24	0	0
<b>5</b>	Kadın	Erkek	0	0	0	20	13	0	0	0
<b>6</b>	Erkek	Erkek	Kadın	Erkek	Kadın	48	44	42	31	28
<b>7</b>	Erkek	Erkek	Kadın	0	0	14	11	7	0	0
<b>8</b>	Erkek	Erkek	0	0	0	33	27	0	0	0
<b>9</b>	Erkek	Kadın	Kadın	0	0	34	32	28	0	0
<b>10</b>	Kadın	Kadın	Kadın	Erkek	Kadın	25	23	20	15	13

**TABLE C (continued)**

<b>Participant</b>	<b>The Gender of 1st Kid</b>	<b>The Gender of 2nd Kid</b>	<b>The Gender of 3rd Kid</b>	<b>The Gender of 4th Kid</b>	<b>The Gender of 5th Kid</b>	<b>The Age of 1st Kid</b>	<b>The Age of 2nd Kid</b>	<b>The Age of 3rd Kid</b>	<b>The Age of 4th Kid</b>	<b>The Age of 5th Kid</b>
<b>11</b>	Erkek	Kadın	Erkek	Kadın	0	37	34	32	19	0
<b>12</b>	Erkek	Erkek	0	0	0	29	22	0	0	0
<b>13</b>	Erkek	Erkek	0	0	0	29	26	0	0	0
<b>14</b>	Erkek	Erkek	0	0	0	36	35	0	0	0
<b>15</b>	Erkek	Kadın	0	0	0	33	29	0	0	0
<b>16</b>	Erkek	Erkek	Kadın	0	0	39	36	24	0	0
<b>17</b>	Kadın	Erkek	Erkek	Erkek	0	28	25	21	13	0
<b>18</b>	Kadın	Erkek	Kadın	0	0	15	13	1,5	0	0
<b>19</b>	Erkek	Kadın	Erkek	0	0	30	22	11	0	0
<b>20</b>	Erkek	Kadın	0	0	0	24	16	0	0	0

**D. THE EDUCATION LEVEL OF PARTICIPANT'S CHILDREN**

<b>Participant</b>	<b>The Education Level of 1<sup>st</sup> Kid</b>	<b>The Education Level of 2<sup>nd</sup> Kid</b>	<b>The Education Level of 3<sup>rd</sup> Kid</b>	<b>The Education Level of 4<sup>th</sup> Kid</b>	<b>The Educational Level of 5<sup>th</sup> Kid</b>
<b>1</b>	Üniversite Mezunu	Üniversite Mezunu	0	0	0
<b>2</b>	Üniversite Mezunu	Üniversite Mezunu	Lise Mezunu	Lise Mezunu	Lise Mezunu
<b>3</b>	Lise Mezunu	Lise Mezunu	0	0	0
<b>4</b>	Meslek Lisesi Mezunu	Üniversite Mezunu	Meslek Lisesi Mezunu	0	0
<b>5</b>	İlköğretim Mezunu	8. sınıfı gidiyor	0	0	0
<b>6</b>	Üniversite Mezunu	Üniversite Mezunu	Lise Terk	Üniversite Mezunu	Üniversite Mezunu
<b>7</b>	Lise 1'e gidiyor	6. sınıfı gidiyor	2. sınıfı gidiyor	0	0
<b>8</b>	Üniversite Mezunu	Üniversite 4. sınıfı gidiyor	0	0	0
<b>9</b>	Üniversite Mezunu	Üniversite Mezunu	Lise Mezunu	0	0
<b>10</b>	Üniversite Mezunu	Üniversite Mezunu	Üniversite 4. sınıfı gidiyor	Lise 2'ye gidiyor	8. sınıfı gidiyor

**TABLE D (continued)**

<b>Participant</b>	<b>The Education Level of 1<sup>st</sup> Kid</b>	<b>The Education Level of 2<sup>nd</sup> Kid</b>	<b>The Education Level of 3<sup>rd</sup> Kid</b>	<b>The Education Level of 4<sup>th</sup> Kid</b>	<b>The Educational Level of 5<sup>th</sup> Kid</b>
<b>11</b>	Ortaokul Mezunu	İlkokul Mezunu	İlkokul Mezunu	Açıköğretim Fakültesi'nde ilahiyat okuyor	0
<b>12</b>	Meslek Yüksekokulu Mezunu	Üniversite 3. sınıfa gidiyor	0	0	0
<b>13</b>	Meslek Yüksekokulu Mezunu	Lise Mezunu	0	0	0
<b>14</b>	Üniversite Mezunu	Üniversite Mezunu	0	0	0
<b>15</b>	Astsubay	Üniversite Mezunu	0	0	0
<b>16</b>	Astsubay	Lise Mezunu	Üniversite Mezunu	0	0
<b>17</b>	İlkokul Mezunu	Ortaokul Mezunu	Ortaokul Mezunu	8. sınıfa gidiyor.	0
<b>18</b>	İlköğretim Mezunu	6. sınıfa gidiyor	0	0	0
<b>19</b>	0	Ortaokul Mezunu	7. sınıfa gidiyor	0	0
<b>20</b>	Üniversite 4. sınıf	Lise 2'ye gidiyor.	0	0	0

**E. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS' FAMILY**

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Number of Brothers</b>	<b>Number of Sisters</b>	<b>The Education Level of Father</b>	<b>The Education Level of Mother</b>	<b>The Occupation of Father</b>	<b>The Occupation of Mother</b>
<b>1</b>	3	0	İlkokul	İlkokul	Esnaf/Camcı	Ev Kadını
<b>2</b>	2	3	İlkokul	İlkokul	Çiftçi	Ev Kadını
<b>3</b>	2	3	Okuma-Yazma Yok	Okuma-Yazma Yok	Çiftçi	Ev Kadını
<b>4</b>	1	0	İlkokul	İlkokul	Berber	Ev Kadını
<b>5</b>	1	1	İlkokul	İlkokul	Esnaf/Pastacı	Ev Kadını
<b>6</b>	2	4	Okuma-Yazma Var	Okuma-Yazma Yok	Çiftçi	Ev Kadını
<b>7</b>	1	3	İlkokul	Okuma-Yazma Yok	İnşaat/Boyacı	Ev Kadını
<b>8</b>	1	1	Ortaokul terk	İlkokul	Esnaf/Mandıracı	Ev Kadını
<b>9</b>	1	4	İlkokul	İlkokul	Çiftçi	Ev Kadını
<b>10</b>	3	4	Okuma-Yazma Var	Okuma-Yazma Yok	Bakkal	Ev Kadını

**TABLE E (continued)**

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Number of Brothers</b>	<b>Number of Sisters</b>	<b>The Education Level of Father</b>	<b>The Education Level of Mother</b>	<b>The Occupation of Father</b>	<b>The Occupation of Mother</b>
<b>11</b>	3	2	Okuma-Yazma Var	Okuma-Yazma Yok	Çiftçi	Ev Kadını
<b>12</b>	1	1	Ortaokul terk	İlkokul	Çiftçi	Ev Kadını
<b>13</b>	1	1	İlkokul	İlkokul	Çiftçi	Ev Kadını
<b>14</b>	5	1	İlkokul	İlkokul	Çiftçi	Ev Kadını
<b>15</b>	1	3	İlkokul	İlkokul	Çiftçi	Ev Kadını
<b>16</b>	0	2	İlkokul	İlkokul	İş Makinası Operatörü	Ev Kadını
<b>17</b>	4	6	Okuma-Yazma Var	Okuma-Yazma Yok	Çiftçi	Ev Kadını
<b>18</b>	1	2	İlkokul	Okuma-Yazma Var	İnşaat/ Dekorasyon	
<b>19</b>	4	6	Okuma-Yazma Var	Okuma- Yazma Yok	Çiftçi	Ev Kadını
<b>20</b>	1	3	İlkokul	İlkokul 3 terk	Çiftçi	Ev Kadını

## F. TEZ FOTOKOPI İZİN FORMU



### TEZ FOTOKOPI İZİN FORMU

#### ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü

Enformatik Enstitüsü

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

#### YAZARIN

Soyadı : TECİK

Adı : ZEYNEP

Bölümü : SOSYOLOJİ

**TEZİN ADI** (İngilizce) : FATHERHOOD EXPERIENCES OF LOWER-MIDDLE CLASS MEN:  
THE CASE OF ESKISEHIR

**TEZİN TÜRÜ** : Yüksek Lisans

Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılsın ve kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla tezimin bir kısmı veya tamamının fotokopisi alınır.
2. Tezimin tamamı yalnızca Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi kullanıcılarının erişimine açılsın. (Bu seçenekle tezinizin fotokopisi ya da elektronik kopyası Kütüphane aracılığı ile ODTÜ dışına dağıtılmayacaktır.)
3. Tezim bir (1) yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olsun. (Bu seçenekle tezinizin fotokopisi ya da elektronik kopyası Kütüphane aracılığı ile ODTÜ dışına dağıtılmayacaktır.)

Yazarın imzası .....

Tarih .....