

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MATERNAL GATEKEEPING AND
PARENTAL WARMTH THROUGH THE MEDIATING ROLE OF
TRADITIONAL MOTHERHOOD

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ABSTRACT

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MATERNAL GATEKEEPING AND PARENTAL WARMTH THROUGH THE MEDIATING ROLE OF TRADITIONAL MOTHERHOOD

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The current study aims to identify sociological aspects of maternal gatekeeping, and to examine the relationship between the parental warmth and maternal gatekeeping through the mediator role of traditional motherhood. In this study, the ins and outs of the mother-child relationship in the first years of life are discussed, as an institutionalised and reproduced role attributed to the woman having a child, not as a result of being biologically a mother, in the light of two fundamental approaches: Symbolic Interactionist Theory and Family Systems Theory. The mixed-method design is employed. Two hundred women took place in the online survey and ten women participated in focus groups. Participants were asked to fill out three different inventories and a demographic form. It was expected that inter-correlations between maternal gatekeeping, parental warmth and traditional motherhood are significant, and the relationship between maternal gatekeeping and parental warmth construction of mothers is expected to be mediated by traditional motherhood. Also, maternal gatekeeping practices of mothers are expected to be affected by gender stereotypes in marriages. All hypotheses of the study were supported except the expected direct relationship between maternal gatekeeping and parental warmth.

Keywords: Maternal gatekeeping, father involvement, parental warmth, traditional motherhood, gender roles.

ÖZ

ANNE BEKÇİLİĞİ VE EBEVEYN SICAKLIĞI ARASINDAKİ İLİŞKİDE GELENEKSEL ANNELİĞİN ARACI ROLÜ

Aytaç, Kübra

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Bu çalışma, anne bekçiliğinin sosyolojik yönlerini tanımlamayı ve geleneksel anneliğin aracı rolüyle ilişkili olarak ebeveyn sıcaklığı ve anne bekçiliği arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Sembolik Etkileşim ve Aile Sistemleri Kuramları ışığında anne-çocuk ilişkisinin ilk yıllarındaki dinamikler, anneliğin biyolojik olarak çocuk sahibi olan kadına atfedilen rolü yerine, kurumsallaşmış ve yeniden üretilen rolü ele alınarak tartışılmıştır. Verinin toplanması ve analizi aşamalarında nicel ve nitel yöntemler bir arada kullanılmıştır. Çevrimiçi ankette 200 ve odak grup görüşmelerinde de 10 katılımcı yer almıştır. Türkiye'nin farklı bölgelerinde yaşayan orta ve orta-üst sosyo-ekonomik sınıflardan olan anneler çevrimiçi anket yoluyla üç farklı ölçek ve bir demografik bilgi formu doldurmuşlardır. Anne bekçiliği, ebeveyn sıcaklığı ve geleneksel annelik arasında anlamlı ilişki olduğu ve annelerin duygusal sıcaklığı ile anne bekçiliği arasındaki ilişkinin geleneksel annelik tarafından aracılık edildiği varsayımları test edilmiştir. Ayrıca, annelerin anne bekçiliği uygulamalarının toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinden etkilenmesi beklenmektedir. Anne bekçiliği ve ebeveyn sıcaklığı arasında beklenen doğrudan ilişki dışında, çalışmanın bütün varsayımları desteklenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Anne bekçiliği, baba katılımı, ebeveyn sıcaklığı, geleneksel annelik, cinsiyet rolleri.

to all who fathom knowledge solely for science...

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Historical Background of Motherhood Studies

Since the 2000s, motherhood has become a topic of much scholarly debate, with a number of complementary and competing perspectives including phenomenological, psychobiological, sociological and historical approaches. There has also been a growing field of advice literature through which parents can question popular parenting practices and consider new ones (O'Reilly, 2010, pp. 27-29).

There has been an increase in both public and private discussions concerning the different aspects of motherhood, such as caregiving, abortion, and birth control together with the political activism of certain groups. What is commonly recognised is the gap between the idealised portrait of motherhood and the real-life experiences of mothers, which are both physically and psychologically arduous. In order to fill this gap, intensive mothering is promoted through mother shaming by media, political agents, parents, and friends. Mother shaming promotes combative mothering that mothers criticise and shame each other's parenting practices (Abetz & Moore, 2018). Within this context, questioning the role of fathers and examining the practices of mothers through their perceptions, regarding a father's involvement in childcare, appears as a meaningful and worthwhile endeavour.

Since the 1970s the sociology of motherhood gained importance and the majority of studies have focused on childcare and women's participation in paid and unpaid work in a patriarchal society. Following the mid-1960s, when the women's movement against patriarchy began to emerge in various parts of the world, the question of the limits of women's agency and the ideological construction of motherhood have been a significant part of on-going discussions.

The feminist perspective is one of the rich sources from which a significant number of motherhood studies originate. The relationship between women's agency and motherhood in relation to diverse sociocultural mechanisms such as patriarchal family and political structure has been examined from various perspectives. The study that spearheaded this field of research was Rich's 1976 work, *Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution*. In this work, Rich discusses the devaluation of women in social spheres with reference to motherhood as a political institution (p.1).

After the above-mentioned period comprising 60s and 70s, a woman's choice regarding motherhood was considered based on her age, race and socioeconomic status. In the 1990s, the ideological aspect of motherhood began to be questioned through a woman's personal experiences as a mother. One of the fundamental discussions in this period was the increasing intensive mothering as examined by Umansky in *Motherhood Reconceived* (1996). However, as Kawash pointed out (2011), the topic of motherhood suddenly disappeared from academic journals such as *Signs* or *Frontiers* in the 2000s. Kawash argues, "Where it did appear during this period, motherhood was most frequently subsumed into discussions of women and work, migration, or reproduction (including abortion on one side and reproductive biotechnologies on the other)" (p. 971). In a review article, Lisa Brush describes this increasing emphasis on maternalism as a political strategy claiming, "maternalism is feminism for hard times" (p. 430). Thus, this paradigm shift from patriarchy to maternalism was considered as a withdrawal as a result of the negative feedback of previous approaches.

In the 2000s, not only the psychoanalytic aspects of motherhood, with an emphasis on body and desire, but also its economic aspects were discussed through the concept of 'wage penalty' as put forward by Budig and England (2001, p. 205) who claim that women pay a certain price for motherhood in many spheres of life besides the labour market. During this period, poststructuralist gender theory had been paving the way for a new understanding of motherhood through which women could retain their

feminist identity. Moreover, the postmodern approach to motherhood continues to emphasise its socially constructed nature as it asserts that “beliefs, laws, social customs, habits of dress and diet and all the things that make up the psychological fabric of reality arise through interaction over time” (Freedman & Combs, 1996, p. 23).

In Turkey, studies concerning the family within a sociological framework have been discussed via two traditions. The first tradition being literary and archival studies, in which the concept of family is debated through its historical background, ethnography and legal infrastructure. The second is by means of large-scale surveys conducted through quantitative methods in various parts of Turkey (Aktaş, 2015, p. 420). Family studies in Turkey became increasingly popular in the 1950s as a result of the constant political and economic changes taking place in the country. The first empirical and large-scale studies were conducted in the 1960s. In the few studies carried out before the 1970s, researchers paid particular attention to village and *gecekondu* (slam) families. Specific to motherhood, Mübeccel Belik Kıray in her study *Ereğli: Ağır Sanayiden Önce Bir Sahil Kasabası* (1964) focused on the ‘buffer function’ of the mother-daughter relationship in the family carrying a function that provides social integrity as one of the ‘buffer mechanisms’ that provide temporary balance and integrity during periods of societal transition.

In the 1980s, the family structure in Turkey was described as the nuclear family with an emphasis on the traditional aspects of family relationships. As Kağıtçıbaşı emphasises in her work *Çocuğun Değeri: Türkiye’de Değerler ve Doğurganlık* (1980), although the family structure in Turkey is defined as a nuclear family, it is actually traditional in terms of gender roles. Throughout the 1990s, together with the effect of media studies, gender roles in the family and motherhood were given closer attention by emphasizing the attributed role of motherhood carrying traditional aspects. By the end of the 1990s fathering studies appeared and gained attention (Evans, 1997; Öğüt, 1998).

Regardless of the different positions taken by various researchers studying motherhood, the idealised aspect of motherhood is agreed upon by several 21st-century researchers (Sebald, 1976; Dally, 1983; Rubin, 1984; Rabuzzi, 1988; McMahon, 1995; Hays, 1996). While there are variations in its definition according to the context used, there is a generally agreed definition of motherhood based on its fundamental aspects:

The word 'motherhood' emerged as a concept in Victorian times when it was reified as being motherliness, of mothering... Motherhood is now usually considered to be an essential task or stage of women's development as well as a crucial part of their identity, often from childhood... In addition to establishing women's credentials as women, it also provides women with an occupational and structural identity and can be a substitute for involvement in other activities such as employment (Phoenix et al., 1991: p. 6).

The definitions and dynamics of maternal gatekeeping, which are discussed in the following chapter, show variation according to different political, social and cultural contexts in different countries and at different time periods, creating an issue beyond the scope of this study. The focus of this thesis is a sociological analysis of maternal gatekeeping in the Turkish context where the relationship between the parental warmth and the development of maternal gatekeeping attitudes are expected to be mediated through the process of the motherization of childcare based on traditional motherhood roles.

In this context, this study aims to ascertain not only the social dynamics of maternal gatekeeping, but also the role of motherization as a source reaffirming traditional parenting roles for both mothers and fathers. I will also address the gap in sociology literature concerning the role of maternal gatekeeping simultaneously taking into consideration its social and psychological aspects which necessitates analysing different parenting practices in a comparative framework as well as the sociocultural consequences of these various practices.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL DISCUSSION

2.1. Maternal Gatekeeping

The multidimensionality of father involvement and maternal gatekeeping necessitates defining it in various ways (Day & Lamb, 2004; Hawkins & Dolerite, 1997). There are different approaches to the father involvement that have been proposed by different scholars. Chronologically speaking, these are the ‘affective perspective’ by Palkovitz (1997), the ‘generative fathering approach’ by Hawkins and Dollahite (1997), the ‘social capital approach’ by Amato (1998), and the ‘social constructivist’ by Marsiglio, Amato, Day and Lamb (2000). Besides these different perspectives, there is an increasing interest among several scholars in specifically examining the quality of time fathers spend with their children rather than the quantity (Pleck & Masciadrelli, 2004; Hawkins & Dollahite, 1997).

Maternal gatekeeping is defined as the “preferences and struggles of mothers” to limit the fathers’ role regarding childcare and their involvement with children (Allen and Hawkins, 1999, p. 200). The primary responsibility for childcare is taken by mothers, who obtain gatekeeper practices, and fathers are criticised for their parental practices. The term is also redefined by Puhlman and Pasley (2013) as a “set of complex behavioral interactions between parents, where mothers influence fathers’ involvement through their use of controlling, facilitative, and restrictive behaviours directed at father's childrearing and interaction with children on a regular and consistent basis” (p. 177). Hence, by controlling their children’s relationship with other adults, parents have both direct and indirect impact on their children in terms of their childrearing network (Marsiglio, Amato, Day, & Lamb, 2000, p. 1177).

Several studies indicate the importance of a mother's role as the main actor in defining the relationship between a father and the child; (Coltrane & Arendell, 1996; Deutsch, Lussier & Servis, 1993; Lewis, Feiring & Weinraub, 1981; Marsiglio, 1995) whereas, particularly among divorced parents, the opposite appears to be true (Doherty, Kouneski & Erickson, 1998). Nevertheless, the significance of motherly reinforcement in getting fathers to engage in childcare is commonly agreed upon by several researchers (Braver & O'Connell, 1998; Madden-Derdich & Leonard, 2000).

Fagan and Barnett in "The Relationship Between Maternal Gatekeeping, Paternal Competence, Mothers' Attitudes About the Father Role, and Father Involvement" (2003) utilise the concept of social capital in order to understand the perception of mothers regarding fathers' family work standards. Hanifan (1916) defines social capital as "those tangible assets [that] count for most in the daily lives of people: namely goodwill, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse among the individuals and families who make up a social unit" (p. 130).

In Fagan and Barnett's 2003 study, the social capital of fathers refers to their favourable parenting skills and sufficiency in childcare. Their findings suggest a link between maternal gatekeeping and fathers' perceived social capital by mothers (2003, p. 1024). This finding is confirmed in other studies (Beitel & Parke, 1998; Fagan & Barnett, 2003; Lamb, 1986, 1997) which argue that mothers encourage fathers to be more engaged in childbearing practices when they are perceived as having greater parenting competence (cited in Newton, 2012, p. 6). A mother's perception of low standards regarding a father's family work has several aspects. Two of these dimensions are addressed as parental love construction aiming mothers by the way of ideological and cultural aspects, and structural barriers behind women to gather power in any domain apart from the domestic one as a result of motherization of childcare.

There are a number of competing approaches when defining maternal gatekeeping. For example, Allen and Hawkins (1991) differentiate the levels of maternal gatekeeping into three categories. The first level involves the standards and responsibilities regarding domestic tasks. These tasks are organised and performed by

the mother through the standards of re-performing. Fathers are in the position of playing along with these procedures. The second one is maternal identity; indicating the mother's desire to be recognised primarily by her responsibilities as a mother, as it is the major source of satisfaction for her to be externally distinguished. However, this does not necessarily bring about any rejection in collaborating with their partners in domestic tasks; yet fathers may be encouraged more to engage in these tasks. Finally, the lowest level of maternal gatekeeping is defined as distinguished family roles supported by gender roles in certain social settings. This differentiation in gender roles has an impact not only on family roles including the division of labour in household, but also a mother's expectations regarding this clearly defined distribution. Essentially, this amounts to a chicken and egg situation.

The four aspects in measuring gatekeeping parenting developed by Allen and Hawkins (1999, p. 202) involve 'having a high standard for housework and childcare, enjoying control over family tasks, having an identity that is contingent on making sure children are well groomed and keeping a clean house, and having a traditional attitude that women enjoy and find it easier to do housework and childcare than men'. Allen and Hawkins divide mothers into three groups from a research conducted with married and cohabiting parents (Allen & Hawkins, 1999). These groups are active gatekeeper mothers, intermediary mothers, and collaborator mothers. Results revealed that among participant mothers, 21% of them are active gatekeepers who work over five hours per week more at home than the other two groups (intermediaries and collaborators) (Allen & Hawkins, 1999, p. 208). Some scholars propose that women who perceive their partners' domestic criterions and standards as too low affect men's elimination from engagement in a variety of family tasks (Hawkins, Marshall, & Meiners, 1995; Fagan & Barnett, 2003).

Another approach defining the levels of a father's involvement is classified into three levels by Lamb (1987) on which most of the research regarding parental involvement tend to be based. The first level is the interaction consisting primarily of care and play activities. According to this theory, these kinds of social interactions are of importance in the development of children as the basis of their well-being. The second level of

involvement is the accessibility of the father at any time the child is in need of paternal support. Rather than one-to-one interaction, this level of involvement is based on indirect interaction and provides the child with the positive affirmation that the father is available when any issue or problem arise. Third, the father's involvement is consummated by taking responsibility for certain events and arrangements related to the child. One key aspect of this level of involvement is adjusting to urgent situations.

The findings of a study based on these three dimensions of paternal involvement correlated with work variable conducted by Jacobs and Kelley (2006) revealed that only the responsibility aspect of paternal involvement is partially predicted by a family structure based on the work life of parents and on a mother's attitudes towards the father's involvement. The parents working-hours and their perception of self-efficacy are significant indicators of the time fathers spent with their children.

Adding to the perspective, Anderson and Sabatelli (1995) emphasised that all these levels of paternal involvement, which are based on diverse allocations of time and energy, may vary based on the context. This diversity stems from the differences in socioeconomic status, the stages of the life-cycle, type of family, and the number of children in the family as well as the changes occurring in the day-to-day life of the family. Therefore, parenting strategies and involvement aspects continue to be formed and re-formed through time with alterations made to the requirements and conditions. Still, this does not mean that there is no permanency of the parenting system in certain family settings and that there are no common points with other parenting strategies (cited in Yi-Chan Tu, Jen-Chun Chang, & Tsai-Feng Kao, 2014).

There are contradicting results obtained from different studies (e.g. Seery & Crowley, 2000; Pleck & Masciadrelli, 2004) reporting that the gatekeeping behaviour of mothers is largely indirect, promoting a connection between father and child through emotional work. Yet, there are several other studies (Genevie & Margolies, 1987; Allen & Hawkins, 1999; Craig, 2006) which claim that over twenty percent of mothers adopt the maternal gatekeeper role in families in which housework is not equally shared.

These women have five hours or more responsibilities per week compared to men (American Time Use Survey, 2013).

Despite the widely-held idea that there is an increase in women's participation in the labour market and paternal involvement in childcare, the main source of childcare is still regarded as mothers' responsibility while fathers provide the main source of household income (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010, p.708). Moreover, findings in other studies (Cannon, Schoppe-Sullivan, Mangelsdorf, Brown, & Sokolowski, 2008) indicate that a mother's attribution of negative emotions to paternal involvement mediates between the mother's belief in the unsatisfying parental role of the father and the greater restrictive patterns of the mother.

In order to reveal the significance of a mother's attitude concerning father involvement, Greenstein (1996) conducted a research and argued that the separation of domestic labour in the family and conventional attitudes predicated by mothers are more far-reaching than the fathers'. Thus, the division of domestic tasks is predicted by the mother's way of conceptualizing their marriage either as traditional (men are the decision makers and tasks are distributed according to gendered roles) or egalitarian (shared power and decision-making in the family). This is also predicted by the construction of gendered roles in societies in which women conclude that, due to their disposition, housework is not favourable for men to perform. As a result, women become more unwilling to equally collaborate with their partners in carrying out household chores; rather, they take the role of a supervisor and controller of fathers in order for them to tackle certain tasks.

The main question to be asked is what are the fundamental reasons behind a mother's engagement in gatekeeper parenting practices rather than co-parenting? It is clear that the relationship between maternal gatekeeping and the motherization of childcare is not a one-way relationship. Baber and Monaghan (1988) claim that mothers believe that they are most responsible for both housework and childcare. The parental role of fathers is regarded as uncommon; hence, fathers take on the role of substitutes when the mothers are unavailable (Deutsch, cited in Sary & Turnip, 2014). As a result of

structural barriers, women are constrained to the power they accumulate in the domestic area as it is not always possible for the majority of them to obtain a significant degree of power in wider society. In addition, women's definition of themselves tend to be realised with regard to the power and control they assume within the domestic domain, as this is thought to be a result of 'natural' processes (LaRossa, 1997, p.33). Yet, as Sano, Richards, and Zvonkovic (2008) put forward, there are not a sufficient number of studies directly measuring the perception of mothers regarding paternal involvement.

2.2. Construction of Parental Warmth

It is necessary to define and discuss parental warmth and what it means for both mothers and fathers. Määttä and Uusiautti claim that parental love is the fundamental source of parenthood, which is not a profession in itself. Through parental love a confident atmosphere is provided to children that allows them to improve their capabilities (2012, p. 2) The findings of a study conducted by Johnson and Jaynes (2007), which examines variations in the definitions of parental love of mothers and fathers reveals that there is a consensus over certain aspects of parental love by both mothers and fathers. They argue that parental love is primarily unconditional, powerful, complimentary, and necessitates being a respondent to the requirements and wishes of the children.

Another common view of mothers and fathers is the existence of a biological bond established between the mother and her child. This is because mothers are the carriers and the ones who give birth to the child, establishing a bond that is strengthened during breastfeeding. Thus, mothers are claimed to be the ones who experience parental warmth earlier than fathers and in a more intense way. Moreover, besides the similarities between a mother's and father's perception of parental love towards the well-being and security of the child, the instructive role is attributed to maternal love while paternal love is focused more on enjoyment. Hence, parental love differentiates from other forms of love by its unconditional aspect, strength, high self-abnegation, and persistence together with liability. Moreover, maternal love is distinguished from

paternal love by the pre-established bond and intense emotional and educational burden that exists between the mother and child.

The question remains whether it is solely the biological connection between the mother and child that separates parental love from maternal love, or whether the socially constructed aspects of parental love play a role. After giving birth a number of things permanently change in a woman's life as her social and personal identity alter besides the physical and biological changes she experiences. Tess Cosslett defines this change as follows,

The bodily experience of giving birth raises the question of role and status. Being pregnant challenges our usual notion of identity and individuality: two people are in one body. Birth further disrupts our categories and 'one' individual literally 'divides' into two ... motherhood puts into question a woman's sense of identity and a new social role is thrust upon her (1994, p. 17).

The new, emergent social identity as a mother goes beyond any private obligations attributed to an individual regarding childcare; it makes inroads into public examination and interference within the framework of 'good' or 'bad' mothering patterns established through the discourse of policymakers, public figures, and specialists. Mothers are 'publicly' expected to be 'child-centred', in order to be identified as successful mothers through the healthy physical and emotional development of their children. Mothers are promised by such a discourse and cultural norms indicating that only through this way of mothering, personal realisation and achievement can be actualised.

This understanding of mothering is associated with the isolation of women from their personal identity because of the need to endlessly nurture and care for their children. Lee (2008) defines this process as a result of 'intensive mothering ideology' by which mothering is constructed as an activity alone. This activity is so sacrosanct that fathers often abdicate their responsibility altogether and leave it to the mothers alone, who are culturally validated for this activity due to the supposed importance of their dedication to each and every detail in childcare in their child's well-being (p. 469). Some scholars (e.g., Aryee, Shirinivas, & Hoon Tan, 2005; Barnett, 2004) even argue that the increase

in female participation in the labour force has positively affected the father's provision of paternal love and childcare. Thus, mothers are regarded as the primary source of parental love within the family context in which children have access to a safe and peaceful environment at home.

In a longitudinal research, Tina Miller attempts to ascertain the different ways women make sense of becoming mother. What she concludes is that there is a common point with most of her study's participants in that their relationship with their new-borns is strengthened through sharing experiences. She gives a quotation from one participant, "It just seemed to get better and sort of gels, and you understand them, and they get a bit more responsive to you. I do enjoy my relationship with her. It is lovely. Hard work, but it is so much nicer... I feel I've bonded [with] her." Miller argues:

The language of nature and instincts and medical expert discourses are woven to varying degrees and in different ways through the women's prenatal interviews. Although strands from these dominant discourses are found in the women's narratives—for example, the words "nature" and "instincts" are used alongside "trust" and "confidence" in medical expertise. (2007, p.343)

In her book entitled *Maternal Thinking: Towards a Politics of Peace* Ruddick (1995) also argues that there is a correlation between mothering and Gandhian-style peace-making, which brings about "a correlation between the localized practices of mothering and the globally-impacting practices that could promote worldwide peace-making activities" (p. 22)

With the last generation, the institution of motherhood and the equation of it with parental love has begun to be questioned, referred to as 'a sociological awakening' by Keilah Billings (2003, p. 94). What is commonly challenged is the widely held idea that the maternal instinct attributed to women is a biological imperative of parental love. This is another questionable belief in the universal idea of family detached from social, political and economic contexts. Pinker notes maternal love that necessitates a protective care for children is not biological instincts common to all times and spaces (1997, p. 38).

A similar point is made by Chodorow, who has combined psychoanalytic object-relations theory with Marxism. Chodorow claims that the so-called greater feminine capability of parenting does not entirely find its roots in biology; rather, it is rooted in strong mother-daughter relationship promoting nurturance. On the other hand, the pseudo-independent masculine development that is broken up with the emotional bond is deep-stated in the socially dominant role in patriarchal, capitalist society (1978, p. 112).

It is worth noting that a number of cultural anthropologists conclude that there is a cultural construction of kinship and parental relations that are thought to be biological outcomes. As Levi-Strauss states, “A kinship system does not exist in the objective ties of descent or consanguinity between individuals. It exists only in human consciousness; it is an arbitrary system of representations, not the spontaneous development of a real situation” (1967, p. 50).

Feminist literature contributes to the analysis of the love construction aspect of transformation in terms of dealing with the incarcerated to private sphere characteristic of motherhood lost in its biological and psychological implications. These implications attribute essential differences to women, differentiating them from men, which are rejected by feminist approach. Linda Rennie Forcey notes in her study “Feminist Perspectives on Mothering and Peace” (1994) that one of the theoretical debates in feminist theory is based on differentiating women from men due to their “nurturing qualities and mothering responsibilities including their being nicer, kinder, gentler” as the fundamental differences that should be respected (p. 156).

Other feminist researchers such as Firestone, Ann Oakley, Adrienne Rich and Mary O’Brien emphasise how women have put more pressure on themselves due to societal expectations concerning motherhood roles. Rich (1976) makes a noteworthy contribution to the literature in confronting the notion of the ideal motherhood and maternal love which disregards the female agency by bargaining for a selfish love. These debates are all connected to the ‘instant love’ concept of Marshall (1991, pp.

69-70), presented as an innate component of the mother through the media as a way for women to realise themselves. Parental guidance books, which predominantly consider women to be the main parent and provide advice based on what is socially considered acceptable and unacceptable, are important parts of this agenda as they describe what is perceived to be the 'ideal family'. Regarding the ideal family discussions, Coltrane argues:

In our nostalgia for a mythical past, we tend to envision an ideal family that transcends time and place. In reality, families are very specific forms of human organization that continually evolve and change as they respond to various pushes and pulls. (1996, p. 22)

These different approaches towards parenthood and motherhood share the idea that socially constructed aspects of family and the role of women within it are based primarily on an ideal motherhood identity represented as widely held truths. Attributed feelings and new social roles attained through becoming a mother and its influence on obtaining gatekeeper parenting practices necessitate a more detailed analysis of this process and its consequences. After considering these points, it is easier to see the institutionalised and reproduced roles attributed to women.

The issue of 'burden of marriage and emotion work' on mothers is discussed in several studies (Erickson, 1993; Helms, Crouter, & McHale, 2003; Oliner, 1989). The results reveal that 'father work' performed by mothers is serving as a bridge between a father's and their children, since mothers are transferring the daily information regarding children to the fathers, and promoting chances for them to become more involved (Allen & Hawkins, 1999; Hamer, 1998; Seery & Crowley, 2001). The prominent point of discussion in these studies is that mothers are not only responsible for their own emotional duty towards their children, but that they are also providing nodes in the network of the family to allow the father and child to be involved in each other's lives. Adamsons (2010) states in his study, entitled "Using Identity Theory to Develop a Midrange Model of Parental Gatekeeping and Parenting Behavior":

The empirical literature suggests that when mothers believe that fathers should be involved in childrearing, fathers tend to be more involved

with their children, whereas when mothers believe that fathers' involvement in childrearing is unnecessary or undesirable, fathers tend to be less involved with their children (p. 138).

Hence, these findings support the idea that a father's paternal attitude towards their children, be it negative or positive, is influenced by the mother's beliefs and attitudes concerning fathering practices. This means that mothers can be 'gate-openers' at the same time by performing the abovementioned marriage and emotional work.

2.3. Motherization of Childcare

In the literature on maternal gatekeeping in psychology, there is a tendency to examine the concept largely as a reason for the variations in a father's involvement and the social and psychological outcomes of becoming a mother. Research focusing on this issue has failed to address the essential social aspects and mechanisms behind gatekeeping practices; rather, they discuss its presence as given and its outcomes. Some scholars conduct maternal brain research to examine the effects of becoming a mother on a woman's brain. Thus, the research on mothering and gatekeeping practices in psychology literature predominantly focus on biological and instinctual explanations for such behaviours.

On the other hand, in sociological research, the socioeconomic status of women and economic activities besides explanations based on culture and traditions have been regarded as some of the determinant factors when examining mothering practices. There is an understanding that the increasing participation of women in labour force probably supports the decrement of domestic responsibilities in family. However, Coltrane (2000) argues that most of the empirical studies based on observations in the field of family sociology show that domestic tasks, including childcare, are still regarded as women's responsibilities even if there is a significant increase in women's labour force participation rate (p. 1208).

The leading factor behind the standards of parenting decided by both mothers and fathers can be regarded as gender roles and the resulting expectations from these

standards. In many ways, these social expectations are reflected in certain maternal and paternal identities framed by parental identity standards. A mother's standards regarding the father's level of involvement are influential in their way of defining 'ideal motherhood'. When mothers perceive fathers as inadequate in most aspects of childcare, they are more likely to adopt gatekeeper parenting practices by limiting the fathers' involvement in childcare and controlling their communication with the child. However, this process may also lead to a backlash effect; fathers may restrict the mothers' participation in the labour market based on their perception of the ideal mother. In other words, when a father defines the mother as a housewife and a fulltime babysitter, he may then adopt gatekeeping practices to limit the mother's entry into the job market (Adamsons, 2010, p. 141). Hence, there is an imbalanced distribution of power among partners in terms of childrearing.

Simons, Whitbeck, Conger, R., & Melby, S. (1990) in their article "Husband and wife differences in determinants of parenting: A Social learning and exchange model of parental behaviour" state that "Perhaps the most prominent source of power relevant to the current paper is the power derived from the greater social value placed upon mothering compared with fathering and the greater expertise that is assumed to be held by mothers regarding childrearing" (cited in Adamsons, 2010, p. 145). The reason for the lower standards set for fathers on the pretext of lack of confidence is thought to be not inability, rather insufficient experience regarding childbearing. Also, one possible reason put forward is that mothers do not provide positive feedback to fathers when it comes to domestic tasks (cited in Wille, 1995, p. 814).

Supporting the argument above, Poortman and Lippe (2009) report in their article '*Attitudes toward housework and child care and the gendered division of labor*' that attitude towards the domestic division of labour is an important aspect for the formation of relationships in families. They emphasise three dimensions of the attitudes towards domestic tasks which are affective (their feelings regarding household labour), cognitive (their thoughts about it), and conative (their actions), and provide a detailed analysis of the first two. Affective refers to the amount of joy an

individual receives in completing domestic tasks. The cognitive dimension is directly linked to the standards an individual gives to household tasks and their importance.

Doucet (2001, p. 5) claims that responsibility is a key component of the cognitive aspect since individuals give more significance to a task when they feel responsible for it. Since the attitudes and cognitive processes are gendered, almost all domestic tasks are considered to be women's work, becoming part of the gender identities of women and men. This, in turn, reconstructs their attitudes as women are more willing to partake in household tasks than men. Hence, women are expected to attain more pleasure by completing these tasks and feel a higher accountability with higher standards and end up reaffirming and reproducing gender roles (Coltrane, 2000).

Besides parental love construction contributing to the reaffirmation of gender roles in the family, the relationship between maternal gatekeeping and traditional motherhood is another key component of this study.

It can be concluded that there is a significant relationship between traditional motherhood and motherization of childcare. The concept of 'motherization' is derived from the 2016 study of Mathieu, in which she introduces the 'demotherization' of care work as a new conceptual tool in order to address the transfer of certain responsibilities of women regarding family work to their partners, grandparents, caregivers or the state. The motherization of childcare as a conceptual tool carries the structural barriers behind mothers to transfer their responsibilities to their partners, grandparents or to the state, and implies the significant role of motherhood in social reproduction rather than family as the main institution taking care of children.

The abovementioned studies consist of both sociological and psychological arguments revealing the nature of the relationship between traditional gender roles and the motherization of childcare, shifting our attention from familialization to motherization. In psychology literature, gatekeeping is considered within the context of parental involvement in childcare and is sometimes used in the legal arena to define the position of a parent who has the power to control the relationship between the

child(ren) and divorced parent. While from a married woman's perspective it can be just the contrary, it is often considered to be a positive attribute for the gatekeeper parent as they hold greater power in defining relationships after divorce.

However, while there are a number of studies discussing the process of social construction of motherhood and parental love, there is a research gap directly addressing maternal gatekeeping in sociology literature. The majority of studies in the sociological framework employ a feminist approach to largely examine the political and economic aspects of the family institution and shed light on the unequal distribution of power among different genders within the family. However, this study differs from other sociological motherhood studies by introducing a new concept, i. e., *maternal gatekeeping*, and, by developing an interdisciplinary design that will be discussed in detail in the following chapter concerning this study's methodology.

CHAPTER 3

THE CURRENT STUDY

3.1. Overview

With such multidimensional subject matter, a theoretical model including the explanatory processes behind and their impacts on parenting practices with a two-way relationality is required. In this sense, gendered social roles and expectations regarding the division of labour in the family are considered as the principal aspects contributing to our understanding of lasting parenting practices and standards. This, in turn, influences the continuous formation and re-formation of the motherization of childcare having a two-way relationship with maternal gatekeeping. Indeed, an initial point of this process is the gendered social structure that distributes power to men and women in an unequal way. This is reflected in the division of labour at home and on parenting practices as an outcome of socially defined parenting standards.

This unequal division of labour in domestic tasks helps to create a perception that childcare is a duty to be accomplished by mothers only. The process of the motherization of childcare reaffirms the traditional gender roles that are uppermost dynamics in the development of this manner. Moreover, this kind of attribution to mothers contributes to a mother's adoption of gatekeeper role in childrearing by controlling the various types of childcare and the degree of father involvement. Throughout this process, not only marriage dynamics but also the distribution of power within the household is reconstructed.

In the current study, the relationship between maternal gatekeeping and motherhood practices is conceptualised as socially and historically constructed by paying attention to various existing theoretical approaches regarding motherhood. The concept of the social construction of reality developed by Berger and Luckmann questions the effects

of idiosyncratic meanings on the realities of everyday life through ontological non-foundationalism. This conceptualization of reality considers the society “as part of a human world, made by men, inhabited by men, and, in turn, making men, in an ongoing historical process” (1969, p. 211). In the *Social Construction of Reality*, they put their argument as follows:

Because of the inevitable tensions of the processes of institutionalization, and by the very fact that all social phenomena are constructions produced historically through human activity, no society is totally taken for granted and so, a fortiori, is no symbolic universe. (Berger & Luckmann, 1969, p. 59)

In the current study, the ins and outs of the mother-child relationship in the first years of life are discussed, as an institutionalised and reproduced role attributed to the woman having a child, not as a result of being biologically a mother, in the light of two fundamental approaches: Symbolic Interactionist Theory and Family Systems Theory. The relationship between maternal gatekeeping, the construction of parental love, and motherization of childcare will be discussed within these two frameworks.

The first approach held is symbolic interactionism founded by George Herbert Mead (1863-1931), which is based on the self-other interaction through sharing symbols and meanings which forms the societal order. In other words, society itself is examined as symbolic interaction. Similar to the perspective taken by Max Weber, it is an approach that focuses on the processes of social interactions, social actions, explanation, and interpretation. However, Weber's sociology is a ‘macro-sociologically oriented’ approach (Blokker & Thornhill, 2017, p. 245) dealing with social formations such as bureaucracy, religion, state, class, and status groups, which emerge on the basis of social actions taking place through broad historical processes.

On the other hand, Mead’s symbolic interactionism is a micro-sociologically oriented approach (Turner & Beeghley, 2012, p. 431) that deals with everyday life, face-to-face interactions. In other words, society is not merely a structure independent of individuals, but rather it consists of meanings attributed by individuals to the world they live in. The interaction between individuals and various social organisations is

the main concern of symbolic interactionists (Denzin, 1969, p. 922). Within this theoretical framework, social entities are “constructs, and not self-existing entities with intrinsic natures” (Blumer, 1966, p. 539). Indeed, there are certain social roles in every society, such as being a mother or a child, and these roles consist of expectations and social norms requiring acceptable actions for that specific role (Klein & White, 1996; LaRossa & Reitzes, 1993; Stryker & Statham, 1985). Hence, addressing the motherhood entity and its relationship with maternal gatekeeping in relation to symbolic interactionism is expected to build a better understanding of the socially and historically constructed aspects of these interactions.

There are four methodological principles of symbolic interactionism (Mead, 1974). The first one is the necessity of examining both the covert and overt forms of action and manner, but usually the overt ones; simply assessing behavioral analysis is insufficient in constructing a valid examination of these interactions. The second one is considering the self as both an object and a process. This principle includes, not only studying the attributed meanings and extensions of the self, but also assessing behaviour in relation to the standpoint of that which is studied. The third principle relates to establishing links between the individuals’ symbols and meanings, and social forms and connections as the source of their manners. This principle is vital in accounting for social aspects, without which the analysis is little more than psychological. Hence, merging the two approaches necessitates examining individuals’ actions, the meanings they attribute to their actions, and their interactions. The final principle concerns the constructed or located aspects of human action. When an association between the action that took place in a specific social condition and the attributed meanings to that action exists, the social condition of that action is also considered as an element of the analysis (pp. 1-8).

Denzin (1969) claims that there are four mechanisms of the social condition according to the symbolic interactionist approach, “the interactants as objects, the concrete setting, the meanings brought into the situation and the time taken for the interaction” (p.926). He adds that the different meanings attributed to the separate selves, other entities forming the condition, the already existing definitions of an action, and the

sequencing and timing of that action can be the main sources of distinction between human actions (Denzin, 1969, p. 926).

The second approach to be followed in this study relates to family systems theory, which generally considered to be derived from General System Theory. The general approach held by the family systems theorists is examining a system in relation to other levels as subsystems and suprasystems. Moreover, interconnectedness, mutual influence, and being interdependent are the basic aspects of family systems, as one component's behaviour affects every other component (Whitchurch & Constantine, 1993, pp. 325-332).

On the other hand, the family systems theory introduced by Murray Bowen (1913-1990), which is considered to be one of the farthest-reaching theories of family systems, focuses more on family therapy methods. While it is regarded as the application of general systems theory to family, Bowen opposes this idea and notes that "It is grossly inaccurate to consider family systems theory as synonymous with general systems, although it is accurate to think of family systems theory as somehow fitting into the broad framework of general systems theory" (1976, p. 62). It is largely based on the idea that it is more appropriate to study individuals as a part of a family rather than separated from each other (Bowen, 1966, 1978; Kerr & Bowen, 1988). Eight fundamental concepts form the basis of Bowen's theory are: triangles, differentiation of self, nuclear family emotional system, family projection process, multigenerational transmission process, emotional cut-off, sibling position, and societal regression (Bowen, 1976, pp. 65-88).

According to Bowen (2007), all members in the family system have certain roles to act upon and regulations to follow. These roles and regulations are defined through agreements based on relationships (p. 115). Divergent patterns are acquired and repeated as belonging to each member of the family system, which make them predictable. These divergent patterns are considered as the parts of both balance and harmony, also as a part of dysfunction (Bowen, 1976, p. 67). Employing this approach in this study will enable the examination of the mother's position as a subsystem within

a family system consisting of complex relationships in a certain social setting as the suprasystems.

3.2. Hypotheses of the Study

The aim study is twofold: a) to identify the sociological aspects of maternal gatekeeping, and b) to examine the relationship between parental warmth and maternal gatekeeping in relation to traditional motherhood. The hypotheses of the study are as follows:

1. Maternal gatekeeping scores of the mothers are expected to be predicted by the parental warmth scores.
2. Traditional motherhood scores of the mothers are expected to be predicted by the parental warmth scores.
3. Maternal gatekeeping scores of mothers are expected to be predicted by the traditional motherhood scores.
4. The relationship between maternal gatekeeping and the parental warmth construction of mothers is expected to be mediated by traditional motherhood.
5. The maternal gatekeeping practices of mothers are expected to be affected by gender stereotypes in marriages (the division of labour, the main caregiver, etc.).

To the best of the author's knowledge, this is one of the few studies to employ maternal gatekeeping as a dependent variable affected by certain social and political aspects and to examine its relationship with parental warmth and traditional motherhood. It highlights the importance of social and cultural dynamics behind the correlations of these dimensions and how traditional motherhood roles mediate the relationship between maternal gatekeeping and parental warmth.

CHAPTER 4

METHOD

This chapter includes information regarding the characteristics of the participants and the sampling technique of this study. The measures used were described with their contents. Finally, the data collection process and analysis procedure, for the two parts of the study consisting of an online survey and focus groups, were detailed. Both qualitative data (through interviews with open-ended questions) and quantitative data (using questionnaires) were collected to address the two main research questions of the study: (1) “What is the relationship between parental warmth and maternal gatekeeping in relation to the motherization of childcare?” and (2) “What are the sociological aspects of maternal gatekeeping?”

4.1. Design of the Study

Mixed-method design was employed in this study since the subject matter necessitates adapting multi-level perspectives and interdisciplinary framework. The main concept of the study (maternal gatekeeping) was derived from psychology literature and analysed through contextual understanding in relation to cultural aspects. Therefore, both quantitative (applying questionnaires) and qualitative methods (interviews with open-ended questions) were utilised to examine not only the extent and regularity of the measures but also the meanings and cultural aspects of these measured variables. This approach constitutes a holistic framework by suggesting a new way of studying the subject matter. Therefore, it may be considered as an alternative or third way between qualitative and quantitative methods when the representatives of this approach such as Creswell and Tashakkori (2007) are taken as reference points. Moreover, this study has exploratory aspects, since, to the author’s knowledge, there are few studies addressing this issue in sociological research.

4.2. Sampling

Participants for the online survey were randomly selected by distributing surveys through various social network sites such as Facebook, Instagram and e-mail groups. Upon completing the survey, participants were asked whether they wanted to attend the focus group interviews. Fifteen volunteering participants were randomly selected for the focus group interviews. By using phone contacts and e-mail addresses provided by participants in their online surveys, the author contacted these select participants and provided further information regarding the aim and procedure of the study. Subsequently, ten of these participants were randomly assigned into two focus group interviews because five mothers were dropped out of the study as they did not reply the invitations.

4.3. Characteristics of Participants

Two hundred women participated in the online survey ($N = 200$), while ten of these were selected to attend the focus groups ($N = 10$). Women have at least one child between 0 and 5-years-old regardless of whether these children are adopted or not. All participants were between 21 and 52 years of age ($M = 33.04$, $SD = 5.45$). Among those who took the online survey one-hundred and nineteen (59.5%) of them graduated from university, twenty-nine (14.5%) had a master's degree, twenty-six had a high school degree (13%), ten of the mothers graduated from vocational school of higher education (5%), seven (3.5%) had a doctoral degree, seven had a secondary school degree (3.5%) while two (1%) only had a primary school degree. Mothers were asked where they lived for the majority of their life, one-hundred and seventeen (58.5%) answered in the metropolis and sixty-six (33%) in the city. However, only thirteen (6.5%) mothers reported that they spent most of their lives in a district and four (2%) of them in a village or small town. One-hundred and twelve mothers (56%) reported that they are currently working and one-hundred and ninety-six mothers (98%) reported that they are married and living together with their husbands. Moreover, while one-hundred and forty-one mothers (70.5%) indicated their economic status as 'average' and fifty-three mothers (26.5) indicated their economic status to be 'high',

four mothers (2%) as ‘low’, only two of mothers (1%) indicated their economic status as ‘very low’. None of the mothers considered their economic status as ‘very high’ (see Table 1 & Table 2).

Table 1.

Demographic Characteristics of the Participants

Variables	<i>N (200 participants)</i>	%
Education Level of Mother	Total: 200	
Primary School	2	1
Secondary School	7	3.5
High School	26	13
Vocational High School	10	5
University	119	59.5
Master’s Degree	29	14.5
Doctoral Degree	7	3.5
Place Mostly Lived	Total: 200	
Village/Small Town	4	2
District	13	6.5
City	66	33
Metropolis	117	58.5
Employment Status	Total: 200	
Employed	112	56
Not employed	88	44
Marital Status	Total: 200	
Married and living together	196	98
Married but living separately	2	1
Divorced	1	.5
Widow	1	.5
Economic Status	Total: 200	
Very low	2	1
Low	4	2
Average	141	70.5
High	53	26.5
Very high	0	0

Table 2.

Means, Standard Deviations and Minimum-Maximum Scores of Participants' Ages

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Minimum-Maximum</i>
Age	33.04	5.45	21-52

4.4. Measures

After signing informed consent forms (see Appendix A), participants were asked to fill out three different inventories and a demographic form (see Appendix B), which are the Maternal Gatekeeping Scale (see Appendix C), Egna Minnen Beträffande Uppfostran Parent Form (EMBU-P) (see Appendix D) and Self-Assessment: The Traditional Motherhood Scale (see Appendix E). All forms were filled out by the participants.

4.4.1. Demographic Information Form

Participants completed a demographic form consisting of various questions to obtain information about their demographic profile. These questions concerned their age, occupation, marital status, monthly income, and the gender and ages of their children (see Appendix B).

4.4.2. Maternal Gatekeeping Scale

The Maternal Gatekeeping Scale (see Appendix C) used in this analysis was developed by Fagan and Barnett (2003). This nine-item scale aims to identify the degree to which mothers obstruct the relationship between their children and the father by restricting the fathers' involvement by gatekeeping. All items were formed to ask mothers about their preferences in terms of performing certain childcare duties rather than allow the fathers to fulfil these tasks (Fagan & Barnett, 2003, p. 1029). Items in the scale can be exemplified as "If a choice has to be made about what clothing my child(ren) wear, I believe that I am the one to make that decision, not their father (father figure)", and

“If my child(ren)’s feelings are hurt, I think that I should comfort them, not their father (father figure)”.

In the original form of the scale, these nine items are rated on a 5-point Likert scale between 1 (strongly agree) and 5 (strongly disagree). Then, they reverse the items in the scoring process. However, the Likert scale was adapted to two further scales to make it more comprehensible and comfortable for participants to answer. Thus, in the study, participants were asked to choose from five options (strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree) regarding their opinions about that item. These ratings were coded ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The reliability of this test is found to be .93 (Fagan & Barnett, 2003, p. 1029).

The scale was translated into Turkish by Karabulut and Şendil (2017) in *Turkish Adaptation of the Maternal Gatekeeping Scale*. However, they adapt the items in the scale to ask these questions to fathers. Therefore, they measure the perceived maternal gatekeeping from fathers’ reports. In this study, the questions were organised by the author to ask mothers to identify the degree to which mothers obstruct the relationship between children and the father. The reliability of the scale for the current study was found to be .90.

4.4.3. Egna Minnen Beträffande Uppfostran Parent Form (EMBU-P)

The EMBU-P scale (see Appendix D) is a new form of EMBU, formed to measure a parent’s own child caring attitudes towards their children (Castro, Pablo, Gomez, Arrindel, & Toro, 1997). With its reliable validity and factorial tests, EMBU-P was thought to be the appropriate scale to use in this study. This scale includes four categories consisting of ‘*Rejection*’, ‘*Emotional Warmth*’, ‘*Control Attempts*’ and ‘*Favouring Subject*’. In the original form of the scale, there are 52 items. These items can be exemplified as “You have narrated something your child had said or done in front of others so that he/she has felt ashamed” (rejection), “You have tried to make the childhood and the adolescence of your child stimulating, interesting and instructive (for instance by giving him/her good books, arranging for him/her to go on camps,

etc.)” (emotional warmth), “You have forbidden your child from doing things that other children were allowed to do because you were afraid that something might happen to him/her” (control attempts), and “You think that you like this child more than you like your other children” (favouring subject). The reliability scores for four categories are as follows: emotional warmth = .84, rejection = .75, control attempts = .76 and favouring subject = .66 (Castro, Pablo, Gomez, Arrindel, & Toro, 1997).

In this study, the adapted version of the EMBU-P was utilised. Its appropriateness and adaptation to a Turkish context were analysed by Sümer and Güngör (1999). There are 29 items and four categories (emotional warmth, rejection, protection, and comparison) in this shorter version of the scale. The last subscale ‘comparison’ consisting of five items was designed by Sümer, Gündoğdu, and Helvacı (2010). In the analysis part of the study, only the items measuring emotional warmth and protection were used. The items for each category can be exemplified as “You have tried to make the childhood and the adolescence of your child stimulating, interesting and instructive (for instance by giving him/her good books, arranging for him/her to go on camps, etc.” (emotional warmth), “You have narrated something your child had said or done in front of others so that he/she has felt ashamed” (rejection), “You have forbidden your child to do things that other children were allowed to do because you were afraid that something might happen to him/her” (protection) and “You have compared your child with their friends about his/her lessons.” (comparison). Participants were asked to rate each item on a 6-point Likert scale regarding the frequency of doing each item ranging from 1 (never) to 6 (always). The reliability of the scale for the current study was found to be .78.

4.4.4. Self-Assessment: The Traditional Motherhood Scale

The Self-Assessment Scale consists of two subscales, The Traditional Motherhood Scale and The Traditional Fatherhood Scale. In this study, only The Self-Assessment: The Traditional Motherhood Scale (see Appendix E) was used, which is developed by Whatley and Knox (2005). The scale was designed to measure the degree to which mothers possess traditional motherhood role by questioning their views on the

characteristics of motherhood predominantly with regard to their relationship with children. There are 18 items in the scale such as “The presence of the mother is vital to the child during the formative years.” and “A mother knows more about her child, therefore being the better parent”. The application of this scale to individuals from different ethnic origins is validated by Knox and Whatley (2005).

The scale was translated and adapted to Turkish by Altınbilek (2012) in his master’s thesis. The reliability coefficient is .89 (Altınbilek, 2012, p.28). The 18 items were translated into Turkish, which can be exemplified as “A mother knows more about her child, therefore being the better parent” and “A good mother should stay at home with her children for the first year”. Each item was rated on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree), 4 (neither agree nor disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). The reliability of the scale for the current study was found to be .88.

4.5. Procedure

4.5.1. First Phase: Online Survey

There are both advantages and disadvantages of using online surveys that are becoming more and more popular in various research areas (Dillman, Smyth, & Christian, 2009). Some advantages are accessing the target population, saving time and lowering cost. Evans and Mathur list the advantages of online survey to be its global reach, B-to-B and B-to-C appeal (business to business and business to consumer), flexibility, speed and timeliness, technological innovations, convenience, ease of data entry and analysis, question diversity, low administration cost, ease of follow-up, controlled sampling, large sample easy to obtain, control of answer order, required completion of answers, and the go to capabilities and knowledge of respondent vs. non-respondent characteristics (2005, p. 197).

On the other hand, self-selection bias, uncertainty over the validity of the data and low response rate of open-ended questions are some disadvantages (Wright, 2017). One of the concerns regarding the sampling is that representativeness of the data collected

through online surveys may be lower. This is because the sample reached through Internet largely consists of individuals from high socioeconomic status. Also, higher number of missing values and drop outs are other problems related with online surveys. (Vaske, 2011, p. 151)

In the current study, conducting an online survey enabled us to access mothers living in different parts of Turkey who had children between 0-5 years old, who are not easy to access via face-to-face interviews as these mothers allocate the vast majority of their time to child caring.

The permission for both parts of the study were taken from Applied Ethics Research Center of Middle East Technical University (see Appendix F). An online survey was designed through Qualtrics Survey Software (Scott M. Smith, Ryan Smith, Jared Smith, & Stuart Orgill, 2002) including a Demographic Information Form, Maternal Gatekeeping Scale, EMBU Parent Form, and Self-Assessment: Traditional Motherhood Scale. Prior to answering the survey questions, participants had to agree to the Informed Consent Form (see Appendix G); the participant could not proceed with the survey questions until they agreed to the terms and conditions outlined in the Informed Consent Form. Participants were able to fill out the forms via their computers or mobile phones. At the survey's conclusion, participants were asked whether they would participate in the second phase of the study consisting of interviews with two focus groups. If they agreed, another page was displayed through which they provide their contact information. The first phase of the study was completed in approximately 3 months.

4.5.2. Second Phase: Focus Groups

In the study, focus group interviews' data was considered as a supplementary source of data. Therefore, design rested more on a deductive approach as qualitative data was the component of the larger quantitative data. In this mixed-method design, focus group interviews aimed to “validate the findings of quantitative research” (Dilshad & Latif, 2013, p. 193). In most of the studies, the ideal number of participants in a focus

group ranges from six to twelve (Anderson, 1990; Denscombe, 2007; Dilshad & Latif, 2013; Morgan, 1997; Patton, 2002; Ritchie & Lewis, 2003; Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990). However, Krueger and Casey claim that this number is too large for non-commercial topics; therefore, the ideal number should be five to eight. Krueger and Casey assert that “small focus groups, or mini-focus groups, with four to six participants, are becoming increasingly popular because the smaller groups are easier to recruit and host and are more comfortable for participants.” (2014, p. 67). Hence, groups were planned to consist of five participants in order for each participant to have adequate time to share her thoughts and experiences.

Focus group interviews were conducted with participants who had completed the online survey and agreed to participate in second part of the study. Personal phone contacts with mothers who accepted to participate were conducted by the author. Participants were then asked to indicate three different options for where and when they preferred to participate in the interviews. Accordingly, a time and place for the focus group interviews were decided. The first focus group interview (n = 5) was held at a café in Çukurambar, Ankara. The second (n = 5) was held at the house of one of the group participants, in Gölbaşı, Ankara.

Two focus groups consisting of five people, a total of ten semi-structured interviews were conducted. In each group, interviews began with small talk as a means of to make participants feel comfortable. Subsequently, the content and the aim of the study were explained. Participants were informed about the confidentiality of the information they would provide and informed precisely as to how and where information would be stored and utilised. Participants were asked whether they agreed to being recorded during the interview process, to which agreed to. All members of both focus groups were asked to sign the Informed Consent Form (see Appendix H) for the interviews. The length of the first interview was 90 minutes and the second was 40 minutes. Overall, including the scheduling process, the second phase of the study took two weeks.

4.6. Analysis

Qualitative and quantitative data were analysed separately. For the first phase of the study, the compatible version of the data with SPSS was exported from Qualtrics Survey Software. The 20th version of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used for the analysis. First, descriptive statistics were analysed to provide the demographic characteristics of the sample. Therefore, the analyses of t-test, correlation and MANOVA were conducted to examine the descriptive statistics further. Moreover, mediation analysis was run to test the hypotheses of the study. The results are revealed and discussed in the following chapter.

For the analysis of the interviews, steps proposed by Haregu (2012) were followed. The first step relates to organizing data. The verbatim transcriptions were made from the author's notes and voice recordings. Secondly, all transcriptions were read several times to detect commonalities in the answers and comments. Also, non-verbal expressions were considered while taking notes. Later, the data was cleaned and grouped by structuring and familiarizing. The second step is identifying a framework both explanatory (guided by the research question) and exploratory (guided by the data). Following these steps, a descriptive analysis was made by ranging the responses in groups and detecting repeated arguments. The final step is second order analysis, conducted by remarking the patterns and respondent groups based on associated arguments. Within this framework, the data was analysed to find answers to the research questions and to test the hypotheses.

Finally, the phenomenological data analysis steps put forward by Kleiman (2004) were followed to analyse data. First, the verbatim transcriptions were read to develop a holistic understanding. Then the transcriptions were read again to group the data into meaningful parts followed by the process of reuniting these similar groups. According to Moustakas (1994), this step consists of "listing every quote relevant to the experience –horizontalization–" (p.120) Next, through the free imaginative variation the findings were elaborated in terms of their descriptive aspects. Lastly, the raw data was reanalysed to see the extent to which it corresponds to our interpretations and

descriptions regarding both the general understanding and the fundamental meanings. The reason behind employing phenomenological approach is that it enables to examine the events as experienced by the individual, rather than as detached reality from subjective aspects (Valle et al., 1989). This approach makes emphasis on the meanings behind daily experiences. Hence, it allows the unfolding of the meanings behind daily motherhood and gatekeeping practices of mothers participated in focus groups.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

The findings of the current study are presented in this chapter. The first part of the chapter includes the data screening, descriptive statistics of the variables in the study, t-test, correlation and MANOVA results. In the second section, the results of the mediation analysis between maternal gatekeeping, parental warmth and traditional motherhood are interpreted and the hypothesis is tested. Finally, the last section presents the results of focus group interviews.

5.1. Data Screening

During the data cleaning process, 18 participants among 218 were excluded from the analysis due to missing values. Subsequently, 200 women participated in the survey ($N = 200$) and 10 of these women participated in the focus groups as two groups consisting of five each ($N = 10$). In order to know the data in details, frequency tables were analysed separately for each variable. The data was normally distributed with high variance. SPSS was employed for the analysis of survey and phenomenological analysis was employed for the focus groups.

5.2. Descriptive Statistics

After the coding and data cleaning processes, the sum of all scores was calculated to assess the overall scores of each participant for maternal gatekeeping, traditional motherhood and parental warmth. Table 3 presents the means, standard deviations and minimum-maximum scores for these three variables.

Table 3.

Means, Standard Deviations, and Minimum-Maximum Scores of the Variables in the Study

Variable(s)	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Minimum – Maximum</i>
Maternal Gatekeeping	16.58	5.65	9-32
Parental Warmth	53.11	6.23	32-71
Traditional Motherhood	99.13	17.56	33-126

The correlation coefficients among certain variables used in the current study (age, monthly income, weekly working hours, weekly domestic working hours, husband's weekly domestic working hours, and age of first-time mothers) are displayed below, in Table 4. The results revealed that there were statistically significant positive correlations between age and income ($r = .15, p < .05$), age and working hours ($r = .26, p < .01$), and age of first time mothers ($r = .47, p < .01$). Also, while income and working hours ($r = .42, p < .01$) and income and age of first time mothers ($r = .22, p < .01$) were positively correlated, there was a negative correlation between income and the domestic working hours of mothers ($r = -.20, p < .01$).

It is important to note that age and age of first-time mothers had no significant correlation with any other variables in the study although there was a negative association between traditional motherhood and the age of having the first child.

Table 4.

Correlation Coefficients Age, Income, Working Hours, Domestic Working Hours, Husband's Domestic Work Hours and Age Having First Child

Variable(s)	Age	Income	Working Hours	Domestic Work Hours	Husband's Domestic Work Hours	Age of Having First Child
Age	1	.15*	.26**	.00	.57	.47**
Income		1	.42**	-.20**	-.06	.22**
Working Hours			1	-.04	.15*	.31**
Domestic Work Hours				1	.41**	-.14
Husband's Domestic Work Hours					1	.05
Age of Having First Child						1

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

An independent samples t-test was run to examine whether there were differences in the scores of the variables used in the study (maternal gatekeeping, parental warmth, traditional motherhood) between currently working and non-working mothers. The results revealed that there was a statistically significant difference between the two groups (currently working and not working) regarding their scores of traditional motherhood (See Table 5 below). The homogeneity of variances assumption was violated as assessed by Levene's Test for Equality of Variances ($p = .77$). Non-working mothers reported higher scores of traditional motherhood roles ($M = 102.9$, $SD = 14.5$) than working mothers ($M = 96.1$, $SD = 16.5$), $t(195) = -3.1$, $p = .002$.

Table 5.

T-test Results for Employment Status of Mothers and the Variables in the Study

Variable(s)	Employment Status						95% CI		
	Yes			No			for Mean		
	M	SD	n	M	SD	n	Difference	t	df
Maternal Gatekeeping	16.26	5.4	112	17	5.83	88	-2.33, .85	-.92	198
Parental Warmth	52.49	6.76	96	53.87	6.55	78	-3.38, .61	-1.36	172
Traditional Motherhood	96.1	16.5	112	102.9	14.5	88	-11.11, -2.48	-3.1*	198

* $p < .05$

Table 6 presents the results of an independent samples t-test to compare the scores of the variables (maternal gatekeeping, parental warmth, traditional motherhood) for mothers whose first child is either a boy or a girl. The results revealed that there was no statistically significant difference in maternal gatekeeping, parental warmth or traditional motherhood scores based on the gender of the first child.

Table 6.

T-test Results for Gender of the First Child and the Variables in the Study

Variable(s)	Gender						95% CI		
	Male			Female			for Mean		
	M	SD	n	M	SD	n	Difference	t	df
Maternal Gatekeeping	16.59	5.69	91	16.68	5.58	105	-1.69, 1.50	-.12	194
Parental Warmth	53.31	5.78	91	53	6.65	105	-3.72, 2.68	.28	194
Traditional Motherhood	99	16.33	91	99	15.92	105	-4.61, 4.51	-.20	194

 $p < .05$

Bivariate correlation analysis was conducted to examine the relationship between the age of mothers, the age of having the first child, monthly income and study variables (maternal gatekeeping, parental warmth, traditional motherhood). Correlation coefficients in Table 7 below indicated that there was a statistically significant negative association between a mother's monthly income and traditional motherhood score ($r = -.19, p < .01$). This means that higher scores in income result in lower scores in traditional motherhood. However, age and the age of having the first child had no significant correlation with any other variable, although there were negative associations between traditional motherhood, age, and the age of having the first child.

Table 7.

Correlation Coefficients between Age, Age of Having First Child, Income and Study Variables

Variable(s)	Age	Age of Having First Child	Income
Maternal Gatekeeping	.06	.07	-.08
Parental Warmth	.05	.01	-.05
Traditional Motherhood	-.14	-.05	-.19*

* $p < .01$

In order to examine the relationship between a mother's level of education (primary school, secondary school, high school, vocational high school, college, postgraduate/specialisation, doctor's degree) and the variables in the study (maternal gatekeeping, parental warmth, traditional motherhood), a one-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted (See Table 8 and 9 below). Since the cell sizes are not equal, homogeneity of covariance between groups assumption is tested with the Box's Test of Equality of Covariance Matrices. *Box's M* (45.1) was insignificant ($p = .116$); thus, Wilk's Lambda test was interpreted. Results revealed that there was a statistically significant difference between the variables in the study and a mother's education level, $F(18, 541) = 1.82, p < .05$; *Wilk's A* = 0.847. Furthermore, the results of the test's between-subject effects revealed that there was a statistically significant difference between levels of education for traditional motherhood scores. A post-hoc analysis was conducted, $F(6, 193) = 3.92, p = .001$.

Results of the post-hoc analyses revealed that with traditional motherhood scores there was a statistically significant relationship between a secondary school degree and a college degree, and a secondary school degree and a postgraduate/specialisation degree. Mothers with secondary school degrees ($N = 7$, $M = 117.86$, $SD = 5.78$) reported higher scores of traditional motherhood than mothers with college degrees ($N = 10$, $M = 98.54$, $SD = 1.40$) or postgraduate/specialisation degrees ($N = 29$, $M = 91.43$, $SD = 2.84$), $p = .001$.

A one-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was also conducted to examine the relationship between the economic status of mothers (very low, low, middle, high, very high) and the variables in the study (maternal gatekeeping, parental warmth, traditional motherhood). However, no significant effect was found.

Table 8.

One-way Multivariate Analysis of Variance of the Variables in the Study Based on Mother's Education Level

Variable(s)	Wilks' Lambda	F	df	Error df
Mother's Education Level	.847	1.818	18	540.715

$p < .05$

Table 9.

Significant Univariate Effects for Mother's Education Level

Variable(s)	Mean	Standard Error	95% Confidence Interval	
			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Traditional Motherhood	102.26	2.15	98	106.5

$p < .05$

Table 10 indicates the correlation coefficient scores between maternal gatekeeping, parental warmth and traditional motherhood. Results of the bivariate correlations revealed that there was a statistically significant positive association between maternal gatekeeping and traditional motherhood ($r = .23$, $p < .01$), meaning that higher scores for maternal gatekeeping are associated with higher scores for traditional motherhood.

Moreover, a statistically significant positive association between parental warmth and traditional motherhood was revealed by the results ($r = .32, p < .01$), indicating that higher scores for parental warmth were associated with higher scores for traditional motherhood. Although there existed a negative relationship between maternal gatekeeping and parental warmth, the correlation between the two was not significant.

Table 10.

Inter-Correlations between the Variables in the Study

Variable(s)	Maternal Gatekeeping	Parental Warmth	Traditional Motherhood
Maternal Gatekeeping	1	-.017	.23*
Parental Warmth		1	.29*
Traditional Motherhood			1

* $p < .01$

5.3. Main Analysis: Mediation

A linear regression analysis was conducted to examine whether parental warmth predicts maternal gatekeeping. The model was not significant, $F(1, 198) = .059, p = .808$ with an R^2 of .000. Therefore, there was no association between parental warmth and maternal gatekeeping.

Another regression analysis was run to test the relationship between traditional motherhood and maternal gatekeeping. The model was significant, $F(1, 198) = 11.10, p < .005$ with an R^2 of .053. Therefore, there was a significant positive association between maternal gatekeeping and traditional motherhood. Participants' predicted maternal gatekeeping scores were equal to $8.571 + .081(\text{traditional motherhood scores})$.¹

¹ A multiple linear regression analysis was also conducted to predict maternal gatekeeping based on parental warmth and traditional motherhood. The model was significant ($R^2 = .07, F(2, 197) = 7.87, p < .001$).

In order to test the hypothesis that the relationship between parental warmth and maternal gatekeeping is mediated by traditional motherhood, a mediation analysis was conducted. PROCESS model (Hayes, 2013) with Model 4 was run. To examine the indirect effects in the model, 5000 Bootstrapping (Preacher & Hayes, 2004) was conducted. 95% CI's inclusion of zero was taken as the criteria for the significance of the indirect effects.

Results revealed that parental warmth significantly and positively predicted traditional motherhood (path a) ($B = .45$, $SE = .094$, $p < .001$, $95\% CI = [.27, .64]$), which in turn significantly and positively predicted maternal gatekeeping (path b) ($B = .09$, $SE = .02$, $p < .01$, $95\% CI = [.04, .14]$). The indirect association between parental warmth and maternal gatekeeping was significant in the positive direction ($B = .0420$, boot $SE = .0023$, $95\% CI = [.02, .07]$). Therefore, traditional motherhood mediated the relationship between parental warmth and maternal gatekeeping. The direct effect between parental warmth and maternal gatekeeping was not significant (path c) ($B = -.05$, $SE = .03$, $p = .16$, $95\% CI = [-.12, .02]$). There is a full mediating effect of traditional motherhood between parental warmth and maternal gatekeeping.

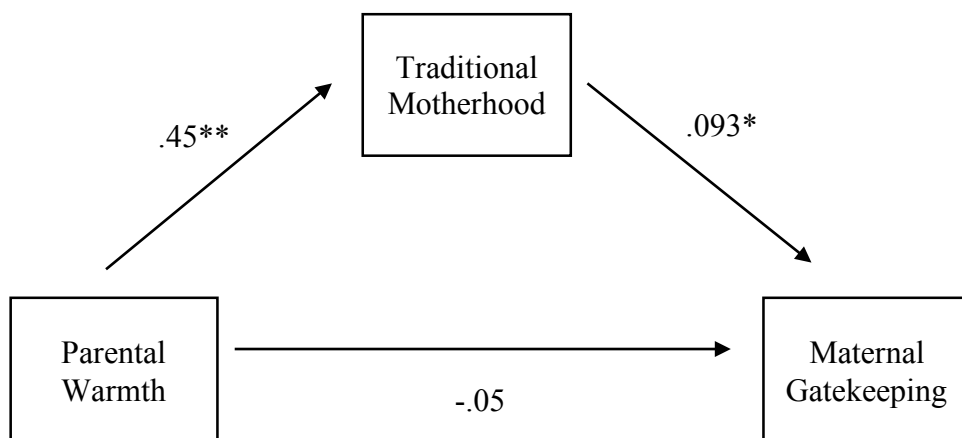


Figure 1. Standardized Regression Coefficients for the Relationship Between Parental Warmth and Maternal Gatekeeping, Mediated by Traditional Motherhood

* $p < .01$, ** $p < .001$

5.4. Phenomenological Analysis: Focus Groups

The topic guide for the focus groups was as follows. First, the introduction section contained questions about the interviewee's and their partner's participation in childcare seminars/courses (in addition to the books they have read about childcare) and the division of labour at home. These questions were followed by further questions concerning the participants' attitude toward father involvement in childcare and domestic labour. The second section contained questions related to maternal and paternal love defined by the mothers themselves. In this section, respondents were also asked to present the image of an ideal mother figure and ideal father figure from their own perspective, and about the differences between these two ideal figures. In the final section of focus group questions, participants reflected on their experiences and differences regarding their experiences with their children based on the gender of their children.

In terms of between-group comparisons of two focus groups, there were certain discrepancies regarding the demographics of the participants. The first group largely consisted of working-women, as three of them were currently working, one was on maternity leave and one was doing her master's degree. Hence, all of them had at least high school degree. Partners of the four women were government officials, either in the health sector or education sector. On the other hand, all the women in the second group were housewives, and only two of them possessed a high school degree while the rest of the group only had a primary school degree. The partners of these mothers were all employed in the business sector as company owners.

One of the commonalities in the answers in both focus groups regarding participation in childcare courses or seminars was that the majority of mothers stated that neither they nor their partners attended any seminars; those that did also read books related to childcare. Regarding the division of labour at home, two common patterns were inferred. One group of mothers were uncomfortable with their partners' helping around the house, and said that they refuse the help because they do not like the way

their partners tidy the house. One of the participants said: *“My husband is willing to help me in household tasks, but I refuse. A problem arises when a man knows everything, they don't appreciate women.”*

On the other hand, some of the mothers emphasised the importance of their partners' assistance in domestic chores and criticised traditional gender roles in a marriage relationship. These women said that their husbands generally take responsibility for domestic tasks such as cleaning, tidying the house, child caring, doing the dishes, but not cooking. They also added that cooking is something embarrassing for men. Three of them emphasised that although their husbands or fathers enjoy cooking, they do not want others to know about it. A participant argued:

Society is changing. How we value things is changing. Perhaps this (traditional gender roles) is what they (men) inherited from their families. It's not easy for them to adapt suddenly ... They either help or do it themselves, but they should know that they can't expect everything from us.

Another common comment mothers made was the difference between women and men according to the time spent on housework. They argued that there may be two reasons for the difference: either their partners' mothers perform the household tasks themselves without assistance from their husbands and maids, or because of social/peer pressure. The summarizing argument of these common ideas is:

If these habits and behaviours are defined as unfavourable, it will lead men to be referred to as “henpecked”, their mothers accept these gender roles and refuse their assistance, or friends or acquaintances will mock them for taking part in ‘women's work’. Men actually desire to partake in the household chores but fail to do so due to traditional social codes.

With respect to women doing more household chores than men, two repeated ideas were the ‘nature’ and ‘capacity’ that women innately possess enabling them to perform motherhood duties. These women highlighted the differences between their personalities as more compassionate, sensitive, and patient, trustworthy vis-à-vis fathers' personalities as more impatient, quick-tempered, and nervous. On the

contrary, some mothers argued that the determinant aspect in this discussion is the amount of time spent with children. They claimed that since mothers spent more time with their children especially during the first years following the birth of their children, women should have complete control over the domestic sphere, including childcare.

Verbatim transcriptions of the focus group interviews revealed that the majority of childcare tasks (feeding, changing nappies, putting down to sleep, bathing, etc.) were performed by mothers. Moreover, with the exception of three respondents, rather than asking their own mothers or mothers-in-law, mothers preferred to approach their husbands for help when disciplining a child, due to possible conflicts concerning the proper way to raise children. When the difference between having a baby girl or a boy was asked, the participants frequently emphasised the differences between the nature and temperament of boys and girls which affects the way parents interact with them. Participants agreed upon that girls are closer to mothers and take their mothers as a role model while boys are more inclined towards their fathers. Regarding the physical care of a child, the only difference emphasised was in changing nappies; fathers do not like changing their daughter's nappies because of father being uncomfortable with seeing his baby daughter's intimate area.

Concerning participants' feelings regarding motherhood and child-rearing, the most commonly repeated expressions were 'very different', 'bond', 'responsibility', 'excellent', 'unconditional love', 'inseparable' and 'self-devotion'. Regarding self-devotion, one mother said:

I have 3 children; yet I have nothing to define the feeling of motherhood. It is complex feeling. It's too complicated, too hard to describe what motherhood is; you just love. You tolerate because you have so much love for your child. It is a feeling with too many meanings. I think it is a feeling only you can define for yourself. Can it be explained in words? Motherhood is something that makes you understand yourself more completely. You love so much that you are willing to sacrifice your whole life for your child. At times, I am willing to give everything I have, and will ever have, to give my child what they desire; I do not feel any regret. I cannot say I did this for my child.

Overall, the participants tended to challenge the 'sacred' aspect of motherhood when asked about mothers who do not love their children. One of the repeated responses was: *"All mothers are different. Even the concept of motherhood differs from child to child. My role as a mother is different for each of my children."*

When asked to comment on the 'dos' and 'don'ts' of ideal motherhood and fatherhood, two distinct themes emerged. Four mothers identified the 'don'ts' to be violence, particularly physical violence, while the other group emphasised the 'dos' to be the importance of respect among all family members. A mother in the first group listed the behaviours that mothers should not do in their relationship with their children:

Violence, beating... You become too familiar. I wish it was not this way, but nobody can say that that they never beat or yelled at their child. If they claim that they haven't, they are lying. It is a product of our own life-experience. Due to our husbands, our milieu, and our own upbringing...

A mother from the other group claimed:

Parenthood needs to be balanced for both the mother and the father. It must be approached in a balanced way without giving up on your own life and wearing out the child. Parents should not make concessions. They must be patient. The father must accept his share of the responsibility. They may want to help; yet, instead of showing affection, they hide their love. Fathers need to show their love more.

The final part of the interviews focused upon the participants' description of ideal mother and father figures. Participants in the two focus groups responded with answers in line with the themes mentioned above: violence and respect. The first group of mothers defined the ideal mother and father figures as not engaging in any form of violence and possessing a great deal of patience. Mothers underlining the importance of respect, commonly repeated words were 'respect', 'comfort', 'trust', 'equality', 'sincerity', and 'communication'. One mother's is typical of the answers given:

Both parents need to communicate better in guiding their children in the right way. They should not say: 'This is the rule!' If the parents provide better guidance, the child is more inclined to learn and think

for themselves better. The ideal mother is not the one who is constantly babying her child, but rather a model guiding her child. If my child strays from the right path, I would be deeply upset and I will tell him that what they are doing is wrong, but, at the end of the day, they have to make decisions for themselves.

In conclusion, most of the mothers and their partners did not participate in any activity related to childcare and child development; rather, they tended to follow traditional methods and online sources. While, in general, fathers only partially involved themselves in domestic tasks, between-group comparisons of two focus groups indicate that whether fathers were perceived as unskilful or withdrawn that they hesitated to participate due to social pressure concerning gender roles. Hence, mothers were unsatisfied either with the way household tasks were carried out by the father, or the amount of the help they received. Also, childrearing tasks were also predominantly performed by mothers largely for the same reasons as the domestic tasks. In terms of parental love, the sacred and unconditional aspects of it were highlighted by mothers, even if there were exceptions. Although there were commonalities between the two focus groups, between-group comparisons revealed that there were discrepancies regarding mothers' gatekeeping practices and perceptions towards parental love and traditional motherhood, which were largely based on parents' demographic information and their relationship with the family of origin.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses this study's results by taking into account previous studies in sociology and psychology literature concerning motherhood. The main concern of the discussions is maternal gatekeeping, considered in the light of two important approaches: symbolic interactionist theory and family systems theory. Variations among different groups of mothers in terms of their gatekeeping practices will be examined to lighten up the underlying social mechanisms behind these differences. Subsequently, the findings regarding the relationship between maternal gatekeeping, traditional motherhood and parental warmth will be discussed in the light of the previous literature. In the next part, the focus group results will be discussed. Finally, the limitations of this study will be considered in accordance with suggested future research possibilities.

The descriptive statistics of the study variables (maternal gatekeeping, parental warmth, traditional motherhood) indicate that the overall score for traditional motherhood is relatively high in relation to traditional gender roles in the family. There is single aspect positively predicting traditional motherhood, which is the occupational statuses of mothers since women who are currently not working possess more traditional mothering attitudes based on traditional gender roles in society. These results are in cohesion with previous findings reporting the effects of the traditional understandings and practices on the roles offered to males and females in the sphere of domestic affairs.

The internalization of these roles begins at birth and it is strengthened through formal education. Especially, textbooks are influential in reproduction of traditional gender roles. Until 1945s in Turkey, family was depicted more egalitarian in terms of division of labour in the primary and elementary school textbooks. After 1950s, more reference

to the traditional roles in textbooks can be observed with an emphasis on the importance of women's being responsible for a peaceful environment at home. Since 2000s, there has been a change after Turkey has signed two international documents (Pekin +5 and CEDAW) to ensure gender equality in education (Gümüőođlu, 2008). Still, in the elementary school textbooks published by the Ministry of National Education, the domestic tasks attributed to women are caring for the child, cleaning the house and cooking. In these same books, domestic tasks attributed to men are shopping, repairing the house, driving and providing a living for his family (Kırbaođlu-Kılıç, 2011, p.145).

According to the correlation results, a woman's income is related to the age at which they become first-time mothers, as women from high-income group have their first child at a later age than those from the low-income group. Moreover, the high-income group of women spares less time for domestic work than the low-income group. Education is also a significant aspect when women's attitudes towards traditional motherhood are considered, as women with college or postgraduate degrees are seen to be less traditional than women with only a secondary school degree. This result supports previous literature indicating education to be a critical factor in providing knowledge and usage of contraception and greater autonomy for women through her control over resources (Ferre, 2009, p.6).

When both survey and focus group results are considered together, it can be inferred that even if a negative relationship between education and traditional motherhood roles exists, women in the high socioeconomic group still reflect traditional roles in their emotional dependency towards their children. Continuation of emotional dependency is in line with the previous studies pointing at the increase in emotional dependency despite decreasing material dependency (Ataca & Sunar, 1999; Duben, 1982; Erelçin, 1988; İmamođlu, 1987; Yang, 1988; Kađıtçıbaşı, 2007; Mayer, Trommsdorff, Kađıtçıbaşı & Mishra, 2012). The availability of different institutions among high socioeconomic class for the old-age security besides family does not lead to decrease in emotional dependency. Parents' emotional expectations from their children continue and even increase as children grow up (İmamođlu, 1987).

Emotional interdependence means that “the feelings of one person are related to the feelings of another person” (Sels, Ceulemans, Bulteel, & Kuppens, 2016, p. 1). As reported by the participants of the current study, emotional bonds between parents and children, which are comprising love, control, warmth and authority (Wasti, p. 615), are of utmost importance even when there is low family hierarchy. This type of emotionally interdependent family model developed by Kağıtçıbaşı (2007) is common to collectivistic cultures like Turkey where social and economic development take place with cultural continuity. Besides belongingness provided by collectivism in Turkey, this type of interdependence brings about anxiety to fulfil certain responsibilities towards other members of extended family (Caldwell-Harris & Ayçiçeği, 2006, p.332). This is one motivation behind the gatekeeping practices of mothers, which provides them sociability through social approval of their family and peers.

While the results of this study revealed that the gender of the first child has no direct effect on gatekeeping practices, parental warmth of the mothers or traditional motherhood attitudes, this result can be due to the age range of the children participants have. However, when focus group results are considered, mothers are emotionally warmer and more protective towards their daughters than their sons since they believe that girls are more emotional and sensitive than boys. This indicates that the research achieved its objective by employing a mixed-method design as the effect of the gender of the first child was observed in focus group interviews while no effect was found in survey results.

This attribution of stereotypical emotions to a certain gender is experienced at an early pre-school age (Kelly & Hutson-Comeaux 2002). Mothers in Turkish family maintain these stereotypes by differentiating the form and amount of the parental warmth they share with their daughters and sons. As Chodorow (1978) claims, this has a significant impact on the development of different sense of selves between boys and girls. Girls develop a personal identity which is continuous with the other selves as they are

encouraged to take responsibility to satisfy the emotional needs of others while boys develop more independent sense of self.

These differences between having a baby girl or a boy in terms of the affection and emotional warmth they bear based on the differences between the nature and temperament of boys and girls are affecting the way parents interact with them. These results were affirmed by the VOC2 findings reported by Kağıtçıbaşı and Ataca in 2015. Families expect their daughters to live physically closer than their sons and offer emotional labour defined as ‘non-material expectations’. They reported that “Psychological needs and values have become very important, reflecting emotional closeness between generations, and these tend to be fulfilled more by daughters.” (2015, p.387).

The psychological approach to parental warmth claims that the emerging sense of self and maternal thinking of pregnant women are related to their own story of being mothered through their childhood (Leon, 2009). Brazelton and Cramer claim that “She will simultaneously identify with her own mother and with her foetus, and thus will play out and work through the roles and attributes of both mother and baby, based on past experiences with her mother and herself as a baby” (1990, p. 15). This approach explains how the emotional reactions of a woman in forming a bond with a newborn ground the different social contexts in which a woman is mothered. What is expected by women is being sensitive and responding to infant’s demands due to an emotional bond strengthen by their own picture of the family. In the light of the previous literature, it was hypothesised that there is a significant relationship between maternal gatekeeping and the parental warmth construction of mothers. However, results revealed that there is no direct association between parental warmth and maternal gatekeeping.

Benedek, in his study entitled, “Toward the Biology of the Depressive Constellation” (1956, p. 394) maintains that women establish such a link with their babies that a helpless, crying picture of their babies instantly reminds them of a sense of being ‘bad mothers’, who neglect their children and are incapable of effectively caring for them.

Behind any woman experiencing this feeling and neglecting their children, but not regarding themselves as ‘bad mothers’, lurks a great deal of pain and self-doubt. However, these discussions suggest that behind each ‘perfect’ parent there is not an unlimited pleasure of parenting beginning with the pregnancy. It is linked with how one’s idea of motherhood is constituted by social expectations within their own unique history and their way of constructing parental love. Psychologist Diane Eyer holds the idea that bonding is an example of the subjugation of women through medical and social endeavours. Regulation of bonding through dominant ideologies introduces the feeling of guilt by underlining women’s responsibilities over the family and children. Eyer considers these seemingly biological-difference-based responsibilities attributed to women as ‘scientific fictions’ (1992, p. 28).

Taking the previous studies into account, it was hypothesised that parental warmth positively predicts traditional motherhood and traditional motherhood positively predicts maternal gatekeeping. This study’s results supported both hypotheses. Hence, the more parental warmth mothers possess, the more they hold to traditional motherhood attitudes, which, in turn, results in the higher gatekeeper mother role. As responsibility for childcare is highly associated with mothers in the child’s first years of life, it is not surprising that one aspect of traditional motherhood role is having a greater degree of control over childcare tasks, resulting in more gatekeeping practices. In normal circumstances, fathers adopt the subsidiary role if mothers are not available (Deutsch, 2001).

It was also hypothesised that the relationship between maternal gatekeeping and parental warmth of mothers is mediated by the motherization of childcare. According to my findings, while there was no direct relationship between parental warmth and maternal gatekeeping, traditional motherhood has full mediating effect between these two aspects. This reveals that gatekeeping practices are not a direct and natural outcome of being an emotionally warm and protective mother, rather there are certain social and political mechanisms behind this relationship that should be taken into account in relation to the two frameworks, namely symbolic interactionism and family systems theory.

The first approach held to interpret the results of this study is symbolic interactionism based on the self-other interaction through sharing symbols and taking roles. This process is defined as projective by Solomon (1983), which results in self-evaluation and taking the role of a 'generalized other' through conceiving the reactions of a social unit like family to a certain behaviour. Moreover, he claims individuals form social identities by estimating how other individuals evaluate and argues, "The degree to which one is committed to a social identity determines the power of that identity to influence behavior" (1983, p.321).

Within this context, gatekeeper mothers are taking the role of their partner by controlling and obstructing the information their partners have regarding the child. Besides, as abovementioned, their partners take the role of aspiring reference groups since mothers take their partners' criticism as most significant. This approach can partly explain fathers' hesitation in participating in domestic tasks, particularly cooking, by imagining the responses of the generalized other to their actions. Moreover, a mother's commitment to an idealised picture of motherhood, inferred from the quality and the quantity of the time they spent on it, indicates the power of an ideal motherhood identity. These aspects of the gatekeeping behaviour of the mothers are in a relationship with traditional motherhood roles attributed to women, and how it rationalises the association between parental warmth and maternal gatekeeping.

Obtaining a certain role comprises continuing to act in it or adjusting it to the current social setting on the basis of the feedback received from society at large. In this way, their relational role can have a shared understanding (Madden-Derdich & Leonard, 2002, p. 37). Therefore, it can be inferred that other mothers, including women's own, mother-in-law, their partners, friends, the media, and policy-makers are active agents in a mother's decision-making processes for the continuation of their roles. Even the relationship between their emotional warmth and protection and maternal gatekeeping practices is defined through traditional motherhood attitudes. The findings of this study contribute to the existing literature which states that the policy makers in the

current Turkish government follow a 'family-centred social agenda' (Yılmaz, 2015, p. 371; Kaya, 2015, p. 61). As proposed by Boris (1985), the welfare state is not sex-neutral in terms of shaping public policies in a way that creates mythologies about womanhood and manhood (p. 761).

Employing symbolic interactionist approach in this study contributed examining relational role of the mothers as interactants within various social settings. Symbolic interactionism's emphasis on the importance of the feedbacks received from partner, mother, mother-in-law and society at large in formation and reformation of the roles in a certain relationship enables us to understand the background of the gatekeeping behaviour between a mother and her partner. It also highlights the familial self, which is relational and observed in collectivistic cultures. This type of self is characterised by "strong emotional interdependence, reciprocal demands for intimacy and support, mutual caring, and a high degree of empathy and sensitivity to another's needs and desires within the family structure" (Roland, 1988).

Another important approach in understanding the relationship between gatekeeping and motherization of childcare is the family systems theory, which claims that there are certain boundaries that have been established by various systems and these boundaries play an important role in the course of information between the different components of a certain system (Klein & White, 1996). Within the framework of this theoretical approach, human systems act upon the social meanings that are constructed collectively within definitional processes besides the information they gather as the social reality they construct. This explains why there is such a degree of consensus over the differentiated roles of women and men despite the various social realities each system constructs (Berger & Kellner, 1964). There emerges the importance of communication and interaction as it opens the way for self-reflexivity to form new meanings.

Within this framework, each role (motherhood or fatherhood) is considered as a subsystem in a broader system of family. They are connected despite the invisible boundaries between them. These boundaries represent the forms of interaction, since

through these limits the quantity and the quality of the flow of information are controlled (Minuchin, 1974). Individuals' perceptions regarding their roles define the transmissivity of these boundaries between them. In maternal gatekeeping case, the perceptions and expectations regarding the fathers' involvement decrease the transmissivity of the frontier between partners. Hence, this process results in a more inflexible physical proximity between father and child and less information flow between the mother and the father as a result of the reduction in conversation regarding childcare.

The main contribution this approach makes to the discussion is shifting our attention from the individual family member to the relationship between members (Whitchurch & Constantine, 2009). Between the gatekeeper mother and father, this boundary restricts the flow of information regarding childbearing and it is assumed that this restriction affects the motherization of childcare in favour of traditional parenting roles attributed to women.

The emphasis on the 'nature' and 'capacity' of men as a justification for the unequal division of labour was common for both groups. Women were defining themselves as more compassionate, sensitive, patient, elaborative, trustworthy, and their partners as more impatient, quick-tempered, and nervous. Nevertheless, the anti-subordination feminist perspective criticises this position in terms of its narrow understanding of the relationship between differences and inequality (Debra, 2013). This difference fails to aid us in identifying what justifies the subordination of women in the family since there are no concrete law that places women in a subordinate and men in a superordinate position. Hence, as MacKinnon (1989) and Rhode (1989) point out, biological facts have little to do with the justification of subordination – domestic violence or unpaid domestic labour and childcare provided by women in the family. Therefore, from their perspective, a mother's burden regarding childcare and domestic labour is an outcome of the dominant patriarchal ideology and its components, which designates for the division of labour among partners. This, in turn, affects the women's perspectives regarding the competency of men in terms of various family tasks, and their inclination to obtaining gatekeeper parental practices.

Considering the abovementioned discussions, it was hypothesised that the maternal gatekeeping practices of mothers are expected to be affected by gender stereotypes in marriages (the division of labour, the main caregiver, etc.). Both the survey results and focus group discussions supported this hypothesis as the main caregiver was the mother almost for all cases and mothers reported that they spent more time on domestic tasks, including childcare. Moreover, as indicated in earlier studies in the literature (Ecevit, Hoşgör, & Tokluoğlu, 2002), women reported that their responsibilities regarding housekeeping and childcare do not change even when they are in employment. The division of labour in household tasks and childcare indicates that traditional gender roles in the Turkish family remain, as reported in earlier family studies (Kongar, 1972; Kıray, 1976; Vergin, 1985). However, what is noteworthy about the findings of the focus groups is that gatekeeping practices is not only specific to childcare but can also be observed in household tasks, as most of the mothers reported that they prevent their partners from participating in domestic tasks regardless of whether their partners were perceived to be unskilful or withdrawn.

As mentioned before, this invisible barrier against fathers is associated with the mothers' efforts to attain acceptance from the society by realizing both traditional roles and the requirements of the current social context. This process is considered as pathological and defined as 'superwoman syndrome' by psychiatrist Süheyla Ünal (2016), who claims that it is almost inevitable for women to be exposed to conflict and even violence when they refuse to assume the excessive obligation imposed on them by the culture in which they live, which results in difficulties in defining boundaries to their responsibilities or simply saying 'no' (p. 146).

The intensification of motherhood is associated with having authority and control over domestic domain by women themselves, especially regarding the relationship with their mother-in-law. This relationship displays variability based on the distribution of power among parties. The most important aspect affecting this relationship is the birth of a child as a social capital, which strengthens the position of the mother. A mother-in-law, who wants to see her grandchild frequently, has a weaker position in front of

her daughter-in-law (Çamoğlu, 2017, p.15). Then, it becomes an issue of gaining prestige and holding her position for mother through gatekeeping. Prevalence of such motivation behind refusal to share responsibilities of childrearing can be analysed as a continuation of traditional roles in a modernised way.

From this perspective, it can be argued that women in the Turkish family has the role of “skilled emotional manager” (Dion & Dion, 1993, p. 61). This depiction of woman comprises an active role in regulating the relationships within family, especially with her in-laws. Therefore, besides emotional burden women have in family, this active role rather than passive compliance can ensure a sort of power in the extended family setting (Honig & Hershatter, 1988). By this way, they can restrict the emotional intimacy between not only the child and the father, but also between her partner and her in-laws.

Despite the gatekeeper attitudes of mothers towards their partners, their partners remain the first person they approach when debate arises on how to discipline children. Their partner’s participation in household tasks creates certain interactional problems as most of the fathers have little to no experience with domestic tasks prior to marriage as indicated by mothers. Hence, they hardly find prescribed norms to regulate their behaviours (Madden-Derdich & Leonard, 2002, p. 37). This necessitates the formulation of new roles through a dialectic process provided by Stryker and Statham (1985) requiring the feedback of others to validate or invalidate their construction of the new role. Moreover, they take their partners more serious regarding childcare issues since the father’s criticisms towards the mother are considered as the most serious and offending.

The final contribution of this study is that results revealed the sacred aspect of motherhood remains as described by the mothers through words and phrases such as: ‘very different’, ‘bond’, ‘responsibility’, ‘excellent’, ‘unconditional love’, ‘inseparable’ and ‘self-devotion’. It shows that the dignity attributed to motherhood to be the ‘mothers of the race’ as their greatest reward during the times of population

problems, due to high infant mortality in most parts of the world, can be observed in Turkey with a different background (Davin, 1978, p.13).

6.1. Limitations and Future Directions

Even if this is one of the few studies focusing on maternal gatekeeping in sociology literature and father involvement in Turkey, it has its own limitations. The sample consists of mothers from largely the middle and upper-middle class. Hence, the study can be improved if replicated with a more heterogeneous sample in terms of SES. Although this study highlights that maternal gatekeeping is not prior to involvement, further limitations exist within gatekeeping literature. One presumed association between gatekeeping and involvement is that gatekeeping essentially predicts involvement. The backward relationship between involvement and gatekeeping is needed to be examined with the help of abovementioned findings regarding premises of gatekeeping behaviour in the Turkish context.

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APENDICES

APPENDIX A: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION FORM

1. Doğum tarihi:
2. Doğum yeri (il / ilçe):
3. Şu an yaşadığınız şehir:
4. Yaşamınızın büyük bölümünü nerede geçirdiniz? (Köy-Kasaba, İlçe, İl, Büyük Şehir)
5. Eğitim durumunuz (Okur yazar, İlkokul, Ortaokul, Lise, Yüksek Okul, Üniversite, Yüksek Lisans, Doktora)
6. Mesleğiniz nedir?
7. Haftada ortalama kaç saat çalışıyorsunuz?
8. Haftada ortalama kaç saati ev işlerine ayırıyorsunuz?
9. Aylık ortalama kişisel geliriniz?
10. Annenizin eğitim düzeyi nedir? (Okur yazar değil, Okur yazar, İlkokul, Ortaokul, Lise, Yüksek Okul, Üniversite, Yüksek Lisans, Doktora)
11. Babanızın eğitim düzeyi nedir? (Okur yazar değil, Okur yazar, İlkokul, Ortaokul, Lise, Yüksek Okul, Üniversite, Yüksek Lisans, Doktora)
12. Medeni durumunuz:
13. Esinizin doğum tarihi:
14. Eşinizin eğitim durumu nedir? (Okur yazar değil, Okur yazar, İlkokul, Ortaokul, Lise, Yüksek Okul, Üniversite, Yüksek Lisans, Doktora)
15. Eşinizin mesleği nedir?
16. Eşiniz haftada ortalama kaç saat çalışıyor?
17. Eşinizin haftada ortalama kaç saati ev işlerine ayırıyor?
18. Eşinizin aylık ortalama geliri?
19. Sizce aşağıdaki seçeneklerden hangisi ekonomik düzeyinizi en iyi ifade etmektedir? (Çok Düşük, Düşük, Orta, Yüksek, Çok Yüksek)
20. Aile kaç kişiden oluşuyor?

21. ekirdek aileniz dıřında sizinle birlikte yařayan akrabanız var mı? Varsa yakınlık derecesini belirtiniz.
22. ocuklarınızın yařları ve cinsiyetleri nedir?
23. İlk ocuđunuza ka yařında sahip oldunuz?
24. Evde ocukların bakımını stlenen birinci kiři kim ve yakınlık derecesi nedir?

APPENDIX B: MATERNAL GATEKEEPING SCALE

	Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Ne katılmıyorum ne katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum
1. Eğer çocuklarımın terbiye edilmesi gerekiyorsa, bence onları terbiye eden kişi ben olmalıyım, babaları değil.					
2. Eğer çocuklarımın ne giyeceğine karar verilmesi gerekiyorsa, bence bu kararı veren ben olmalıyım, babaları değil.					
3. Eğer çocuklarımın öğretmenleriyle görüşülmesi gerekiyorsa, bence bunu yapan ben olmalıyım, babaları değil.					
4. Eğer çocuklarımın duyguları incindiyse, bence onları teselli eden ben olmalıyım, babaları değil.					
5. Eğer çocuklarımın doktora gitmesi gerekiyorsa, bence onları götüreren ben olmalıyım, babaları değil.					
6. Eğer çocuklarımın kiminle oynayacağına ya da kiminle vakit geçireceğine karar verilmesi gerekiyorsa, bence bu kararı ben vermeliyim, babaları değil.					
7. Eğer çocuklarım hakkında bir karar verilmesi gerekiyorsa, bence bu kararı veren ben olmalıyım, babaları değil.					
8. Eğer bir yetişkinin çocuklarımın davranışları hakkında konuşması gerekiyorsa, bence bu konuşmayı ben yapmalıyım, babaları değil.					
9. Eğer çocuklarımın hangi tv programlarını izleyeceğine karar verilmesi gerekiyorsa, bence bu kararı veren ben olmalıyım, babaları değil.					

**APPENDIX C: EGNA MINNEN BETRÄFFANDE UPPFOSTRAN PARENT
FORM**

1	2	3	4	5	6
Hiçbir zaman	Nadiren	Bazen	Ara sıra	Sık sık	Her zaman

1. ____ Çocuğumun sıkıntılı olduğunu o söylemeden anlardım.
2. ____ Çocuğumun aldığı sonuçtan çok arkadaşlarına göre nerede olduğunu merak ederdim.
3. ____ Başladığı bir işi başardığında çocuğumla gurur duyardım.
4. ____ Başına bir şey gelecek korkusuyla başka çocukların yaptığı bazı şeyleri yapmasına izin vermezdim.
5. ____ Küçük şeyler için bile çocuğumu sert bir şekilde cezalandırırdım.
6. ____ Çocuğuma kızdığımda kendim de üzülürdüm.
7. ____ Kötü bir şey yaptığında hemen kızmaz, nedenini anlamaya çalışırdım.
8. ____ Çocuğumun ne yapıp ettiği konusunda çok endişelenirdim.
9. ____ Kötü bir şey yaptığında bunu surat asarak veya başka bir yolla öyle belli ederdim ki çocuğum kendisini gerçekten suçlu hissedirdi.
10. ____ Yaptıklarımınla çocuğuma kendisinden utanması gerektiğini hissettirirdim.
11. ____ Arkadaşlarının içinde en iyisi olması için çocuğumu zorlardım.
12. ____ Çocuğuma hak ettiğinden daha fazla dayak attığım ya da ceza verdiğim olurdu.
13. ____ İşleri kötü gittiğinde, onu rahatlatmaya ve yüreklendirmeye çalışırdım.
14. ____ Oynarken başına bir şey gelir korkusuyla çocuğumu diğer annelerden daha çok uyarırdım. (ağaca, duvara tırmanmamasını söylemek vb. gibi)
15. ____ Sokakta oynarken çocuğumu diğer annelerin çocuklarını çağırdıklarından daha çok çağırırdım.
16. ____ Çocuğuma ailenin günah keçisi (her konuda suçlanacak insan) muamelesi yapardım.
17. ____ Çocukluk yıllarının keyif verici ve öğretici geçmesine çalışırdım (tatile, akrabalara, kursa göndermek, ona güzel kitaplar almak vs. gibi davranışlarla).

18. ____ Çocuđumu dersleri konusunda arkadaşlarıyla karşılařtırdım.
19. ____ Çocuđumu üřüyeceđi endiřesiyle çok kalın giydirirdim.
20. ____ Çocuđumu takdir eder ya da ödüllendirirdim.
21. ____ Çocuđumu herkesin içinde eleřtirir, tembel ve iře yaramaz olduđunu söylerdim.
22. ____ Kardeř(ler)ini (ondan küçük ya da büyük) ondan daha çok severdim.
23. ____ Çocuđumun başına bir řey gelebileceđi yolundaki bazı endiřelerim abartılıydı.
24. ____ Çocuđumla aramda sıcaklık ve sevecenlik vardı.
25. ____ Oynarken evin yakınından ayrılmasına hiç izin vermezdim.
26. ____ Sözlerim ve hareketlerimle çocuđumu sevdiđini gösterirdim.
27. ____ Bařka çocukları çocuđuma örnek gösterirdim.
28. ____ Nedenini söylemeden çocuđuma kızgın ya da ters davrandıđım olurdu.
29. ____ Dersleri konusunda kardeř(ler)i veya akraba çocuklarıyla karşılařtırdım.

**APPENDIX D: SELF-ASSESSMENT: THE TRADITIONAL MOTHERHOOD
SCALE**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum			Ne katılıyorum ne katılmıyorum			Kesinlikle katılıyorum

1. ___ Annenin çocuklarıyla daha iyi bir ilişkisi vardır.
2. ___ Anne çocuğu hakkında daha fazla bilgi sahibi olduđu için daha iyi bir ebeveyndir.
3. ___ Annelik bir kadını en yüksek kapasitesine ulaştırır.
4. ___ İyi bir anne çocukları 1 yaşına gelene kadar onlarla evde kalmalıdır.
5. ___ Anneler çocuklarıyla birlikte evde kalmalıdır.
6. ___ Annelik, bir kadına mutluluk ve hoşnutluk (gönül rahatlığı) getirir.
7. ___ Bir çocuğun yaşamında anne bakım ve büyüme için gereklidir.
8. ___ Annelik, bir kadının yaşantısının gerekli bir kısmıdır.
9. ___ Tüm kadınların, bir şekilde, anneliği yaşaması gerektiğini düşünüyorum.
10. ___ Anneler daha fazla bakım vericidir.
11. ___ Annelerin çocuklarıyla olan duygusal bağları daha güçlüdür.
12. ___ Anneler kendilerini inciten çocuklara daha anlayışlı davranır.
13. ___ Anneler çocuklarıyla daha fazla zaman geçirir.
14. ___ Anneler çocuklarına karşı daha hoşgörülüdür.
15. ___ Anneler çocuklarına karşı daha duygusaldır.
16. ___ Annenin varlığı bir çocuğun gelişim yıllarında çok hayatidir.
17. ___ Anneler çocukların yetişmesinde daha büyük rol üstlenirler.
18. ___ Kadın içgüdüsel olarak bebeğin ihtiyaçlarını bilir.

APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Çocuk bakımı konusunda eğitim/seminer/kurs vb. etkinliklere katıldınız mı veya kitaplar okudunuz mu?
2. Bu tür eğitim ve kitapların etkisi hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
3. Eşiniz bu etkinliklerden birine katıldı veya kitap okudu mu?
4. Eşinizin ev işi yapması konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz?
5. Sizce eşiniz ev işlerine ne kadar yatkındır?
6. Sizce bu yatkınlığın veya yatkın olmama durumunun nedenleri nelerdir?
7. Sizce eşiniz çocuk bakımı konusunda ne kadar bilgili ve beceriklidir?
8. Çocuğunuz hakkında sizin eşinizden daha iyi bildiğinizi/hissettiğinizi düşündüğünüz konular var mı? Varsa neler?
9. Sizce evde çocukların bakımını üstlenen birinci kişi kim olmalıdır? Neden?
10. Sizce evde çocuklarınızın ne yiyeceğine karar verme yetkisi kimde olmalıdır? Neden?
11. Sizce evde çocuklarınızın uyku saatlerine karar verme yetkisi kimde olmalıdır? Neden?
12. Evde çocuğunuzun altını değiştirme işini çoğunlukla kim yapıyor?
13. Çocuklarınızın bakımı için kendi akrabalarınızdan yardım alma konusunda ne düşünürsünüz?
14. Çocuklarınızın bakımı için eşinizin akrabalarından yardım alma konusunda ne düşünürsünüz?
15. Eşiniz de dahil olmak üzere çevrenizde bu konuda yardım isteyeceğiniz kişi ağırlıklı olarak kim olurdu? Neden?
16. Annelik nasıl bir duygu? Nasıl tarif edersiniz?
17. Çocuğunuza duyduğunuz sevgiyi tarif eder misiniz?
18. Sizce diğer anneler de sizin gibi mi hissediyordur?
19. Çocuğunu sevmeyen bir anne hakkında ne düşünürsünüz?
20. Annelik içgüdü/anneliğin daha hamilelik sırasında olduğu gibi fikirlere katılıyor musunuz? Nasıl açıklarsınız?

21. Sizce eşinizin ve sizin çocuğunuza hissettiğiniz sevgide ve bunu gösterme biçiminde bir farklılık var mı? Varsa bunun nedeni sizce nedir?
22. Eşinizin çocuğunuzla kurduğu sevgi bağı nasıl oluştu, hangi aşamalardan geçti?
23. Sizce bir annenin çocuğu ile ilişkisinde yapmaması gerekenler nelerdir?
24. Sizce bir babanın çocuğu ile ilişkisinde yapmaması gerekenler nelerdir?
25. Sizce anne ve babanın çocuklarına karşı ev içindeki sorumlulukları ne olmalıdır?
26. Sizce ideal anne ve ideal baba nasıl olmalıdır?
27. Tüm soruları/konuları düşündüğünüzde kız ve erkek çocuk arasında fark var mıdır, varsa nelerdir?

APPENDIX F: ETHICAL PERMISSION

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



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12 EYLÜL 2018

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Prof.Dr. Ayşe Ceylan TOKLUOĞLU

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız; yüksek lisans öğrencisi Kübra AYTAÇ'ın "**Türkiye'de Çocuk Bakımının 'Anneleştirilmesinin' Anne Bekçiliği ile ilişkisi**" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay **2017-SOS-181** protokol numarası ile **15.12.2017 - 30.12.2018** tarihleri arasında geçerli olmak üzere verilmiştir.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

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Üye

APPENDIX G: INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR ONLINE SURVEY

ARAŞTIRMAYA GÖNÜLLÜ KATILIM FORMU

Bu çalışma ODTÜ Sosyoloji Bölümü yüksek lisans öğrencilerinden Kübra Aytaç tarafından Prof. Dr. Ayşe Ceylan Tokluoğlu danışmanlığında yürütülmektedir. Bu form sizi araştırma koşulları hakkında bilgilendirmek için hazırlanmıştır.

Çalışmanın Amacı Nedir?

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Türkiye’de anne bekçiliğinin altında yatan toplumsal dinamiklere ışık tutarak çocuk bakımının anneye atfedilmesiyle arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemektir.

Bize Nasıl Yardımcı Olmanızı İsteyeceğiz?

Araştırmanın bu bölümünde katılımcılara çevrimiçi anket uygulanacaktır. 18 yaş üstündeki annelerden anketteki soruları cevaplaması istenecektir, katılmak isteyenler bilgisayar veya cep telefonları yoluyla kendilerine gönderilen anketi dolduracaklardır. Ankette demografik bilgilerinize ve ebeveynlikle ilgili görüşlerinize ilişkin sorular yer almaktadır. Anketin sonunda araştırmanın ikinci bölümüne katılmak isteyen katılımcıların e-posta adreslerini yazmaları gerekmektedir. İkinci aşamada ise her biri 5er kişiden oluşması planlanan 2 odak grupta yüz yüze mülakat yapılacaktır.

Katılımla ilgili bilmeniz gerekenler:

Bu çalışmaya katılmak tamamen gönüllülük esasına dayalıdır. İlk aşamaya katılanların ikinci aşamaya katılmak gibi bir zorunluluğu yoktur. Her iki aşama için de gönüllülüğünüz esas alınır. Herhangi bir yaptırıma veya cezaya maruz kalmadan çalışmaya katılmayı reddedebilir veya çalışmayı bırakabilirsiniz. Araştırma esnasında cevap vermek istemediğiniz sorular olursa boş bırakabilirsiniz.

Araştırmaya katılanlardan toplanan veriler tamamen gizli tutulacak, veriler ve kimlik bilgileri herhangi bir şekilde eşleştirilmeyecektir. Ayrıca toplanan verilere sadece araştırmacılar ulaşabilecektir. Bu araştırmanın sonuçları bilimsel ve profesyonel

yayınlarda veya eğitim amaçlı kullanılabilir, fakat katılımcıların kimliği gizli tutulacaktır.

Araştırmayla ilgili daha fazla bilgi almak isterseniz:

Çalışmayla ilgili soru ve yorumlarınızı araştırmacıya aytackubra@gmail.com adresinden iletebilirsiniz.

Yukarıdaki bilgileri okudum ve bu çalışmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum.

(Formu doldurup imzaladıktan sonra uygulayıcıya geri veriniz).

İsim Soyad

Tarih

İmza

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APPENDIX H: INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR FOCUS GROUPS

ARAŞTIRMAYA GÖNÜLLÜ KATILIM FORMU

Bu çalışma ODTÜ Sosyoloji Bölümü yüksek lisans öğrencilerinden Kübra Aytaç tarafından Prof. Dr. Ayşe Ceylan Tokluoğlu danışmanlığında yürütülmektedir. Bu form sizi araştırma koşulları hakkında bilgilendirmek için hazırlanmıştır.

Çalışmanın Amacı Nedir?

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Türkiye’de anne bekçiliğinin altında yatan toplumsal dinamiklere ışık tutarak çocuk bakımının anneye atfedilmesiyle arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemektir.

Bize Nasıl Yardımcı Olmanızı İsteyeceğiz?

Araştırmanın bu bölümünde katılımcılarla yüz yüze görüşme yapılacaktır. Odak gruplar halinde yapılacak olan bu görüşmelerde her bir grupta 5 kişi olmak üzere 2 farklı grupla görüşme yapılması planlanmaktadır. Her grupla farklı zamanlarda görüşme yapılacaktır. 18 yaş üstündeki annelerden görüşmeye katılarak araştırmacının kendisine yönlendirdiği açık uçlu soruları cevaplaması beklenmektedir. Her bir odak grupla yapılan görüşmenin ortalama 45 dakika ile 1 saat arasında sürmesi planlanmaktadır.

Katılımınızla ilgili bilmeniz gerekenler:

Bu çalışmaya katılmak tamamen gönüllülük esasına dayalıdır. Herhangi bir yaptırıma veya cezaya maruz kalmadan çalışmaya katılmayı reddedebilir veya çalışmayı bırakabilirsiniz. Araştırma esnasında cevap vermek istemediğiniz sorular olursa araştırmacıya bildirerek cevaplamayabilir veya görüşmeyi yarıda bırakabilirsiniz.

Araştırmaya katılanlardan toplanan veriler tamamen gizli tutulacak, veriler ve kimlik bilgileri herhangi bir şekilde eşleştirilmeyecektir. Ayrıca toplanan verilere sadece araştırmacılar ulaşabilecektir. Bu araştırmanın sonuçları bilimsel ve profesyonel

yayınlarda veya eğitim amaçlı kullanılabilir, fakat katılımcıların kimliği gizli tutulacaktır.

Araştırmayla ilgili daha fazla bilgi almak isterseniz:

Çalışmayla ilgili soru ve yorumlarınızı araştırmacıya aytackubra@gmail.com adresinden iletebilirsiniz.

Yukarıdaki bilgileri okudum ve bu çalışmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum.

(Formu doldurup imzaladıktan sonra uygulayıcıya geri veriniz).

İsim Soyad

Tarih

İmza

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APPENDIX I: TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKKÇE ÖZET

GİRİŞ

Annelik konusu modern çağda, popüler kültürün ve sosyal medyanın çok tartışılan gündem maddelerinden biri haline gelmiştir. Bunun yanında, birbirini tamamlayan veya birbiriyle çelişen yaklaşımlar da dahil olmak üzere, ‘bilimsel annelik’ üzerine giderek artmakta olan bir literatür bulunmaktadır. Ayrıca, çağdaş dönem literatürü ebeveynlere ebeveynlik uygulamalarını sorgulayabilecekleri çok sayıda çalışma sunmaktadır (O’Reilly, 2010, s. 27-29).

Türkiye’de genel olarak, sosyolojik çerçevede ele alınan aileyle ilgili çalışmalar iki gelenek içinde tartışılmıştır. Bunlardan ilki, aileyi hukuki altyapısıyla birlikte tarihi geçmişi ve budun betimi açısından ele alan literatür ve arşiv çalışmalarıdır. İkincisi ise, Türkiye’nin çeşitli bölgelerinde nicel yöntemlerle yapılan büyük ölçekli araştırmalardır (Aktaş, 2015, s. 420).

Annelik üzerine araştırma yapan çeşitli araştırmacılar tarafından sunulan farklı bakış açılarına bakılmaksızın, anneliğin idealize edildiği gerçekliği birçok 21. yüzyıl araştırmacısı tarafından kabul edilmiştir (Sebald, 1976; Dally, 1983; Rubin, 1984; Rabuzzi, 1988; McMahon, 1995; Hays, 1996). Anneliğin ele alındığı bağlama bağlı olarak tanımında farklılıklar olsa da temel yönlerini kapsayan genel bir annelik tanımı Phoenix ve arkadaşları tarafından 1991 yılında yapılmıştır.

Ebeveynliğe ve anneliğe yönelik bu farklı yaklaşımlarda, ailenin sosyal olarak yapılandırılmış yönlerinin ve kadının aile içindeki rolünün ideal bir annelik kimliğine dayandığı düşüncesi paylaşılmaktadır. Anne olma yolunda atfedilen duyguların ve yeni toplumsal rollerin anne bekçiliği rolü edinmenin üzerindeki etkisi, bu sürecin ve sonuçlarının daha ayrıntılı bir analizini gerektirmektedir. Bu noktaları düşündükten sonra, kadınlara atfedilen kurumsallaşmış rolleri görmenin daha kolay olacağı düşünülmektedir.

Karabulut ve Şendil (2017) tarafından Türkçeye ‘anne bekçiliği’ olarak çevrilen ve ölçeğinin uyarlaması yapılan *maternal gatekeeping* kavramının tanımları ve dinamikleri, farklı aile bağlamlarına göre değişiklik göstermektedir; fakat bu çeşitlilik bu çalışmanın kapsamı dışındadır. Bu tezin odak noktası, ebeveyn sıcaklığı ve anne bekçiliği arasındaki, geleneksel annelik rollerinin aracılık etmesi beklenen ilişkinin Türkiye bağlamında sosyolojik bir analizinin yapılmasıdır.

Bu bağlamda, bu çalışma sadece anne bekçiliğinin sosyal dinamiklerini değil, aynı zamanda anne ve babalar için geleneksel ebeveynlik rollerini yeniden teyit eden bir kavram olarak anneleştirilmenin (*motherization*) rolünü keşfetmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Anne bekçiliğinin, farklı ebeveynlik uygulamalarını karşılaştırmalı bir çerçevede analiz etmeyi gerektiren sosyal ve psikolojik yönlerini ve bu uygulamaların sosyokültürel sonuçlarını dikkate alarak, oynadığı rolün incelenmesiyle sosyoloji literatüründe bu alandaki boşluğun olabildiğince doldurulması hedeflenmektedir.

Baba katılımı ve anne bekçiliğinin çok boyutlu olması, onu çeşitli şekillerde tanımlamayı gerektirmektedir (Day ve Lamb, 2004; Hawkins ve Dolerite, 1997). Konuya, her biri farklı akademisyenler tarafından önerilen farklı yaklaşımlar vardır. Kronolojik olarak bunlar: Palkovitz (1997) tarafından duygusal (*affective*), Hawkins ve Dollahite (1997) tarafından üretken babalık (*generative fathering*), Amato (1998) tarafından sosyal sermaye (*social capital*), ve Marsiglio, Amato, Day ve Lamb (2000) tarafından toplumsal inşacı (*social constructivism*) yaklaşımlarıdır. Bu farklılaşmış yaklaşımların yanı sıra, babaların çocuklarıyla harcadıkları zamanın niteliğini daha fazla incelemek adına birçok bilim insanı arasında artmakta olan bir ilgiden bahsedilebilir (Pleck ve Masciadrelli, 2004; Hawkins ve Dollahite, 1997).

Anne bekçiliği ile çocuk bakımının anneleştirilmesi arasındaki ilişkinin tek yönlü bir ilişki olmadığı açıktır. Baber ve Monaghan (1988), annelerin kendilerini hem ev işleri hem de çocuk bakımı için birincil sorumlu kişi kabul ettiklerini iddia etmektedir. Babaların birincil ebeveyn rolü üstlendiği nadir görülmektedir. Bu nedenle, anneler müsait olmadığında babalar ikame rolü üstlenirler (Deutsch, Sary & Turnip, 2014).

Yapısal engellerin bir sonucu olarak, kadınların genel olarak toplumda iktidar elde etmesi her zaman mümkün olmamaktadır. Bu nedenle kadınlar aile içinde ve evle ilgili konularda sahip oldukları iktidarla sınırlandırılmaktadır. Buna ek olarak, kadınlar kendilerini “doğal” süreçlerin bir sonucu olduğunu düşündükleri ev içindeki iktidarı ve kontrolleri üzerinden tanımlama eğilimindedir (LaRossa, 1997, s.33). Ancak, Sano, Richards ve Zvonkoviç’in (2008) öne sürdüğü gibi, annelerin baba katılımıyla ilgili algılarını doğrudan ölçmeye yönelik yeterli sayıda çalışma bulunmamaktadır.

Çalışmanın ikinci bir değişkeni olan ebeveyn sıcaklığını tanımlamak ve anneler ve babalar için ne anlama geldiğini tartışmak gereklidir. Määttä ve Uusiautti, ebeveyn sevgisinin kendi içinde bir uzmanlık alanı değil, ebeveynliğin temel kaynağı olduğunu iddia eder. Ebeveyn sevgisi sayesinde çocuklara, yeteneklerini geliştirmeleri için güvenli bir ortam sağlanır (2012, s. 2) Johnson ve Jaynes (2007) tarafından, anne ve babaların ebeveyn sevgisinin tanımlarındaki farklılıkları inceleyen bir çalışmanın bulguları hem anne hem de babaların, ebeveynlerin çocuklarına duydukları sevginin belli yönleri üzerinde fikir birliğine sahip olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Ebeveyn sevgisinin esas olarak, koşulsuz, güçlü, karşılıksız olduğunu ve çocukların gereksinimlerine ve isteklerine cevap vermeyi gerektirdiğini savunmaktadırlar.

Psikoloji literatüründe anne bekçiliği kavramını daha çok baba katılımındaki farklılıkların ve anne olmanın sosyal ve psikolojik sonuçlarının sebeplerinden biri olarak ele alma eğilimi olduğu söylenebilir. Bu konuya odaklanan araştırmalar çoğunlukla, anne bekçiliğiyle ilgili uygulamaların ardındaki temel toplumsal olgulara ve mekanizmalara odaklanmak yerine, genelde varlığını ve sonuçlarını tartışmaktadır. Hatta bazı araştırmacılar, anne olduklarında bir kadının beynine ne olduğunu incelemek için anne beyni (*maternal brain*) araştırmaları yapmaktadır. Bu nedenle, psikoloji literatüründe annelik ve anne bekçiliği üzerine yapılan araştırmalar, daha çok bu tür davranışlara yönelik biyolojik ve içgüdüsel açıklamalara odaklanmaktadır.

Ailede cinsiyet rollerinin yeniden teyit edilmesine katkıda bulunan ebeveyn sevgisinin yanı sıra, anne bekçiliği ile geleneksel annelik arasındaki ilişki de bu çalışmanın önemli bileşenlerinden biridir.

Hem annelerin hem de babaların kararlaştırdığı ebeveynlik standartlarının arkasındaki en önemli etken, toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri ve bu standartlardan ortaya çıkan beklentiler olarak kabul edilebilir. Birçok yönden bu toplumsal beklentiler, ebeveyn standartlarına göre çerçevelenen bazı anne ve baba kimliklerine yansır. Bir annenin baba katılımı düzeyiyle ilgili standartları “ideal annelik” kavramını tanımlamada etkilidir. Anneler, babaları çocuk bakımının çoğu alanında yetersiz gördüklerinde, babaların çocuk bakımına katılımını kısıtlayarak ve çocukla iletişimini kontrol ederek anne bekçiliği rolünü benimsemeleri daha olasıdır. Bununla birlikte, bu süreç bir geri tepme etkisine de yol açabilir. Babalar ideal anne algılarına dayanarak annelerin işgücüne katılımını kısıtlayabilirler. Diğer bir deyişle, bir anneyi ev hanımı ve tam zamanlı bir bebek bakıcısı olarak tanımlayan bir baba, annenin işgücüne katılımını sınırlamak için benzer bir bekçilik rolü benimseyebilir (Adamsons, 2010, s. 141). Dolayısıyla ebeveynler arasında çocuk sahibi olmanın getirileri açısından dengesiz bir güç dağılımı vardır.

Yukarıda belirtilen çalışmaların ışığında, geleneksel annelik ile çocuk bakımının anneleştirilmesi arasında anlamlı bir ilişki olduğu sonucuna varılabilir. Anneleştirme (motherization) kavramı Mathieu'nun 2016 yılında yaptığı çalışmadan alınmıştır. Bu çalışmada *demotherization* kavramı, kadınların aile işleriyle ilgili belirli sorumluluklarını, eşlerine, büyükanne ve büyükbabalarına, bakıcılarına veya devlete aktarmasına karşılık gelen yeni bir kavramsal araç olarak kullanılmıştır. Kavramsal bir araç olarak çocuk bakımının anneleştirilmesi, annelerin sorumluluklarını eşlerine, büyükanne-büyükbabalarına ya da devlete devretmeleri için yapısal engelleri kapsar ve bu durum çocuk bakımında temel kurum olarak görülen ailede annelerin toplumsal yeniden üretimdeki yerini ifade eder.

Çalışmanın Amacı

Bu çalışmanın temel amacı iki yönlüdür: a) anne bekçiliğinin sosyolojik yönlerini tanımlamak ve b) ebeveyn sıcaklığı ve anne bekçiliği arasındaki geleneksel annelik

rollerinin aracılık etmesi beklenen ilişkinin Türkiye bağlamında sosyolojik bir analizini yapmak. Çalışmanın varsayımları şöyledir:

1. Annelerin ebeveyn sıcaklığı skorlarının anne bekçiliği skorlarını yordayacağı beklenmektedir.
2. Annelerin ebeveyn sıcaklığı skorlarının geleneksel annelik skorlarını yordayacağı beklenmektedir.
3. Annelerin geleneksel annelik skorlarının anne bekçiliği skorlarını yordayacağı beklenmektedir.
4. Annelerin anne bekçiliği ile ebeveyn sıcaklığı arasındaki ilişkide geleneksel anneliğin aracı rol üstlenmesi beklenmektedir.
5. Annelerin anne bekçiliği uygulamalarının, evliliklerdeki toplumsal cinsiyet kalıp yargılarından (iş bölümü, birincil bakıcı, vb.) etkilenmesi beklenmektedir.

Yöntem

Çalışmanın ana kavramı (anne bekçiliği) psikoloji literatüründen alınmıştır ve kültürel yönlerine ışık tutan bağlamsal bakış açısıyla analiz edilmiştir. Bu nedenle, yalnızca değişkenlerin kapsamını değil aynı zamanda anlamlarını ve kültürel yönlerini de incelemek için hem nicel (anket uygulayarak) hem de nitel yöntemler (açık uçlu sorularla yapılan odak grup görüşmeleri) kullanılmıştır.

Çevrimiçi ankete katılanlar, anketin çeşitli sosyal medya siteleri tarafından dağıtılması yoluyla rastgele seçilmiştir. Anketin sonunda katılımcılara odak grup görüşmelerine katılmak isteyip istemedikleri sorulmuştur. Onaylayan katılımcılardan 15'i odak grup görüşmesi için rastgele seçilmiştir. Bu katılımcılardan 5'i davetlere geri dönüş yapmadıkları için kalan 10 katılımcıyla iletişime geçilip, rastgele oluşturulan iki odak grup görüşmesi yapılmıştır.

Çalışmanın birinci bölümünde (çevrimiçi anket), 200 kadın yer almıştır ($N = 200$). Odak gruplarda ise 10 kadın katılımcı yer almıştır ($N = 10$). Katılımcıların evlat edinme ya da doğum yoluyla sahip olduklarına bakılmaksızın, 0-5 yaşları arasında en

az bir çocuęu vardır. alıřmadaki bütn kadınlar 18 yařın üzerindedir ve yařları 21-52 arasında deęiřmektedir ($M = 33.04$, $SD = 5.45$).

Bilgilendirilmiř onam formlarını (bkz. Ek G) imzaladıktan sonra, katılımcılardan ç farklı envanter ve bir demografik bilgi formu (bkz. Ek A) doldurmaları istenmiřtir: Anne Bekçilięi lçeęi (bkz. Ek B), Eгна Minnen Beträffande Uppfostran Ebeveyn Formu (bkz. Ek C) ve z Deęerlendirme: Geleneksel Annelik lçeęi (bkz. Ek D). Bütn formlar anneler tarafından doldurulmuřtur.

Analizde kullanılan Anne Bekçilięi lçeęi (bkz. Ek C), Fagan ve Barnett (2003) tarafından geliřtirilmiřtir. 9 maddeli bu lçek annelerin, babaların katılımını kısıtlayarak, babalar ve çocukları arasındaki iliřkiyi nasıl engelledięini belirlemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu alıřmada, EMBU-P'nin uyarlanmıř nshası kullanılmıřtır. Trk kltrne uygunluęu ve adaptasyonu Smer ve Gngr (1999) tarafından analiz edilmiřtir. lçeęin bu kısa versiyonunda 29 madde ve 4 kategori (duygusal sıcaklık, ret, koruma, karřılařtırma) vardır. Smer, Gndoędu ve Helvacı (2010) tarafından 5 maddeden oluřan ve 'karřılařtırma' olarak adlandırılan son alt lçek tasarlanmıřtır. Arařtırmanın analiz blmnde sadece duygusal sıcaklık ve koruma alt deęiřkenlerini lçen geler kullanılmıřtır. z Deęerlendirme lçeęi, Geleneksel Annelik lçeęi ve Geleneksel Babalık lçeęi olmak zere iki alt lçekten oluřmaktadır. Bu alıřmada, sadece Whatley ve Knox (2005) tarafından geliřtirilen Geleneksel Annelik lçeęi (bkz. Ek E) kullanılmıřtır. lçek annelerin, zellikle çocuklarıyla iliřkilerinde geleneksel annelik rolne sahip olma derecesini lçmek iin tasarlanmıřtır ve Altınbilek (2012) tarafından Trkeye uyarlanmıřtır.

Mevcut alıřmada odak grup grřmelerinin verileri, destekleyici bir veri kaynaęı olarak kabul edilmektedir. Bu karma yntemli arařtırma tasarımında odak grup grřmeleri "nicel arařtırmanın bulgularını doęrulamak" iin yapılmıřtır. (Dilshad ve Latif, 2013, s. 193). 5 kiřiden oluřan iki odak grup grřmesi olmak zere, toplam 10 yarı yapılandırılmıř grřme yapılmıřtır.

Çalışmanın ilk aşamasında edinilen verilerin analizi için SPSS'in 20. versiyonu kullanılmıştır. Odak grup görüşmelerinin analizi içinse Haregu (2012) tarafından önerilen adımlar takip edilmiştir. Son olarak Kleiman (2004) tarafından ortaya konan fenomenolojik veri analizi adımları takip edilmiştir. Fenomenolojik yaklaşımı kullanmanın ardındaki neden, özneliği bireylerden koparılmış gerçeklik olarak değil, birey tarafından deneyimlenen dünyayı incelemeyi mümkün kılmasıdır (Valle ve ark., 1989).

Bulgular ve Tartışma

Anne eğitim düzeyi (ilkokul, ortaokul, lise, meslek yüksekokulu, lisans, yüksek lisans / uzmanlık, doktora) ile araştırmadaki değişkenler (anne bekçiliği, ebeveyn sıcaklığı, geleneksel annelik) arasında istatistiksel olarak anlamlı farklılıklar olduğu hipotezini test etmek için, *tek yönlü çok değişkenli varyans analizi* (MANOVA) yapılmıştır. Bulgular araştırmadaki değişkenlerle annenin eğitim düzeyi arasında istatistiksel olarak anlamlı bir fark olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır ($F(18, 541) = 1.82, p < .05$; *Wilk's Λ* = 0.847). Post-Hoc analizinin sonuçları, geleneksel annelik puanlarıyla ilgili olarak ortaokul mezunuyla meslek yüksek okulu mezunu olan ve ortaokul mezunuyla yüksek lisans / uzmanlık derecesi olan anneler arasında istatistiksel olarak anlamlı bir ilişki olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Temelde ortaokul mezunu olan annelerin, geleneksel annelik puanlarının, meslek yüksek okulu mezunu annelerden ya da yüksek lisans / uzmanlık derecesine sahip olan annelerden daha yüksek olduğu tespit edilmiştir.

Annelerin ekonomik durumu (çok düşük, düşük, orta, yüksek, çok yüksek) ve değişkenler arasında istatistiksel olarak anlamlı bir fark olduğu hipotezini test etmek için *tek yönlü çok değişkenli varyans analizi* (MANOVA) yapılmıştır fakat anlamlı bir ilişki bulunamamıştır.

İki değişkenli korelasyonların sonuçları, anne bekçiliği ile geleneksel annelik arasında istatistiksel olarak anlamlı bir ilişki olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır ($r = .23, p < .01$). Ayrıca ebeveyn sıcaklığı ile geleneksel annelik arasında da istatistiksel olarak pozitif

yönlü anlamlı bir ilişki ortaya çıkmıştır ($r = .32, p < .01$). Anne bekcılığı ve ebeveyn sıcaklığı arasında negatif yönlü bir ilişki olmasına rağmen, istatistiksel olarak anlamlı bir ilişki bulunmamıştır.

Ebeveyn sıcaklığı ve anne bekcılığı arasındaki ilişkinin geleneksel annelik tarafından aracılık edildiği hipotezini test etmek için *mediation analizi* yapılmıştır. Sonuçlar, hipotezi onaylamıştır; geleneksel annelik, ebeveyn sıcaklığı ve anne bekcılığı arasındaki ilişkiye aracılık etmiştir ($B = -.05, SE = .03, p = .16, 95\% CI = [-.12, .02]$). Ebeveyn sıcaklığı ve anne bekcılığı arasındaki doğrudan etkinin istatistiksel olarak anlamlı olmadığı ve geleneksel annelik değişkeninin tam bir aracılık etkisinin olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır.

Word dosyası halinde yazıya geçirilen odak grup görüşmelerinin analizi, çocuk bakımı görevlerinin (besleme, bez değiştirme, uyutma, banyo yaptırma, vb.) çoğunluğunun anneler tarafından gerçekleştirildiğini ortaya çıkarmıştır. Ayrıca 3 katılımcı dışında, anneler çocuklarını disiplin altına alma şekilleri konusunda olası anlaşmazlıklar nedeniyle, kendi anneleri ya da eşlerinin anneleri yerine, ilk olarak eşlerinden yardım istediklerini belirtmişlerdir. Kız ya da erkek çocuğa sahip olma arasındaki fark sorulduğunda, katılımcılar ebeveynlerin etkileşim şeklini etkileyen, kız ve erkek çocuklarının doğası ve mizaçları arasındaki farklılıkları vurgulamışlardır.

Sonuç olarak ebeveynlerin çoğu çocuk bakımı ve çocuk gelişimiyle ilgili herhangi bir faaliyete katılmamış, geleneksel yöntemleri ve çevrimiçi kaynakları tercih ettiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Aynı zamanda çocuk bakımına ve ev işlerine ilişkin sorumlulukların önemli bir kısmının anneler tarafından yerine getirildiği belirtilmiştir. Genel olarak, ebeveyn sıcaklığı açısından anneliğin kutsal ve koşulsuz yönleri vurgulanmıştır.

Sonuç ve Kısıtlılıklar

Bu çalışma anne bekcılığının sosyolojik yönlerini tanımlamayı ve çocuk bakımının anneleştirilmesi aracılığıyla ebeveyn sıcaklığı ve anne bekcılığı arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemeyi amaçlamıştır. Bu çalışma anne bekcılığını belirli sosyal ve politik

yönlere etkilenen bağımlı bir deęişken olarak ele alan ebeveyn sıcaklığı ve geleneksel annelikle ilişkisini inceleyen bilinen az çalışmadan biridir. Ayrıca az sayıda çalışma dışında, Türkiye bağlamında anne bekçilięi kapsamlı bir şekilde incelenmemiştir. Yaşamın ilk yıllarındaki anne-çocuk ilişkisinin dinamikleri, biyolojik olarak anne olmanın bir sonucu olarak deęil, çocuk sahibi olan kadına atfedilen kurumsallaşmış bir rol olarak iki temel yaklaşım ışığında tartışılmıştır: *Sembolik Etkileşim Kuramı* ve *Aile Sistemleri Kuramı*. Bu iki çerçevede anne bekçilięi, anne sevgisi inşası ve çocuk bakımının anneleştirilmesi arasındaki ilişkiyi içeren çalışmanın sonuçları tartışılmıştır. Biri hariç bütün hipotezler desteklenmiştir. Annelerin anne bekçilięi rolünü benimsemelerinin, ev içi iş bölümü gibi, evlilik içi dinamiklerden ve toplumdaki toplumsal cinsiyet kalıplarından etkilendięi ortaya çıkmıştır.

Çalışma deęişkenlerinin tanımlayıcı istatistikleri (anne bekçilięi, ebeveyn sıcaklığı, geleneksel annelik), geleneksel annelik için genel puanın yüksek olduğunu göstermektedir. Geleneksel annelik skorlarını yordayan tek deęişken annelerin çalışma durumlarıdır. Çalışmayan kadınların toplumdaki geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyet rollerine dayanan geleneksel annelik tutumlarına daha fazla sahip olduęu görülmektedir. Bu sonuçlar geleneksel anlayışların ve uygulamaların erkek ve kadınlara ev içinde sunduęu roller üzerindeki etkilerini bildiren önceki bulguları doğrulamaktadır.

Bu geleneksel rollerin içselleştirilmesi doğumla başlar ve örgün eğitim yoluyla güçlendirilir. Özellikle ders kitaplarının geleneksel cinsiyet rollerinin yeniden üretilmesinde etkili olduęu söylenebilir. Türkiye’de 1945’lere kadar ilk ve ortaokul ders kitaplarında ailenin iş bölümü açısından tasviri daha eşitlikçi bir anlayış göstermektedir. 1950’lerden sonra bu ders kitaplarında, kadınların evde barışçıl bir ortamdan sorumlu olmasının önemine vurgu yapılarak geleneksel rollere daha fazla atıfta bulunulduęu gözlemlenmektedir. 2000’li yıllardan beri, Türkiye’nin eğitimde cinsiyet eşitliğini sağlamak için iki uluslararası belge (Pekin +5 ve CEDAW) imzalamasıyla birlikte deęişim söz konusu olsa da (Gümüšoęlu, 2008), Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı tarafından yayımlanan ilköğretim ders kitaplarında, kadınlara atfedilen evle

ilgili görevler çocuğun bakımı, ev temizliđi ve yemek pişirmesidir. Aynı kitaplarda, erkeklere atfedilen evle ilgili görevler, alışveriş yapmak, tamirat işleriyle ilgilenmek, araba sürmek ve ailesi için iyi bir yaşam sağlamaktır (Kırbaoglu-Kılıç, 2011, s.145).

Korelasyon sonuçlarına göre bir kadının aylık geliri ilk kez anne olduđu yaşla ilişkilidir; yüksek gelir grubundaki kadınlar ilk çocuklarına düşük gelir grubundakilerden daha geç yaşta sahip olmaktadır. Aynı zamanda, yüksek gelir grubundaki kadınlar, düşük gelir grubundakilere göre ev işlerine daha az zaman ayırmaktadır. Kadınların geleneksel anneliđe yönelik tutumları dikkate alındığında önemli olan bir diđer deđişken de eğitimidir. Sonuçlara göre, üniversite veya yüksek lisans derecesine sahip kadınlar, ortaokul mezunu kadınlardan daha az geleneksel annelik rolü üstlenmektedir. Bu sonuç, eğitimin kadınlara kontrasepsiyon bilgisini ve kullanımını ve daha fazla özerklik sağlamada kritik bir faktör olduğunu belirten önceki bulguları desteklemektedir (Ferre, 2009, s.6).

Hem anket hem de odak grup sonuçları birlikte ele alındığında, eğitim ile geleneksel annelik rolleri arasında negatif bir ilişki olsa bile, yüksek sosyoekonomik gruptaki kadınların hala çocuklarına karşı duygusal bağımlılıklarında geleneksel rolleri yansıttığı sonucuna varılabilir. Duygusal bağıllığın devam etmesi, maddi gereksinimlere yönelik bağıllığın azalmasına rağmen duygusal bağımlılığın arttığını rapor eden önceki çalışmalarla uyumludur (Ataca ve Sunar, 1999; Duben, 1982; Erelçin, 1988; İmamođlu, 1987; Yang, 1988; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007; Mayer, Trommsdorff, Kağıtçıbaşı ve Mishra, 2012). Yaşlılık güvencesi için yüksek sosyoekonomik sınıf arasında farklı kurumların erişilebilirliđi, duygusal bağımlılıkta azalmaya yol açmamaktadır. Ebeveynlerin çocuklarından duygusal beklentileri devam etmekte ve hatta çocuklar büyüdükçe artmaktadır (İmamođlu, 1987).

Yođunlaştırılmış annelik anlayışıyla kadınların ev ve aileyle ilgili konularda, özellikle de kayınvalideleriyle ilişkilerinde yetki ve kontrol sahibi olmaları arasında bir ilişki olduđu söylenebilir. Bu ilişki taraflar arasındaki iktidar dağılımına dayalı deđişkenliđi yansıtmaktadır. Bu ilişkiyi etkileyen en önemli husus, annesinin konumunu güçlendiren bir sosyal sermaye olarak çocuğun doğmasıdır. Torununu sık sık görmek

isteyen kayınvalide gelinin karşısında daha zayıf bir konumdadır (Çamoğlu, 2017, s.15). Dolayısıyla, anne için bekçilik uygulamaları prestij kazanma ve aile içindeki pozisyonunu koruma yolu haline gelmektedir. Çocuk yetiştirme sorumluluklarını paylaşmayı reddetmenin ardında yatan bu tür bir motivasyonun yaygınlığı, geleneksel rollerin modern bir şekilde sürdürülmesi olarak analiz edilebilir.

Bu bakış açısıyla, Türk ailesindeki kadınların “yetenekli duygusal yönetici” rolüne sahip oldukları söylenebilir (Dion ve Dion, 1993, s. 61). Bu kadın tasviri, aile içindeki ilişkileri, özellikle de eşinin ailesiyle ilişkilerini düzenlemede etkin bir rol oynamaktadır. Bu aktif rolün kadınlara getirdiği duygusal sorumlulukların yanı sıra, geniş aile ortamında bir tür iktidar sağlayabildiği görülmektedir (Honig & Hershatter, 1988). Böylelikle kadınlar sadece çocuk ve baba arasında değil, aynı zamanda eşleri ve onun ailesi arasındaki duygusal yakınlığı da kısıtlayabilirler.

Bu çalışmanın bulguları, ilk çocuğun cinsiyetinin anne bekçiliği uygulamaları, annelerin ebeveyn sıcaklığı veya geleneksel annelik tutumları üzerinde doğrudan bir etkiye sahip olmadığını ortaya koymuş olsa da bu sonuç, katılımcıların çocuklarının yaş aralığından kaynaklanabilir. Bununla birlikte odak grup görüşmeleri dikkate alındığında, annelerin kızların erkeklerden daha duygusal ve hassas olduğuna inandıkları için kız çocuklarına duygusal olarak daha sıcak ve daha koruyucu oldukları sonucuna varılabilir. Anket sonuçlarından ulaşılamayıp odak grup görüşmelerinden elde edilen bu bulgular, araştırmanın karma yöntemli olarak tasarlanmasının amacına ulaştığını göstermektedir.

Bu tür kalıplaşmış duyguların belirli bir cinsiyete atfedilmesi, okul öncesi yaşlardan itibaren gözlemlenmektedir (Kelly ve Hutson-Comeaux, 2002). Türk aile yapısında anneler bu kalıp yargıları kızlarıyla ve oğullarıyla farklı şekilde ve ölçüde ebeveyn sıcaklığının paylaşarak korumaktadırlar. Chodorow'un (1978) iddia ettiği gibi, bu durum erkek ve kız çocukları arasında farklı benlik duygusunun gelişmesi üzerinde önemli bir etkiye sahiptir. Erkek çocukları daha bağımsız bir benlik duygusu geliştirirken, kız çocukları diğerlerinin duygusal ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için

sorumluluk almaya teşvik edildiği için, sürekliliğini diğer benlikler üzerinden sağlayabilen bir kişisel kimlik geliştirmektedirler.

Kız ve erkek çocuklarının doğası ve mizaçları arasındaki farklılıklara dayandırılan duygusal sıcaklığa bağlı bu ayırım, ebeveynlerin çocuklarıyla etkileşime girme şeklini etkilemektedir. 2015 yılında Kağıtçıbaşı ve Ataca tarafından rapor edilen VOC2 bulguları bu sonuçları teyit etmektedir. Bu bulgulara göre aileler kızlarının, buldukları yere daha yakın yaşamasını ve “maddi olmayan beklentiler” olarak tanımlanan duygusal emeği sunmasını beklemektedirler.

Bu çalışma, anne bekçiliğine odaklanan ve Türkiye’de baba katılımını ele alan sosyoloji literatüründeki az sayıda çalışmadan biri olsa da bazı kısıtlılıkları vardır. Her şeyden önce, örneklemin sosyoekonomik boyutu ele alındığında, çalışmanın ileride farklı örneklerle geliştirilebileceğini söylemek mümkündür. İleriki çalışmalarda Türkiye bağlamında, anne bekçiliği davranışlarıyla ilgili olarak yukarıda belirtilen bulguların yardımıyla baba katılımı ve anne bekçiliği arasındaki ilişkinin politik, sosyal ve ekonomik devinimlerden etkilenen iki yönlü bir ilişki olarak incelenmesi bu alandaki literatüre önemli katkılar sağlayacaktır.

APPENDIX J: TEZ İZİN FORMU / THESIS PERMISSION FORM

ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences

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Bölümü / Department : Sosyoloji

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (İngilizce / English): The Relationship Between Maternal Gatekeeping and Parental Warmth through the Mediating Role of Traditional Motherhood

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: Yüksek Lisans / Master Doktora / PhD

1. **Tezin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılacaktır.** / Release the entire work immediately for access worldwide.
2. **Tez iki yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for patent and/or proprietary purposes for a period of **two year.** *
3. **Tez altı ay süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for period of **six months.** *

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A copy of the Decision of the Institute Administrative Committee will be delivered to the library together with the printed thesis.

Yazarın imzası / Signature

Tarih / Date