AN INTERPRETATIVE PHENOMENOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON THE MOTHERING EXPERIENCES OF MIGRANT WOMEN FROM TURKEY IN THE UK

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ABSTRACT

AN INTERPRETATIVE PHENOMENOLOGICAL
RESEARCH ON THE MOTHERING EXPERIENCES OF MIGRANT WOMEN
FROM TURKEY IN THE UK

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The study aimed to gain an in-depth understanding of Turkish-speaking migrant women's mothering experiences in the United Kingdom and explore how sociocultural factors influence their mothering experiences by exploring the comparison of their mothering experiences in Turkey and the United Kingdom. Through purposive sampling, the study was conducted with 8 migrant mothers all of whom have a child or children between the ages of 1-12, who had an opportunity to experience their mothering experiences both in their mother country Turkey and the United Kingdom, have the same type of visa (as an owner of Turkish Businessperson Visa or dependent of Turkish Businessperson visa), and live in the migrated country from 1 year to 5 years. Semi-structured and face-to-face interviews were conducted with each of the eight participants. Interviews were analyzed by Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis and three superordinate themes emerged based on the results of the analysis. These were "Meaning of motherhood: Experiencing the

extremities", "Becoming a migrant: Breaking the shell", and "Becoming a migrant mother: Breaking the shell twice at the same time." Findings, implications for psychological counseling practices, and limitations of the present study were discussed depending on the relevant literature.

Keywords: Migrant motherhood, Migration, Mothering Experiences, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, Qualitative Methodology

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'DEN İNGİLTERE'YE GÖÇ ETMİŞ KADINLARIN GÖÇMEN ANNELİK DENEYİMLERİ ÜZERİNE YORUMLAYICI FENOMENOLOJİK BİR ÇALIŞMA

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Bu çalışma, Türkiye'den İngiltere'ye göç etmiş kadınların göçmen annelik deneyimlerini derinlemesine anlamayı ve Türkiye'deki ve İngiltere'deki annelik deneyimlerini karşılaştırarak sosyokültürel faktörlerin annelik deneyimlerini nasıl etkilediğini keşfetmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Amaçlı örneklem yöntemiyle katılımcılar, anneliğini hem Türkiye'de hem İngiltere'de deneyimlemiş, 1-12 yaş arasında çocuğu veya çocukları olan, Türk İş İnsanı vizesiyle İngiltere'de bulunan, en az 1 en çok 5 yıldır İngiltere'de göçmen olarak yaşamış, 8 göçmen anneden oluşmaktadır. Her katılımcı ile yarı yapılandırılmış, yüz yüze görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Bu görüşmeler, yorumlayıcı fenomenolojik analiz yöntemi ile analiz edilmiştir ve analiz sonuçlarına göre üç ana tema ortaya çıkmıştır. Bunlar "Anneliğin anlamı: Uçları deneyimlemek", "Göçmen olmak: Kabuk değiştirmek" ve "Göçmen anne olmak: Aynı anda iki kere kabuk değiştirmek" olarak adlandırılmıştır. Bu çalışmanın bulguları, psikolojik danışma uygulamalarına yönelik çıkarımları ve sınırlılıkları ilgili alanyazına dayalı olarak tartışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Göçmen annelik, Göç, Annelik Deneyimleri, Yorumlayıcı Fenomenolojik Analiz, Nitel Metodoloji

To my migration journey

&

To my beloved better half, Serdar

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

UK	United Kingdom
TÜİK	Turkish Statistical Institute
EEC	European Economic Community
US	United States
EU	European Union
IOM	International Organization for Migration
PTG	Posttraumatic Growth
IPA	Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis
BAMER	Black, Asian, Minority Ethnic and Refugee
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background to the study

Transition to motherhood is one of the biggest and most important life events for women in which they take responsibility during this transition and try to adapt to their new role (Don et al., 2014). Transition to this new role starts with pregnancy, develops, and continues after birth (Siddiqui & Hagglof, 2000). In the book "The Birth of a Mother", the psychiatrist Daniel Stern explained (1998) that women give birth to a new identity when they give birth. As Stern emphasized, becoming a mother is an identity shift and he draws attention to the psychological aspects of being a mother (Stern et al., 1998).

Considering the experiences and changes experienced by the woman, motherhood can be considered a life crisis or even an existential crisis. While explaining the life crisis, Jacobsen (2006) talked about the loss dimension of the crisis, the opening of existence to a new ground, and negativity (Arnold-Baker, 2020). While facing the fact that a woman's life will never be the same after becoming a mother, she experiences a lot of loss and change as her priorities change, and the meaning of her life changes (Arnold-Baker, 2015; Prinds et al., 2014), and the woman's view of herself changes after becoming a mother. Jacobsen (2006) suggested that even if women try to adapt to and welcome the rupture they will experience after giving birth, the change that comes with childbirth should be considered a crisis because beyond how it was received it is still a rupture for the woman's lives. Raphael (1975) drew attention to the similarity of the physical, emotional, and hormonal changes experienced in motherhood with the changes in adolescence and suggested that if adolescence was seen as a crisis point in a person's life, motherhood should be evaluated in the same

way. While addressing motherhood as an existential crisis, Arnold Baker (2020; 2015) explained "throwness", which is an important term of Heidegger, and just like a child's being thrown into life and facing the unknown, in motherhood, a woman undergoes a similar "throwness" and unknown process.

From another point of view, the explanation of motherhood as an existential crisis is explained by the endless choices that a woman must make in motherhood, her confrontation with responsibility, and the finiteness of life (Arnold-Baker, 2020). Simone de Beauvoir also evaluated birth as a combination of temporality and mortality. In motherhood, a woman has to make endless decisions for both her child and herself. The worrying aspect of motherhood is that the choices made in motherhood also require accepting and taking responsibility for the consequences of these choices. As Sartre (1943) explained, the weight of freedom of choice comes from the fact that every choice brings responsibility, and the feeling of responsibility triggers anxiety. In this respect, while being more intertwined with concepts such as taking responsibility, choice, and freedom, it is also considered an existential crisis as it confronts the finiteness of life with birth and death (Arnold-Baker, 2020; Arnold-Baker, 2015; Arnold-Baker & Donaghy, 2005). In fact, the meaning of the Greek word 'krisis' is to decide, which supports the weight of dozens of decisions made in motherhood and why motherhood can be interpreted as a crisis (Arnold-Baker, 2020). Arnold-Baker (2015) mentioned that the sense of the uncanny existence that occurs when "everyday familiarity collapses" (Heidegger, 1962; p.189), which Heidegger states, creates an existential feeling of "not at home" and these feelings are intensely felt in motherhood.

There are numerous diverse opinions on the role of a mother, the attributions given to “motherhood”, its definition, and the way of looking at motherhood. The attention was given to mothers’ unconscious actions and deep attachment to children from the psychoanalytic theorists. For Freud, a mother was evaluated as the child’s primary love object. Klein underlined the importance of the nursing experience for children by showing the insufficient mother’s care as a reason for children’s problems (Klein, 1961). After the Second World War, mother-blaming theories have come into a stage. John Bowlby (1953) claimed that childcare in the early years is very significant in shaping the future mental health of children, but his conclusion was based on his

observation of neurotic and damaged children in his practice. Working mothers had trouble with what Bowlby claimed and they felt anxious and guilty about leaving their children at home.

Winnicott underlined that being a "good enough" mother is the significant point instead of putting impossible demands on mothers. As Winnicott (1956) explained, the meaning of a "good mother" is to adapt to the child's demands and support her/his development without anxieties and conflict. Like Bowlby, Winnicott also blamed mothers' insufficient maternal devotion for the child's developmental problems. Besides, all these claims about mothers imply that the mother should be at home and spend their time with their children. While proposing these assumptions all mothers are evaluated as if they have stable marriages and the contextual things such as economic situation, marital status, class, and race have not been taken into consideration.

For the first time, Beauvoir (1949) drew attention to the subordination of women by benefiting from giving birth and all the roles attributed to women such as restricting mothers to home. Friedan (1963) also supported what Beauvoir argued by naming the unhappiness of middle-class, educated, suburban housewives as 'the problem that has no name'. In her book, *Of Woman Born,* Rich (1995) claimed that women are put in an inferior position by abusing the ideologically constituted meaning of motherhood. The rise in feminism and demand for more labour has led to changes in the definition of motherhood and the way of looking at mothers.

Moreover, feminist constructionism defined motherhood as dynamic social interactions and relationships, which are in a societal context organized by gender through the lenses of the prevailing gender belief system (Arendell, 2000). There are two approaches under the feminist constructivist theory: Universalist Approach and Particularistic Approach. In this study, 'mothering experiences' were explored through the Particularistic Approach of Feminist Constructivist Theory, which claims that every woman has unique experiences of mothering, and cultural and economic contexts variously shape mothers' experiences and understandings (Arendell, 2000). The particularistic approach also underlines that mothering takes place in specific historical contexts of race, class, and gender. Although the universalist approach depicts a general phenomenon about mothering experiences, the particularistic

approach emphasizes that a mother from a high socioeconomic status is not experiencing the same experiences as a mother from a lower socioeconomic status. The other difference is that the women are considered as the primary caretakers of children in the Universalist Approach due to psychoanalytic object relation theory whereas it does not apply to the particularistic approach (Chodorow, 1978).

Before making the transition from the concept of motherhood to migrant motherhood, it can be understood by numbers how much migration has become a reality in today's world. Global People Movements' report published by the Legatum Institute Foundation (2017) demonstrated that there is an upward trend of people globally living outside of their country of birth, which increased from 173 million in 2000 to 258 million in 2017. According to World Migration Report (2020), this number reached almost 272 million, which equates to 3.5% of the world's population, and among international migrants, 48% were female. International Migration Report (2017) also demonstrated that the United Kingdom of Great Britain is on the list of twenty countries hosting the largest numbers of international migrants. When the international migrants' residences were examined in terms of numbers from top to down, they resided in the United States of America, Saudi Arabia, Germany, the Russian Federation, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain previously. Nearly nine million international migrants are reported as living in the UK and 52.4% of international migrants are females. The rapid increase in the number of migrant women also puts more importance on this issue in the era of migration. According to the data of the Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK, 2019), the number of people migrating abroad from Turkey is 330289 and it increased by 2% in 2019 compared to the previous year. 45.4% of the migrant population is women and 54.6% is men. Of the population that went abroad from Turkey, 84863 were citizens of the Republic of Turkey and 245426 were foreign nationals (TÜİK, 2019).

When the migration from Turkey to the UK was examined, it was understood that political events had a big impact on the migration flows. These can be listed as the Maraş massacre in the late 1970s, the 1980 military coup in Turkey, and the conflict between Turkish troops and the PKK in south-eastern Turkey (Sirkeci et al., 2016). When it was investigated how the people who migrated to the UK from Turkey

defined their ethnic origins, it was seen that they consisted of three categories as Turkish, Kurdish, and Turkish Cypriot (Sirkeci & Esipova, 2013).

In addition to these migration flows, the new waves of movers are those who migrated from Turkey to the UK with the Ankara Agreement, Turkish Businessperson visa. This agreement gives Turkish citizens the right to establish and work in the UK and was signed on 12 September 1963 by Turkey and the European Economic Community (EEC). After the UK joined the EEC in 1973, this agreement became valid between UK and Turkey, but its first implementation started in 2002. The profile of the migrants who came with this agreement is different from those who migrated before in terms of education level and foreign language proficiency. Their ability to speak the English language and their level of education are higher when compared with previous migrants. Because they need to prove that they have the competence to run their business by preparing a file in the application (Sirkeci et al., 2016).

Migration as a big life experience changes the contextual factors of the mothers directly. Unfortunately, among migration studies, women were invisible before the 1970s. With the increased number of women who migrated, the considerations of women and mothers came into the picture (Aydin et al., 2017). Researchers also emphasize the importance of gender roles and responsibilities. Espin (1987) claimed that the contradictions between home and host cultures are stronger for women who migrated from patriarchal collectivist societies than for men.

As pointed out in the literature, mothering experiences exacerbated by migration may bring about risks and strengths for women. Although motherhood by itself is a challenging experience, which brings lots of responsibilities to women's shoulders, being migrant women and trying to adapt to what the migration brings into their lives at the same time, may turn everything into a more complicated experience. To illustrate, Oakley (1986) argues that "becoming a mother is like traveling into a foreign country" (p. 307) since it requires lots of adjustments for a mother's life. Likewise, Liamputtong and Naksook (2003) claimed that being a migrant mother turns into an experience of traveling to two foreign countries at once. In addition, Hall et al. (1996), found that minority ethnic migrated mothers have more responsibility for both the childcare and the childcare organization than fathers. Moreover, if the mother is

working, handling childcare issues in the absence of family support makes the situation more difficult.

The challenges of migrant mothers were listed as social isolation, trying to preserve their own culture in a new land, facing different child-rearing practices (Liamputtong & Naksook, 2003), difficulty in cultural adaptation to the new land (Huang et al., 2016), absence of kin (Liamputtong, 2001), and feeling of loneliness (Russo et al., 2015) in the migration literature. While mentioning the psychological consequences of migration, adaptation to psychological and socio-cultural changes also play a significant role, which is also known as acculturation (Sam & Berry, 2006). The psychological distress that people experience when they migrate to a new country is referred to as acculturative stress in the acculturation literature (Hovey & Magaña, 2002). The level of acculturation to the new culture is also associated with psychological adjustment levels (Lam et al., 1997). Assimilation, separation, marginalization, and integration are the four types of acculturation, according to Berry (2006). Assimilation is marked by low participation in one's own culture and significant participation in the new culture. Separation results in low participation in one's new culture and strong participation in one's old culture. Low participation in both the new culture and the culture of origin is noted in the marginalization mode. Finally, participation in both the new and the old culture is observed in the mode of integration (Barry, 2001; Barry et al., 2009). In this context, the acculturation mode of the migrant mother also plays an important role in the adaptation of the mothering to the migrated country since migrant mothers encounter different motherhood models, mothering practices, and values when they migrated to a new culture.

Moreover, when a mother practices her motherhood in another culture her motherhood has also undergone an acculturation process. The meaning attributed to motherhood is influenced by the culture and parenting teachings can vary in different cultures. For instance, individualistic countries (e.g., the UK, the United States) give importance to autonomy and independent thinking in child-raising; on the other hand, parents in relatively collectivistic cultures (e.g., Turkey, Singapore) give importance to obedience and respect. When a Turkish migrant mother tries to practice her motherhood in an individualistic culture, some conflicts may arise between the teachings she learned from her mother culture and the practices of motherhood in the

individualistic culture. This conflict can be evaluated both as a challenge of migrant motherhood and as an opportunity for migrant motherhood to question, enrich, and rethink their motherhood since it allows to see different models of motherhood and enriching experiences for mothers. For instance, the experiences of Korean migrant parents living in New Zealand and the experiences of Southern European migrant mothers living in Norway showed that after migration they try to embrace the mothering style of the country, they migrated which is more dialogue-based, child-entered, and encouraging child's autonomy (Herrero-Arias et al., 2020; Lee & Keown, 2018).

Another challenge of migrant motherhood is that acculturation gaps between mothers and children can affect the mother-child relationship adversely. In the study of Buki et al. (2004), it was revealed that Chinese migrant mothers living in the US, who perceived larger acculturation gaps with their children were more likely to feel less satisfaction, more uncertainty, and more likely to have difficulty in communicating with their children. The result of this study draws attention to the importance of migrant mothers' acculturation to the new culture to keep their child's acculturation speed and the challenges of mothering in a different culture. Additionally, in the study of Tummala-Nara (2004) it was revealed Asian Indian migrant mothers living in the US have difficulty since they take the responsibility of teaching their own culture to their children and try to expose their children to mainstream North American culture but at the same time try to protect their children from becoming "too American". For instance, a mother shared her conflict with her daughter about dating behaviour and premarital sex and when the mother refers to Indian culture and warns her daughter to not have sexual intercourse before marriage, the daughter may reject these cultural teachings and prefer to follow American culture. This also showed how motherhood becomes more complicated for mothers since different acculturation levels of children and mothers to the new culture create more conflicts and arguments among them.

Taking all the above into consideration and the absence of research in the literature on migrant mothers who migrated from Turkey to the UK with the Ankara Agreement there is a need to hear the voices of migrant mothers to reveal their unique

mothering experiences by regarding their unique contextual differences and migration stories.

1.2. Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to gain an in-depth understanding of Turkish-speaking migrant women's mothering experiences in the United Kingdom (UK) and to explore how sociocultural factors influence their mothering experiences by exploring the comparison of their mothering experiences in Turkey and the UK.

1.3. Research questions

The following research questions were asked in accordance with the purpose of the research:

1. How do migrant mothers define "motherhood"?
2. How does migration to the UK influence the conceptualization of mothering experiences?
3. How do migrant women from Turkey experience "motherhood" in the UK?
    3.1 What are the strengths of being a migrant mother?
    3.2 What are the drawbacks of being a migrant mother?
    3.3 If any, how do migrant mothers cope with these drawbacks?
    3.4 To overcome these drawbacks, what supports do the migrant mothers need?
4. How do mothering experiences differ in Turkey and the UK?

1.4. Significance of the study

With the UK's exit from the EU and the Brexit process, the UK announced that the validity of the Ankara Agreement expires on 31 December 2020, and no new applications were accepted afterward. This situation pushed those who do not want to miss the opportunity to live in the UK to apply until 31 December 2020. This leads to an enormous increase in the number of applications for the Turkish Businessperson

visa type. According to the data obtained from the Ministry of the Interior, BBC Turkish released that the number of people applying to the Ankara Agreement from Turkey in the first 9 months of 2020 is more than 10,000. The rapid increase in the number of applicants can be understood with the following comparison. More applications were made in the first 9 months of 2020 than the total number in the last 10 years (BBC News Türkçe, 2020). Hence, the increase in the number of families migrating to the UK with Turkish Businessperson visa type and the dearth of research on migrant mothers' experiences revealed an important area of investigation. This study contributed to increasing knowledge about unique mothering experiences and addressing the psychological needs of that group.

Additionally, individuals who migrate to the UK as Turkish Businessperson have different qualities compared to those who migrated to the UK in the late 1970s and 1980s in terms of education level and foreign language proficiency. Their ability to speak the English language and their level of education are higher when compared with previous migrants. Because they need to prove that they have the competence to run their business by preparing a file in the application (Sirkeci et al., 2016). Therefore, considering the background differences of these participants, addressing their experiences separately rather than considering them as mothers who migrated from Turkey under a single heading is another importance of this research. For instance, highly skilled migrants from less developed countries face the reality of having to start the labour market at the bottom (Castles & Miller, 1998). The loss of economic status is explained by downward social mobility (Castles & Miller, 1998). In the study by Alcántara et al., (2014) it was found that Latino migrants, who perceived downward social mobility, had poor health and depression after migration. In this respect, the deterioration of the mother's mental health with the perception of downward social mobility will also deeply affect her communication with her child, her self-perception, and the child's perception of her mother.

Women who come with a Turkish Businessperson visa type may have set up their businesses and brought their husbands and children as dependents. Alternatively, their husbands may have obtained a Turkish businessperson visa and set up their business, bringing their children and themselves as dependents. Whether the migrant mother has a Turkish businessperson visa or a 'dependent' visa, the fact that in both

visa types of migrant mother faces different risk factors. If the migrant mother establishes her own company in the UK and came with a Turkish businessperson visa, she has to prove with her earnings and taxes that her company is a profitable company that achieves its goals to receive the maximum extension of 3 years in the visa extension application which has to be made at the end of the first year. One of the risk factors here is that in the early days of migration, when the migrant mother has the most difficulty in accessing social and family support in childcare, the migrant mother has to devote her time heavily to her work to prove the profitability of her company for visa extension. However, studies with migrant mothers have shown that the adaptation and care of the child during the migration process is mostly the mother's responsibility (Kofman & Raghuram, 2006; Salaff & Greve, 2004).

Another importance of this study lies in the unique challenges of mothers while raising their children in a different culture. Becoming a migrant mother brings enormous challenges to the women and makes motherhood more complicated due to having different languages and values than the dominant culture (Berry et al., 2006). First, the migrant mother enters the process of negotiations with the different cultural parenting teachings in the new culture to which she migrated and reconstructs her definition of motherhood. On the one hand, the migrant mother wants to transfer her cultural teachings to her child to preserve cultural continuity (Stromquist & Monkman, 2000). On the other hand, she tries to understand and follow the norms of the country of emigration to support the acculturation of her child in the country of emigration. Tam and Chan (2015) revealed that migrant parents try to develop a multicultural socialization process and try to adopt the host nation's values to some extent to enhance their children's acculturation to the host society. In a way in migrant motherhood, new cultural layers are added to motherhood, such as adapting to the migrated culture and supporting the child's acculturation to the new culture while preserving the cultural continuity of the home culture. For instance, the study of Maiter and George (2003) revealed that Muslim mothers living in the US prefer to follow their religious practices in child-raising while providing more freedom to their children by following US culture.

Another challenge that poses a negative effect on the mother-child relationship in migration is the larger acculturation gaps between mothers and children (Buki et al.,

2004). For instance, Chinese migrant mothers living in the US expressed that they feel less satisfaction, more uncertainty, and are more likely to have difficulty in communicating with their children due to the larger acculturation gap. It reveals the importance of mothers' acculturation to the new culture so that they can adapt to the child's acculturation speed. Moreover, some training can be developed for the newcomer migrant parents to ease their acculturation processes such as providing workshops about the education system, and health system which they have to resort to for their children and themselves. In this study, revealing the needs of immigrant mothers helps to determine the required psychological interventions to support mothers' acculturation process. Additionally, the results of this study will make an important contribution to providing culturally sensitive counselling services for mental health professionals working with migrant mothers, as it gives an idea about the risk factors and difficulties that are related to the context of the clients.

This study was designed in a way that supports the theoretical infrastructure on which motherhood is based. The Feminist Particularistic Approach emphasizes that the meaning of motherhood should be constructed by each woman herself (Arendell, 2000) and emphasizes how much the context influences women's motherhood experiences. Hence, this study allows women to construct motherhood from their perspectives in alignment with the Feminist Particularistic Approach. In addition, this study explores the mothering experiences in two different diverging contexts with the mothers who have experienced being a mother both in Turkey and the UK. This reveals how the experience of motherhood changes when all other differences are eliminated and the context in which the mother's life is changed. Although there are studies in the literature about the cross-cultural adaptation of migrant mothers in the country they migrated to (Salami et al., 2020; Liamputtong, 2010; Sigad & Eisikovits, 2009; Tetrault et al., 2021), no research has been found comparing motherhood in their own country and the country they migrated to. Hence, evaluating such a comparison adds to the uniqueness of this study.

Lastly, research with migrant mothers tended to focus on pathology and risk factors rather than strengths (Aroian, 2001; Desouza, 2005). Mostly, literature is dominated by the perinatal stages, birth experiences, and transition to mothering as migrant women (Aydin et al., 2017; Korukcu et al., 2017; Straus et al., 2009). In this

study, all aspects of contextual change in the mothering experiences were explored with a holistic approach.

1.5. Definitions of terms

Mothering refers to women's experiences of mothering that are female-defined and centred and potentially empowering to women" (O'Reilly 2004, p. 2).

Acculturation is used "when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield et al., 1936, p. 149).

Assimilation strategy is defined *"*from the point of view of non-dominant ethnocultural groups when individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures" (Sam & Berry, 2006, p. 35).

Separation strategy is defined "when individuals place a value on holding on to their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others, then the separation alternative is defined" (Sam & Berry, 2006, p. 35).

Marginalization strategy is defined as "when there is little possibility of, or interest in, cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss), and little interest in having relations with others (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination)" (Sam & Berry, 2006, p. 35).

Integration strategy is used "when there is an interest in both maintaining one's original culture and having daily interactions with other groups, integration is the option; here, there is some degree of cultural integrity maintained, while at the same time the individual seeks, as a member of an ethnocultural group, to participate as an integral part of the larger social network" (Sam & Berry, 2006, p. 35).

Migration "is the process of moving from one place to another. To migrate is to move, whether from a rural area to a city, from one district or province in a given country to another in that same country to a new country. It involves action" (World Migration Report, 2020, p. 29).

The international migrant is used for "any person who changes his or her country of usual residence" (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Toolkit on International Migration, 2012, p. 2).

Migration flow (international) is used for "the number of international migrants arriving in a country or the number of international migrants departing from a country over the course of a specific period" (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Toolkit on International Migration, 2012, p. 3).

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, major concepts, and findings regarding the description of motherhood and mothering experiences were presented. Additionally, migration and its' psychological effects on motherhood, as well as the strengths and challenges of being a migrant woman and migrant mother were explained in the following sections.

2.1. Motherhood and mothering experiences

Motherhood (or mothering) is a highly disputed concept. There is no clear-cut definition of motherhood since different perspectives and discourses attribute a different meaning to this concept. Therefore, different definitions and perspectives of mothering were explained in the beginning and then the perspective, which was adopted in conceptualizing motherhood in this research, is explained. Uttal (1996) explained that "traditional domestic mothering" includes all the responsibilities of the child except for economic ones until the children reach the age of compulsory education. This depicts the bored, isolated, repetitive housecleaning, and dirty diapers image of the mothers as Friedan (1963) underlined.

There is no doubt that both the sociocultural and contextual factors, particularly the industrial revolution, mass production, and capitalism influence the conceptualization of "mothering" (Chodorow, 1999). With the increased involvement of mothers in educational and workplace areas, the traditional meaning of motherhood turns into a new image of "supermoms" (Thurer, 1994). In this new image of mothering, both the wage-earning and the mothering roles are put simultaneously on mothers' shoulders. New employed super mother image was matched with the women "stri(ding) forward, briefcase in one hand, smiling child in other" (Hochschild &

Machung, 1989, p. 1). Especially since the 19th century mothering becomes the primary identity of women and motherhood was embedded in the concept of women's gender identity (McMahon, 1995). What is worse, even two concepts of becoming a mother and becoming a woman equate with each other (Ruddich, 1994).

Different attributions were given to the meaning of "mothering" from different cultures. As Collins (1987) states, African American Communities do not perceive "mothering" as something that a mother only takes care of immediate family members. Mothering for the black mother also includes the meaning of mothering for other people's children and the community. In "The Meaning of Motherhood in Black Culture and Black Mother-Daughter Relationships", Collins (1987) drew attention to distinct African American meaning and explained how three assumptions about motherhood did not apply to their context. Collins wrote:

> First, the assumption that mothering occurs within the confines of a private, nuclear family household where the mother has almost total responsibility for child-rearing is less applicable to Black families. While the ideal of the cult of true womanhood has been held up to Black women for emulation, racial oppression has denied Black families' sufficient resources to support the private, nuclear family household. Second, strict sex-role segregation, with separate male and female spheres of influence within the family, has been less commonly found in African-American families than in White middle-class ones. Finally, the assumption that motherhood and economic dependency on men are linked and that to be a 'good' mother one must stay at home, making motherhood a full-time 'occupation' is similarly uncharacteristic of African-American families. (pp. 43-44)

When mothering was mentioned through the lenses of Aboriginal culture, they attributed three words in their anthology to describe their mothering experiences, which are "oppression", "resistance," and "rebirth" (Brant, 2014) which can be understood in the colonial context and the realities Aboriginal mothers have to face with several issues such as racism, addiction, poverty, social and legal persecution. Consequently, their mothering cannot be considered without resisting the forces that marginalize, demoralize, and oppress their Aboriginal mothering practices (Brant, 2014). Also, regarding mothering in the South Asian context, sanctimoniousness of family life in the South Asian culture was valued greatly which led to mothers' strong

sense of obligation about putting their own needs behind their family (Grewal et al., 2005).

For Logsdon et al. (2006), the operational definition of "mothering" consists of four mothering roles, which are, meeting the physiological and safety needs of the child, having to interact with the child, providing health care for the child, and finding gratification in the mothering role. Mercer (1985) explained that gratification in the mothering role is a feeling of satisfaction, enjoyment, reward, and pleasure that the mother experiences when fulfilling the requirements of the mothering role.

Feminist scholars made critiques of the conceptualization of "mothering" which is evaluated as "natural, unchanging, and universal" (Glenn, 1994). Feminists reconstructed the meaning of "mothering" as a dynamic phenomenon that is culturally and historically made (Chodorow, 1999; Peng & Wong, 2013). To androgenize the meaning of "mothering", Ruddick (1994) detached mothering from birth-giving. More attention has been given to the investigation of motherhood ideology which fully means "devotion of oneself for others; being self-sacrificing" (Bassin et al., 1994). In parallel with these views, in the book "Of Born Woman" O'Reilly (2004) also draws attention to how "motherhood" can be defined differently from different gender perspectives. O'Reilly mentioned that one definition of motherhood made by Rich (1995), supports the patriarchal social codes that are "the potential relationship of any woman to her powers of reproduction- and to children; and the institution- which aims at ensuring that potential- and all women- shall remain under male control" (as cited in O'Reilly, 2004, p.2). This male dominant definition evaluates motherhood as an institution and puts women in an oppressed position. On the other hand, another definition of motherhood by Rich (1995) states, "mothering refers to women's experiences of mothering that are female-defined and centred and potentially empowering to women" (as cited in O'Reilly, 2004, p.2). This definition contrasts with the former one and gives importance to the subjective experiences of women by dealing with the standardization of "motherhood". Therefore, in the current study, the operational definition of motherhood was focused on the female defined definition since it refers to "mothering experiences" instead of "experiences of motherhood".

Feminist constructionist scholars evaluate mothering experiences under two approaches: the universalist approach and the particularistic approach (Arendell,

2000). The universalist approach claims that although individual and cultural differences exist among mothers, the terminology of "mothering experiences" draws attention to some commonalities shared by definition and condition which are nurturing, protecting, and training of children (Leonard, 1996; Ruddick, 1994). At this point, the observation of theorist Ruddick appears so significant that mothers are identified with what they try to do instead of their feelings.

On the other hand, the particularistic approach critiques the universalist approach since the influences of historical, socio-cultural, and economical contexts on mothering experiences were disregarded. According to the particularistic approach, while trying to understand a mother's experiences, contextual frameworks that a mother lives in should be taken into consideration (Glenn, 1994). Contrary to the Universalist approach, the particularistic approach argues that each mother has their unique ways of nurturing, protecting, and socializing with their children (Arendell, 2000). Thus, multiple meanings and shifting meanings of mothering were acknowledged in the particularistic approach (Josselson, 1996; McMahon, 1995).

This dissertation was constructed around particularistic constructivist theory since the researcher evaluates the mothering experiences of migrant women as unique experiences and migrating to the UK may be a factor that influences the mothering experiences of these migrant women by changing their sociocultural context. While this study chooses to stand from the perspective of particularistic constructivist theory in defining "mothering experiences", it aims to understand psychological aspects of "mothering" specifically by depending on the grounded theory explanation of Barlow and Cairns (1997). Barlow and Cairns' (1997) study investigated psychological experiences of mothering by using the grounded theory methodology. Participants' points of view were taken into consideration which suits the feminist approach in terms of giving importance to mothers' unique experiences and their voices to understand the psychological processes. The themes that emerged in each sub-category can be shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1

Grounded Theory of Mothering as a Psychological Process

Core Category	Expanding the Self			
Themes	Sub-themes			
Engagement	Establishing the intention to mother	Encountering ghosts of mothering received	Committing to new life circumstances	Engaging in the process of self-socialization
Immersion	Renegotiating relationships	Preserving child Preserving self	Self-constructed mothering	Replenishment

Note. Barlow, C. A., & Cairns, K. V. (1997). *Canadian Journal of Counselling*, *31*(3), p. 236

The first year of mothering is classified under the sub-category of "engagement" which includes the time of adjustment to mothering which includes subthemes of establishing the intention, encountering ghosts of mothering received, committing to new life circumstances, and engaging in the process of self-socialization (Barlow & Cairns, 1997). While a woman intends to be a mother, intra-physic, normative, and couple factors play a role. The way past events, like childhood experiences, influences personal processing of thoughts and feeling about being a mother represents the intra-physic part. For example, if a woman has a negative childhood experience, her intention to be a mother may be shaped by the need for corrective experience. When we mention normative roles, it includes cultural pressure about having a child. Lastly, a couple of factors are related to how women evaluate a man's ability to be a father. For instance, women use some criteria when choosing their prospective partners such as education, income, and willingness of the partner to have a child. In the themes of encountering the ghosts of mothering received, mothers face their own experiences of being mothered. The woman may have problems due to a lack of positive role-modelling if she evaluates her received mothering as being inadequate. Unresolved issues about received mothering could influence maternal functioning adversely (Barlow & Cairns, 1997). Women may come up with the perception and feeling of rejection from their mothers or they may acknowledge the reality of their childhood experience. While women become mothers and have difficult times of mothering such as feeling distant or impatient towards their children, they

resort to environmental variables to explain their behaviours. Recently, blaming their own mother turns into empathy, and the intra-physic and environmental factors of their own mother have been taken into account, which is the process of re-evaluating and revising their own mothers. In the theme of committing to new life circumstances, women experience affective, cognitive, and behavioural engagement with their child and all the responsibilities that come with mothering. As a last theme of engagement, women develop a repertoire of effective parenting skills in self-socialization. While doing this, women often try to take positive parental models around them. If they could only receive negative parental models in their childhood, they often try to use self-monitoring strategies to reverse the situation for their children. In addition, childhood memories or contact with the inner child may enlighten women's behaviour in terms of mothering by showing them what is good for them as a child. Moreover, some women try to expand their knowledge by attending some courses about parenting, reading manuals, or applying for family counselling (Barlow & Cairns, 1997).

The period after the first year of mothering is classified under the sub-category of "immersion" which includes settling into the reality of daily commitment. Immersion specifically includes the period after the first-year transition to mothering until the woman's oldest child turns twelve. This stage is more related to settling into the day-to-day, year-to-year realities of child-rearing. The aspects of immersion can be listed as involving renegotiation of relationship, preserving self and child, self-constructed mothering, and replenishment (Barlow & Cairns, 1997). Since the aim of this study is to understand deeply the self-constructed meaning of mothering experiences of women, the main focus of the current study is on the immersion stage of migrant mothers. In the aspect of renegotiating relationships to answer the needs of their growing children, mothers spend their energy redefining relationships including their workplace and their partners. Financial considerations also take place in the decision-making process of the workplace while the underlying aim is to try to choose what is best for their children. Without looking at the egalitarian relationships that are established previously among couples, the couple dynamics may change. From the perspective of mothers, their partners' lack of commitment to child-rearing practices, is a core problem that influences couple dynamics. In the aspect of preserving self, mothers try to find a balance between connectedness and separateness with their

children. Mothers may experience personal crisis while trying to find a balance, and this crisis may be resolved with the creation of "self-constructed mothering". Instead of following someone else's definition of right and wrong about mothering, mothers accept their contextual nature and find their philosophy of mothering (Barlow & Cairns, 1997). Lastly, mothers accept their personal limitations and acknowledge the rewards of mothering in replenishment. Feeling the unconditional love from the child and the loving act shown by the child turn into motivation for replenishment.

When trying to understand motherhood from an emotional point of view, should be mentioned the feelings of inadequacy and guilt that were created by the concept of the "ideal mother". Butterfield (2010) stated that "the ideal mother is revealed to be a social construction, and one that varies historically and culturally" (p. 67). She further claims that the ideal of a "good mother" represents a woman who sacrifices all other identities and puts motherhood as to top priority. This shows how mothers' self-sacrifice attitudes are culturally derived (Brown & Small, 1997). In the study of Horne and Breitkreuz (2016), thirteen focus groups with mothers living in Canada were conducted and the dimensions of mothers' self-sacrifice were found in three central themes: sacrificing employment, sacrificing personal goals, and sacrificing personal relationships.

Even if mothers make such sacrifices when mothers cannot meet the requirements of being an 'ideal mother", their sense of failure was triggered by societal expectations and they feel judged, ashamed, and fearful of sharing their experiences with others. Therefore, the mother becomes isolated and cannot take support from others at the time when she most needed for support. In literature, the findings of many research studies showed the adverse psychological effects of perfectionist standards, which were set by the society at the macro-level (Henderson et al., 2015; Flett et al., 2005; Stoeber and Otto, 2006). Price (1988) made a critique of what society expects from mothers:

> Society, having handed over the entire responsibility of mothering to women, can afford to have unreasonable expectations of what good mothering is. Hence messages are that mothers should be constantly available, always put their baby's needs first, have no needs of their own, and should aim towards a form of perfect with the baby abound. (pp. 128)

In the quantitative study of Henderson et al. (2015), mental health consequences of idealized motherhood were explored with 283 mothers aged 18-50. The findings of this study contrary to prior research indicated that even mothers who may not subscribe to the dominant discourse of idealized motherhood are subject to adverse psychological consequences. This revealed that the impacts of macro perfectionist standards that are set for motherhood discourse are inescapable. Even if the mothers do not internalize the myth of idealized motherhood, their mental health is still at risk if she simply has the pressure to be a perfect mother exposed on the macro level. Prior research drew attention to mothers' choices of following the idealized motherhood. However, the result of Henderson et al. (2015) showed that mothers pay the price of idealized motherhood discourse even the ones who do not follow it. The finding of this study revealed that the pressure to be perfect was linked with lower self-efficacy and a higher level of stress and feeling the pressure was something inescapable for mothers.

The results of Henderson et al.'s (2015) study empirically highlighted the arguments made about 'mother-blame', which draw attention to the link between macro-level discourses and micro-level psychological outcomes (Jackson & Mannix, 2004; Singh, 2004). Mother blame is defined as a practice of holding mothers responsible for the actions, behaviour, health, and well-being of their (even adult) children by not taking fathers' contribution into account (Jackson & Mannix, 2004; Singh, 2004). In the qualitative research of Jackson and Mannix (2004), which was conducted with 20 mothers living in Australia, 18 out of 20 mothers expressed distinct discourse around mother blaming. As a result of being exposed to the blaming attitudes from others, their possibility of internalizing these blaming attitudes may increase and they had to carry the psychological burden of blaming.

From another perspective, mother blaming was also prevalent in clinical journals. Caplan and Hall-McCorquodale (1985) explored mother-blaming in clinical journals published in 1970, 1976, and 1982 and it was found that a wide range of 72 psychopathologies such as fetishism, schizophrenia, sibling jealousy, and incest attributed to mothers. On the other hand, there was not any positive attribution found for mothers among these 125 articles, which were examined by Caplan and Hall-

McCorcuquodale. Mother blame discourses were also found in the literature on the subject of child sexual abuse and incest (Ehrmin, 1996; Fong & Walsh-Bowers, 1998). The underlying message in a father's sexual abuse of his daughter was made to the mother's need to know everything in the family as a good mother, and the mother's power to stop abuse as a primary caregiver (Breckenridge & Baldry, 1997). All these attributions made to mothers and how motherhood was perceived in society and culture had a major impact on the mothers' feeling of guilt about their mothering experiences.

Evolutionary psychologists Rotkirch and Janhunen (2010) also argued that guilt "focuses on wrong behaviour, and it is connected to a concern for others and how they are affected by one's behaviour" (p. 92). In their qualitative study, Rotkirch, and Janhunen (2010) found that guilt is the most frequent accompanying feeling in motherhood, which was expressed by the Finnish mothers. Finnish mothers stated that they felt guilty due to negative emotions such as anger, aggression, and rage that they felt in their motherhood. The reasons for guilt were expressed by Finnish mothers were listed as the thoughts of leaving children, not corresponding to their ideas of a good mother, not corresponding to other's ideas of a good mother, mental and physical absence towards their child, and the feelings of wishing an exit from being a mother.

All in all, with respect to motherhood and the experiences of motherhood, several risk factors were highlighted in the literature. Personal, sociocultural, and contextual factors were shown to affect motherhood experiences. In other words, motherhood can be described as a multifactorial experience. Mothers' early childhood experiences with their own mothers, the burden of responsibility of a child, and unrealistic societal expectations might significantly influence the mothering experiences. Consistent with that standpoint, the current study acknowledges the importance of evaluating the motherhood experience by including the contextual factors that can intervene with motherhood.

2.2. Migration and its psychological effects, and motherhood

"Migration is an existential shift which affects every part of human life" (Stephen Castles, 2003, p.22)

It is an era of migration and people migrate to different countries with different intentions. Some of the reasons for migration can be listed as; education, employment opportunities, climate change, better living standards, and political pressures (Berry & Sam, 1997). Although there is no universally agreed definition of migration, International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2011) defines it as the movement of a person or a group of persons. It could be within a state or across international borders. In this study, the focus is on "international migrants" who are living in a different country than the once than their home country. While categorizing migrant people, two factors are considered: (1) timing; whether the migration is temporary or permanent, and (2) intention; whether it is voluntary or forced. Yet, the term migrant is used for all. Bakewell (2010) criticized the categorization of international migration as voluntary or forced and argued that the responsibility of migration should not be left to the sole responsibility of the individual. In line with Bakewell's criticism, Sirkeci (2012) suggested that in modern migration theories, international migration should no longer be evaluated based on its voluntary and compulsory characteristics, and it would be more appropriate to explain it through a conflict-based model. While approaching the concept of migration from the traditional point of view, a hopeful picture of migration was drawn with rational explanations such as emphasizing the voluntariness of migrants, migrating for a better life, and moving towards better opportunities. However, contemporary migration is explained with a more pessimistic model. It is emphasized that the main motive for people to migrate from the country they live in is 'conflict' and they migrate because of the pressure, difficulties, and conflicts they experience (Sirkeci & Cohen, 2016; Sirkeci et al., 2012). Sirkeci (2012) assesses migration from the conflict model "as a quest for human security or as a desire to escape from insecure conditions" (p.356). Even if the migrants in this study did not migrate under a force such as having a life threat, like refugees, the approach to them would be based on the conflict-based model rather than approaching them under the category of "voluntary" migrants.

When specified, the migration from Turkey to the UK is examined, three key political events played a significant role in history. Due to the bilateral agreement, a sizeable group of Alevi's arrived in the UK as refugees in the 1970s (Yalcin, 2003). Secondly, a military coup in Turkey also became a reason for some people to migrate

to the UK in 1980 (Cakir, 2009). In addition, as a third wave, Kurd's migration from south-eastern Turkey to the UK was related to the conflict between Turkish troops and the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). Since Kurds do not define themselves as Turkish, in the literature and reports "Turkish-speaking community" was used to refer to people migrating from Turkey to the UK (Aksoy, 2006; Issa, 2005; Lytra & Baraç, 2009). Most of the Turkish-speaking communities living in London were Turks, Kurds, and Turkish Cypriots.

In addition to previous migrant flows, new waves of movers include Turkish Businessperson visa holders who migrated from Turkey to the UK under the Ankara Agreement. Migrants in this type of visa should be evaluated separately from the prior migration flows since they differ from those who moved previously. Migrants coming with a Turkish Businessperson visa have higher educational backgrounds, have better foreign language proficiency, and are accepted for this visa type because they had to prepare a file that demonstrates their competence to run their business (Sirkeci et al., 2016). The home office evaluates these business files and can reject the application if there is not enough evidence for a successful business. The criteria that must be fulfilled by those whose applications are accepted are to come to the UK with this visa and establish their companies and apply for a 3-year extension to extend their visa by preparing a file at the end of their first year in the UK. When applicants fulfil the criteria, they migrate to the UK to establish their companies and after a year, they need to apply for a 3-year extension to prolong their stay. As a result of the extension application, the home office evaluates the profitability of the company and may extend a maximum of 3 years and a minimum of 1 year. If individuals were able to get a 3-year extension, they should apply for a 3-year extension again at the end of the 4th year. When their 5th year in the UK is over, they can settle permanently also known as 'indefinite leave to remain, permanent visa'. Individuals who come with the Turkish Businessperson Visa type cannot apply for any benefits such as income support, universal credit, or child benefit and cannot change jobs or employers before they obtain their permanent visa (Home Office, 2020). Considering the scarcity of research on migrant mothers coming with this visa type and the unique difficulties of this visa, all participants were selected from this visa type and the homogeneity of data was ensured.

Even though the motives behind migration might change, migration remains a powerful, life-altering experience. Hence, it is important to consider how migration has an impact on individuals. In the following parts, the psychological effects of migration, factors affecting the adaptation process of migrants, and migration experiences of women were elaborated with relevant studies in the literature.

2.2.1. Psychological effects of migration

Considering the psychological effects of migration, as a powerful experience, migration puts a person's psychological well-being in danger (Lijtmaer, 2001). Walsh and Shulman (2007) also claimed that all migration experiences are traumatic. People who migrate feel 'immigration distress' as a psychological outcome (Yang et al., 2010). Along with these feelings, a person tries to cope with many things including loss, novelty, the new language, work conditions, discrimination, and loss of familiarity (Yang et al., 2010). Adaptations to new changes, separation from familiar predictable contexts, and relations with family members, and friends could be difficult (Rajan & Rappaport, 2011). Bhugra (2004) also added stress, which stems from economic difficulties during migration. Lijtmaer (2001) listed the feelings that migrants feel as inadequacy, sorrow, and disappointment. Yax-Fraser (2008) added the feelings of joy, wonder, sacrifice, sadness, loneliness, and insecurity to this list. Lastly, the feeling of guilt, which is related to leaving their family behind, is also emphasized in migration literature (Baldassar, 2015; Ivey & Sonn, 2020; Ward & Styles, 2012).

According to Grinberg and Grinberg (1984), a person undergoes four phases after migration, and these can be listed:

1. Intense sorrow for the things abandoned or lost, fear for the unknown, intense feeling of helplessness, loneliness, and privation can be seen in the first stage occupied by paranoid episodes, and depressive anxieties.
2. Contrary to the first stage, the focus becomes on the minimization of the transcendental importance of change in the second stage. The exaggeration of giving value to everything in a new situation takes place.

3. Nostalgia comes into the stage and awareness of feelings that were denied or dissociated beforehand is noticed. In this stage "suffering" turns into "growing pains" which also enables migrants to incorporate themselves into the elements of a new culture.
4. In this stage, mourning for the country of origin is processed and instead of renouncing the old culture integration of the previous culture into the new culture could achieve (as cited in Akay, 2013).

In addition to the phases of Grinberg and Grinberg (1984), people also try to adopt themselves into a new culture in migration. Adaptation can be seen as a consequence of acculturation (Berry, 2006). The individual adaptation process includes both psychological adaptation and sociocultural adaptation (Berry et al., 2006; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). Previously, solely individual adaptation was related to the psychological adaptation in the literature but later the importance of sociocultural adaptation for individual adaptation was noticed (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). In sociocultural adaptation, people accept some features of the dominant culture. When they are adapted to a new culture socioculturally they can manage both the positive and negative aspects of their new daily life experiences and their coping skills develop (Aycan & Berry, 1996; Berry 2006; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). At this point, the mode of acculturation chosen by the migrant people has an impact on sociocultural adaptation. As Berry (2006) claimed, there are four acculturation strategies, and these are namely assimilation, separation, marginalization, and integration. In *assimilation,* low participation in one's culture of origin and high participation in the new culture is observed. In *separation,* low participation in one's new culture and high participation in the culture of origin is observed. In the *marginalization* category, low participation in both the new culture and culture of origin is observed. Lastly, in *integration,* participation in both new and original culture is observed simultaneously (Barry, 2001; Barry et al., 2009). Among these four modes, it was found that people who are integrated have had the least psychological adaptation problem followed by assimilation, separation, and marginalization respectively. According to a meta-analysis of 325 research by Yoon et al. (2013), it was also revealed that migrant's mental health was related to the different modes of acculturation strategies and the integration strategy is the favourable one for positive

mental health outcomes for migrants. Sociocultural adaptation and these four modes are significant to understanding the migration process more effectively since they form a basis for psychological adaptation (Maydell-Stevens et al., 2007).

2.2.2. Factors affecting adaptation of migrants

Some other important factors have an impact on the adaptation of migrants which can be listed as the length of stay abroad, the general knowledge about the culture abroad, amount of interaction and identification with host nationals, the ability to speak to foreign language, the frequency of contact with the host culture, and the age (Furnham & Bochner, 1982; Grant-Vallone & Ensher, 2000; Searle & Ward, 1990: Ward & Kennedy, 1994). However, about the length of residence, there are contradictory findings. The results of Ward et al. (1998) revealed that there is an increase in difficulty over the first six months, and then there is a decrease after that time. On the other hand, some studies showed that adaptation and acculturation difficulties decreased over time (Ward & Kennedy, 1996; Wilton & Constantine, 2003; Ying, 2005; Zhang & Audrey, 1996). Lastly, a study by Ye (2005) found that there were no significant differences over time. The general knowledge about the culture abroad, degree of contact with the host culture, and the ability to speak a foreign language are predictors of good psychological adaptation (Ward & Kennedy, 1993; Ward, 1996).

The age of the migration is an important factor for the adaptation to the new culture, and it has been stated that the older the person is, the more disadvantageous they are in terms of the acculturation process and adaptation. Migrating at a younger age can be evaluated as a protective factor since it influences the adaptation process positively. Even, it has been emphasized that early age children who have migrated before starting primary school are the most advantageous ones and older age migrants who migrate in later life such as on retirement are the most disadvantageous ones (Beiser, 1993).

Moreover, non-forced migration, positive expectations and optimism, personal flexibility, resilience, and the presence of support have all been linked with psychological adjustment outcomes for migrants (Escobar et al., 2000; Espín, 1987;

Espín, 1999; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 1999, 2003). Another important factor linked with better psychological adjustment for migrant women is employment, especially when their jobs allow women to continue in their pre-migration career pathways or enable them to create new ones (Berger, 2004; Yakushko, 2006).

Hendriks and Bartram (2019) also bring another perspective while explaining migrants' happiness in the country they migrated to by showing how the migrants' happiness and well-being strongly depend on the reasons that urge them to migrate. Even more, Akay et al. (2016) pointed out that the happiness and well-being of the migrants in the country they migrated, continues to be determined by the condition of their homeland, so, when the well-being and positive emotions of the migrants and their adjustment to the migrated country were mentioned, this was understood better through the comparison with the country they came from.

2.2.3. Migrating as women and challenges for migrant women

When the migration is examined from the gender perspective, unfortunately, it can be easily noticed from the literature that until the 1970s, women were put on a passive figure role who depends on male's decision (father or husband) and they were invisible in the migration literature (Ünlütürk-Ulutaş, & Kalfa, 2009). After the 1970s, increased poverty, inequalities in income distribution, and conflicts in underdeveloped countries that resulted from neoliberal politics triggered the rise of the number of migrant women (Şeker & Uçan, 2016). In 2000, it reached a point where migrant women constitute approximately half of the migrant population in Europe and North America (IOM, 2015). According to the Turkish Statistical Report in 2017, 253.640 people migrated to foreign countries, and men consisted 54% and women consisted 46% of the migrated population.

Migrating as a woman brings some difficulties for women. Mostly, social, and psychological consequences for women can be observed (Berger, 2004). In addition to stress, stemming from relocation, key economic, and familial roles are taken from women (Pesar, 2003). Particularly, the reports showed that migrant women experience post-traumatic stress, multiple losses, adaptation stress, isolation, cognitive overload, and negative changes in identity and discrimination (Berger, 2004; Espín, 1997, 1999;

Yakushko & Chronister, 2005). In addition, higher levels of depressive symptoms were found among migrant women (Miller & Chandler, 2002). The result of the case study of Rajan and Rapparot (2011) with an immigrant teen taking long term treatment support from a school-based health centre also revealed that migration influences the capacity of the parent to be attuned to, her/his mentalization and mirroring capacities since migration by itself has a traumatic effect on the parent.

Another issue that migrant women also have difficulty with is that faced with heavy and negative emotions such as guilt (Baldassar, 2015; Ivey & Sonn, 2020; Ward & Styles, 2012), lack of belongingness (Cakir, 2009; Krzyżanowski & Wodak, 2008), loneliness (Ogunsiji et al., 2011; Okeke-Ihejirika et al., 2016), and disappointment (Liversage, 2009). Migrant women feel guilty both for leaving their country (Ivey & Sonn, 2020) and leaving their families behind (Baldassar, 2015; Ivey & Sonn, 2020; Ward & Styles, 2012). In addition to guilt, it has been observed that migrant women experience the feeling of not belonging to both their own country and the country they have migrated to (Cakir, 2009; Krzyżanowski & Wodak, 2008). Migrant women also felt loneliness which was followed by not feeling belonging to the country they live in. Because, as Baumeister and Leary (1995) stated, when a sense of belonging is not fulfilled, negative feelings like loneliness arise. In addition, it was emphasized that migrant women felt lonely in the countries they migrated to due to the lack of social support and lack of family support (Okeke-Ihejirika et al., 2016; Ogunsiji et al., 2011). The disappointment experienced by migrant women has been related to difficulty in finding a job, carrying the major responsibility of the childcare while facing the absence of family support for childcare and lack of social network, transferring their job, or having difficulty in terms of accreditation of their professions in the country they migrated (Kofman & Raghuram, 2006; Liversage, 2009; Salaff & Grece, 2004). In the qualitative study of Liversage (2009), the experiences of 15 high-skilled female migrants were explored. The result of the study revealed that even high-skilled female migrants were faced with the threat of becoming “just a housewife”. Some of them felt confined to their homes and were tired of being rejected from job applications. Also, some of them decided to return to their home countries to work in their good working positions.

Another issue that challenges migrant women during the migration process and puts them at greater risk is the higher rates of marital conflict, partner violence, domestic violence, and divorce among the newcomer communities and international migrants (Caarls & Mazzucato, 2015; Kulig, 1994; Naidoo & Davis, 1988). Although it was found in the migration literature that there are increased marital conflicts, divorce, and partner violence among the newcomer communities, the finding of Liamputtong's study (2003), which investigated the motherhood experiences of 30 migrant Thai women living in Australia, showed that "divorce and freedom to leave the house" are not an option anymore for some Thai mothers. This was because of the disadvantages that migration brought, such as not knowing the language of the migrated country, and lack of social support and family support in the migrated country.

Moreover, the difficulty of raising their children in another culture is another challenge for migrant mothers, as this can push them to reevaluate their motherhood practices influenced by their own culture and to question the meanings they attribute to motherhood according to their own culture. Looking at the cultural difference between Turkey and the UK, it is seen that Turkey has a relatively "collectivistic" culture, while the UK has an "individualistic" culture. As Marcus and Kitayama (1991) underlined the main emphasis in collectivistic culture is interdependence and giving attention to the needs of others by inhibiting one's own needs. In alignment with these emphases, parents in collectivistic cultures have been reported to be more authoritarian and expect more obedience from their children (Ispa et al., 2004; Rubin, 1998). On the other hand, parents from individualistic cultures tended to be more authoritative; give importance to self-interest and autonomy that's why trying to encourage independence and self-reliance by not emphasizing obedience (Harwood et al., 1995; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2007). The authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles were classified by Maccoby and Martin (1983), and authoritarian parenting was referred to as high control combined with low warmth and acceptance. However, the studies of Güngör and Bornstien (2008) revealed that there is no relation between perceived higher parental control and lower warmth among Turkish migrant families in Belgium. As Dekovic et al. (2006) underlined that demanding obedience does not reflect a lack of warmth in collectivistic cultures. It can be said that motherhood is shaped by culture.

By changing the society, the motherhood experiences of migrant women would also transform through different motherhood models they face. For instance, in the study of Herrero-Arias et al. (2020), the result of the two focused groups and 14 in-depth interviews with South European migrant mothers living in Norway revealed that migrant mothers strive to adopt the mothering style of the country from which they migrated, which is more dialogue-based, child-centered, and encourages children's autonomy. It has been found that the acculturation level of the migrant mother to the society to which she migrated is also an important factor in terms of integrating the parenting values and culture of the society to which she migrated to her parenting. For instance, Yağmurlu and Sanson (2009) conducted a quantitative study with 58 Turkish migrant mothers living in Australia to assess acculturation attitudes, parenting goals, and child-rearing practices. The result of the study revealed that more willingness to interact with the host culture was related to the more use of child-rearing practices in Australia which includes inductive discipline methods and child-centered goals among migrant Turkish mothers.

Besides, in migrant motherhood, when the mother's speed of acculturation to the country of migration is slower than that of her child, the gap between the mother and the child might increase. As a result, migrant mothers would feel less satisfaction, more uncertainty, and more difficulty in communicating with their children (Buki et al., 2004). Furthermore, in the article of Tummala-Nara (2004), clinical observations in the context of psychotherapy revealed that after migration the cultural conflicts between the mother and the child increased since mothers took the responsibility of teaching their own culture to their children and try to expose their children to the mainstream with new culture but also try to protect them from identifying with the new culture too much. In this article, Asian-Indian migrant mothers living in the US shared their conflicts with their children in the context of psychotherapy (Tummala-Nara, 2004). For instance, mothers want their children to follow their Indian cultural rules about dating behaviour or premarital sex, however, their children make critique their culture of origin and want to behave Indian American. Therefore, even different acculturation levels of children and mothers to the new culture create more conflicts and arguments among them.

Moreover, while rearing their children in another country, migrated mothers have to face a lack of social support, and records showed that migrant mothers reported a high level of depression symptoms (Liamputtong, 2001; Surkan et al., 2006; Usita & Blieszner, 2002). Beyond the fact that many things put migrant women's mental health at risk, migrant women also face difficulties in accessing health services, including mental health services (Buki et al., 2004).

2.2.3.1. Strengths and resilience in migrant women and migrant mothers

Although women face many challenges in migration, the other side of the coin showed that they also gain strengths and resilience in some respects. For instance, women can actualize personal expansion and success with migration, reach safety, and find opportunities for both themselves and their children (Zajacova, 2002).

Migration, with all the challenging and frightening things it brought, can be an opportunity for positive growth (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 1995). According to Tedeschi and Calhoun, posttraumatic growth refers to changing perceptions of self, interpersonal relationships, and life philosophy after experiencing stressful events (Berger & Weiss, 2006). Some studies examined resilience and posttraumatic growth in migrants in general (Ahearn, 2000; Coll & Magnuson, 1997; Witmer & Culver, 2001) and migrant women in particular, relied primarily on clinical observations, qualitative explorations (Berger 2004; Ferguson, 1999; Pittaway, 1999), and a quantitative approach (Berger & Weiss, 2006). Berger and Weiss (2006) conducted a quantitative study with 100 Latino migrants living in the US and used the questionnaires of Posttraumatic Growth Inventory, the Social Support Questionnaire, a questionnaire about the level of stress. The result of the study revealed that there is a moderate level of stress and a high level of posttraumatic growth following the stressful experiences of migration in Latino migrants and participation in counselling was related to posttraumatic growth. For posttraumatic growth having a space to process stressful events, the amount of talking about the stressful events is found as a mediating variable (Berger & Weiss, 2006).

Migration also becomes an opportunity to challenge established gender roles (Knörr & Meier, 2000). In the literature, it has been discovered that when women

migrate to a new culture where both parents must work and there is no family support, women break the cycle of patriarchal manner and demand a more egalitarian division of responsibilities (Degni et al., 2006; Hyman et al., 2008; Osman et al., 2016). Therefore, migration becomes an opportunity in the eyes of the migrant women to challenge culturally assigned heteronormativity (Espin, 1999, 2006). In addition, the self-perceptions and family relations of migrant Latino women were shifted after migration in a direction of a greater sense of empowerment (Perilla, 1999).

Another aspect that was found in Liamputtong's (2001) study is that Thai migrant mothers in Australia claimed that motherhood fills the gaps of family kin and loss of their country by finding the solace they seek in their children's existence. In addition to filling the gap of family kin, in another study, North American migrant mothers in Israel reported that they see their motherhood as a link to the community, and talking about children paves the way for initial friendships with other Israeli mothers (Sigad & Eisikovits, 2009).

All in all, migration influences individuals in several aspects. Particularly, migrating as a mother can have different issues to focus on. Lack of social support, differences in motherhood practices, internalized cultural values about motherhood, and trying to fulfil the residency requirements were shown to intervene in the motherhood process. Understanding the difficulties mothers face as well as the ways they gain strength and resilience on that journey of being a migrant woman is quite important. Because a better understanding of the situation would ensure that the interventions would address their needs more accurately.

2.3. Summary of literature review

In this part of the dissertation, different definitions and perspectives, and discourses attributed to motherhood were presented. Sociocultural and contextual factors influencing the meaning of motherhood were mentioned. Previous research conducted in this field that paved the way for the current research was presented. Two approaches proposed by the feminist constructions scholars were explained and the reason for constructing this dissertation around particularistic constructivist theory was explained. Psychological aspects of "mothering" were investigated depending on

the grounded theory explanation by Barlow and Cairns (1997). The concept of "ideal mother" was discussed and mental health consequences of idealised motherhood were outlined. Migration flows from Turkey to the UK were examined historically and unique differences between Turkish Businessperson visa and the backgrounds of migrants coming to the UK with this visa type were mentioned. Research focusing on the psychological effects of migration and the difficulties that migrants face was presented. Sociocultural adaptation, the importance of acculturation, factors affecting the adaptation of migrants, the difficulties of being a migrant mother, and challenges that mothers face while raising their children in another culture were examined in the light of the literature. Although women face many challenges in migration, the other side of the coin showed that they also gain strengths and resilience in some respects such as posttraumatic growth. Overall, previous research highlighting the experiences of loss after migration, changes in the economic status of women, and the impact of acculturation in motherhood indicate the importance of focusing unique experiences of mothers. Hence, relevant research and theoretical perspective of particularistic constructivist theory paved the way for the current study.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

In this part, the overall design of the study, sampling procedure, participants, researcher identity, data collection instrument, and data collection procedure were introduced.

3.1. Research design

Quantitative and qualitative methodologies are two main research methodologies used in social sciences. The methodology of the research shapes all the processes of the research including researchers' roles, the generalizability of the results, assumptions, and methods used by the researchers (Fraenkel et al., 2011). When the researcher aims to explore each participant's unique contributions or tries to investigate reflections about a particular phenomenon or experience, the qualitative approach is considered the most appropriate approach (Biggerstaff, 2012). In the qualitative method, the main assumption is that knowledge is constructed by people (Stake, 2010). Hence, the main purpose of the qualitative method is to figure out the individuals' motives behind their actions as well as the meanings they give to specific events and concepts. In qualitative studies, research questions focus on "how" and "why" questions to gather detailed information about the phenomenon from the participants' perspectives (Creswell, 1998).

In this study, a qualitative research approach was utilized since the aim of the current study was to understand the mothering experiences of women who migrated to the United Kingdom, their meaning-making processes, and subjective mothering story as migrant women in the United Kingdom. Through in-depth data collection via

semi-structured interviews, this methodology paved the way for comprehension of the socially and personally constructed realities of the participants.

3.1.1. Why would Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis be suitable to use as a method of qualitative investigation for this study?

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was developed by Jonathan Smith to explore idiographic subjective experiences (Smith, 1996). It has emerged from the need of answering the questions that are related to human beings by giving importance to participants' experiences, interpretation, and subjectivity about the phenomena. As a process-oriented methodology, IPA focuses on participants' understandings of a particular phenomenon and their subjective experiences (Smith et al., 2009). In phenomenological studies, both the readers and researcher of the study find a chance to comprehend the phenomenon through the lenses of the participants. The aim is to focus on the individuals' experiences, their way of thinking, explanations, examples, and interpretations of the phenomena (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2016). The phenomenon can include experiences, the meaning of events, and concepts. Van Manen (1990) underlines that although people are aware of a phenomenon, they may not have a detailed understanding of it. IPA focuses on perceptions (Smith & Osborn, 2003) by asking "what is it like to be experiencing this or that for this particular person?" (Eatough & Smith, 2008, p. 181). Smith (2004) summarized the features of IPA as being "idiographic, inductive and interrogative". Smith explained the features of being idiographic since it focuses on a detailed examination of one case and moves to an analysis of the second case when gestalt has been captured in the first case. The second feature is that IPA is inductive which means that instead of aiming for verification of specific hypotheses it aims to construct research questions, which allows researchers to be more flexible and open to unanticipated topics (Smith, 2004).

This research focused on exploring and understanding the mothering experiences of migrant mothers. By considering the focus of the research into consideration, IPA was seen as the most appropriate methodology for this research since the aim of IPA is to explore participants' personal lived experiences and understand how participants make sense of these personal experiences (Smith, 2004).

In addition to this since IPA emphasizes studying person-in-context it also allows us to understand mothering experiences from a socio-cultural perspective (Larkin et al., 2006).

3.2. Participants and sampling method

In alignment with the IPA guidelines, a purposive sampling process was utilised (Smith & Osborn, 2003). It provides to reach the participants who are most related to the subject of this study. In the sampling process, one of the most important considerations was to reach out to the participants who are rich in terms of both experience and information about the phenomenon of the study (Cresswell, 2012). In purposive sampling since there is a possibility of not reaching out to the representative sample, to minimize this possibility, inclusion criteria for the sample were settled which are valuable for purpose of the study. To reach out to the participants who have mothering experiences both in Turkey and the United Kingdom following inclusion criteria were decided:

1. Mothers older than 18 years old,
2. Mothers who have children between the ages of 1-12. The reason for choosing this age interval depends on the mothers' self-constructed meaning period, which was revealed in Barlow and Cairns's (1997) study. Barlow and Cairns revealed that mothers' self-constructed meaning is built on the "immersion" stage, which includes the mothers who have children between the ages of 1-12.
3. Mothers of nontwins (Thorpe et al., 1991) and nontriplets (Garel & Brondel, 1992) were included in the study. Because some studies have shown that mothering twins (Thorpe et al., 1991) and triplets brings additional burdens to mothers like having psychological difficulties, and the problem of emotional detachment (Garel & Brondel, 1992).
4. Lastly, mothering a child with a disability also brings specific burdens and benefits (Green, 2007; Olsson & Hwang, 2001) to the mothering experience. To homogenize the participants, mothers of children without disabilities were included in the study.

To recruit the participants, gatekeepers were used. The researcher contacted the admins of the Facebook group "Göçmen Anneler" (changed name as Göçmen Kadınlar in May 2020). One of the admins of the group, who is living in London, accepted to attend the research. She published the social media announcement text (see Appendix C) to some of her friends. The announcement was shared with the gatekeeper of the ten mothers, and eight of them were willing to participate in the research. Two of them did not want to attend the research due to a lack of time and energy.

The verbal announcement was made to administrators and workers of the IMECE Women's Centre. In the announcement, the research topic, inclusion criteria for participants, and the aims of the study were explained. The researcher could not put a flier or announce to the service users of IMECE Women's Centre since the researcher has worked there as a part-time psychological counsellor which may lead to a problem with conflict of interest for the women who knew the researcher beforehand as a counsellor. Two participants were reached via this way.

The administrator of the IMECE Women's Centre and lead counsellor working there suggested the researcher contact "Minik Kardeş Community Nursery and Children's Centre". Minik Kardeş is an important children's centre for the Turkish-speaking community since it offers bilingual education for children who are speaking the Turkish language. Minik Kardeş Children's Centre serves children aged from 3 months up to 4 years old in Islington. The researcher contacted the headteacher of "Minik Kardeş" by email which includes all the details of the study and requests for help to reach the mothers whom they knew in their centre. Administrators gave a positive response to the researcher's email, which showed their intention to support this research and direct the researcher to another staff to support in this process. After contacting related staff via phone, staff invited the researcher to attend the end of a mother education workshop at the "Minik Kardeş" on the 14th of February, to announce the study to the mothers. The researcher waited until the end of the workshop to introduce herself, the aim of the study, the inclusion criteria, and the aspects in which help was needed. Eight women accepted to participate in the research and their contact information was obtained by the researcher to contact them later. Due to the concerns of participants about the place of intervention, the researcher stated her

flexibility to fit their choice of location to help them feel comfortable and safe. The staff of the Minik Kardeş also allowed the researcher and the mothers to use one empty office in the building of Minik Kardeş if they preferred. Thus, mothers' trust increased by the attitude of Minik Kardeş staff towards the researcher. Among eight mothers, seven participated in the research, one of them could not attend due to the difficulty in creating sparing time.

In each interview, the researcher also asked the participants if they know a mother around them, who might be available to participate in the study. Two of the mothers, who attended the study, called their close friends and invited them to participate in the research.

3.2.1. Sample size and demographics of participants

3.2.1.1. Sample size

In qualitative research, more importance was given to the quality of the data that was collected than the number of participants. For this reason, the main concern for the qualitative researcher while deciding on sample size is data saturation (Creswell, 2012). Although there is no right answer for the sample size researcher must be sure to meet the homogeneity of the sample while working with IPA (Smith & Osborn, 2003). To ensure the specificity of the data for this study researcher put some criteria before the data collection process. Of 20 mothers, three of them did not meet the inclusion criteria. It was understood that one of them was a twin mother, and two of them have children with special needs. In addition to this, six mothers' interviews were excluded because they had only mothering experiences in the United Kingdom. After this elimination, data became more homogenous since the remaining participants met the criterion of mothering experiences in both Turkey and the United Kingdom. At last, three participants were excluded by considering the criterion of "time spent in the migrated country" to homogenize the data. Then, eight participants formed the final sample size, which was coherent with the IPA Guidelines (Smith & Osborn, 2003). According to Turpin et al. (1997), having six to eight participants was recommended for the clinical psychology doctoral studies in Britain.

3.2.1.2. Participants

The researcher first shared the consent form with the participants. After participants signed the consent form, demographic questions were asked to the participants by the researcher. Demographic questions were selected by considering the importance of the factors that may affect the women's experience of motherhood, and the migration process by benefiting from the literature. The present study was conducted with eight migrant mothers, aged between 29 and 46, all of whom had an opportunity to experience mothering both in their home country Turkey and United Kingdom. Participants' years spend in the migrated country change from one year to five years. Five of the participants migrated to the United Kingdom by Turkish Business Worker Visa (Ankara Agreement) and three of them migrated to the United Kingdom as a dependent of a Turkish Businessperson visa, which means that they are eligible to work in the UK without any sponsorship. All the participants' anonymized names were used to ensure confidentiality. Table 3.1 summarizes the characteristics of the participants.

Table 3.1

Characteristics of the Participants

Anonymized Name	Age	Visa Type	Child/Children Age	Time spends in the migrated country
Elçin	43	Turkish Business Worker Visa	7	4 years
Esra	35	Turkish Business Worker Visa	4	2 years
Özge	46	Dependent Visa	7.5 & 11	2 years
Hande	40	Turkish Business Worker Visa	6.5 & 13	5 years
Zeynep	40	Dependent Visa	4	2 years

Table 3.1 *(continued)*

Sevda	37	Turkish Business Worker Visa	3.5	1 year
Müjde	29	Turkish Business Worker Visa	4.5	3.5 years
Tümay	46	Turkish Business Worker Visa	12	4 years

3.2.1.2.1. Elçin

Elçin is 43 years old. She was 39 years old when she moved to the United Kingdom. She is married and has a bachelor's degree. She knows English and she can speak and write fluently. She came to the United Kingdom because of her husband's job (Tier 2) and then she applied Ankara Agreement Visa Type which is the Turkish Business Worker Visa. She is working in her own small company in the United Kingdom. She was also working in Turkey before moving to the United Kingdom. She is a journalist. She became a mother for the first time when she was 36 years old. She gave birth in Turkey. She raised her son in Turkey until he was three years old. Then they moved to the United Kingdom and now her son is seven years old. The interview was made in a café in central London.

3.2.1.2.2. Esra

Esra is 35 years old. She moved to the United Kingdom two years ago. She is married. She has a master's degree. She thinks that she has an average level of English. She is in the United Kingdom on a Turkish Business Worker Visa. Her business is related to interior design. She has been working in the United Kingdom for two years. She was also working in Turkey as an interior designer. She became a mother when she was 31 years old. She gave birth in Turkey before their migration. She had a chance to experience mothering in Turkey for the first two years of her son. Now her son is four years old. The interview was made in a café in Kew Garden.

3.2.1.2.3. Özge

Özge is 46 years old. She moved to the United Kingdom two years ago. She has a bachelor's degree. Her English level is good. She has a dependent visa since her husband has a Turkish Business Worker Visa. She did not have any work experience in the UK. She was working in the finance department of a private company in Turkey. She became a mother when she was 35 years old. She gave birth in Turkey. She has two sons the ages seven and a half years and 11 years old. Children were the ages five and a half years and nine years old when they moved to the United Kingdom. Özge has mothering experience in both Turkey and United Kingdom. The interview was made in her home when her children were at school. She prepared Turkish coffee for the researcher.

3.2.1.2.4. Hande

Hande is 40 years old. She has been living in the United Kingdom for five years. She has a bachelor's degree. Her English level is good. She has a Turkish Business Worker Visa. She was working in Turkey and has been working in the United Kingdom as a private chef. She became a mother when she was 27 years old. She gave birth in Turkey. When they moved to the United Kingdom her sons were one and a half and eight years old. Her sons are six and a half and 13 years old now. The interview was made in her house. At the beginning of the interview, while explaining the reasons for moving to the United Kingdom she cried and shared her feelings. She stated that she feels guilty about coming to the United Kingdom when she thinks about her responsibility towards Atatürk's principles.

3.2.1.2.5. Zeynep

Zeynep is 40 years old. She moved to the United Kingdom two years ago. She has a bachelor's degree. She evaluates her English level as poor. She has a dependent visa since her husband has a Turkish Businessperson Visa. She does not have any work experience in the United Kingdom. She was working in Turkey as a teacher. She

mentioned that although she studied anthropology, she was working as a teacher since she could not find any job opportunity as an anthropologist in Turkey. She became a mother when she was 38 years old. She gave birth in Turkey. Her daughter is four years old now. The interview was made in a café close to her child's nursery.

3.2.1.2.6. Sevda

Sevda is 37 years old. She moved to London last year when she was 36. She has a master's degree. Her English level is good. She came to the United Kingdom with a Turkish Business Worker Visa. She has been working in the United Kingdom in the field of education and she was also working in Turkey as a research assistant at a university. She became a mother when she was 34. She gave birth in Turkey. She raised her daughter in Turkey until the age of two and a half years. Now her daughter is three and a half years old. She has mothering experience in both Turkey and the United Kingdom. The interview was made in the office of "Minik Kardeş" Children's Centre. During the interview a few times, she felt overwhelmed and cried. She also explained the reasons behind her tears in the interview.

3.2.1.2.7. Müjde

Müjde is 29 years old. She has been living in the United Kingdom for three and a half years. She was 26 years old when she moved to the United Kingdom. She has a bachelor's degree. Her English level is good. She came to the United Kingdom via a Turkish Business Worker Visa. She is working in the United Kingdom. She mentioned that while she was working in media in Turkey she was exposed to gender-based discrimination in that sector. She became a mother when she was 24 years old. She gave birth in Turkey. She raised her son until he was one and a half years old. Her son is four and a half years old now. The interview was made in a café close to her home. Her eyes filled with tears when she mentioned the psychological difficulties she experienced during the migration process.

3.2.1.2.8. Tümay

Tümay is 46 years old. She moved to the United Kingdom four years ago with a Turkish Business Worker Visa. She has a master's degree and has a good level of English. She is working in the field of marketing. She was also working in Turkey. She became a mother when she was 34 years old. She gave birth in Turkey. She raised her daughter in Turkey until she was 8 years. Now her only daughter is 12 years old. The interview was made in her house in the living room. She had living experience in the United Kingdom before her migration but as she said, "living as a student in the UK" and "moving to the United Kingdom as a mother" are two different things. She prepared a coffee and put some snacks for the researcher. Since she was quite busy, the timing of the interview was arranged for her at lunchtime.

3.3. Data collection instruments

The semi-structured interview was chosen as a main data collection tool by considering the advantage of the semi-structured format that allows the researcher to both explore the subject and keep a structure of the dialogue simultaneously (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006; Smith & Osborn, 2003). Interview questions were developed in the light of both related literature and taking experts' opinions who are experienced with working with Turkish-speaking migrant women for years in the counselling field. The interview questionnaire has three main parts. The first part consists of the questions related to the migration process of participants, the second part consists of the questions related to motherhood and the last part consists of the questions related to migrant mothering experiences. In the first part of the questionnaire, explaining their migration process, motivations behind migrating to the United Kingdom, the difficulties they have faced in the UK, and the perceived advantages of living in the UK were explored. In the second part, the meaning of motherhood to them and how being a mother changed their lives were explored. In the last part, how being a migrant mother influences their mothering experiences, the comparisons of mothering experiences in Turkey and the United Kingdom were explored mainly.

After questions were established, a pilot study was conducted with three participants. Three participants for the pilot study were found via gatekeepers from the admin of Göçmen Kadınlar platform and Imece Women's Centre staff. One participant had a mothering experience in Turkey before moving to the United Kingdom. On the other hand, two participants gave birth and raised their children in the UK. Among three women, one of them was a housewife with a primary education level. The other two women both had master's degrees with one working as a lawyer and the other one as a psychologist. The feedback of the participants about the clarification of the questions was taken after each interview. In the interview with the mother who has a primary education level and came to the UK with a marriage visa, it was observed that there were long periods of silence during the interview, and she had difficulty expressing her experiences as a migrant. This showed that the richness of the data may affect adversely if the data was collected by socioeconomically disadvantaged women.

After the first interview was made there was a dissertation committee meeting, and the researcher shared the feedback of the participants about the questions. With the contributions of the committee members, some of the questions were changed to make them clearer. For example, the question "In your migration process, has your gender played a role?" was changed to a "How being a woman affected your migration process?". Additionally, the question "Are you happy or satisfied with living in the UK?" was altered to "In what ways you are satisfied or dissatisfied with your life in the UK?" Lastly, one question was added to understand the support mechanism that the migrant mothers need: "As a migrant mother, what were the things that you had difficulty with and need support at most?" Then the committee suggested researcher conduct interviews with participants from different educational levels to check the quality and wording of the questions for the pilot study. In addition to the feedback of the participants of the pilot study, expert views about the clarity of the questions were obtained from two experts. The first expert was in the process of completing a doctorate program in Existential Counselling and Psychotherapy in the United Kingdom and she had nine years of experience working with Turkish-speaking migrant women living in the United Kingdom. After the feedback of the first expert was obtained, the necessary revisions were. The first revision was made for the question of "what is your definition of motherhood?' and it changed to "what does

motherhood mean to you?" The second revision was made for the question of "when and how did you decide to migrate to the UK?" and it changed to "can you tell me your migration story?" The revised questions were shared with the second expert. The second expert was also a psychological counsellor who has a master's degree in mental health studies in the United Kingdom and has been working with migrant women for five years. In light of the last revisions, the final version of the questions was decided with the guidance of the thesis supervisor. The interview questions are presented in Appendix D. Pilot study started on the 5th of December 2019 and ended at the end of December 2019. In December 2019, two expert views were also taken for the interview questions. The interview questionnaires were finalized on the 7th of January 2020.

3.4. Data collection procedure

At the beginning of the study, the application was made to the Ethics Committee of Middle East Technical University. In the application, all the detailed information about the study was given including the purpose of the study, interview questions, and informed consent forms. The ethics committee (İAEK) approved the application on December 22, 2019 (Acceptance no: 28620816/379). Permission from the ethics committee can be seen in Appendix A. The researcher participated both in an introductory workshop on Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, which was delivered, by Professor Jonathan Smith and Müjde Koca-Atabey to extend her knowledge about the IPA (Appendix G) and an online qualitative research methods course, which was conducted by Dr. Gerben Moermen (Amsterdam University) via an online web page "Coursera" to refresh her knowledge of the qualitative research (Appendix H).

The researcher announced the study and with the help of gatekeepers, 20 participants who were volunteers were reached to participate in the study. Three participants were excluded from the study since they could not meet the criteria, six participants were excluded since they raised their children only in one country (i.e., the UK), and three participants were excluded since they have a much longer history than other participants in terms of their time spent in the UK as a migrant respectively 12, 13 and 18 years which may put the homogeneity of the participants at risk. As a

result, 8 interviews were used for this study. The researcher contacted the participants by phone. Before contacting them by phone, the researcher texted a message explaining who the researcher is, and what the research is about and asked for their available time to arrange a time for the interview. Since all the participants were mothers, they were mostly suffering from a lack of time. To make the process easier for the participants, the researcher said she could come anywhere convenient for the mothers, including their homes, a quiet café near their home, or the office of "Minik Kardeşler" Children's Centre when they bring their child to the centre to save their time. Data was collected through semi-structured and face-to-face interviews that took between 65 and 85 minutes.

Among the eight participants, three of them "Özge, Hande, Tümay" preferred to make the interview in their homes considering the convenience for them. Three of them "Elçin, Müjde, and Zeynep" preferred to make the interview in a café close to their homes, and 1 of them preferred to make the interview in "Minik Kardeş" since they had time while waiting for their children. One participant "Esra" preferred to make the interview in a botanic garden since the garden has a special playground that her child likes a lot. Thanks to this playground, the grandmother of the child took care of her grandson easily there while the mother was participating in the interview.

Two of the interviews (Esra and Hande) were interrupted for 10 seconds by their children. While making an interview with participant Esra, her son came and showed something to her mom twice. In addition, the interview with Hande was made in her home in the kitchen, her younger son came into the kitchen, took something, and turned back quickly to his room during the interview. These interruptions did not distract the attention of the participants and they mostly continued to speak quickly.

For all the interviews, which were made in the homes of the participants, the researcher felt comfortable, and all the participants were hospitable toward the researcher. All of them prepared coffee or tea, and in all homes, Turkish coffee and Turkish tea were available. At the end of the interviews that were made in the homes of the participants, all participants were concerned and helpful about the transportation options of the researcher when she was leaving their houses. In all homes, some cultural things were observed, such as taking off shoes when entering the house,

drinking Turkish coffee or tea with special Turkish coffee and tea glasses, and serving Turkish coffee with Turkish delight.

At the end of the interviews, the researcher informed all the participants that if any questions come to their mind related to the study or if they want to add something to their answer later without any hesitations, they can contact the researcher by email or phone. None of the participants contacted the researcher after the interviews.

The interviews were conducted in three months starting in January 2020 and ending in March 2020 and all the interviews were held before the coronavirus situation became a pandemic. Hence, it did not have an impact on the content of the interviews. In March 2020, the number of people affected by coronavirus started to increase. On the 15th of March, coronavirus daily new case number was reported as 251 in the UK, and on the 21st of March, the new case numbers increased to 1035 and on 27th March the peak of new case number was seen for that month as 2885 (https://www.worldometers.info/coronavirus/country/uk/).

3.5. Data analyses

All the interviews were audiotaped and transcribed verbatim. Guidelines of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis were used for the process of analyses (Smith et al., 1999; Smith & Osborn, 2003). Smith (2004) underlined the importance of ideography for IPA studies which underlines focusing on a detailed examination of one case and then going on to analyse the second one. After the first case interview, data analysis started. In the first stage, the researcher read the transcription of the first case number of times to get familiar with the data. Annotations for significant points were made to the left hand margin of the transcripts of the participants. Recurrent themes were found, and the superordinate themes and subordinate themes were formed for the first case. The same process was repeated for each case. At the analysis stage in addition to reading the transcriptions number of times, the researcher also listened to the records of each interview. Listening to the records helped the researcher to remember the participants' emphasis on their tone of voice and the atmosphere of the interview in a detailed way. Observation notes of the researcher for each interview were also read at this stage. Lastly, all the superordinate themes and subordinate

themes of each participant were evaluated by cross-case comparisons to form the recurrent themes for all participants. In the analysis process, the researcher attended an introductory workshop on IPA, which was delivered by Professor Jonathan Smith and Associate Professor Müjde Koca-Atabey (Appendix G). Modified and slightly refined terminology was offered by the leading IPA researchers (Smith & Nizza, 2021; Smith et al., 2022). In this dissertation old terminology was prefered.

3.6. Trustworthiness of the data

The trustworthiness of the qualitative study can achieve with three components. adequacy of data, adequacy of interpretation, and subjectivity and reflexivity (Morrow, 2005).

To increase credibility for the adequacy of data, only people who are willing to participate in the study were involved (Morrow, 2005). At the beginning of the interview, an informed consent form was given to participants and the researcher both verbally and with a written form underlining participants' right to withdraw from the study at any time they want. The researcher also explained the confidentiality and gave the guarantee to the participants that the information will be shared anonymously during the research.

A detailed audit trail was documented by the researcher, which includes information about how the data was collected, recorded, and analysed (Bowen, 2009). The research process was affected by the researcher's understanding of the world in qualitative research which is why 'researcher's reflexivity' plays an important role in the researcher becoming aware of her assumptions, predispositions, and personal experiences about research (Patton, 2002). A reflective diary was written by the researcher to understand her emotions evoked during interviews.

Transferability is another important point in qualitative research, which provides an understanding of whether the results of the study can be replicated with different participants in different settings (Guba, 1981). To increase the transferability of the recent research, detailed information about the participants was given, semi-structured interview questions were shared (Appendix D), and every step was explained in a detailed way. In addition to these, to enhance the transferability direct

quotes from the participants were used. Since Smith (2011) suggested presenting quotes from half of the participants for the IPA research having a sample size between 4 to 8, four participants' quotes were used directly to depict the findings. To ensure the validity of the superordinate themes and subordinate themes, peer reviews were also completed. A discussion was made with three peers; one of them is an academician in a private university and she graduated from the Department of Guidance and Psychological Counselling in METU and completed her Ph.D. dissertation by using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. The second person is doing her Ph.D. in METU in the Department of Guidance and Psychological Counselling and she is in the thesis stage and has experience with IPA. The third peer, who discussed the theme, is also a Ph.D. student in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction, and his Ph.D. thesis is also related to migration.

3.6.1. Researcher identity and reflexivity

Researcher identity is explained in qualitative studies since the researcher becomes a part of the data collection by spending a lot of time with the participants of the study (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2016). The reasons why the researcher chooses this topic, the background of the researcher, and his/her capabilities in handling the subject of the study become more important and sensitive in qualitative studies.

The research topic was chosen both based on the personal and professional interest of the researcher in migration and motherhood studies. The researcher's interest in this subject depends on her own migration experience to the United Kingdom three years ago. As a migrant woman, the researcher experiences how migration is a powerful and complex experience full of emotions. Moreover, the researcher works as a psychological counsellor in both her private practice and as a sessional counsellor in both IMECE Women's Centre and The Maya Centre in London. IMECE Women's Centre has been established for challenging inequality and ending violence against women and girls at its core objective for over 35 years and mainly supports and empowers Turkish, Kurdish, and Cypriot Turkish women and Black Asian, Minority Ethnic and Refugee (BAMER) women. Maya Centre is a community-based charity located in Islington, London, and provides free mental

health services to women who have mental health issues stemming from trauma especially domestic violence, physical and sexual abuse in childhood, and harmful practices. Both in her private practice and both in IMECE Women's Centre and Maya Centre, the researcher has experience working with migrant women in the mental health field. These experiences enable the researcher to witness the stories of migrant women, which leads her to elaborate on the mothering experiences of migrant women.

As a migrant woman, the researcher was also surprised a lot when she had a chance to observe how mothering experiences vary with the cultural contexts. The researcher started to think about how the contextual changes influenced the mothering experiences of migrant women coming from Turkey. As a migrant woman, who is not a mother, the researcher had confusion about mothering experiences when she had a chance to see different mothering modalities.

3.7. Limitations of the study

All mothers participating in the study consisted of mothers who had experienced motherhood both in Turkey and the UK, lived in the UK for 1 to 5 years, were married and were living with their husband at the time, had a minimum of undergraduate education, and came to the UK with a Turkish businessperson visa through their job or husband's job. As a requirement of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, homogeneous participants were provided in this study; therefore, the findings reflected only this sample's experience of migrant motherhood. While the homogeneous participant provided in-depth phenomenological information, the fact that it could not include the experiences of mothers from various groups such as single mothers, lesbian mothers, trans mothers, older mothers, and teenage mothers. The findings of the current study may not apply to the various groups of mothers.

The homogeneity of participants is a very important criterion in interpretative phenomenological analysis studies. In this study, although homogeneity was achieved in terms of visa type, the experience of motherhood in both countries, and living in the UK for a period of one to five years, homogeneity was not achieved in the number of children. While two of the participants are mothers of two children, six of them are mothers of one child. Being a mother of more than one child can be different from

being a mother of a single child when increased emotional demands from children, less rest, having to divide the attention among the children, and satisfaction or love felt when children have sisters taken into consideration.

Finally, although the participants ensured a certain homogeneity as professional mothers living in metropolitan areas such as Istanbul and Ankara, the richness of cultural differences such as their background, and cultural socio-economical status of the families raising them that could not be homogenized among themselves was also seen as a limitation.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

The purpose of this study was to gain an in-depth understanding of Turkish-speaking migrant women's mothering experiences in the United Kingdom (UK) and to explore how sociocultural factors influence their mothering experiences by exploring the comparison of their mothering experiences in Turkey and the UK. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with eight migrant mothers and the data were analysed with the Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis method after the audio recordings were transcribed. Based on the results of the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, three superordinate themes emerged. The superordinate themes were named as Meaning of motherhood: "Experiencing the extremities", Becoming a migrant: "I feel like an animal that breaks its shell and pulls something new out of it but does it with pain", and Becoming a migrant mother: "Breaking the shell twice at the same time". In the following sections, these themes were presented one by one. All the superordinate themes and subordinate themes along with the dimensions derived from the data were also summarised and shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1

Summary of Superordinate and Subordinate Themes

Superordinate Themes	Subordinate Themes	Dimension
Meaning of Motherhood: “ Experiencing the extremities”	Embedded factors that influence the meaning of motherhood;	Readiness and willingness to become a mother
		Meaning is dynamically changing with the age of the child
		Let’ s talk about fatherhood first: Distribution of task sharing
	Feelings about being a mother	Feeling of ongoing internal conflicts, conscience, and discussions around 'perfect' motherhood
		“ I never promised you a Rose Garden” : Motherhood is the hardest thing in the world
		Good feelings felt during motherhood: "there can be no better feeling in the world"
	Motherhood as an identity transformation: The birth of a mother “ I am not the same person anymore”	

Table 4.1 *(continued)*

Superordinate Themes	Subordinate Themes	Dimension
Becoming a migrant: Breaking the shell	Meaning of migration: " I feel like an animal that breaks its shell and pulls something new out of it but does it with pain"	
	Feelings about being a migrant	The tip of the iceberg: Anger as a substitute emotion
		Migration guilt: Towards family, towards Atatürk' s Principles and Reforms, leaving the country, towards the children left behind
		Eternal Strangers: Feelings at the edge of becoming an insider-outsider
		A time of fragility/vulnerability: The beginning is the hardest
		" Alice in wonderland" : Disappointments about the foreign land
		Another side of the coin: " Freedom, Happiness, Lightness, Peace..."
		Fasten your seat belts: Does your marriage ready to fly?

Table 4.1 *(continued)*

Superordinate Themes	Subordinate Themes	Dimension
	Drivers for Migration: “ It seems voluntary decision from far away but come closer and look, we had to migrate”	I would not migrate if I would not be a mother: “ We were living in a bubble in Turkey, and the bubble was broken when we had a child”
Becoming a Migrant Mother: Breaking the shell twice at the same time	Opportunities of being a migrant mother	Encountering dialogued-based and child-centred mothering ideals: “ How migration transforms my motherhood”
		Things that make motherhood more enjoyable in the UK: I could make four children if I migrate here earlier
		“ Appreciation of social/cultural aspects of the country of origin to motherhood”
		How does society approach mothers and children? “ Motherhood is a place where you always fail, and everybody has a right to judge your motherhood”
	Challenging aspects of being a migrant mother	“ I was a princess in Turkey, and I have turned to Cinderella when I migrate” : A need for support

Table 4.1 *(continued)*

Superordinate Themes	Subordinate Themes	Dimension
		Responsibility of the child’ s adaptation is on mothers’ shoulders
		Scary parts of being a migrant mother: Raising your child in a culture, system that you did not know
		The prices migrant mothers have to pay: “ Am I free anymore?”
	Suggestions to the newcomers	

4.1. Meaning of motherhood: "Experiencing the extremities"

The first superordinate theme is about understanding the voices of mothers in terms of what they have attributed to motherhood. This theme captures embedded factors that influence the meaning of motherhood, the identity transformation that women experience with motherhood, and the feelings about being a mother. To understand how migrant women's mothering experiences have changed after migration, it is vital to understand the meaning of motherhood for them at first.

4.1.1. Embedded factors that influence the meaning of motherhood

Three dimensions were mentioned by participants while explaining the embedded factors influencing the meaning of motherhood. These were readiness and willingness to become a mother, the age of the child, and distribution of task sharing with husbands.

4.1.1.1. Readiness and willingness to become a mother

While interpreting women's experiences of motherhood and migrant motherhood, their readiness for motherhood and how they decided to become a mother had such an impact. Below are four different examples from participants, which show different motivations and feelings towards being a mother.

Özge stated that since she was a mother at a late age (35), she felt as if she "got something she missed". While being a mother at a later age seemed to have a positive effect on Özge's readiness and willingness for motherhood, there was also a dominant feeling of mourning for missing the opportunity to have more children when she became a mother at an older age.

Ben zaten 35 yaşında anne olmuşum. Buldumcuk gibi oluyorsunuz yani. O yüzden ben yani anneliği tercih ettim. Part-time olarak da hep bir şeyler	I became a mother when I was 35. That is, you feel over the moon. So, I preferred being a mother. I always did something part-time. Motherhood is something I love very much. There are

yaptım. Annelik çok sevdiğim bir şey zaten, bazı insan olur "üf" diyen çok var çevremde. Bu benim için bir keyif, ben bu keyfimi zaten yanına bir şeyler koyarak burada geliştiriyorum. Bir de dediğim gibi geç oldu 32 yaşında evlendim 35'inde Eren oldu. Tabii bu da anca evlendiğim için oldu 20'li yaşlarda evlenmiş olsaydım 3-4 tane çocuk yapardım kesin. (Özge)

a lot of people around unhappy with being a mother. This is a big pleasure for me, and I am indulging it by putting something extra beside it. As I stated before, it was very late for me, I got married when I was 32 and gave birth to Eren at 35. That is because I got married late. If it were earlier like the 20s, I would have had more kids, that is for sure. *(Özge)*

Zeynep stated that being a mother was something frightening and anxious for her. It was felt that her husband's willingness to become a father put pressure on her. Zeynep stated the reason for her being a mother is that "she does not want to deprive her husband of being a father". But in an unspoken place, Zeynep projected the responsibility of having a child to her husband to cope with her anxiety about motherhood because it was more difficult to say, "I did not want to deprive myself of being a mother". It was difficult for Zeynep to express her desire to become a mother since there is an underlying feeling of "guilt" about bringing a child into this world, which seems not safe to her.

Uzun süre anne olmayı düşünmedim. Yani doğursam mı, doğurmasam mı? Ben on iki yıllık evliyim. Ama böyle eşim hep istiyordu çocuk, ben çok taraftar değildim. Böyle çocukları çok seviyordum ama dediğim gibi gelecek kaygısı beni korkutuyordu çocuk sahibi olmaktan. İşte Türkiye'nin gidişatı beni korkutuyordu, dünyanın gidişatı beni korkutuyordu. Yani böyle bir dünyaya ben acaba çocuk getirsem mi? O çocuğa haksızlık mı yapmış oluyorum diye çok düşündüm. Sonra eşimin çok istemesi onu da böyle Babalıktan çok mahrum etmek istemedim açıkçası. Karar verdik sekiz yıl

I have never considered having a child for a long time. That is, whether to give birth or not? I have been married for twelve years. My husband had always wanted a child, but I was not that much eager. I like kids in general but the concern of having a good future for kids always scared me. The situation of Turkey and the general condition of the world were also a concern for me. I was asking myself if I should bring a child into such a world? I thought a lot about it, I was asking myself if I was making something bad for that kid? But my husband wanted a lot, so I didn't want him to be deprived of this feeling. We made up our minds and after eight years our girl was born. Thank God she was

sonra. Kızım oldu. İyi ki de oldu. Çok güzel bir şey, yorucu bir şey ama çok da güzel bir şey. (Zeynep)	born. It is tiring to ring up a child, very good, though. (Zeynep)

The extract below from Sevda is an example of the heavy pressure women felt at the age of becoming a mother in terms of biological clock and fertility reasons. Actually, this pressure is projected onto Sevda from the people around her by saying "when you get older, you cannot be a mother, you will regret it later on". Sevda has a disabled sibling and one of her biggest fears was to have a disabled child. Although she did not feel willing or ready to be a mother to a woman, she pushed motherhood with fear, as delaying the age of becoming a mother increased the risk of having a disabled child. The pressure exerted on Sevda to have a child at a young age and Sevda's fear of having a disabled child show the prejudices embedded in the society regarding the "robustness" attitude and how society even the one from the education field (had master's degree and continuing her Ph.D.) approach to the disabled child.

Ya ben dediğim gibi anneliğe çok daha şey bir insan değildim. Hani anne olayım, çocuğum olsun öyle bir tip değildim. Hiçbir zaman olmadım zaten. Tek şeyim evlendikten sonra eşim, o istiyordu aslında. Bir yandan da şunu düşündüm ben engelli bir kardeşim var. Yaş ilerledikçe risk artıyor. Çevremdeki insanlar da genelde "yaşın ilerlerse ilerde yapmak istersin olmaz, pişman olursun" falan gibi şeyler olunca. Bir de dediğim gibi engelli çocuk sahibi olma riski de artar diye ben "neyse hadi yapayım " gibi oldu çocuk olayı da. Söylediğim gibi kesinlikle anne olayım gibi büyük bir istekle de yapmadım yani. (Sevda)	Telling the truth, I was not prone to have a child. I was not like I should have a kid. I should be a great mum. I have never been. The only cause is my husband, He was so eager to. On one side there were some other thoughts on my mind. I have a handicapped sibling. The risk gets higher as you age. The people around me were nagging and reminding me of its difficulties if I wanted to have a child in the following year. And as I said, in case of the risk of having a handicapped child, we said 'Ok, Let's do it' As I said it was not something willing like I should be a mother (Sevda)

Elçin mentioned that she is not someone who wants to have a child, and because she has an overly-sensitive nature, she predicts that she will be a mother who

constantly questions what she can do for her child when she becomes a mother. In addition, her lack of "patience" was also one of the points that scared her about having children. She talked about having a great love for her child now and said motherhood is an incredibly beautiful thing but stated that if she knew the responsibility of having a child before she became a mother, she would have preferred not to have a child. At this point, the fact that she knows her character traits and fears, and for example, she chooses to be a mother at a late age because she is afraid that she will lose her freedom is actually heard as the qualities that positively affect her experience of motherhood. It showed how important it is for women who do not want to be mothers so much that they wait for their readiness. And it showed how important it is for women who do not want to have children to think in a way that "not all women have to be mothers". Being a mother is also felt like a necessity for women to be a mother, whether they desire it or not.

Ben çok şey, böyle anne olmayı çok çok isteyen birisi değildim. Çünkü kendimi biliyorum ben çok hassas biriyim ve biliyordum böyle çok, sürekli sorgulayacağım, sürekli onun için ne yapabilirim diye düşüneceğim. Ondan sonra biraz da sabırlı değildim çocuklarla ilgilenirken. O yüzden korkuyordum ama çok güzel bir şey yani onu, hayır yani çocuğunu bilmesen, mesela şimdi Ali ile çok iyi bir bağım var benim, inanılmaz aşk yaşıyoruz yani. O, onun yani onu bilmesem, çocuğun ama bu sorumluluğu bilsem yapar mısın mesela? Ben yapmayabilirdim yani, çünkü çok zor bir şey. (Elçin)	Well, I was not in the mood of a person who desires to be a mother. Because I know myself, I knew that I would always question it, I would always think about doing better things for him/her. In fact, I am not a patient person when looking after a baby, which might cause trouble. For that reason, I was scared a bit. But it is a wonderful feeling, I have a wonderful tie with Ali, for example. We have a great love now, but If I had known the responsibilities beforehand, would I have had him? No. Because it is a difficult thing. (Elçin)

4.1.1.2. Meaning is dynamically changing with the age of the child

The two mothers emphasized that the meaning of their motherhood varies according to the age of their children. For mothers, the transformation of the

relationship into a mutual relationship with the growth of the child was stated as a factor that increases maternal satisfaction. Their extracts demonstrated that the meaning of motherhood changes dynamically and that it is not possible to talk about a single meaning, since those maternal meanings change depending on the developmental level and age of the child. Instead of talking about a single "motherhood", they revealed that there would be many "meanings" according to the varying developmental level of the child.

The first extract from Esra;

Oğlum büyüdükçe daha da şey olacak gibime geliyor zaten hani benimle sohbet ederek onu anlatarak bunu anlatarak daha zevkli bir hal alacakmış gibime geliyor. Çünkü oturuyoruz bazen mesela şu yaşında bile sohbet ediyoruz falan onu soruyor bunu soruyor. Bazen daraltıyor ayrı konu tabi ki ama güzel yani daha iyi olacağını düşünüyorum kesinlikle. (Esra)	It seems as if the older my son gets, the better it will be by chatting me something and by sharing something with me. Sometimes we sit together, and even at this age, we are having wonderful chats, he keeps asking various questions. Sometimes he bores, nevertheless, it is good. And I certainly believe it will be much better. (Esra)

The second extract from Tümay;

Çünkü karşındaki insan büyüyor ve büyüdükçe seninle paylaşımı artıyor. Aslında bir nevi keyif aldığım bir insana dönüşüyor. Çünkü ilk 1 yaşında mıydı? Bir buçuk yaşındaydı. Birkaç kelime, birkaç kelimeden de fazla konuşuyordu, bayağı konuşuyordu aslında. Mesela beraber Moda çay bahçesine yürüyüp, normalde her zaman parka gideriz ama o gün benim canım bir şeyler içmek istiyordu, çay bahçesine oturup karşılıklı sohbet ettik mesela ilk kez beraber, hani arkadaşınla gidip bir kafede otursun ya, ilk	Because the person you in front of you is getting older and what he is sharing with you is getting more and more every day. Frankly, he is becoming a person I like. Because was it his first age? No, one and a half. He was talking more than a few words. He was talking quite a few words, in fact. For instance, we could walk through Moda Teahouse, normally we could go to the park but on that day, I felt like drinking something., we sat at the teahouse drinking something together, together for the first time. It was like sitting with your friend. We sat together many times before while waiting for the

kez sadece onunla ikimizin birebir hani çok kere oturduk, babayı beklerken oturduk, arkadaşı ile görüşeceğimizde oturduk ama bu o, orada beraber oturduk ilk, o bir buçuk yaşındaydı şimdi onu mesela geleneğe dönüştürdük anne kız günleri diye. (Tümay)	father while meeting friends. But that was much different, and we turned it into a custom, like a mother- daughter day. *(Tümay)*

4.1.1.3. Let's talk about fatherhood first: Distribution of task sharing

Half of the participants emphasized the importance of the share of responsibility in child-rearing among parents. Three of the participants underlined that motherhood is so difficult for them since they cannot see the equal responsibility-sharing, that they want to see from their husbands. One participant Sevda was so grateful for her husband's involvement in household chores, which seems to alleviate the difficulty of mothering experiences.

For Elçin observing the fathers from different cultures in the UK was a shocking experience since it is a totally different profile of how fathers are involved in child-rearing in Turkey. When she explained the example of a father that she saw in the UK she smiled sarcastically. There was a peculiar emulation in her tone of voice when thinking about what her mothering experiences would be like when her partner had equal participation in raising their children. In an unspoken voice, I felt the sense of anger and unfairness in Elçin's voice when she was talking about the gap between the reaction of Turkish society to fathers who participate equally in the upbringing of the child and the reaction of the British society to the fathers who participate equally in the upbringing of the child. The thing that bothered Elçin was that the equal participation of fathers in the upbringing of the child in Turkey was seen as something unique, rare, and unusual, on the contrary, it was a normal and expected standard in the UK. Elçin had an angry tone when she stated that her husband as a father only responsible for earning money and playing with the child for 15-20 minutes a day. Elçin stated that fatherhood is quite easy; on the other hand, from her experience, motherhood is a "terrifying" experience since the mother had to consider everything for the child.

Babalık da farklı. Yani ben burada parkta çocuğun, bebeğin altını açarken bir ayağıyla da salıncak sallayan babalar görüyorum. Ya Türkiye'de bir kere (!) o kadar küçük bebekle atıyorum 3 yaşındaki çocuk baba ile birlikte parka göndermek inanılmaz bir şey. Baba kabul etmez bir kere. Burada adam birisinin altını değiştirirken ayağıyla da salıncak sallıyor. Yani bana rüya gibi falan geliyor, bu adamlar yaşıyor muymuş gerçekten (gülüyor)? Ya da bunlar adamsa, bunlar ne falan, bizimkiler ne? Bir kere hayatı seninle her alanda paylaşan birisi olduğunda, senin bu kadar sorumluluğun olmuyor ki yani. Ben şu an beşte dört çocuk sorumluluğu alıyorsam o zaman hani ne oluyor, yarı yarıya olmuş oluyor falan. Biz de öyle bir şey yok, yani çocuğun yemesinden, içmesinden, kocanın yemesini içmesini de sen düşünüyorsun; ne saçma! Yani çok şey, Türkiye'de böyle binde bir çıkarken böyle erkekler ve herkes "ay işte bak bu adam da ne kadar iyi çıktı" falan derken burada aslında genel geçer şey bu. Erkekler için çok kolay bence baba olmak, hiçbir şey, yine yaptığın şey, işte para kazanacaksın, bir de günde 15-20 dakika çocukla ilgileneceksin bu kadar ama anne olmak dehşet bir şey yani. Yani her şeyi düşünmek zorundasın, her şeyi planlamak zorundasın. (Elçin)

Fatherhood is a different feeling. I saw some fathers changing their kids' diapers while swinging the other. In Turkey, sending a child of a three-year-old to a park with his father is an incredible thing. Fathers don't agree with it. Here the situation is just the opposite, the father looks after two kids at the same time. It is just like a joke. Are they real? (laughing) Or if these are men, what are these, what are ours? When there is someone sharing life with you in every aspect you do not have that many responsibilities. Now if I take over four of five responsibilities, it will drop to half of it. We don't have equal responsibilities. I must think about even my husband's food as well as the kid's. This is ridiculous! When it is a very rare situation in Turkey to have a considerate husband, here it is an unusual situation. For men, it is so easy to be a father. Your only responsibility is to earn money, and just look after the kid for ten or fifteen minutes. But motherhood? It is completely different; you have to think and plan every detail. (Elçin)

The below extract from Esra illustrates that motherhood is overshadowed by fatherhood and how mothering experiences change when fathers do not involve in the workload. While fathers have the luxury of just playing with the child when they spend

time with the child this is not an option for mothers. When mothers spend time in the house, they see this as an opportunity to do work in the house such as cleaning and cooking at the same time. The fact that the father is more valuable in the eyes of the child since he only plays and does nothing while with the child, upsets the mother because there is no equal workload and Esra feels resentment and jealousy since her motherhood is devalued in her son's eyes due to her partner.

Bir de şöyle bir şey zaten babayla çocuğu bir arada bıraktığınızda evde hiçbir şey yapılmıyor ki baba sadece oturup oyun oynuyor. O yüzden çocuğun en sevdiği olabiliyor. Şu an eşim ile oğlum arasındaki ilişki sırf oyun üzerine. Çünkü ben ev içerisindeyken evi topluyorum ütü yapıyorum temizlik yapıyorum yemek yapıyorum alışverişe gidiyorum. Baba sadece oturup oyun oynuyor. Yani şimdi noluyor öyle olunca "baba daha değerli oluyor". Çünkü oturup oyun oynuyor sadece ne istiyorsa onu yapıyor. (Esra)	The situation is that; when the father and child are on their own at home, they do nothing but play a game. For that reason, they may become a favourite person. At the moment my husband's relationship with our child is based on playing a game. Because when I am at home, I do cleaning, ironing, cooking, and go shopping. So what? In this way, the father becomes more valuable. Because by playing games, he gives whatever is wanted and needed. (Esra)

The next extract from Zeynep shows that fathers cannot go beyond supporting roles in raising their children. Zeynep's use of the word "support" instead of "sharing or equal sharing" also shows that the main responsibility of the child belongs to the mother. The mother's role in guiding the father about child-rearing is also an added burden to motherhood. It is the mother who sees that 5-10 minutes of playing with the child will not be sufficient for the child's emotional needs from the father. In addition, to being a mother to her child, Zeynep also sees her husband's inadequacy in fathering her daughter and feels obliged to be the voice of her daughter's needs and to provide guidance to her husband. It seems like Zeynep as a mother takes the role of "fathering" her husband in this regard.

Destek oluyor ama yeterince olamıyor çünkü yoğun çalışıyor.	He supports but not enough because he works hard. As a result, he comes home

Yoğun çalıştığı için de eşim yedi gibi evde oluyor. E ben çocuğu sekiz buçukta uyutuyorum zaten. İşte yemekti şuydu buydu derken bir yarım saat kızıma ayırabiliyor. Ama çok seviyor bekliyor oyun arkadaşı onun için. Ben de eşimi zorluyorum biraz daha ilgilen. Biraz erkekler biraz maalesef rahat oluyor. Beş on dakika oynayınca onun için yeterli olabileceğini düşünüyor. (Zeynep)

at about seven. And I take the child to sleep at eight-thirty. He only spares half an hour while eating or sitting. But she loves him very much and longs for him as he is a game partner. And I am trying to force my husband to spare more time. He thinks five or ten minutes could be enough. (Zeynep)

Only one participant Sevda emphasized how sharing responsibility for household chores with her husband makes everything easier for her. She underlined that she intentionally did not choose the word "supportive" for her husband. Sevda stated that she did not live like a classical Turkish housewife and her tone of voice was so proud since she did not resemble this prototype. This also shows that Sevda has negative attributions to the image of the "classic Turkish housewife" in terms of gender inequality. Not being like a classic housewife in Turkey is a status Sevda has achieved and this shows how much inequality the housewives in Turkey have experienced in sharing household responsibility.

Nasıl diyeyim, klasik Türkiye 'deki ev hanımları gibi bir şey değilim. Hani mutlaka her gün yemek yapmak zorunda olan, her gün evi temizlemek zorunda olan, öyle bir, daha biraz daha rahatım, özgürüm. Tabi eşimin de burada şeyi de önemli, sağ olsun o konuda kesinlikle baskıcı bir yapısı yok, giyinme tarzıma hiç müdahale etmez, ya da işte gezmeme yani bir yerlere gitmeme aktivitelere katılmama yemek yapıp yapmama hiç şey yapmaz, zaten kendisi de yemek yapmayı seviyor. Ev işi konusunda asla paylaşma da demeyeyim hani şey olduğunda

How should I tell? I am not something like classical Turkish housewives in Turkey? Not having to cook or clean the house, I am a bit relaxed and free. Of course, here I have to admit my husband's support is very important. Thanks to him he is absolutely not an oppressive person, he never interferes with my clothing, does not bother about my participating in any activities, or does not oblige me about cooking, etc. He likes cooking better than me. About house chores, ours is not a kind of sharing but we cooperate and support each other when necessary. We are always together actually. (Sevda)

zaten destek demiyorum ya yani beraber, şeyiz. (Sevda)

4.1.2. Feelings about being a mother

In this subtheme, migrant mothers mentioned their feelings about being a mother. They emphasized that motherhood evokes a wide range of emotions and that both positive and negative emotions are felt at extreme points and intensities.

4.1.2.1. Feeling of ongoing internal conflicts, conscience, and discussions around 'perfect' motherhood

All mothers have spoken emotionally intensely that motherhood is never-ending remorse, a constant question of "how can I be a better mother". Emotions that came out intensely while mentioning motherhood were remorse, anxiety, feeling of “not being enough”, and feeling guilty.

Motherhood, which Hande refers to as the concept "she tries to fill in", shows how much the concept of "motherhood" formed in mothers' minds affects the way motherhood lives emotionally. Rather than being a concept that women can live as they wish, "motherhood" is like a level that cannot be reached or filled. When Hande imagines her son speaking to a psychologist 30 years later, her sentence of "everything will be attached to the mother" shows how much fear and inadequacy are dominant in her motherhood.

Anne olmak hiç bitmeyen bir vicdan azabı. Çünkü hani doğru davranmaya çalışıyorsun, çocuklarını iyi yetiştirmeye çalışıyorsun, iyi yetiştirmek istiyorsun, mutlu çocukların olsun istiyorsun, seni seven çocukların olsun istiyorsun. Anne başlığını doldurmak istiyorsun. Ama hep bir "acaba doldurabiliyor muyum”, "acaba mı", "acaba yaptığım hangi hareket ya da laf	Being a mother is remorse. All the time you have to act correctly, trying to raise the kids in the right way, you want to do your best, and you want your children to love you. You have to deserve the meaning of being a mother. But there is always the question of I wonder if ….., I wonder which action of mine causes trauma? And you know that he will have to deal with it till the age of thirty. When talking to a psychologist, the issue will

onda travma yaratıyor " ve 30 yaşında bununla uğraşacak. Bir psikologla oturduğunda gene anneye dayanacak. "Acaba o zaman neyi anlatacak acaba?! (Hande)

be naturally the mother. What is she going to tell then? (Hande)

Esra's quote shows that motherhood has many ambivalent feelings and those mothers have complicated feelings at the same time. Esra feels guilty when she wishes that her child sleeps for 2 hours and that there is a time for her to be alone while her child is asleep. It shows how motherhood is tiring and overwhelming since the mother feels like she does not even have the right to want to spend an individual independent time apart from the child. This feeling was justified by her son's being a well-behaved child. It was seen that Esra had a critical tone like "I will see myself when I have a naughty child". I felt that the echoes of an established culture where only gratitude and positive feelings are dedicated to motherhood were heard from Esra. Esra, on one side, said that she had the right to feel this feeling with her later sentence as if she was trying to convince herself "despite society". Esra's criticism of herself instead of criticizing her child was also heard as an outcome of the embedded social judgment directed to motherhood that "mothers should not criticize their children, mothers should be grateful if their children are healthy and well-behaved".

Bazen diyorum ki öğlenler uyusa keşke şöyle bir iki saat otursam diyorum mesela hani ama işte bütün bunları söylerken de insan vicdan azabı çekiyor ister istemez. Şöyle düşünüyorum bakınca gerçekten çok uslu bir çocuğum var. Arada çıldırtması çok normal çocuk neticesinde. Ama ben böyle bunları söylerken işte "Oğlum beni çok yoruyor" bilmem ne falan sanki şımarıklık ediyormuşum sanki böyle ikincisi (ikinci çocuk) tokat gibi yüzüme inecekmiş gibi hissediyorum. Aslında bu da haksız bir eleştiri çünkü ben de bir insanım. Bunun

Sometimes I wish he could sleep at noon, and I could sit for a few hours, but you even have regrets when thinking of such things. Telling the truth I really have a well-mannered kid. It is quite normal that he makes me furious occasionally, but he is a kid. Sometimes I feel a second child will give me my lesson as I am thinking that my son tires me and he behaves like a spoilt child. Actually, this is a wrong accusation, after all, I am a human being. I am very well aware of it but it is easier for a person to criticize herself than to criticize her kid. This is really tiresome (!), both thinking about yourself and your kid. (Esra)

da farkındayım ama işte insanın kendine laf etmesi çocuğuna laf etmesinden daha kolay geliyor bazen. Çok yorucu bir şey bu (!), hem kendini düşünmek hem çocuğunu düşünmek" (Esra)

Müjde, Sevda and Tümay had a feeling of guilt and conscience for their decision to "have a child". At this point, the feeling of guilt in Müjde and Sevda was fed by the idea that "it is not their right to decide to bring someone into the world on behalf of someone who cannot decide for self". The common thought that triggered the feeling of guilt in all of them was feeling pessimistic about the future of the world and their sadness about the negative experiences that their children will experience in the future.

The extract from Müjde showed that the intensity of the guilt that Müjde felt for giving birth to her child was so high that she even apologized to her child.

Ben bazen çocuğuma dönüp baktığımda evet onu dünyaya getirdim. Onu çok seviyorum, ona onun için her şeyi yapabilirim. Evet ama onu bu dünyaya getirdiğim için ondan özür diliyorum yani. Çünkü onun yaşayacaklarını yaşadım. Yaşayacak çünkü onları kötü kötü şeyler yaşayacak biliyorum her zaman iyi şeyler olmayacak şu hayatta o yüzden o günlerden korkuyorum" (Müjde)	When sometimes I looked at my kid, yes, I am the one who brought him to this world, I love him very much, I can do anything for him. Yes, but sometimes I apologize for bringing him to this world. I have already lived what he is going to live. And I know good things will not always happen in this world. For that reason, I have some fear. (Müjde)

The extract from Sevda revealed that she felt angry about the things "imposed sequence of life events like getting married, having a child, etc." which were prescribed. She found her own decision to be a mother selfish since she made this decision to adapt to society.

Şunu da düşündüm yani hamileyken de çok düşündüm. Hala da çok düşünürüm. Yani bu dünyaya gelmeyi seçmedi aslında ne kadar da adil (!?) karar veremeyen birisi adına karar verip onu dünyaya getirmek. Çünkü ne olacağını bilmiyorsun. Yarın ne olacağını bilmiyorsun. O şekilde düşüncem çok daha fazla baskın yani. Biraz suçluluk duygusu yani yoğun ben de sanırım. Dediğim gibi hani böyle kendi kararını veremeyen bir bireyi yani bir birey de değildi daha önce. Karar verip sırf kendi bir şeylerini tamamlamak için daha çok diyeyim. Toplumun dayattığı bir şeyler dayatma da değil de aslında da işte o şekilde takip ediyorsun hayatı olması gereken o gibi. (Sevda)	I thought about that when pregnant I really thought that. And I am still thinking about it. He didn't choose to come to this world, when you think about it, how fair could it be to decide instead of someone who cannot decide as you don't know what will happen next? You don't know what will happen tomorrow. That kind of idea is more prevalent for me. To bring an individual to the world, not an individual yet. You decide for him, and it is not your decision, but society. That is the expectation of society, and you follow the road of others. (Sevda)

Contributing to this population growth in a world with a high population by having children is something Tümay finds unreasonable. The extract below from Tümay showed that the concept of "motherhood" is a decision that cannot be understood solely with the level of logic. The expression "we want more people like us in the society" used by Tümay shows that "having a child" and raising that child according to their "own" values and transferring these values to a child like a tool to realize the world they idealized. Tümay's voice was in a low mood and had a sense of guilt when "having a child" meant causing a child to experience them as the environment and so on were getting worse in the future. Tümay used the phrase "there is a dark side in there" twice and consecutively while saying things like global warming that her daughter will have to live and face in the future because she wanted to "have a child". Tümay felt intense guilt and sadness for not being able to leave the world she had idealized for her child.

Evet ama hani öte yandan daha mantıklı olarak düşünseydim, hani iki yönden düşünülebilir	Oh! Yes. If I had thought more reasonably on the other side, maybe I could think both ways. First of all, why

belki. Birincisi niye bu kadar yüksek nüfuslu bir dünyada bu nüfus artışına katkıda bulunuyoruz? Negatif etkilenme üzerinden devam edebilirdik. Hele de gelecek bu açıdan gittikçe kararıyor, çevre vesaire, dolayısıyla bir çocuğun bunları yaşamasına da sebep olacaksın aslında aynı zamanda. Orada bir karanlık yön var. Öbür yandan da şu var, bizim gibi insanlar azalıyor bence bu dünyada. Bizim gibi derken neyi kastediyorum, insanları ikiye bölmek anlamında değil ama (düşünür) politik doğru olarak nasıl ifade edeceğimi bulamadım. Nasıl ifade etmeliyim acaba? Ama insan sever, insanı öne alan, kültürel ve entelektüel seviyeyi destekleyen, öne çıkaran, dünya vatandaşı olmaktan hoşlanan, çevreyi destekleyen, klasik, dil, din, ırk, üçgenlerinden hoşlanmayan, ırkçılıktan hazzetmeyen, insanlığın birtakım kurum kişi ve milletlerin çıkarlarına göre değil insanlığa göre, insanlığın tüm çıkarlarına ve hatta doğanın da dahil etmek gerekirse, oradaki dengelere göre işlemesi birazcık herhalde fazla imaginative mi desek? idealist belki de, hani ana değerler açısından, bizim gibi olan insanların çoğalması açısından belki de aslında üremek gerekiyordu. O açıdan eksik kalıyoruz belki de bilmiyorum. (Tümay)

contribute to the overcrowded world? We could have continued on negative effect. What's more, the future is not bright and getting darker, the environmental problems are increasing, and you will cause a child to go through all of those. There is a dark point there. On the other hand, I think people like us are getting decreased. What I mean is that I don't want to classify people (thinking), I couldn't find the right expression politically. How should I tell you I don't know? But people love it. People love it when you put the human for grounding, supporting cultural and intellectual level, liking being world citizen, supporting the environment, disliking racism, for humanity, for the sake of humanity, maybe reproducing is important. From that respect maybe we are a bit lack. (Tümay)

While explaining her feelings about motherhood, Özge gave an example of the sentence she said to her father on the phone, "my favourite job is motherhood". Since she preferred to use the word "job" when talking about motherhood, when asked what

it meant to her, she said that she saw motherhood as work since she tended to make it “perfect" like a duty.

Hiçbir soruyu karşılıksız bırakmazdım Eren ne sorarsa cevap verirdim bir ilgi alanı ne olur onunla ilgili kitaplar alırım okurum veya oraya götürmeye çalışıyorum. Yani meslek dedim çünkü sadece anne gibi yemek yapıp derslerine destek oluyorum gibi değil ama daha kapsamlı bir şey olarak bakıyorum buna ben onları yetiştirmek adına. Yani mükemmeliyetçi olmak hem iyi hem değil ama. Ama belki de eksiksiz yapmaya çalıştığım için meslek de demişimdir annelikten bahsederken. Bilmiyorum, iyi mi kötü mü hiçbir fikrim yok. (Özge)	I never leave a question unanswered; I answer whatever Eren asks. I buy books for him whatever his interests are. I call it a job, because I just do not cook and support his school like a mother, but maybe something more comprehensively for raising him. And being a perfectionist is not a good thing. But maybe I called it a profession as I am trying to do it perfectly while talking about motherhood. I don’t know is it good or bad? No idea. (Özge)

In parallel with what Özge mentioned Tümay also stated that “there is no room for mistakes” in her motherhood and she felt fearful to make mistakes. For Tümay the most difficult thing in motherhood is that you feel responsible for "the response and reaction you give to something the child says" rather than providing the child with basic care needs. Thinking that every act a mother gives to her child in daily life will shape the child's world and find an echo in the child's world increases the burden of motherhood. Tümay stated that the truths she found in her opinion changed over time with what she read and experienced, and this change was a point that "left motherhood vulnerable to error". Tümay's words stated that there is no room for mistakes in motherhood and if her truths change as a mother, she will feel "anxious" because she interprets this as a mistake, and that the most intense feeling of motherhood is "anxiety". After these words, it was wondered how the level of anxiety felt in motherhood would be different if Tümay thinks like this, "my truths can change over time and I can talk about it with my child, change is inevitable by the nature of human beings and I have the right to it, I will not see this as a mistake". When Tümay

questioned whether her motherhood was good enough, she made me think that the standard attributed to the concept of "good enough parents" was too high.

Bence anne olmak çok büyük bir çelişki yumağı çünkü bir yandan evet çok güzel ama öbür yandan sorumluluklar büyük. Burada sorumluluklar büyük derken evet tabi ki temel barındırma, besleme vesaire gibi sorumluluklar var ama bunun dışında bence daha büyük olan sorumluluk mesela söylediği bir şeye verdiğin cevap, tepki. Gündelik yaşamındaki her davranışının aslında öbür tarafta bir yankı bulduğunu biliyor olmak. Dolayısıyla, evet yaşam çok değişiyor o anlamda. Çünkü buna dair de bir sürü bir şeyler okuyorsun, başarıyorsun, başaramıyorsun, kendince doğruyu ortaya koyuyorsun sanıyorsun olmuyor, geri dönüyorsun. Hata yapıyorsun, bolca hata yapıyorsun. Bir de hata yapmaktan endişeleniyorsun bolca en kötüsü bence. Evet endişe bende çok birleşiyor annelik kavramı ile. Bebekken, acaba doğru mu yaptım? Belki o ilk anne olmanın, ikinci, üçüncü annelikte belki daha azdır o. Doğru mu besledim? Doğru mu altını kapattım? Böyle mi siliniyor? Böyle mi yapılacak? Hani, yeterince iyi yapabildim mi? Ondan sonra. Bebekken öyle başlayıp, sonra doğru cevabı verdim mi, doğru doğru aktivitelere götürdüm mü? Yeterince ilgileniyor muyum, işte her noktada sürekli bir endişe ama öbür yandan da o çelişki dediğim şey, büyük bir haz. (Tümay)

In my opinion, motherhood is a big contradiction as it is very good on the other hand it is a big responsibility. Here what I am talking about is answering the questions asked by the kid and the reactions you show except for the responsibility of feeding, accommodation, etc. Knowing that there is a reflection of your behaviour over him. So, life changes a lot in that sense. Because you are reading a lot of things about it and you succeed, you fail, you think you find the right way, but it doesn't work, and you turn back to the starting point. You make mistakes, many mistakes, and also you worry about making mistakes, which is, for me, the worst. Yes, concerns are getting united with motherhood. When he was a baby, I wonder if I did the right thing? Maybe it is because being a mother for the first time, it may be less in the second or third child. Have I fed correctly? Have I closed the diaper correctly? Is this correct? etc. Am I interested in the correct way? There is always a concern and then a big enjoyment. This is what I called discrepancy. (Tümay)

4.1.2.2. “I never promised you a rose garden”: Motherhood is the hardest thing in the world

All the participants talked about how difficult motherhood is and how unique motherhood is in terms of difficulty. They emphasized that "motherhood" is a difficulty unlike any other because the most challenging aspect of motherhood is that they have both positive and negative intense emotions at very extreme points.

For Elçin, there is no greater challenge than being a mother in the world, she spoke with such a confident tone of voice that she seemed to have a convincing side saying, "I know, believe me, I'm very sure the hardest thing in this world is motherhood."

Ya anne olmak dünyanın en zor şeyiymiş. En zor şey bence. Dünyada anne olmaktan daha büyük bir sorumluluk olamaz, olamaz yani olamaz. Daha büyük bir sevgi de olamaz. Her şeyin en en en eni anne olmak bence. En ucu yani. (Elçin)	I think being a mother is the hardest thing in the world. I believe so. There cannot be a more important thing than being a mother. There is not a bigger love, either. Motherhood is the most of all things. It is the peak of everything. (Elçin)

Esra said some days that she wanted to quit motherhood, and every child probably makes this feel to its mother. The fact that Esra stated that these negative feelings can be in every mother as soon as she said her negative feelings about motherhood showed how difficult it is for women to share negative experiences of motherhood and how much they need to see that they are not alone. Esra delayed becoming a mother because she feared that she would lose her freedom when she became a mother for years. She stated that she lost her freedom when she became a mother. As a researcher and migrant woman who is not yet a mother, "hearing about the loss of freedom in motherhood" was quite heavy.

Bazı günler istifa edip başka bir şey yapasım geliyor evet ama herhalde her çocuk aynı şeyi hissettiriyordur annesine diye düşünüyorum. Hissetmediğini	On some days, I feel like resining and doing another job. Yes, I think every child must have the same feeling about his/her mother. For the mothers saying the opposite, I would say bravo…

söyleyen anne de helal olsun diyeyim Ne diyeyim. Ya annelik zor bir şey, gerçekten çok (!) zor bir şey. Kendi hayatını bir kenara koymak gibi bir şey yani. Yıllarca anne olmak istemedim çünkü özgürlüğüm elden gidecek diye düşünüyordum. Evet bir kısım özgürlüğüm gitti gerçekten elimden onu da şu an fark ediyorum. (Esra)	Motherhood is a really difficult job. It is something putting your life aside. I had never thought of being a mother for a long time as I was thinking it would get me freedom. Yes, I feel it now that some of my freedom has gone. (Esra)

Müjde talked about how heavy responsibility motherhood is, and while describing this, she said metaphorically that being a mother is like "handcuffed to the world" like "shackles on your feet". She stated that even when the mother wishes to die, she does not "have the luxury to die" because she has the responsibility to take care of her child just because she is a mother. It was easier to understand Müjde's metaphor that she used for motherhood when her inner-self critic voice used such as "Why did I have a child when I didn't even want to get married", and "Did I really want to have a child" into consideration. It revealed how readiness for motherhood and willingness to become a mother is important and has a huge impact on the experiences of motherhood.

Tekrar ayağa kalkmak zorundasın çünkü çocuk var. Bırakamıyorsun kendini! Mesela bu da var hani şey değil "ben öleceğim ya deyip gidemiyorsun kenara anladın mı!". Niye? Çünkü rahat rahat ölemiyorsun. Çünkü oğlun var, ya da rahat rahat gidemiyorsun geri dönemiyorsun çünkü çocuğun var. Anne olmak demek şöyle bir şey demek. (gülüyor) Kelepçelisin bu dünyaya demek (!) yani böyle ayağında bir pranga var demek aslında. Yani ben şey diyemiyorum. Evet anne olmak evet çok güzel bir duygu doğru doğrudur yani "anne" dediği zaman güzel hissediyorsun o da	You have to get up again since you have got a kid. You cannot give up on yourself. You can never say I will pass away. Why? You can't die comfortably. Because you have got a son. You can never go somewhere comfortably; you have to come back. Being a mother is (laughing) something like you are handcuffed to the world. You are tied up in fact. Yes, being a mother is good, but you are not free to do everything you want. You can't feel comfortable in everything you do; you have to think twice. Because it is sometimes a burden or hardship. You hug, you kiss. It is ok. But not a wonderful thing. (Müjde)

okey ama gittiğin her yerde yanında o da var ve onu düşünerek hareket etmek zorundasın yani başka çaren yok hani o gerektiği zaman ağırlık gerektiği zaman güç. Hani sarılıyorsun öpüyorsun. Ama tamamen harika bir şey mi? Hayır değil. (Müjde)

Sevda stated how difficult the biological and psychological changes she experienced after she became a mother. She stated that she became emotionally vulnerable during their motherhood processes, and precisely for this reason, it revealed the vitality of the psychological support for women in the motherhood process.

Negatif yanları da çok fazla, çok büyük bir sorumluluk, kesinlikle çok çok çok çok (!) büyük bir sorumluluk hiçbir işe ya da hiçbir göreve benzemiyor annelik ve kesinlikle şunun farkındayım. Bu bende oldu, bilmiyorum başkalarını daha farklı düzeyde etkileyebilir. Kesinlikle doğum yaptıktan sonra beyin yapısı ile ilgili değişiklikler oldu. Ben de ruh sağlığı ile ilgili değişikler oldu, bunun farkındayım. Bazı anlamlarda hayata farklı bir pencereden bakıyorsun pozitif olabilir ama negatif olarak çok daha fazla bana etkisi olduğunu düşünüyorum. (Sevda)

The negative sides are also many. This is a very big responsibility. It doesn't look like any other tasks or responsibilities, and I am very well aware of it. This is my feeling, and I don't know if it may affect others in a different way or level. I am sure that there have been changes in brain structure after giving birth. I have changed psychologically. In some ways, you can look at life positively, but it has an opposite effect on me. (Sevda)

4.1.2.2.1. "Your life is completely changing!"

Motherhood involves a great sacrifice, where the child comes before anything else. Four participants stated the different aspects of sacrifice and how their lives change after they become a mother.

Elçin stated that she always put her son in the first place as a mother and that she has no priority in any matter anymore. She gave examples showing how she

prioritizes the child when considering the issue of health and choosing the neighbourhood to live in.

Çocukla yaşadığın ya da çocuğun başına gelebilecek şeyleri düşündüğün zaman her şey önemini kaybediyor aslına bakarsan, kendi sağlığın bile önemini kaybediyor, önce onun sağlığı yani. O iyi olsun, işte hep anneler şey der ya hani "aman o hasta olmasın, ben olayım". Yani gerçekten onu hissediyorsun çünkü annelik çok merhametli bir şey, çok şefkat duyuyorsun ve onun başına bir şey, gelecek şeyleri aman aman ben tabii ki bana gelsin durumu oluyor ve bu da insanın hayatını tabii ki çok değiştiren bir şey yani, kendin diye bir şey, sen hep 2. sıradasın yani. Onun için ne daha iyiyse orada yaşıyorsun. Mesela yaşamak istemediğin bir bölge de olsa çocuğun okulu için iyiyse mesela orada yaşıyorsun. (Elçin)	Telling the truth, everything is unimportant when you consider about the things which might happen to your kid, even your health has no importance as you think the priority is the kid. You just wish his being healthy, you know what mothers say, 'May they be healthy, and I may be ill' You really feel it. Because motherhood is a very affectionate thing, for that reason you just say, 'Bad things may happen to me, not to him.' You put yourself in second place. You move to a location for your kid's education even if you don't like the area. (Elçin)

Before Elçin became a mother she hated attending children's events, but after she became a mother and attend child activities for her son she started to think in a way like "oh how beautiful my son is having fun". According to Elçin, motherhood is something powerful enough to make you do something you do not normally want to do without feeling too bad.

Sorumluluk artıyor işte biraz böyle işte eskiden olan o haz arayışı, işte eğlence peşinde koşma falan onlar değişiyor. Çok yani fedakârlık yapıyorsun işte, ya fedakarlık da değil işin doğası da işte. Çocuk etkinliğine gitmek mesela nefret ettiğim bir şeydir benim, kafam şişer, hemen şişer	You are getting more responsibility, your old life is getting away, no fun anymore. You sacrifice a lot; I mean that is the nature of motherhood. For example, going to child activities is something I hate, I just get bored, but anyway, you go. When the child is getting fun, you just say, 'It is OK.' You don't feel that bad, I mean. In fact, all of

yani, ama mesela oraya götürüyorsun, o orada eğlenirken sen aaaaa, ne yapalım yani, tabii ki eğlensin çocuk da diyorsun. Bunların hepsi aslında, ya yapmak istemediğin bir sürü şeyi yapıyorsun, sonuç itibariyle çok da kötü hissetmiyorsun yani. Ben mesela çocuğum olmadan, arkadaşımın çocuğunun doğum günü partisine gitmiştim ve ölmek istemiştim (güler) ya bu ne kadar dehşet bir şey ya rabbi (!) falan yani bunu nasıl bunların kafaları kaldırıyor falan diyordum. Şimdi biz de yapıyoruz aynısını ve o kadar da acıklı olmuyor yani. Çok da acıklı olmuyor yani. Başka nasıl değiştirdi? İşte planların değişiyor, geleceğe bakışın değişiyor, kariyerin değişiyor. (Elçin)

the things which you want to do, as a result, you don't feel that bad. Once I went to my friend's child's birthday party, before my kid's birth, I was so bored and I wanted to die (laughs), I asked myself how they could endure that much torture. Now we do the same thing, and it doesn't hurt much. What else? Your plans change. Your aspects about change. Your career change. (Elçin)

Müjde and Sevda talked about the difficulties they faced in business life after becoming a mother. Müjde stated that the journalism profession is not suitable for motherhood because in its nature journalist has to go whenever an important event happened and even has to put her own life at risk to make better news.

Yaptığım işte dediğim gibi çok stresli bir iş. Hani bazen gecenin bir yarısı çat diye arıyorlar. Hani hadi iş, yangın var deprem oldu bu oldu şu oldu. Bu iş. Mesela ben hep "neden" bu işi seçtim bir de öylesi var çünkü çok tek işti yani tek kişilik bir işti bu. Ailen olduğu zaman yapamazsın sen bu işi. Yani evet dediğim gibi sen bir yangın var yangından kaçan insanlar var ama sen işin gereği o yangının içine içine girmen gerekiyor ki daha iyi bir görüntü çekebil. Daha iyi bir haber yapabil falan filan. Çocuğun

My job is very stressful. They sometimes call just in the middle of the night. This is my job. It is not a something like fire or earthquake. For example, I always ask, 'Why did I choose this?' Because this is the job of one person. When you have a family, you can't do this job. As I said, there is a fire, and everybody is trying to escape from that fire, but you have to get into it as it is your job to have a better view. But when you have a child, it is 'What if I die?' part. (Müjde)

varken "ya ölürsem kısmı oluyor. (Müjde)

Sevda's profession was to work as a research assistant in Turkey at a university, and she also completed her course semester just before Sevda gave birth to her baby. Sevda stated that leaving the job at work is impossible in academic life and she said she had to work at her home in the evenings for article writing and translation. She stated that she had difficulty working at home since it is very, very difficult when there is a child at home waiting for the mother and her attention.

Yaptığım işte dediğim gibi çok stresli bir iş. "Biz hep iş gereği eve de iş getirdiğimiz için sürekli hafta sonu, gece çeviri olur, bir makale olur bir şey olur, kitap olur, yani işte çok fazla iş yaptığımızdan o biraz beni strese soktu. İlgilenmen gerekiyor çocukla ama orada onları yapman gerekiyor. Eve iş götürmek anneliği çok zorlaştırıyor. Çünkü evde zaten bir şey var ilgi bekleyen (Sevda)	As a result of our job, we always bring some kinds of assignment to our home, like translation, like an essay, or a book, which makes me stressed. You have to spare some time for your kid, but at the same time, your job is awaited. Taking your job to home makes motherhood a bit more difficult as you already have a job await. (Sevda)

After Zeynep became a mother, she said that everything she did in daily life was arranged according to her child. From breakfast time, and sleep schedule to socializing, and going to the theatre and the cinema everything changed in her life. She stated that she could not go out alone with her husband after having a child and that this had been going on for three to four years. Stating that she walked around with her husband in Taksim even on weekdays before having a child, Zeynep felt longing and sadness when she explained how the couple living in the relationship changed after having a child.

Bir kere hayatınız değişiyor. Tamamen ona endeksli bir şey yapıyorsunuz. İşte kahvenizi ona göre ayarlayıp içiyorsunuz, kahvaltı saatiniz değişiyor, uyku	First of all, your life changes. You make everything according to your kid. For example, you drink your coffee in the times left after him, your time for breakfast, sleep, etc. changes. You may

saatiniz değişiyor. Sosyalliğiniz değişiyor. Bir kere ben iki yıl ne sinemaya gittim ne tiyatroya ne konsere gittim. Sürekli kızımla, kimseye bırakamıyordum durmuyordu. Hala bile eşime bırakıp, eşimle üç dört yıldır baş başa bir şey yapamıyoruz. O bana bırakıp çıkıyor ben ona bırakıp çıkıyorum sırayla. (Zeynep)	not find time to socialize. For two years, I couldn't go to the cinema, theatre, or concert. I was with my daughter; I couldn't leave her anyone or anywhere. Even at this time, I cannot do anything with my husband. Even now, we go out in turn and look after her. (Zeynep)

Özge stated that making a snap decision and living spontaneously have changed after having a child. She stated that she had more freedom to make spontaneous travel plans before having a child. On the other hand, Özge was not the only mother who thought that her freedom was gone even after she had a child. Özge emphasized that she continued to travel even after she had a child and that only the form of trips changed and became a little more tiring for her. For example, she stated that she took 3 spare clothes for her baby for a four-hour flight, but she did not take any spare clothes for them and since her baby vomited on her clothes and her husband's clothes, they had to fly a 4-hour journey with the smell of vomit. Özge was the mother who stated that she enjoyed motherhood the most, and her satisfaction with motherhood may also be related to her "continuing to do the things she did before she became a mother in her life, not depriving herself of the things she loved because she was a mother". Although she faced difficulties in traveling with the baby, she thought that her freedom was not restricted and that one of the important points flourishing her motherhood.

Önceliklerim çok değişti. Çok ani kararlar verirdik, biraz daha yere basmaya başladık yani. Ani kararlarımız da ne anlamda oluyordu? Seyahat etmeyi çok sevdiğimiz için bir anda akşam karar verip bilet bulmaya çalışıp seyahat ettiğimiz oluyordu spontane bir şekilde bir yerlere gitmek şeklinde. Özgürlük alanı çok vardı. Şimdi özgürlüğüm gitti mi? Yok. Eren on bir aylıkken	My priority changed a lot. We used to decide very abruptly, we started to be more reasonable. As we liked traveling very much, there were times when we decided to go somewhere, trying to find tickets, and go somewhere spontaneously. There used to be a lot of freedom. Is my freedom gone now? No. I went when Eren was 11 months old. I took him everywhere with me when he was a baby. When he was two and half months old, we went skiing. I tried to do

gittim. Bebekken onu da her yere götürdüm benimle, iki buçuk aylıkken mesela kayağa gittik yani bazı şeyleri de yine aynı şekilde yapmaya çabaladım ama çok yoruldum. Kısıtlamaması için yine gittim ama çok yoruldum. Bir de çok düşünecek şey oluyor. Mesela şeyi hatırlıyorum seyahate gidiyoruz (nereye gideceğimizi şu anda hatırlamıyorum) ama Eren on bir aylık falan daha uçak kalkmamıştı, Eren'in de yanına üç tane takım almışım kirletirse üstünü diye, daha uçak kalkmamıştı ikimizin üstüne de kustu çikolatayı. Bizde o dört saatlik yolculuğu kokularla gittik mesela yani yanıma onun için her şeyi almışım ama kendime almamışım. Nedense sadece o kendine pisleyecek diye düşünmüşüm. (Özge)

many things in the same way, but we got very tired. And one more thing, you forget to do many things. Once we were going to go on a holiday, I cannot remember where it was? And I took three extra clothes for Eren. But before the plane took off, he vomited on my shirt. But I had forgotten to take something for myself. I had to travel the with my dirty and smelly clothes. (Özge)

4.1.2.3. Good feelings felt during motherhood: "There can be no better feeling in the world"

All mothers talked about many positive emotions such as joy, pride, and love while talking about motherhood. It was as if motherhood was a unique, special experience, as it contained difficult emotions as well as beautiful emotions with extreme intensity.

Özge and Tümay stated that "becoming a mother" develops, transforms, and completes them in different ways. Özge stated that what she loved most in life was "motherhood" and her eyes were sparkling while saying this. Özge stated that she enjoyed hearing and thinking about the different and creative ideas her sons put forward. It seemed that everything was new for the children, and it was very pleasurable and joyful for mothers to accompany their sense of "curiosity" as their children encounter the "new" one.

Bir tane cümle söyleyeyim sana, sen karar ver. Geçen babama söylemişim bana hatırlattı. En çok bu mesleği sevdim demişim yani çok seviyorum abartıyor muyum bilmiyorum ama seviyorum çok fazla. Zaten çocuklara çok sarılırım, onları çok sevdiğimi söylerim. Belki çok fazla olabilir ama sevmekte bir sıkıntı görmüyorum. 20'li yaşlarda evlenmiş olsaydım 3-4 tane çocuk yapardım kesin. Onların fikirlerine çıldırıyorum ben. Akıllı da çocuklar çok şükür. Sürekli yeni bir fikir var, kafa çalışıyor sürekli, öneriler geliyor ve bu beni düşünmeye itiyor. Onlarla sürekli yeni bir şeyler yapıyorsun. Geliştiren bir yönü var, ben besleniyorum onlarla. Kitap okumayı seviyorum onlara. Çocuklar büyürken her şey onlar için yeni, o yeniliklerde hep yanlarında olmak (Özge)

I will tell you one sentence and you decide. My father reminded me of what I had told him. I told him that I loved this job very much. I love it very much, maybe I am a bit exaggerating, but really I love it. After all, I like to hug kids and I tell them that I love them very much. Maybe it is a bit more but I think it is ok. If I had gotten married when I was in my 20s, I would have had at least three or four kids, that is for sure. I am crazy about their ideas and thank God they are really clever. They always have new ideas; they always think about new things, and it makes me think. I always do something new with them. I like doing many things with them, like reading books. When they are growing up, everything is new for them, and it is best to be with them at those times. (Özge)

Tümay mentioned that when she looks at motherhood in a developmental sense, it actually has a very important complementary aspect of their identity. Tümay talked about how important and complementary the space provided by motherhood to experience the same thing from other levels of consciousness is. Developmentally, "playing" as a child, "playing" with the child as a mother, and "playing" with your grandchild as a grandmother, and the sense of integrity brought about by experiencing the same thing from different aspects at all these different levels of consciousness. Motherhood is also multi-layered in that it involves a parallel process because one grows yourself again while raising your child.

Yani anne olduğum zamanlarda ilk mutlu olduğum şeylerden biri "Oh, oyuncakçıları çok rahat gidebilirim mesela." (iki taraf da gülüyor) "Oyun oynamak, oynamaya dair"

At the times when I became a mother, the first thing that made me happy was that 'I could go to the toyshops freely'. To be able to play a game, and about being able to play a game. I think there is a circle in life like that. When we are

Aslında mesela bence hayatta öyle bir döngü var. Çocuğuz, oynuyoruz, belli bir yaşa geliyoruz, çocuk sahibi olduğumuzda tekrar oynuyoruz. Sonra yaşlanıp büyükanne dede seviyesinde, yeniden o seviyeye dönüşüyoruz aslında her aynı noktayı bir üst seviyeden, üst alt demek belki doğru değil ama paralel seviyeden başka bir düzlemde yaşıyoruz ve keyfi de çok farklı. Aslında olduğumuz yere, mesela hayat boyunca bazen bir şeyi yirmi kere öğreniriz. Hep aynı temeldedir ama başka bir bilinç düzeyinden öğreniriz ya aslında biraz da çocuk ona da katkıda bulunuyor bence. Sonra sen öğretiyorum, sen yapıyorum, sen söylüyorum zannederken onun verdiği cevaplar ve geçmişe dair, kendini, ilişkilerini, aileni, kendi yaşam tarzını, kendi büyümeni bunların hepsini sorguluyorsun öyle değil mi? Hani biraz... Tekrar büyümek, evet birini büyütürken büyümek... (Tümay)

kids, we play. After a certain age, we stop playing games. Then we have kids and we play again. When we get older and become grandfather and grandmother, we get into the circle again and we start to play again. Actually, we learn something at least 20 times during our life. They are all at the same basic level but we learn it at another consciousness level. And the kid contributes to it in fact. And later on, when you think that you are saying something, or teaching something, or when you think you are telling something, with his answers, you start to question yourself, your relationship, your family, your lifestyle, don't you? To grow up again, that is exactly to grow up while growing up someone. (Tümay)

Zeynep stated that she forgot the difficulties she had in motherhood when her child expressed love to her. She stated that things such as physically hosting a living creature while pregnant, and feeling the first movement when the baby is in the womb seem miraculous to Zeynep and she shared it is not possible to express it in words.

Yani onun size sarılması, 'anne seni çok seviyorum' demesi her şeyi bitiriyor. Böyle bir öpücük kondurması, size sarılması çok güzel bir şey. Çünkü böyle mucize gibi bir şey. O ilk karnımda hareket ettiği an böyle şey düşündüm, ya orada bir canlı büyüyor ve bu değişik bir duygu

Your kid's hugging you and saying that he loves you finishes every difficulty' His kissing you and saying that he loves you is a good thing. It is like a miracle. I felt it when he moved into my womb. Something is growing, and it is alive although I was a person who was not thinking to be a mother. This was a very unusual and different thing which

gerçekten. Ki ben dediğim gibi anneliği çok düşünen biri olmamama rağmen. Yani bunu yaşadığımda çok farklı bir şey anlatılmaz. (Zeynep)	cannot be expressed but can be experienced only. (Zeynep)

Although Tümay sees aspects similar to her daughter, she also sees that her daughter is completely unique. Tümay said that when she looked at her daughter, she thought her daughter was like her next upgraded model. There was pride in Tümay's voice as she said this. This statement of Tümay made me think that Tümay went to her own childhood while offering better conditions to her daughter and that her own inner child was also trying to heal childhood wounds in parallel.

Birazcık herhalde aynaya bakmak, kendini görmek, kendinin başka şart ve durumlarda nasıl olduğunu görmek gibi geliyor bu aralar bana kızıma baktığım zaman. Çok ilginç. Hani benden bir şeyler var ama tamamen kendine ait ve kendine özgü, bambaşka şartlarda ve sanki şey bir sonraki model versiyon gibi. Bilmiyorum doğru bir tanım mı ama hani bir sonraki versiyon. (Tümay)	When I look at Nil, it is something like looking at a mirror, seeing your reflection, seeing yourself how you would be under different conditions. Very interesting really. There are some things from me but completely different and specific, like an upgraded version. I don't know if it is a correct expression or not but the latest version. (Tümay)

Esra stated that it is very enjoyable to follow the development of the child. She said, "sometimes I sit down and think about what we were doing when my son was not there in terms of how we spend time and how we make fun". This sentence reveals how majorly life changes when "having a child" and how intense the experience of motherhood is. As motherhood dominates the intensity of daily life and the use of time, it also brings alienation to pre-motherhood times.

Yani gerçekten annelik çok kısıtlayıcı bir şey ama çok güzel bir şey tabii. Yani bazen oturup düşünüyorum oğlum yokken ne yapıyormuşuz biz acaba diye	Motherhood is something very restrictive but beautiful. Sometimes I think about it and ask myself what I used to do when my son was not born. How we used to spend time. Different.

gerçekten. Yani acaba zaman nasıl geçiyormuş diyorum. Değişik bir şey ya… Hani yani nasıl eğleniyormuşuz diyorum çünkü bazen bir hareket yapıyor mesela gerçekten evin küçük soytarısı gibi hani gülüyorsun eğleniyorsun bir laf ediyor şok oluyorsun ya bu nereden aklına geldi, nasıl söyledi falan yani o gelişimi izlemek gerçekten çok keyif verici. (Esra)	How did we use to have fun? Sometimes he just says something, and you say, and he makes all of us laugh like a small clown. Sometimes he speaks like an adult or tells something shocking. Watching that development is really entertaining. (Esra)

4.1.3. Motherhood as an identity transformation: The birth of a mother "I am not the same person anymore"

Except for Özge, all the mothers experienced lots of changes in their identity after they became a mother. Changes in perspective towards life, priorities, being more sensitive and fragile, becoming more open to change, behaving more safely, and trying to avoid danger can be listed as some of them.

According to Elçin, everything has changed its form after becoming a mother; for instance, her perspective on life and the things she valued have changed considerably. When Elçin compared the things that made her happy before she became a mother with the happiness, she is experiencing with her child now, she understood that the things that made her happy in the past were less valuable. At the same time, the things she was upset about before she became a mother now seem quite simple to her. She emphasized that she puts herself in second place, including her basic needs, after having a child. Elçin stated that, as a mother, she would prefer to be sick rather than witness her child being sick. The intense feelings of sacrifice and compassion felt in motherhood enable women to put their own needs behind the needs of the child.

Bence bütün dünyaya bakışın değişiyor anne olduktan sonra. Yani hiçbir şey eskisi gibi görünmüyor! Her şey çok daha farklı gelmeye başlıyor. Bütün dertlerin, sıkıntıların form değiştiriyor. En üzüldüğün şeyler	I think your point of view about the world changes after being a mother. Nothing seems as if it was in the past. All your problems and matters change, even in the things you love most, you get less happiness. I mean everything changes its shape. You begin to

artık en basit şeyler gibi geliyor. En sevindiğin şeyler de çocuğunla yaşadığın mutluluğunun daha azı gibi geliyor. Yani her şey form değiştiriyor bence anne olduktan sonra. Mesela çok saçma sapan şeyleri dert ettiğini anlıyorsun, çocukla yaşadığın ya da çocuğun başına gelebilecek şeyleri düşündüğün zaman her şey önemini kaybediyor aslında bakarsan, kendi sağlığın bile önemini kaybediyor, önce onun sağlığı yani. O iyi olmaz, işte hep anneler şey der ya hani aman o hasta olmasın, ben olayım. Yani gerçekten onu hissediyorsun çünkü annelik çok merhametli bir şey, çok şefkat duyuyorsun ve onun başına bir şey, gelecek şeyleri aman aman ben tabii ki bana gelsin durumu oluyor ve bu da insanın hayatını tabii ki çok değiştiren bir şey yani, kendin diye bir şey, sen hep ikinci sıradasın yani. Anne aman çocuk, işte onun karnı doysun da falan, gerçekten öyle bir hal alıyor yani. Ben acıkmadığımı falan hissediyorum onu doyurduktan sonra. Atıştırmalık bir şeylere falan dönüşüyor öyle yani, öyle bir şey annelik ya. (Elçin)

understand that you have made trivial things very important to you. When you think about the experiences you have with your kid or the experiences your kid will have, everything loses its importance, I mean his health is first. That is not good. You know mothers always wish that their children not be sick but themselves. And this is something which changes human's point of view. You are always in second place. After feeding him, I don't feel hungry. And you just have some snacks. That's motherhood. (Elçin)

Esra stated that motherhood is the trigger to change some things she wants to change in herself. She thought that if she could not change the point she wanted to change in her behaviour towards her husband, it would affect her son's future partner relationship. Esra thought about this because she noticed the similarity between her mother-in-law's behaviour towards her husband and her behaviour towards her husband, and in this cycle, she felt that she had to be open to change and control herself to break the unpleasant pattern in this cycle.

Kendimde fark ettiğim ama değiştirmeye üşendiğim konuları değiştirmek zorunda kaldım yani mesela şeyi fark ettim. Eşime çok sesimi yükselttiğimi fark ettim mesela. Ve sonra şeyi fark ettim kayınvalidemin de eşini sürekli azarladığını fark ettim. Ve ona da dedim ki sen dedim kayınpederimi azarlıyorsun, ben senin oğlunu azarlıyorum. Senin iki oğlunda azar işitiyor gelinlerinden dedim. Ben istemiyorum ki benim oğlum da gelinimden azar işitsin. Benim bu döngüyü kırmam gerekti, yani bilmem bir aydınlanma veriyor herhalde. Mesela kendimi tuttuğum çok nokta oluyor, diyorum ya işte daha az sinirlenmem gerektiğini fark ettim çünkü bir hareket yaptığında oğlum direk bana bakıp korktuğunu fark ettim. Verdiğim tepkilerden korktuğunu fark ettim. Değişmem gerektiğini çünkü bayağı bayağı pısırık bir çocuk olma yolunda itekliyorum çocuğumu yine bu hareketimle. Yani kendimi değiştirme konusunda zorluyor. (Esra)

I had to change some of the stuff that I've realized needed change, but I was too lazy to do so. For instance, I've realized that I was raising my voice too much. And I've also realized that my mother-in-law reprimands her husband. And I told her "You always reprimand my father-in-law, and I do the same to your son. Both of your sons are scolded by your daughters-in-law. I don't want my son to be subjected to the same by his wife. I wanted to break this vicious circle. I think it gives a kind of enlightenment. There are many points which I don't want to deal with. As I said, I felt that I shouldn't get angry because, in every unusual and tense movement, I feel that my son is afraid of something. I felt that he was afraid of the reactions I showed. I felt that I was pushing him to be a passive child. It pushes me to be someone new. (Esra)

Tümay stated that before she became a mother she took flight lessons, drove her car at high speed, and practiced underwater diving, but after becoming a mother her fear increased, and now, she cannot even think of "taking flight lessons", and she never drives fast now. Tümay thought that this change was caused by hormonal changes during motherhood.

Anne olmak hayatımı çok değiştirdi. Değiştirdi derken sadece yapmakla yükümlü olduğum şeyler açısından değil ilkel düzeyde de değişiklikler oldu mesela daha çok korkuyorum, daha önceden uçuş dersleri

Being a mother has changed my life very much. It is not in the level of things that I have to do, there have been changes in the primitive level, for example, I fear more. Previously I was taking flying courses but now I can't think of it. I gave up diving, my primary

alıyordum şimdi uçmayı düşünmek bile istemiyorum, dalışı bıraktım. Yani primal instinctlerin çoğu değişti. Hızlı araba kullanıyordum mesela, asla şimdi hızlı araba kullanmıyorum. Kullanmak da istemiyorum, korkuyorum. O biraz hormonal sanırım. (Tümay)	instincts have changed. I used to drive fast but I don't anymore. I don't want it either. It is about the hormones I suppose. (Tümay)

Müjde stated that before she became a mother, she was a big talker and she experienced everything she judged later. While Müjde had problems with her father before she became a mother and was able to react to her father and leave the house, when she had similar problems with her husband, it is very difficult for her to be unable to leave the house "because she has a child". While Müjde explained the meaning of motherhood to her, she said metaphorically that being a mother is like "handcuffed to the world" like " shackles on your feet". Perhaps in this context, how difficult it is to be a "mother" in unhappy marriages and how the woman cannot finish her relationship due to financial problems and visa issues while she is sure that she wants to leave her husband negatively affects the psychology of the woman and her experience of motherhood. Müjde mentioned elsewhere in the interview that she came to the UK to provide a better future for her son and if Müjde get divorced, he would have to return to Turkey, then she would not see her son and all the sacrifices and efforts she has made, as a migrant so far will be wasted. It is as if Müjde does not have a divorce option until she gets her British passport and she has been hypothec her life for five years.

Anne olmadan önce çok kafama buyruktum. Çok böyle yüksekten konuşurdum. Yani böyle büyük büyük konuşmalarım vardı. Sonra büyük konuşmaların hepsini yaşadım. Sonra oo dedim şimdi asla büyük konuşmuyorum bak şimdi de büyük konuştum mesela (güler) Evet öyle çok çok böyle kestirip atardım. Kimmiş o? Mesela babamla çok kavga	I used to be very independent before I became a mother. I used to talk freely, I used to say whatever would come to my mind. I myself experienced everything I disliked or talked about. Now I am speaking (Smiling) I used to cut it off. I used to argue with my father very often, who is married to someone else now, whom I never liked. We had a lot of fights with her and left the house thinking that I could win the war. There

ederdim. Babamın başka biriyle evli şu an. Hiç sevmediğim bir kişilikti normalde. Çok çok kavgalarım oldu çok kişilik savaşlarım oldu kendisiyle. O savaşı kazandığımı düşünerek o evden ayrılmıştım. Sonrasında büyük ihtimalle zaten bu var, babamla yaşadığım çok büyük problemler beni ikinci hayatımda da problemli başlangıçlara itti. Hep böyle çocukluk falan diyoruz ya. Tabii ki önemli yani. Hani şimdi mesela başka birinin (eşinin) sana baban gibi davrandığını görmek, "yine mi falan" bu durumda neyi güncelliyor bu?! O evden kurtulmam gerekiyordu şimdi bu evden de kurtulmam gerekiyor!. Ve çıkar yolları arıyorsun. O gün bulmuştum, bugün bulamamak içimi sıkıyor. Böyle diyebilirim. Dediğim gibi çok kafama buyruk çok kestirip atabilen bir insandım. (Müjde)

is, this thing, the problem, the problem I had with my father pushed me to this problematic starting. You know we talked about childhood, it is important of course, for example, seeing someone treating you like your father, (your husband's), Oh No, not again. I had to escape from that house, now I have to escape from here, too. And you start looking for your own way, in the past, I found a way but now I cannot. As I said, I was a free person and I used to cut it off. (Müjde)

Sevda stated that her mental health deteriorated after she became a mother and motherhood made her more sensitive and fragile. Sevda stated that the changes in the brain structure after giving birth and the mental health problems she felt after she became a mother made her more vulnerable, so she did not deal with the problems she had at work.

Kesinlikle doğum yaptıktan sonra beyin yapısı ile ilgili değişiklikler oldu. Ben de ruh sağlığı ile ilgili değişikler oldu. Bunun farkındayım. Bazı anlamlarda hayata farklı bir pencereden bakıyorsun pozitif olabilir ama negatif olarak çok fazla da bana etkisi olduğunu düşünüyorum. Yani bu mesela yaşadığım sorunlar, işyerinde falan belki

I am sure there have been structural changes in the brain after the birth. There have been psychological changes. I am aware of it. Sometimes you look at life from a different window, it may be positive, but I believe it has negative effects on me. I mean about these problems, if I were a working mother, I could have dealt with it more easily as it was just after birth. You are getting more sensitive and more fragile. I am

anne olmasaydım daha farklı atlatabilirdim o sorunları hani tam doğum sonrası olaylarına geldiği için. Daha hassas oluyorsun. Evet daha kırılgan. Zaten ben kendimde duygusal şey bir yapıya sahibim öyle hani hassasım evet yani anne de olunca insan daha da kırılgan olabiliyor. Daha aslında ben her zaman duygusal, duyarlı bir insandım ama daha da duyarlı oldum sanırım çevreye karşı anne olunca, herkese her şeye karşı daha duyarlı oldum. (Sevda)	also a very sensitive person, I mean, you get more vulnerable if you are a mother. In fact, I was an emotional and sensitive person but after motherhood, it grew much more. (Sevda)

Although Özge stated that her energy level decreased after she became a mother and therefore, she felt tired from time to time, she also stated that there was no change in her personality traits, and she did not expect such a change.

Belki daha eğlenceliydim önceden ama şimdi daha çok yorulduğum için biraz enerjim azalabiliyor bazen, evet. Sessiz hiç kalmam da bazen yorgun hissediyorum kendimi ama kişiliğimde hayır. Yok öyle önceden çok şöyleydim şimdi çok endişeli oldum falan yok öyle şeylerim. Olmaz da zaten. (Özge)	Maybe I was funnier but now as I get more tired, I have less energy. I am never quiet but sometimes I feel tired, but this is physical, of course. I am not saying I was like that; I am now like this…. This is not the case. (Özge)

4.2. Becoming a migrant: Breaking the shell

In this superordinate theme, three subordinate themes emerged. These subordinate themes were related to the meaning of migration, feelings about being a migrant, and drivers for migration.

4.2.1. Meaning of migration: “I feel like an animal that breaks its shell and pulls something new out of it but does it with pain”

When mothers were asked what migration meant for them, only one of them, Özge, answered from a purely child-related point of view. In fact, even though mothers say, "I migrated for my child" except for one, Esra, it has been seen that each of them has different personal motivations for "migration". One of the mothers, Tümay, emphasized that she did not interpret her migration to the UK as "migration", three of them interpreted it, as an escape from Turkey and their problems, and four of them interpreted it positively by emphasizing the feeling of freedom, personal growth, and change.

When asked what migration meant for her, Tümay said that she did not see it as migration, since she felt as if she had changed the city. Tümay said that if she had moved from Istanbul to Malatya in Turkey, it would have made her feel more like a "migration" because of the obvious differences in lifestyle and culture between the two cities. In this sense, she showed how the characteristics such as being familiar with the culture of the UK, having a previous life experience in the UK, and feeling close to the culture affect the interpretation of the "migration" process.

An important point that Tümay stated, is how much the sense of "migration" can change depending on the distance to the homeland and accessibility by plane. For example, Tümay stated that if she had migrated to Australia instead of the UK, she would feel more "migrated", but because the UK was closer to Turkey in distance and more accessible in terms of flights, she would not feel as if she had migrated here. Tümay's discourse showed that one cannot speak of a single "migration" and each migrant attributed their meanings to "migration" and that the gaps and differences between the places they migrate to and the places they come from make the migration experience unique.

Çok göç olarak da sanki hani İstanbul'dan Ankara'ya taşındım ama kurallar daha farklı ve daha rahat benim için gibi algılıyorum. Yoksa hani Türkiye... belki mesela	I moved from İstanbul to Ankara, and I perceive those rules are more comfortable and different for me. I mean Turkey, or maybe in Australia, or if I were somewhere distant, I am not

Avustralya'da falan, uzak bir yerde olsaydım. Veyahut da gitmesi zor olsa, veyahut da kültürüne çok yabancı olduğum bir yerde olsaydım... yani o klasik kültür farklılıkları ve mesafelerden çok etkilenmiyorum açıkçası. O yüzden de çok göç etmişim değil de şehir değiştirmişim gibi geliyor biraz bana. Bilmiyorum ki belki mesela Malatya'ya taşınsaydım daha zor olacaktı, daha kültürel olarak daha farklı olacaktı. Daha az tanıdığın olduğu bir yer olacaktı ama hani İngiltere için çok da öyle hissetmiyorum. (Tümay)

affected by these classical cultural differences. For that reason, I don't feel as if I migrated but rather, I moved from one city to another. Maybe if I had to move to Malatya, that would be more different. It would be a place where I know fewer people, but I don't feel the same for the UK. (Tümay)

Hande described migration as "I feel like an animal that breaks its shell and pulls something new out of it but does it with pain". While emphasizing that the meaning of migration is "transformation, personal growth", Hande mentioned that at the age of thirty-five it comes to a point where everything she knows as "true" is re-questioned. Migration is an experience one learns by experiencing that leaving the comfort zone, being able to hold a mirror on oneself, and even the things that she considers as problems are related to her perception. Migrant motherhood is like breaking the shell twice at the same time.

Ben ilk başta şey zannediyordum göçmenin sadece yer değiştirmek olduğunu düşünüyordum.. Değilmiş. Göçmek aslında hayata bakışını da değiştirmekmiş. Ben buraya otuz beş yaşında geldim. Otuz beş yaşına kadar biriktirdiğim bütün değerlerim, doğru bildiğim şeylerin baştan sıfırlanıp tekrar sorgulanması demekmiş. Benim kültürümdeki her şey çok da doğru değilmiş aslında! Ya da benim çocuklarıma davranışım benim izlediğim yollar tek doğru değilmiş. Şey gibi

Initially, I thought a migrant is a person who moves from one place to another, but it is not. Migration is, in fact, changing your point of view towards life. I came here when I was 35. It was meant like questioning all the values which I had been collecting until that age. Actually, everything in my culture was not correct. I feel like an animal that breaks its shell and pulls something new out of it but does it with pain. I already changed a lot here. I think being a migrant is a very serious way when a person has such aims as learning, growing, being informed, etc. I think

kabuğunu kırıp içinden yeni bir şey çıkaran, ama bunu da çok acılı bir şekilde yapan bir hayvan gibi hissediyorum bazen kendimi. Ben karakter olarak çok değiştim burada zaten ya... Bence çok ciddi bir yol göçmenlik. İnsanın böyle hayat içinde öğrenme, büyüme, bilgeleşme hedefleri amaçları var ya… Bence gerçekten bunun, kişisel gelişimin peşinde olan bir insan göç etmeli. Gerçekten. Aslında zorluk diye gördüğün şeyi, sorunu kendin yarattığını da fark ediyorsun. Çünkü senin algın yüzünden öyle... Sen o algıyı değiştirince, değiştirmek istemesen de koşullar seni zorunda bırakıyor göçünce. (Hande)	the person who is pursuing personal improvement should migrate. In fact, you realize that you create the issue which you consider a difficulty. It is so because you perceive it so. When you change that perception, the conditions change you naturally even if you do not want to. (Hande)

Esra was the only mother who said, "I did not migrate just for my child, I migrated for myself." In parallel with this answer, when asked what migration meant for her, she answered "freedom, peace". Migration met the personal needs of Esra. She emphasized that in the UK she has freedom of expression, she has individual rights protected by law, and she felt safe while walking on the street in the UK. In Esra's tone of voice, there was a feeling that she had attained something longed for in the UK and how much these needs such as “freedom of expression, feeling safe” were not met while living in Turkey.

Kesinlikle özgürlük benim için kesinlikle özgürlük, huzur. Burada istediğim gibi konuşabiliyorum. Yani burada istersem İngiltere'nin istersem Türkiye'nin istersen bütün dünyanın politikacılarına istediğimi söyleyebiliyorum aman şunu söyledim acaba beni hapse atarlar mı diye hiçbir korku barındırmıyorum. Aksine diyorum ki benim de haklarım var ve ben de haklarımı savunabilirim, elde	For me, definitely freedom. Freedom and peace. I can express myself freely here. I mean I can express my ideas and talk against Turkish, British, or any politicians. I have no fear of whether they will put me into prison or not. Just the opposite, I say that I have got rights and I can defend my rights. And I am happy of course. I never think about what others think about me while walking in the street. People are not eager to fight or have an argument for

edebilirim diyorum. Ve mutluyum huzur. Çünkü sokakta yürürken birisine yan gözle baktım da "acaba ne düşündü" diye düşünmüyorum yani çünkü o benim bakışımda bir art niyet ah senin de gözünün üstünde kaşın var bir kavga edelim havası yok yani. Gelişmişlik, demokrasi, hukuk ve toplumun eğitim düzeyi. (Esra)

no reason. Being developed, having democracy, justice, and higher education level. (Esra)

Müjde had hoped that her migration would be "a new beginning" and a "clean slate" for her. Unfortunately, Müjde experienced that their problems continued from where they left off when they migrated. Müjde attributed the meaning of "escaping from her unhappiness or relational unhappiness" to the migration and she idealized migration in her mind, on the other hand, she understood that migration is a journey in which personal and relational problems are much more triggered.

Yeni bir başlangıç tabii ki her şeyden önce. Çünkü İstanbul'daki hayatım ile buradaki hayatım arasında dağlar kadar fark olacağı çok netti. Yeni bir başlangıçtı, tertemiz bir sayfaydı ama açıkçası öyle olmadı. Yani düşündüğüm gibi olmadı. Yani göçmenlik benim için aslında şöyle, evet burası benim için bir yeni başlangıçtı yeni bir hayat olabilirdi ama biz aslında kaldığımız yerden devam ediyoruz. (Müjde)

Of course, it is a new beginning at first. It was very obvious that there would be differences between my life in İstanbul and here. It was a new beginning and a white page, but it didn't continue so. It could have been a new life for me, but we are going on where we left in İstanbul. (Müjde)

Müjde stated that her migration is the plane version of the forced migration of refugees by boat and that they migrated because they feared becoming real refugees one day. While the situation of the refugees was "forced migration", Müjde's decision to migrate was a "voluntary migration" where she had the "right of choice". It is as if with this analogy, Müjde reflected how desperate and choiceless she felt while

migrating and making the decision to migrate, and the depth of her fears and insecurity she felt for her future while living in Turkey.

Dünyanın gidişatı kötü. Kaçacak yer yok! Biz kaçtık yani aslında öyle söyleyebilirim. Hani göçmenlik deyince işte refugee falan deyince akla hep şey botlarla denizi aşan insanlar geliyor. Biz o günü beklemedik. O anı yaşamayalım diye uçağa atladık geldik. Biz o günü beklemedik dediğim gibi hani dedik madem zaman var hala daha o şey var. Belki abartıyoruzdur hani durumu ama ya bir gün olursa ihtimali bile insanı tedirgin ediyor. (Müjde)	The course of the world is terrible and there is no place to escape. In fact, I can say we escaped. When you talk about refugees, you just imagine people crossing the sea by boats. We didn't wait for that day. We came here by plane in order not to go through that experience. We thought that if we had time, we should hurry and mustn't wait until that day. Maybe I am a bit exaggerating, but that possibility also makes you nervous. (Müjde)

Sevda was very unhappy because of the injustices experienced in recruiting staff in the academic environment, and the mobbing she had seen from the professors in her department. She came to the UK with ambivalent feelings to escape from this unhappiness. Sevda was also an example of how a migrant coming with ambivalent feelings, coming to escape from one's unhappiness, and coming without good mental health will affect the adaptation process of a person. Sevda was the participant who cried the most during the interview and right after crying she stated that it would be easier for her to talk about them in the coming years because her feelings are so vivid and intense since she has been in the UK for only one year.

Yani şöyle diyeyim ben aslında buraya bu gelişimde biraz kaçış oldu benim için, dediğim gibi mutsuzluğumdan kaçış için burayı değerlendirdim. Ben aslında başvuruları falan yaparken de buraya, içten içe de istemiyordum, eşim kabul etti, yani değişik bir durum var. Çünkü burada da zorlanacağımızı biliyordum. Çünkü eşimin	Telling the truth, coming here is a bit escaping for me. As I said I came here for escaping from my happiness. While applying, I was not a volunteer, my husband accepted it, I mean it is a bit different. We were aware of the fact that we would have difficulty here as my husband doesn't speak English. We were to start everything from the very beginning, and I was not very healthy psychologically. I was not willing to

İngilizcesi yok. Her şeye sıfırdan başlayacağız ve ben psikolojik olarak çok da sağlıklı değildim çok yıprandığım için orada.. Ama orada da daha fazla kalmak istemiyordum çalıştığım iş ortamında. Ben işimi çok seviyorum aslında iş olarak onunla ilgili şey yok ama ortamdan ve insanlardan kaynaklı, benimkisi bir kaçıştı. Kaçış. Evet öyle diyelim, daha çok kendi psikolojik şeyimden. Arada düşünüyorum şöyle. Bazen kızıma daha iyi olabilir düşüncesi de hakimdi vardı ama yani büyük oranda benim mutsuzluğumdan kaynaklanan bir kaçıştı ve orada bir yolunu bulamadığım için hani.. (Sevda)

stay there for a long time, at the workplace. I like my job very much, there is nothing about it. Mine is an evasion because of people. Sometimes I think about it. It might be good for my daughter, but it was because of my unhappiness as I couldn't find a way. (Sevda)

Zeynep stated that as someone who has experienced being "the other" in her own country, culturally and religiously, the discrimination applied to her is more evident in Turkey and she does not feel as discriminated in the UK as in Turkey. What she said was like a person who feels "foreign" in her own country, trying to come to a foreign place and feel more belonging. Her voice was angry when she emphasized the creation of a society in which the gap between people and intolerance of differences is increasing.

Ülkemiz şey olsa şartları uygun olsa, hiç kimse vatanını bırakmak istemez. Bir şeyler daha yolunda gitseydi, eğitim daha iyi olsaydı. İnsanlar biraz daha böyle hoşgörülü olsaydı… E çünkü Türkiye'de de o uçurumu çok rahat görüyorsunuz kadınlara karşı, çocuklara karşı... Türkiye'de insanlar arasında şey var yani nasıl diyeyim. Her alanda bir ayrım var. Dini anlamda, kültürel anlamda... O kadar çok o şeyi açtılar ki, uçurumu açtılar ki..

If our country had proper conditions, no one would leave it. If everything were better or education was better. If people were more tolerant. You can see the situation easily against women, or children. There is segregation in Turkey against people in every aspect like religion, and culture. The space is getting larger every day. You know the one I reside in, Atakent in fact, is not such a place, it is a calm area. But even there, you may get opposite ideas from people with whom you get along well. Because people have such thing. They

Benim oturduğum bölgeyi biliyorsunuz. Atakent aslında böyle şey bir yer, rahat bir yer. Ama orada bile belirli konularda çok iyi anlaştığımız insanlarla bile böyle zıtlaşabiliyorsunuz. Çünkü insanlarda böyle bir şey var. Dar bir düşünce anlayışı var, at gözlüğüyle bakıyorlar her şeye, her şeyi kendi penceresinden değerlendirdiği için! En basitinden mesela orada ben çok fazla şey yaşıyordum siyasi. En ufak şeyde niye suçluyorsunuz dediğimde "sen onları mı destekliyorsun" diye tartışma yaratılabiliyordu. Ya da ben aleviyim böyle bazı insanlar "Nerelisin?", "Dersim, Tunceliliyim". "Aa işte Tunceliler çok iyidir şöyledir böyledir ", "Alevi misiniz, ya da Kürt müsünüz?" dediğim noktada bir geri çekilme oluyor mesela. Türkiye'de bunu, ayrımcılığı çok daha derin yaşıyorduk. Evet burada göçmenlere karşı bir şey var ama.. Dediğim gibi çok belli etmiyorlar. Türkiye'de direk yüzünüze "hmm onlar da insan" deyiveriyorlar yani. Bir de ben galiba bütün sakıncaları barındırıyorum Alevi olmak; Kürt olmak gibi.. Yani insanlar benim için şey hiç önemli değil din çünkü ateist biriyim, inanmıyorum ve şey antropoloji mezunuyum. O kültürel farklılık benim için hiç önemli değil. Ama karşıma böyle o insanlar çıkınca kendinizi kötü hissediyorsunuz. Ülkenizde kötü hissediyorsunuz, ülkenizde şey düşüyorsunuz farklı bir noktaya itiliyorsunuz. (Zeynep)

are not broad-minded, and they don't have a large perspective as they evaluate everything from their point of view. For example, I may encounter many political things and when I look at them why they blame for even the smallest things, they may get involved in an argument saying that "Are you backing them up? Or I am Alevi and some people "Where are you from? I am from Tunceli/Dersim" and they say people from Tunceli are wonderful, etc. but later when the question is "Are you Alevi or Kurdish?" There a retreat occurs. We used to see that discrimination much deeper in Turkey. Of course, there is something against refugees/migrants here, but you cannot feel it very overtly. But in Turkey, they say directly "They are humans, too" For me, religion has no importance to me, because I am an atheist, and I am an anthropologist. The cultural differences have no importance to me. When encountering such people, you feel terrible. You feel bad in your own country and you are pushed into another point (Zeynep)

For Özge, the meaning of migration is "seeing that their children go to school happily and achieve international success". Özge said that she would never have migrated if she had not had children, and when asked about the meaning of migration for her, the answer she gave about "happiness of her children" is very understandable.

Yani şu anda göçün anlamı benim için çocuklar güzel bir şekilde mutlu bir şekilde okula gidip geliyorlar. Çocuklar için geldiğim için de onlar bir şeyler de başarılı olduğu vakit çok anlamlı geliyor mesela büyük oğlum Türkiye'de karate yapıyordu üç dört sene yapmıştı. Burada da o karatenin birkaç çeşidi vardı burada ona devam ediyor. Eren şu anda brown belt e geçti. Ki bu iyi bir şey çünkü 1-2 sene sonra siyah kuşak olacak ve mesela dünya şampiyonası vardı orada ikinci oldu. Hani bu tip şeyler bunlar mutlu ediyor insanı çünkü Türkiye'de olsak da belki bir yerlere gidip de şey yapabilir yarışmalara katılım ama burada böyle enternasyonal şeylerde başarılı olması beni mutlu ediyor. (Özge)

For me, migration means my kids are going to school happily and it means great for me as I came here for my kids. My eldest son was going to Karate in Turkey and he is going on doing karate here and it has got a few types of it here. Now he is at Brown Belt level, and he hopes to get Black Belt in a few years, and he was second in the world championship. Such things make me happy. Maybe he would be successful in Turkey, too. But taking part in international events makes us happy. (Özge)

4.2.2. Feelings about being a migrant

A wide range of emotions emerged from the participants while talking about their experiences of migration. The participants had remorse for leaving their country and they had also angery towards the politicians who pushed them to take this decision. As a woman who migrated to the UK, when they felt happy, peaceful, safe, free, and respected, these positive feelings were followed by the sadness and anger of not being able to feel these emotions in their own country.

4.2.2.1. The tip of the iceberg: Anger as a substitute emotion

Five of the participants expressed that they felt anger and resentment at those who caused them to migrate heavily. They were angry when talking about the insecurity caused by those who ruled Turkey politically, the deficiencies in the education system, the feeling of “other” in their own country, and the inability to progress due to the favouritism made in the recruitment of academic staff. In the extracts of the participants, it was felt that there was an underlying feeling of "you caused us to emigrate, you forced us to come, we are paying the price of this political administration". In fact, anger was the substitute emotion for their primary emotion, "sadness”. Participants had to experience migration-related losses when they decided on migration and to not feel sadness around losses, anger was expressed.

When Elçin realized how free, happy, and safe she felt while walking in a park in the United Kingdom, she also realized the following thought and anger came up "why we couldn't live like this in Turkey". At the same time, when she thought of the fears she experienced in her youth in Turkey, she also had a feeling of envy towards those who lived their youth in a comfortable, peaceful, and happy manner in the UK.

> *Şeyi çok, bir yandan da şöyle şeyler hissediyordum. Yani bu çok kötü ya, biz nasıl bu kadar kötü yaşadık ya!, nasıl bir korku ile gençliğimiz atlattık, bak buradakiler ne kadar şanslı, yani bizde böyle olabilirdik ve neden olmadı ve neden bizim ülkemiz böyle! Kızdım! İnsanlar biraz daha kibar, İngilizlerin meşhur bir kibarlığı var ya o. O, Türkiye'ye gittiğimde daha çok gözüme batar hale geldi. E Türkiye'de işte insanların böyle kaba davranışları daha sinirimi bozmaya başladı. İşte burada alışıyorsunuz ya o İngilizlerle, gülümsemeye, kibarlık yapmaya. İstanbul'a gittiğimde artık daha da mutsuz ve sinirli oluyorum.*
>
> I was feeling things like that in the meantime. I mean it is so wicked, how did we live like that, how did our youth pass with fear, look the youth here is so lucky, I mean we could have been like that, why it never happened and why our country is like that! I got angry. People are a little bit more polite, the famous politeness of English people. It became more offensive to my eyes when I got to Turkey. I mean, the fact that the rude manners of the people in Turkey bothered me more. You get used to the English, the smiles, the politeness. I become unhappy and furious when I go to Istanbul now. Because why can't we be like this, what’s the big deal, is getting in line that hard? (Elçin)

Çünkü niye biz böyle olamıyoruz? Ne var, sıraya girmek neden bu kadar zor? (Elçin)

With the feeling of "deprivation" brought about by raising her children away from their grandparents and staying away from all friends, Hande was very angry with those who caused it. Hande, whose parents are old, also touched on the difficulty of being far from her parents when they suffer from a health problem. Hande felt guilty for not being able to support her parents in their old age when they have health problems because she was far away from them. She expressed her feelings of guilt mostly with the anger she projected against the politicians in Turkey because she was forced to migrate to the UK because of the political issues in Turkey.

Yani hayatını değiştiriyorsun, ülkeni değiştiriyorsun, bütün arkadaşların orada, bütün sevdiklerin orada, annen baban. Torunları onlardan uzak yetiştiriyorsun. Biz buraya geldik, ailelerimiz sağlık sorunları yaşadı çünkü yaşları ileri. Ama yine de ilk, ilk başta çok suçladım buna sebep olanlara acayip öfke duydum! (Hande)	Now, you change your life, you change your country, you leave all your friends, your beloved, your mum and your dad behind. You grow up your kids away from their grandparents. After we came here, and parents had some health problems due to old age. At first, I complained to many people who caused these sufferings. (Hande)

Esra stated that she was fascinated by the support she received from teachers during her son's kindergarten education and the quality of the education system, but her happiness was suddenly overshadowed by "a feeling of injustice and sadness". The reason for these feelings stemmed from the fact that even children going to private schools in Turkey cannot access such a quality education and support from the school. For Esra, migration is like a dualistic process that turns into negative feelings she suddenly feels while having positive feelings such as "freedom, happiness, and lightness". When she feels something good, Esra cannot stay with this positive feeling instead she goes on to say, "why we couldn't feel these things in Turkey, why we couldn't live like this and why the children in Turkey don't have these opportunities". These thoughts eventually create feelings of anger, sadness, and guilt at the end.

Biz buraya oğlumu getirip nursery'e (kreşe) kayıt ettirdiğimizde kreşin sistemini anlattıklarında bana keyworker diye bir şey olduğunu söylediler ve onun altı öğrenciyi gözlemlediğini onların gelişimi ile ilgili notlar tuttuğunu ilkokula başlarken ya da okuldan ayrılırken bu bilgilerin bize verileceğini. Bizim de onu götürüp ilkokul öğretmenine teslim edeceğimizi ve çocuğun bu sayede öğretmeni tarafından az çok tanınabileceğini söylediler. Mesela ben bunu duyduğumda ağladım yani. Çünkü neden Türkiye'deki çocuklar bu kadar ilgiyi hak etmiyor da İngiltere'de doğmuş çocukla Türkiye'de doğmuş çocuk arasında niye bu kadar fark var. Bu çok büyük adaletsizlik geldi bana ve biz oğlum devlet okuluna başladığında devletin nursery'sine başlamadan önce kabul edildiğinde evimizi ziyaret ettiler. İki öğretmen geldi oğlum ile sohbet etti. Odasını gördüler. Ona kitap hediye ettiler. Yani insan bunları sorguluyor. Hangi özel okulda Türkiye'de bu yapılıyor!! (Esra)	When we brought my son to the nursery school and registered him, they talked about something called "keyworker" and they told me that the keyworker observes six students, and takes notes about their development. and they said they would give me that information when he started primary school. They told us that we would give the notes of the keyworker to the primary school teacher so that she could know the child better. When I heard that I cried. Why don't we do it in Turkey? Don't they deserve it? Why is there such a big difference between the children of the two countries? It seems very unfair to me. And some officials visited our house before my son started school. Two teachers came to our house, and they had a chat with my son. They saw his room. They gave him a book as a gift. You question these. Which private school in Turkey does such a thing? (Esra)

Zeynep mentioned that she felt like "being other" in her own country due to her ethnicity and religion. Although she would like to live in her beautiful country, she expressed that she found it so difficult to deal with the polarity between people and to face judgments from people. While comparing UK and Turkey, she stated that Britain built something out of nothing; on the other hand, Turkey destroyed all the beauty it has.

Ülkemiz şey olsa şartları uygun olsa, hiç kimse vatanını bırakmak istemez. Bir şeyler daha yolunda gitseydi, eğitim daha iyi olsaydı. İnsanlar biraz daha böyle hoşgörülü olsaydı.. E çünkü Türkiye'de de o uçurumu çok rahat görüyorsunuz kadınlara karşı, çocuklara karşı.. Türkiye'de insanlar arasında şey var yani nasıl diyeyim. Her alanda bir ayrım var. Dini anlamda, kültürel anlamda… ...Dediğim gibi Türkiye çok güzel bir ülke ben ülkemi çok seviyorum ama böyle bakıyorsunuz bu ülke şöyle adam gibi birinin elinde olsa, iyi yöneticiler gelse.. Cennet gibi ülke insanlar yoktan bir şehri var ediyor. İngiltere'nin nesi var mesela dümdüz bir yer yani. Gerçekten doğal bir şeyi yok Türkiye kadar. Ama adamlar bir şeyler saklayıp korumuş ne bileyim müzesini kormuş. (Zeynep)

If the conditions in our country were much better, No one would like to his hometown or country. I wish something were more proper, I wish education were a bit better. If only people were more tolerant. You can see the difference easily in Turkey, against women or children. There is something between people, how should I tell? There is segregation in every field of life. From a religious and cultural perspective. …As I said our country is very beautiful and I love my country very much and I wish would have a proper administration. A country is like a paradise, people create a country out of nothing. What does the UK have? Nothing. It is a plain place. It doesn't have natural beauties as many as Turkey does. But they have protected whatever they have, they have protected their museum. (Zeynep)

The feeling of "helplessness, sadness, and anger" prevailed in Sevda's migration because she was unable to continue her academic job, which she loved so much, due to mobbing, and she was desperate to get a job at another university because she needed pull strings. Sevda mentioned that when she came to the UK, she realized that she wanted to stay as an academic in Turkey, but she could not achieve this because she did not have pull strings. Sevda's disappointment was so intense that she remembered the option of pausing or not continuing the interview, but she stated that she wanted to talk.

Şeyi demedim aslında buraya gelmeden önce ben de bu arada ülkemi falan severim hani şey tiplerden değilim kesinlikle "Türkiye çok kötü şudur budur" diye. Ben Türkiye'yi, ülkemi,

I haven't mentioned one point, in fact, before coming here. I also love my country, I would never say "Turkey is that bad, etc." I love my country and my people, that's not the point and I even tried other universities, if you don't

insanlarımı da severim o ayrı bir şey ve hatta ben buraya gelmeden önce şeyi de denedim başka üniversitelere geçmeye çalıştım olmadı biliyorsunuz gerçekten Türkiye'de özellikle akademik camiada bir üstlerden bir tanıdığın yoksa size kadro açılması çok zor. Ben ilk girdim ama ÖYP ile. Kesinlikle çok adaletli bir sistemdi zaten, kaldırdılar, neyse niye şey yaptılar. Çünkü istedikleri adamları alamıyorlardı. Başka üniversitelere geçmeye çalıştım olmadı doktora bitirme koşulu aradı çoğu zaten. O zamana kadar da benim artık tahammülüm kalmamıştı yani. Türkiye'den çok sağlıklı gelmediğim için aslında. Psikolojik olarak Türkiye'de çok yıprandığım için burada çok zorlanıyorum, benimkisi o aslında. Türkiye'den o kadar yıpranarak gelmeseydim. Aslında farklı bir yol yöntem olsaydı ben işimi değiştirebilseydim bu ülkeye gelmeseydim. (ağlıyor) Çok dolu yakaladın beni.. Keşke başka üniversiteye geçebilseydim gelmeseydim. (Sevda)

have an acquaintance, it is almost impossible to have a position. I was the first one, but it was with the examination. It was absolutely a fair system, but they abolished it. Why? Because it was not possible to give a position to the people they wanted. I wanted to go to the other universities, but it didn't work. They conditioned doctorate. and my patience had finished by then. It was because I didn't come with a healthy mind. As psychologically I was hurt in Turkey, I am having difficulty here. I wish there had been another chance and I hadn't come to this country (crying) you got me? I wish I could have changed my university and I hadn't come here. (Sevda)

4.2.2.2. Migration guilt: Towards family, towards Atatürk's Principles and Reforms, leaving the country, towards the children left behind

Elçin, Esra, and Hande felt a twinge of guilt about leaving their country for a variety of reasons. Elçin was feeling guilty about leaving Turkey as she expressed that instead of staying and fighting to change the things going bad in Turkey she migrated to the United Kingdom, and she evaluated this as an escape. Elçin mentioned that she wanted to do something for the children in Turkey the most, and when she said, "I could never get Turkey out of my head", it showed how intense her remorse she felt.

Ben de, birçok insan gibi, Türkiye'den ayrılmayı kaçmak olarak kendi içimde düşünüp, aslında Türkiye'de kalmamız gerektiğini, ülkemizin bir şekilde bütün bu sıkıntıları aşacağını düşünüyordum ve bunu aşmakta da elimden geleni yapmak istiyordum. Yani benim idealist bir şeyim var her zaman, kafa yapım var. Dolayısıyla oradan "Hadi biz kendi çocuğumuzu kurtaralım" ya da işte "Bizim kafamız rahat etsin de ne olursa olsun" zihniyetinde biri değilim. E geldiğim zaman da uzunca bir süre zaten şey oldu. Aklımdan hiç çıkaramadım Türkiye'yi ve Türkiye için bir şeyler yapmamız gerekiyor diye düşündüm. Biz geldik ve Türkiye'yi unuttuk gibi hissedemiyorum, ben oradaki çocuklara çok üzülüyorum. Bir şeyler yapmak istiyorum onlar için. Ülke için de onun için böyle işte benimki biraz geri kafalı, kendini kurtardın bir rahat et olmuyor bende yani. (Elçin)	Like many others, I was also thinking that leaving Turkey would mean escaping and I was thinking that our country will get over all these problems one day and I wanted to do everything necessary for it. I mean I have an idealist point of view. So, I am not in the mood that ‘’Let’s save our kid and let’s forget all the other things’’ After I came here, I thought that I should do something for our country for a long time. I don’t feel that I came here and forgot my country. I am very sorry for the kids there. I wanted to do something for them also. I am a bit conservative; I cannot forget about it. (Elçin)

Hande stated that the most difficult and unacceptable feeling about migration was not living far from her family, but rather not acting following Atatürk's principles and reforms, and she burst into tears while saying these. She said that she felt like she "betrayed her own country" since she migrated, she was very sure that this feeling would never pass. In addition to migration, Hande also blamed herself heavily for living in Turkey in a very isolated state, with people from a certain homogeneous segment in a bowl and going to certain places. Hande stated that she felt guilty because she lived in isolation from the public while living in Turkey. According to Hande, she emphasized that as a result of living in isolation from people, from other ideas, different socio-economic levels, and different political ideas, the country was transformed over the years and she and her friends, her generation could not prevent this transformation.

Ben çocukluğumdan beri son derece milliyetçi, ülkesini seven ve Atatürkçü yetişmiş bir insan olarak.. Buraya gelmiş olmak hala... (ağlıyor) Vicdan azabı! Çünkü ilginç bir şekilde hala 5 yılın sonunda ailemi bırakıp gelmiş olmaktan çok Atatürk'ün verdiği öğütlere uyamamış olmak bana çok dokunuyor (ağlıyor). Atatürk'e ve vatana ihanet gibi hala içimde sızlıyor ve sanırım hiç geçmeyecek. Biz aslında kendi fanusumuzda yaşıyorduk. İyi bir yerde yaşıyorsun, iyi bir yerde çalışıyorsun, işe arabayla gidip geliyorsun. Şu an toplumun geneli olan sosyoekonomik ve kültürel donanıma sahip insanlardan kopuktuk aslında. Belki de en büyük hata bu. Sadece benim için değil bizim jenerasyonumuzda böyle bir şey var. Bunu tabi sonra aklın erince görüyorsun ama. O da geç oluyor. Çünkü orada çok büyük çalışma var. O insanların bu hale getirilmesi için ve bu yıllara dayanan bir şey bu sadece bizim jenerasyonun da suçu değil. Ben kendimi ve bizim jenerasyonu da çok suçladım! (Hande)

As a person who was brought up with nationalist, patriotic, and Kemalist ideals, (crying), coming here is still remorse for me. What is touchy for me is not leaving my family in Turkey but neglecting Atatürk's speech and principles (crying). I feel as if I betrayed Atatürk and my country. And I think it will not be forgotten. We used to live in our small world, imagine you are working in a good post, you are going to work by car, you are residing in a neighbourhood, we were away from the average people who have got socio-economic and cultural complement. Maybe this is the biggest mistake. It is not the same only for me, for my generation this is the situation. But you learn and discover it later and it is quite late because there is a big work there for us. I think this is not our fault. I blame myself and our generation, though. (Hande)

Esra mentioned that the day the Ankara Agreement application was concluded positively coincided with the April 23 National Sovereignty and Children's Day, and when she heard that the application was accepted, she sat down and cried and asked herself "how can I leave this country". The guilt, sadness, and mourning she felt rather than being happy when the visa application was accepted clearly shows how difficult it is for Esra to migrate from the country. Esra stated that there is no group of people left in Turkey that she can unite and fight with and she came to the UK by clinging to this idea.

Ankara Anlaşması'na başvurduk ve kabul oldu. Dedik vardır bir hayır fakat yani inanır mısın kabulümüzü de aldığımız gün tam 23 Nisan'dı, burnumun direği sızladı. Yani oturdum ağladım. Hani ben bu ülkeyi nasıl terk edeceğim (!) diye (gözleri doldu sesi titredi). İşin ilginç yanı sevmiyorum. Türk insanını sevmiyorum yani çok üzgünüm ama Türk insanını şu an bulunduğu durum beni hiç mutlu etmiyor sevmiyorum yani gerçekten çok üzgünüm. Yani benim tek şeyim şu oluyor ülkeme ihanet ediyormuş gibi hissediyorum kendimi yalan söylemeyeceğim. Yani bıraktım geldim yani mücadele etmedim gibi geliyor ama bir yandan da kendimi şöyle avutuyorum. Türkiye'de birlik olacak bir insan şeyi yok topluluğu yok (Esra)

We applied to the Ankara agreement, and it was approved. We said it was OK. And it was the 23rd of April, National Sovereignty and Children's Day. It was very dramatic, I sat and cried and asked myself how I could leave my country (Cries). What is interesting is that I don't like Turkish people and their condition does not make me happy. My only worry is that I feel as if I have betrayed my country. I will not tell a lie to myself. It may seem as if I escaped and didn't struggle but I comfort myself by saying that there is not a group of people who would come together. (Esra)

Elçin and Hande talked about the guilt of migrating and leaving their families behind. Elçin's family found her migration meaningless because everyone's children lived in Turkey, and this was not a problem for them. Elçin's mother complaining about her loneliness on the phone when she got sick and accusing Elçin of saying "You left me alone" is one of the situations that are difficult for Elçin. Part of Elçin was angry about the guilt inflicted on her by his mother.

Uzakta olmak yani ailene de, senin de buradan ailene yetişemiyor olman. Onun vicdan azabını sana hissettiriyor olmaları, hepimiz de hissediyoruz bence bunu. İşte "ben de bugün çok hastayım" falan diyen bir ses tonu duyuyorsun ve tüh keşke orada olsaydım diyorsun ama hani sana bir vicdan yüklüyor yani, bunu da bilerek de yapıyor

Being away, I mean from your family, you cannot reach them from here when you are needed. They make you feel that remorse, and we feel it. On the phone they say, "I am not feeling well today, or I am sick" and you feel remorse. Then you say to yourself I wish I were there and could take them to the doctors. I was suppressed by my family. They didn't want me to go. Mum is sick and she is in the mood like

insanlar. Ailemden çok baskı gördüm ben. Onlar da gelmemi hiç istemiyorlardı. Annem rahatsız işte, o sürekli beni bırakıp gidiyorsunuz psikolojisinde idi. Şimdi benim bir kız kardeşim de geçen yaz Almanya'ya taşındı. O da çocuğu var ve o da yeni göçmen anne oldu. Zor yani, aileler için çok zor, çünkü onlar şey diyor "ne var ki, burada ne oluyor ki, herkesin çocuğu burada işte, bir şey olmuyor! (Elçin)	"you left me" and one of my sisters moved to Germany last summer. She has got a kid and she has been a migrant. It is really difficult, especially for families. they say that "everyone's children are in Turkey, and they have got a job. Why go away? (Elçin)

Hande felt remorse due to her parents' inability to see their grandchildren. She talked about the emotional burden of raising children away from their grandparents because they migrated, and not being able to support her parents when they need her when they have health problems.

Yani hayatını değiştiriyorsun, ülkeni değiştiriyorsun, bütün arkadaşların orada, bütün sevdiklerin orada, annen baban. Torunları onlardan uzak yetiştiriyorsun. Biz buraya geldik ailelerimiz sağlık sorunları yaşadı çünkü yaşları ileri. (Hande)	In other words, you change your life, your country. All your friends are there. All your beloved ones, your father, your mother. You bring up their grandchildren away from them. We came here and our families have got health problems due to their old age. (Hande)

4.2.2.3. Eternal strangers: Feelings at the edge of becoming an insider-outsider

Seven of the participants were underlined how they feel at the edge of becoming an insider-outsider. Among them, Müjde and Elçin emphasized that being an "outsider" in migration is felt not only in the migrated country but also felt towards the home country.

When Elçin asked the question "where is my home?" she realized that there is no sense of "home" for both Turkey and the United Kingdom anymore. She expressed that it is so difficult for her to confront the feeling of "not belonging" after migration. To cope with this feeling, Elçin stated that it would be better to go wherever it is good

for her like "migrating animals", to live there for a certain time, and to stop asking "where is my home" question. Since it was very difficult for Elçin to stay with the feeling of "unbelonging" caused by migration, Elçin rejected this feeling and tried to reframe the meaning of migration rationally, free from emotions like “migrating animals” to cope with the difficult feeling of “belongingness”.

Aslında evet buraya alıştım ve burayı çok seviyorum ama tam olarak da buranın, buraya ait değilim. Sadece burada yaşamayı seviyorum. Bu fikrim değişebilir ama benim Türkiye'ye gittiğimde evim var, tekrar geri döndüğümde de asla Türkiye'ye ait değilim hissi oluştu bende şu anda. O yuva hissi kayboldu yani işte benim bir evim var, ‘Türkiye orası’ hissi kayboldu. Şu anda en çok üzüldüğüm şey o. Göçmenlik galiba böyle bir de birkaç ülke değiştirdikten sonra öyle bir his yaratıyor artık yani ait değil, yaşıyoruz işte, burada daha rahat yaşıyorum, şimdi buradayım. Bilmiyorum ki belki beş sene sonra nerede olacağım bilmiyorum. Bir daha Türkiye'ye gittiğimde oradan ayrılırken ki bağlılık hissinin oluşmayacağını düşünüyorum artık bende çünkü diyorum ya o ziyaretlerde bile “Tamam artık hadi dönelim, yani evimize dönelim”. Çok üzücü bir şey bu ya çünkü bütün aslında hala en çok sevdiğim insanlar orada, çevrem orada, en rahat hissettiğim yer orası. Her anlamda bir iletişim kurmak, işini halletmek ama o his kayboldu yani işte ‘burası benim evim’ hissi kayboldu. Tam şöyle gibi yani göçmen hayvanlar gibi hissediyorum, kuşlar gibi işte onlar gidiyorlar Avrupa'ya, burası benim evim demiyorlar

In fact, yes, I got used to living here and I love this country very much. I just love living here. My opinion may change when I go to my country, I have a house. But when I turn back, I really feel that I don’t belong to Turkey. The feeling of my home disappeared there. I think this is about being a migrant. And after you have changed a few countries, you get such feelings. Here we are. We are surviving. I don’t know where I will be in five years. when I go to Turkey next time, I think the feeling of dependence will not appear anymore and when in Turkey you say “OK, Let’s go back home” this is very sad because the people I love are still there. My friends are there, too. That place is where I feel comfortable, in every aspect to communicate, doing business, etc. but feeling disappeared. The feeling of “this is my home” has disappeared. I feel like migratory birds. Because you go somewhere and stay for a time, and you can’t say “This is my home.”And I think it is best not to question, I mean you will not say “Home sweet home.” Because when you say it, it doesn’t feel good. Here is not my home and neither is Turkey. So where is my home? (Elçin)

muhtemelen çünkü yılın bir kısmında yine oraya gidecekler. Ama orası da onların evi değil aslında. Ve sanırım en güzeli hayvan gibi sorgulamayacaksın yani evim neresi demeyeceksin, onu dediğin zaman çünkü o boşluk hissi insana iyi hissettirmiyor. Burası benim evim değil, orası da değil; neresi benim evim?! (Elçin)

While Hande and Zeynep talked about the importance of language in feeling belonging to the UK, Zeynep stated that not knowing English is a huge obstacle to adaptation, while Hande emphasized that even though she knows English, it is impossible to master the cultural dimension of the language, to understand the humour, and daily language. Although Hande strives to adapt culturally, she is greatly confident that she will never be able to understand this culture fully. Because she believes that no matter how hard she tries, it is impossible to understand a culture that she did not grow up in. While watching the TV series suggested by her British friends to understand British culture and humour, Hande's response saying "I can't laugh at that, it's not funny, we won't be" is like a reflection of the identity crush that comes with migration. There is a side that wants to be able to laugh at things in British culture and understand what sounds funny in this culture, and there is a resentful voice who sees that this cannot happen and accepts its difference.

Benim eşim devamlı İngilizlerle çalışıyor. Ben devamlı İngilizlerle muhatap değilim daha farklı ülkelerden insanlarla muhatap oluyorum işim gereği de öyle. Böyle bir gün bir konuşma oldu bir İngiliz'le ben eşimi aradım dedim ki 'bana böyle böyle söyledi ne tatlı söyledi dimi' dedim. "Hande sana laf sokmuş! " dedi. Ben o kadar anlamadım ki!.. Ama mesela şeyin çok farkındayım ve bunu da normal buluyorum. Sonuçta biz bu kültürde büyümedik. Ve bu kültürün bir

My husband always works with the English, but I don't. I am working with people from different countries. Once I told my husband about a conversation between me and an English with a positive feeling, and my husband told me that they were needling me about most of the things we had talked about. But I am very well aware of the things, and I find them normal. You know we didn't grow up in this culture even if we want to, we had better adapt ourselves to this culture; nevertheless, we won't learn it a hundred percent. Because apart from many other things, we

parçası olamayacağız olmayacağız. Olmak istesek bile olamayacağız. Adapte olalım ama adapte olduğumuzda bile zaten bu kültüre %100 hâkim olamayacağız. Çünkü her şeyi bırak biz kendi dilimizde atasözü, deyim kısaltma, günlük dil konuşurken. Onların ne söylediğini anlamıyoruz. Ben buraya ilk geldiğimde en çok şaşırdığım kelime "cheers" dı ya! Bize okulda "cheers" ı içki içerken kadeh tokuşturmak diye öğrettiler. Cheers budur! Otobüste birine yer veriyorum cheers diyor niye ki! Ya da vedalaşıyoruz ayrılıyoruz okuldaki bir veli ile cheers diyor. Niye "cheers" şimdi. Günlük dilde enteresan. Bizim o okulda öğrendiğimiz gramerler vocabularyler birazcık günlük hayat için ihtiyacı karşılamıyor. Ya da sen Türkiye'de hiç böyle arkadaşının bir bakışından aklına bir Cem Yılmaz esprisi gelip ya da bir Kemal Sunal gülüşü gelip onu yaptığında karşındaki seni anlar çünkü o da bir kültür o da onu biriktirmiş. Ama burada bir espri yapıyor bir İngiliz mesela ben aptal aptal bakıyorum. Ya da ilkokul beşte yapıyorduk biz en son böyle espri geri zekalı mı acaba. Hatta biz şey seyretmeye başladık ya eşimin İngiliz bir arkadaşı işten önermiş bir zamanların bu kültürünü mizah kültürünü oluşturan dizileri önermiş, oturup onu ders çalışır gibi onları izledik. Hala böyle "ayy hiç komik değil! Çok sıkıcı! yok yok biz olamayacağız boş ver vazgeçtim" Anlamak istiyoruz ama öyle kolay değil yani. Ben beş senedir buradayım adamlar yüzyıllardır o kültürü getirmiş. cannot understand the proverbs, saying phrases or reductions, or daily speeches. We can't understand what they are saying. When I first came here what I was shocked by was the word "cheers." At school we learned in English courses that when you toss the glasses, you are supposed to say "Cheers!" but here, when you give a seat to someone they say "Cheers!" and why? Or when I say "Goodbye" to a parent at school, s/he says "Cheers!" why cheers now? Daily speech is also very interesting. The grammar or vocabulary taught to us at school doesn't meet the necessities. Or when you are in Turkey, you may understand the joke by looking at your friend's eyes or reactions (you remember a joke from Cem Yılmaz or you remember Kemal Sunal's smile and you know what s/he means. S/he also understands you because it is part of our culture. But when you encounter a joke made by a British, you just look and try to understand it or you say to yourself that such jokes are absolute. We started to watch a series full of humour about this culture as was suggested by my husband's friend. We watched it as if an assignment and each time after a joke we looked at each other and asked "Is this funny? Oh, no It is so boring! I am sure we won't be able to achieve that!" I have been here for five years, but that culture has been made up for hundreds of years. I know it and maybe as I am aware of it, I don't care it much. (Hande)

Dolayısıyla bunun farkındayım ve belki de bunun farkında olduğum için de çok umursamıyorum. (Hande)

Zeynep asked herself the question 'Is it better to live in Turkey or is it better to live here?' She believed that if she learned the language, it would be better to live here, but while she said this, her ambivalent and up and down feelings were also heard.

Yani, var olan bir şeyi bırakıp sıfırdan başlamak zor bir şey ama bir yandan da ne bileyim böyle bazen şey kalıyorum. Burası mı Türkiye mi diye? Bir noktada Türkiye ama sonra vazgeçiyorum diyorum ki burası daha iyi olacak herhalde, dil falan halledersek. Yani ailem bir kere orada, var olan bir düzenimiz vardı. Böyle nasıl diyeyim her şey oturmuştu Türkiye'de, maddi manevi ama burada bir sıfırdan başlama gibi olmasa da öyle gibi yani. Bir kere çok ciddi bir sorun kendini ifade edememek bir şekilde. (Zeynep)

You know it is very difficult to give up something and begin from the very beginning. Here or Turkey? At one point Turkey but later I change my mind and say, of course, here is better, and will be better if we handle the language. I mean my family is there, we have got an order. Everything was fine in Turkey, but here both economically and morally it seems as if starting from zero. Not being able to express yourself is a great problem. (Zeynep)

In addition, Zeynep also expressed that although they seemed friendly the relationship that was established with the British cannot go beyond a certain level.

Yabancılara karşı o şey burada da var yani az çok hissediyorsunuz. Çok belli etmeseler de var. Bir kere İngilizler burada konuştuğum Türkiyeliler de söylüyor. Hiçbir şekilde sizi kendi içine almıyorlar. Yani ne kadar dost görünseler de şey yapsalar da belli mesafeyi geçemiyorsun. (Zeynep)

The thing to the foreigners is also present here, you can feel it more or less. Even they do not show you. For once the English I talk here… The Turkish I talk also say that they do not fit you in any way possible. You cannot cross a certain line no matter how friendly they seem. (Zeynep)

Esra very clearly stated that "let's admit that this is not our country" and emphasized that she will always feel like a foreigner in the UK.

Ya burası bizim (!) ülkemiz değil bunu kabul edelim. Gördüğümüz hiçbir şey alıştığımız hiçbir şey buraya ait değil (!) (Esra)	This is not our country! We have to accept it. Nothing we see or nothing we got used to belonging to us. (Esra)

While Özge was talking about the details she liked the lifestyle in the UK, for example, being able to walk everywhere with children, feeling like living in a movie scene in a town and having the feeling that the movie would end suddenly seems to emphasize its "temporality" metaphorically.

Burada dışarı çıktığımda o yeşiller arasında yürümek o yeşil beni çok mutlu ediyor. E çocuklarla her işi yürüyerek yapmak arabayla okula bırakıyorum ediyorum o ayrı ama yani böyle küçük bir şey kasabada yaşıyor gibiyiz bana her an sanki böyle film karesi bitecek de döneceğim gibi geliyor ama böyle diye diye ben burada on seneye tamamlarım. (Özge)	Here walking along with the green nature when you go out makes me very happy. Doing everything with kids on foot or picking up kids from school by car. Those are my chores, I know. It is like we are living in a small town, and it feels like a film frame, and it will finish soon but feeling like this, I think I will spend long years here. (Özge)

Elçin's friends living in Turkey approach her with the perception and label of "you migrated, you ripped off". When Elçin shared that she was upset about things about Turkey, she said that they reacted as if she had no right to be upset. Elçin's friends seem to express their anger over Elçin's migration abroad with exclusion. Elçin felt so excluded when her friends in Turkey did not understand her in worrying about the country's agenda. To overcome this exclusion and feel accepted by them, Elçin depicts her life in the United Kingdom as worse than it is, as her friends idealized Elçin's life in the UK.

Bir de şey saçma bakış açıları oluyor, senin artık Türkiye ile ilgili ya da insanlarla ilgili hiç söz söyleme hakkın yokmuş gibi davranıyorlar sana, sen gittin kurtardın kendini falan. Yoo, öyle	And there are some nonsense points of view. They behave as if you don't have any right to say something about Turkey or people in Turkey, you went and rescued yourself, and so on. No, there is nothing like that I mean I still

bir şey yok ki yani ben Türkiye'yi ve orada olan şeyleri düşünüyorum. Hala üzülüyorum ama anlatamıyorsun insanlara. Hep "haha" falan diyorlar böyle. Sanki senin hayatın hep çok güzelmiş gibi algılanıyor ve devamlı bunu açıklama hissi de kötü bir şey. Yani hayatının aslında çok da iyi olmadığını anlatmak zorunda hissediyorsun arkadaşlarınla buluştuğunda da çünkü sana hep burayı soruyorlar ve nasıl rüya gibi bir hayat yaşadığını zannediyorlar. Sen de sürekli onlara yok aslında öyle de bir rüya değil devamlı bir açıklama haline dönüşüyor. Bazen olduğundan daha da kötü anlatman gerekiyor ki onlar kendini iyi hissetsin. Saçma bir şeye dönüşüyor, yani bu şeyi değiştiriyor, arkadaşlıkların formunu bile değiştiriyor. Hep bir yırtmış etiketi oluyor üstünde (!) vallahi (!) yırtmadım derdinde oluyorsun. (Elçin)

think about Turkey and the events happening there. I still get sad, but I can't express my grief to people. They are always mocking it. It is always believed that your life is wonderful, and it makes me unhappy to be obliged to express that is not so. You feel you have to express that your life is not perfect. They are always asking you about the UK when you come together. And you are always explaining to them that this is not a dream country and explain many things. Sometimes I am telling sad stories, which are sadder than reality. It turns into something nonsense. This changes the dimension of friendship. You have to tell them that situation is not so. (Elçin)

Müjde spoke about the feeling of "being an outsider" while accompanying all the important days in her close ones with Facetime from a great distance. In fact, the state of being an "outsider" in migration is multi-layered because the person feels it in relationships both in the UK and in their home country.

İşte düğün oluyor ya da ölüm oluyor bir araya geliyorlar falan filan böyle yani hani sen hiç olamıyorsun orada ve böyle uzaktan sadece şey yapıyorsun FaceTime'dan bakıyorsun. Orada dışarıda kalıyorsun biraz daha. (Müjde)

They come together on funerals or wedding days. You are not able to come together with them. You just look at them on FaceTime. You are there, outside. (Müjde)

4.2.2.4. A time of fragility/vulnerability: The beginning is the hardest

Five of the participants mentioned that the early stages of the migration process were much more difficult. It was emphasized that the loneliness that the person fell into in the first days after migration and the lack of social support mechanisms played an important role in this.

Although Elçin is not a person who cares about her birthdays, she mentioned that she felt very lonely on her first birthday when she migrated here. It was understood from Elçin's words that not knowing anyone in the country while migrating her psychological well-being was harmed.

Ben geldiğimde kimseyi tanımıyordum ve kimseyi tanımamanın üzüntüsü vardı. İlk doğum günümde hiç kimse yoktu, hiç kimse yoktu ve şey Türkiye'den birileri doğum günümü kutlayınca ağlamıştım, yani burada kimse yok ki ama işte kimse yani o üzüntüyü hatırlıyorum halbuki hiç de önemsemem, Türkiye'de doğum günü kutlayan biri değilim zaten ama. Burada bir yalnız hissettim yani kimse yok. (Elçin)	When I came here I didn't know anyone here and it was a bit disappointing. There was no one on my birthday, and when someone celebrated from Turkey, I really cried. Actually, I don't care much about it. And I didn't use to celebrate when in Turkey. But I felt a bit lonely here. (Elçin)
İlk zamanlar aşırı zordu. Burada böyle mutlak yalnızlığın ortasına düştüm sanki. Yani ilk zamanlar telefonda son aramalarda sadece eşim var, yok çünkü yani başka kimse yok ki burada. Tek İngiliz numarası eşimin, ya da iş için aradığım insanlar. O biraz acıklı bir durum. En zor ilk altı aydı benim için ama ilk iki yıl zordu. Ha ikinci yıldan sonra da bu arada çok saçma zorluklar yaşandı. Yani böyle hakikaten şimdi ne yapacağız dedirten olaylar yaşandı ama. Sanırım bu	It was very difficult at first. It seems as if I fell into absolute loneliness here. In the very beginning, there is only my husband to whom I talk on the phone. The only number I have from the UK is my husband's. A bit bitter. The first two years were difficult but especially the first six months. After two years, there were some ridiculous difficulties. There were times when we said what to do? I think resistance has increased in this period. We know that we will get over it. (Hande)

süreçte direncin daha fazla arttığı için. Tamam ya zaten bunları yaşadık bunu da atlatacağız bir şekilde "bunu nasıl atlatacağız acaba" ya döndü. (Hande)

Sevda cried when she said that she expected to have difficulties in the adaptation process after she migrated because her husband did not speak English and that migration was a decision of her own. She cried when she said, "Because it was my decision" which reflected the feeling of regret and responsibility she felt for her decision to migrate.

İlk geldiğimiz zamanlarda hani tabii kaygı vardı her zaman. Ve gelirken İngilizce sadece ben bildiğim için ailede ve bu benim kararım olup. (ağlıyor) Bir de zaten şey ya daha tam atlatamadığım için, çok sıcağı sıcağına olduğu için belki birkaç yıl daha geçse böyle olmazdı. (ağlıyor) (Sevda)	When we first came, there were some worries. When we first came here, I was the only one speaking English and it was my decision (crying) maybe I couldn't get over it yet, maybe if it were a few years later. (crying) (Sevda)

Zeynep, one of the participants, attributed her less difficulty in adapting during the migration process to the support of her friends, whom she knew before, and not being alone when she migrated to the UK.

Sosyal çevremiz burada hazır vardı. Benim daha önce arkadaşlarım buraya gelip kalmıştı böyle hazır bir sosyal çevrenin içine geldik. Sosyal çevrede çok önemli biliyorsunuz bu tarz yerlerde. Çok zorlanmadık. (Zeynep)	Our social environment was ready here. My friends had already come and stayed here before so we came into a ready social environment. You know it is also important to have it in such places. (Zeynep)

4.2.2.5. "Alice in Wonderland": Disappointments about the foreign land

Tümay stated that she was disappointed in Britain in two different aspects; the first was that gender inequality was seen in the UK, although not as much as in Turkey, and the second was the absence of school counsellors in schools in the education system.

Amma velakin kadın ve erkek ayrımının burada devam ettiği bir aşikar. Evet bizim seviyemizde değil belki hani Türkiye'deki seviyede değil ama maaşlarda, kadın-erkek okullarında, çocukların başarısı seviyelerinde, yönlendirmelerinde, meslek seçimlerinde... Evet kimse kısa etek giymesine karşı çıkmıyor belki ama hani meslek kararını verirken sözle yapılmayan yönlendirmeler var. (Tümay)	Telling the truth, it is very obvious segregation of gender is going on here. Not in the level as much as Turkey, but yes there is, in the schools, in the level of children's success, in guidance, in selecting a profession. No one has any objection to wearing a mini skirt but in professional guidance, there, you feel it. (Tümay)

While all participants, including Tümay, appreciated the education system in the UK the only point that the education system in the UK has received criticism is that there is no psychological counselling service in UK schools. It showed the importance of school counselling and how it has positive effects on both the mother and the child.

Özel okul ve devlet okulunu ayırmak lazım herhalde.. Özel okul için söylüyorum. Özel okullardaki sistemini çok beğeniyordum Türkiye'de. Pelin'e de çok faydası oluyordu. Buraya geldiğimizde aynı rehberlik sisteminin aynı kolaylıkta olmadığını gördüm. Devlet okulu ve bütçelerle alakalı bir durum olduğunu düşünüyorum. Çünkü bu yönde bir çaba var. Bazı eğitim… eğitmenler, öğretmenler bu yönde	I think we should separate private and state schools. For private schools, I like the systems in private schools in Turkey. It was useful for Pelin. I see that the same guidance system was not the same easy. I think it is about state schools and their budgets. Because there is such effort. Some teachers and trainers are getting that education and those getting it are interested in the kids who have got problems at the upper level. But there is no guidance where an

özel eğitim alıyorlar ve bu eğitimi alan öğretmenler ileri seviyede sorunlu çocuklarla ilgileniyorlar ama ortalama standart bir öğrencinin gündelik sorunları için gidebileceği, hani "arkadaşım böyle yaptı. Nasıl çözerim" i sorabileceği bir rehberlik kapısı açık yok. (Tümay)	average student can apply for an ordinary problem. (Tümay)

Four of the participants, Müjde, Zeynep, Özge, and Elçin expressed concerns regarding the loss of a job, loss of working woman identity, difficulty in earning money in the UK, and gender inequality that felt in terms of giving compromises in career and labour. Müjde and Zeynep talked about their disappointment, as they could not maintain their "working woman identity" in the UK. Elçin emphasized that while Müjde had a steady income in Turkey, although she tried to establish and develop her own business in the UK, her inability to reach a regular income created a great feeling of despair. It was heard how difficult it was for her to find herself in the role of a "housewife" in the earlier stages of migration, and as a person who has earned money since she was a university student, she experienced this as a loss of identity. How much her career nurtured her and how important it was for her to be able to stand on her own feet economically were understood from her expression.

Bir kere maddi anlamda özgürlüğüm vardı İstanbul'da tamamen yani her ayın sonunda o paranın bana yatacağını biliyordum. Ama burası bir buraya bir iş kurarak geldim ve her ay düzenli bir paradan söz edemeyiz bu durumda ve bu beni çok sıktı. Çok daha riskleri olan, evet getirdiği zaman iyi getiriyor ama getirmediği zamanda hiç getirmiyor. Yani ben buna hiç alışık bir bünye değilim. Hiçbir zaman bu kadar çaresiz hissetmedim kendimi çünkü üniversite döneminden beri çalışıyorum yani üniversitede	First of all, I had the economic independence, I knew that the money would be in the bank at the end of the month. But here I came to set up a business and we cannot talk about a regular income and their situation made me unhappy. This is much riskier, yes, when you earn you earn a good sum of money but if not, you cannot earn anything. I am not used to it. I have never felt so helpless in my life because I have been working since university. I started working when at university. I have always earned money. When we moved here, my husband was working, and I was like a housewife. I am not criticizing, but I am not that person.

ders verdim. Hep bir para kazandım. Ve buraya geldiğimde artık ilk dönemler özellikle hani eşim çalışıyor ve ben artık bir ev kadınıyım. Ev kadınlarını burada yermek yada "ooo ev kadını" falan demek için değil ama ben hiç o insan değilim yani. Bir de benim işim çok aktif bir işti. Her gün başka insan, başka bir olay başka bir yer yani sürekli bir yere gidiyorsun ve bambaşka bir olayla karşılaşıyorsun. (Müjde)	And was so active. Every day was different from the other. You always work and meet someone new and somewhere new. (Müjde)

Zeynep stated that she could not perform her profession as an anthropologist in Turkey, but she was working as a teacher. When she migrated to the UK, she could not work due to the language barrier and experienced the loss of "working woman" status too.

Eşim yine mesleğini yapıyor burada. Ben dil eğitimimden dolayı çalışamıyorum. Yani ben aslında antropoloğum Türkiye'de de mesleğimi yapamıyordum. Öğretmenlik yapıyordum. Açık öğretimden sosyoloji okuyup, dershanede ortak dersleri veriyordum sosyoloji. (Zeynep)	My husband is doing his job, but I cannot work at the moment because of language education. I am an anthropologist, and I wasn't working as an anthropologist in Turkey. I was a teacher. I was studying sociology and teaching the common lesson at a course centre. (Zeynep)

Özge noticed the contradiction of the situation she was in when she mentioned that they lived in the Alice in wonderland mode and that they were happy in the UK, and that the money that would ensure their survival came from a job in Turkey, and a critical tone of voice overshadowed her happy voice.

Burada şu anda mutluyum ama Alice in Wonderland havasındayız yani çünkü bizim burada harcayacağımız para aslında İstanbul'dan geliyor öyle bir tutarsızlık var yani. O da şöyle ki hala demek ki bir şeyler	I am here happy at the moment and we feel like Alice is in wonderland. Because the money we are going to spend comes from İstanbul. That is, there are still some problems that we haven't fixed yet. And now one pound is eight, which means bad. (Özge)

oturmamış oradan geliyor ve şöyle ki şu an pound 8 oldu bölüne bölüne geliyor. (Özge)

Elçin emphasized that there is a gender inequality between women and men in migration since men migrate with more determinized job conditions. Since the husband has a job the burden of children had to carry by women when migrating to the UK. Due to these conditions, women had to give more compromises in terms of labour and career.

Erkekler biraz daha şeyleri belli, şartları belli geliyorlar aslında. Ne yapacakları biraz daha kesin. Zor olan kısım, çocuğun sorumluluğunun sende olması, başka bir ülkede o çocuğun başına gelebilecek her şeyi ya da çocukla ilgili olmasını istediğin her şeyi senin planlaman gerekiyor yine. Erkeğin çok fazla vakti olmuyor çünkü. Eş, zaten bir işle geliyor. (Elçin)	The men are coming with more specific conditions. What they are going to do is more specific. The difficult part is that you have got the responsibility of kids. You need to plan everything about the future of the kids, or you have to think about every detail that might happen to the kids. The man doesn't have much time as he has got a proper job to follow. (Elçin)

4.2.2.6. Another side of the coin: "Freedom, happiness, lightness, peace..."

Six participants included the positive emotions they felt after migration. Emotions emphasized by the participants were feeling free, safe, peaceful, and happy.

When Elçin migrated, she felt as if she had a very heavy cloak on her back and threw it away. For Elçin, migration was an alleviating feeling, like being suddenly freed from a very heavy cloak on her back. She stated that when she realized that the possibility of a negative event that could happen to her while walking in the park is much less than in Istanbul, she felt happiness.

Sanki sırtımda böyle tonlarca ağırlığı olan bir pelerin vardı ve sanki onu bir anda attım gibi hissettim, böyle sokaklarda yürürken kendi kendime	It felt like as if I had a pelerine with tons of weight and I got rid of it suddenly, while walking down the street I remember myself chuckling. I felt happy when I put on my headphone

gülümsediğimi hatırlıyorum. İşte kulaklığımı takıp bir parkta böyle yürürken başıma bir şey gelme ihtimalinin İstanbul'dakinden çok daha az olduğunu hissetmenin bir mutluluğu geldi bana. (Elçin)	and walk into a park, the possibility of getting in trouble here was less than in Istanbul. (Elçin)

Esra stated that she felt peaceful and free in the UK. The reason she felt free was that she knew she could speak freely about any politician she wanted in the UK because she had freedom of speech in the UK. When she spoke about a politician in Turkey, she mentioned that she was afraid that they would put her in jail. Esra said that people in the UK do not interfere with each other, so she felt happy in the UK. On the other hand, she mentioned that she feels nervous while walking on the road in Turkey because there is a possibility that at any moment someone could cause trouble for no reason.

Kesinlikle özgürlük benim için kesinlikle özgürlük, huzur. Burada istediğim gibi konuşabiliyorum. Yani burada istersem İngiltere'nin istersem Türkiye'nin istersen bütün dünyanın politikacılarına istediğimi söyleyebiliyorum aman şunu şunu söyledim acaba beni hapse atar mı diye hiçbir korku barındırmıyorum. Aksine diyorum ki benim de haklarım var ve ben de haklarımı savunabilirim, elde edebilirim diyorum. Ve mutluyum, huzurluyum. Çünkü sokakta yürürken birisine yan gözle baktım da "acaba ne düşündü" diye düşünmüyorum yani çünkü o benim bakışımda bir art niyet 'ah senin de gözünün üstünde kaşın var bir kavga edelim havası' yok yani. (Esra)	It's absolute freedom for me, absolute freedom, peace. I can speak however I want here. I mean I can speak whatever I wish to either UK's or Turkey's or all the politicians in the world, I never worry about the fact that 'Oh, I spoke these or that, do they put me in jail?' On the contrary, I say, I also have rights, I can defend my rights and claim them. And I am happy, peaceful. Because when I walk down the street and look at someone cross-eyed, I never think what he or she thought about me, I mean, there is no overtone about fighting here. (Esra)

Tümay mentioned that she liked the culture of the UK, especially humour and music, and this seemed to have a positive effect on her sense of belongingness. Tümay also stated that she can be in the same way she wants to be in the UK.

Radyoyu açınca dinlediğim müziği duyuyorum, bence güzel bir şey. Esprileri seviyorum, kafama uyuyor. Bunlar çok ufak detaylar gibi ama... Çok süslenmek zorunda değilim. Ondan sonra olduğum gibi olduğum zaman kimse rahatsız olmuyor. (Tümay)	When I switch on the radio, I hear the music, it is nice. I love the jokes; it is OK for me. They may seem to be very few details. I don't have to wear heavy make-up. People are not annoyed by me, as for me. (Tümay)

The fact that Zeynep and Hande felt comfortable, free, and equal in their migration experiences was about feeling more respected as a woman in terms of gender roles in the UK.

Zeynep stated that she was afraid while walking with her child on the street in Turkey and that at any moment someone could verbally say bad words to her in vain because people were extremely nervous and looking for a person to explode. In the UK, society's loving approach to children and women ensures that Zeynep does not experience the fear she experiences on the street in Turkey. In addition to this, being able to use public transportation safely with her child and easy access to the parks are among the things that make Zeynep's life easier as a mother in the UK and make her feel better.

Burada hoşuma giden kadın olarak çok daha rahat olmam… Türkiye'de bir kadın olarak sokağa çıktığınız zaman çocuğunuzla korkuyorsunuz. Nerden laf atılacağını en basitinden söylüyorum. Ben buraya geldikten altı ay sonra ailemi ziyarete gittim. Yani altı ayda çok bir şey yaşamıyorsunuz burada ama oradaki şeyi görebiliyorsunuz o çelişkiyi. Sokakta yürürken insanlar patlamak üzere böyle... Korkuyorsunuz. Omzun birine dokunacak, adam hemen dönüyor laf ediyor. Burada en azından	What I like most here is that I have more freedom as a woman. When you go out with your kid in Turkey, you fear. In the simplest form, you never know who will tease or make a silly comment. After coming here, I went to visit my family after six months, and you don't experience many things in six months, but you can see the tension there. People are about to burst. You are afraid of hitting someone's shoulder and he would say something bad. Here at least there is no such thing against women or children. They have a more sympathetic approach. There are more parks, which is important for me. These things are important for me as I have a

kadınlara ve çocuklara öyle bir şey yok. Daha böyle sevgi ile yaklaşıyorlar. Daha çok park var. Çocuğum olduğu için bunlar benim için önemli. Kesinlikle. Çocuğumla otobüse binmek daha rahat, bir yere gitmek daha rahat. İnsanlar daha saygılı gibi geliyor bana. (Zeynep)	kid. It is easier to get on a bus or to go somewhere with my kid. (Zeynep)

Hande stated that as a woman, she feels safe and respected in the UK, and she does not feel that she is of secondary importance. Unlike in Turkey, not expecting to be sexually harassed in the UK is a reason for Hande to feel incredibly relaxed, fearless, and free.

Daha güvenli hissediyorsun daha saygı gördüğünü hissediyorsun. İkinci planda kaldığını düşünmüyorsun her şeyin gayet içindesin. Taciz edilmeyeceğinin farkındasın. (Hande)	You feel more secure and respected. You never think you are ignored. You are aware that you won't be harassed. (Hande)

Hande stated that the migration journey provided an inner growth, enrichment, and development for her and her voice was full of gratitude for the person she turned into.

Ben karakter olarak çok değiştim burada zaten ya. Bence çok ciddi bir yol göçmenlik. İnsanın böyle hayat içinde öğrenme, büyüme, bilgeleşme hedefleri amaçları var ya.. Bence gerçekten bunun kişisel gelişim peşinde olan bir insan göç etmeli! Gerçekten!! (Hande)	I changed very much characteristically here. Migration is a very serious process. You know people have the aims of learning, growing, being informed… I think people who are after personal improvement should migrate. Really (Hande)

4.2.2.7. Fasten your seat belts: Does your marriage ready to fly?

Four participants mentioned how the migration process can affect couple relationships and their marriages. While Hande talked about the negative side of her

husband's patriarchal attitude in the UK, Esra and Müjde talked about the economic problems experienced during the migration process and the couples' accusations of each other. Özge, on the other hand, talked about the difficulty of keeping up with the changes in the format of the relationship, as they had to stay separate from her husband during the migration process.

Hande suggests that there are a lot of difficulties in the migration process, so people who will migrate should first check whether they have a strong partner relationship to cope with these difficulties. She advises couples who are considering migration should make this decision by considering whether they had overcome the difficulties they faced before and how long they have known each other.

Bence evlilik ilişkisi için de çok tricky bir durum, göçmüş olmak. Göçmeyi düşünen arkadaşlarımız bazen soruyor "napalım biz de oraya gelsek mi?" diye soranlara ilk sorduğum soru "kaç yıllık evlisin, kaç büyük kavga yaşadın, kaç kriz atlattın?" Çünkü bence bu evlilik tarihi için büyük kriz, evliliği bitirir de güçlendirir de. Ne kadar şanslı olsan da çok zorlayıcı bir süreç. Hele çocuklu ve evli olmak ekstra zorlayıcı bir süreç bence. (Hande)	I think migration is also very tricky in respect to marriage. People thinking about migration sometimes ask for advice, and my first question to them is, how long they have been married, how many big fights they had, and how many crises they have dealt with? Because it is very important for marriage history as it may strengthen, or end it. No matter how lucky you are, it is a challenging process. And being married with kids is extra. (Hande)

Hande stated that her husband's continuing to take on the role of just earning money, as he did in the patriarchal order, was completely unacceptable in migration. After migrating to the UK, Hande sharply opposes the gender roles that her husband has from the patriarchal order. In this sense, leaving the patriarchal order empowers women to oppose gender role inequality.

Ataerkil kabuller yüzünden buraya geldikten sonra eşim de çok zorlandı. Ve bizim evliliğimiz de o tip başlıklarda da zorlandı. Çünkü yani göç ettiysen buraya gelince tek rolün para kazanıp eve	My husband had many difficulties owing to the male-dominant creeds. And our marriage had also some difficulties in that respect. Because if you migrated, your only role wouldn't be earning money. There is another life

gelmek değil. Çünkü evde de bir hayat var. Evde yapılacak işler var "ben de bütün gün işte çalışıyorum" orada doğru cevap olmuyor. O yüzden bence Türk erkeklerinin de bir göçmesi lazım (gülüyor) Evlenmeden önce mümkünse (!) (Hande)

at home. There are chores to be done at home. And you cannot say I have worked all day. For that reason, Turkish men should migrate before getting married. (laughing) (Hande)

Esra emphasized that migration is like a "test" for relationships, some couples get divorced during the migration process, and couples can blame each other for the decision to migrate. Esra emphasized that when a decision to migrate was taken with a husband who tends to be evasive about work, the financial responsibility fell on the woman, and she became responsible for everything.

Çünkü burası gerçekten ilişkilerin sınavı. Yani buraya gelip boşanan.. Kişiler, anne de baba da gerçekten göç etmek isteyip istemediğine karar vermeli. Çünkü sonrasında 'sen istedin, ben istemedim' gibi patlak veren olaylar olabiliyor mutsuzluktan doğan. İlişkiler için imtihan, kadının üzerine biniyor sorumluluk bir de para kazanma kısmı da kadının üstüne binebiliyor. Çünkü erkek niyetli değil. Zaten çok şey yan çizen bir insansa hiç gerek yok. Kadın bütün hayatın sorumluluğunu üstüne alır gelir. (Esra)

Because here is the exam centre for relations. There are really a lot of couples coming here and getting divorced. They really must think about it beforehand. Because later they try to blame one another. In the relationship, it is an exam. The responsibility mainly is on women's shoulders as men don't have such intention. I think the majority will agree with it. Women are the ones generally who get all responsibilities of life. (Esra)

According to Müjde, what determines the most how a person experiences migration is with whom you migrated rather than how you migrate. Müjde stated that the lack of money in migration and relationships are important issues that can cause problems, but even the "existence" of money is a problem in their couple relations and stated how corrosive their relationship is and how difficult to live the migration process with her husband. What Müjde meant by the problem of the existence of money was that her husband accused her of making little money when he earned more money than

Müjde. Although Müjde wanted to end her relationship, the presence of her child and especially migration prevented her from taking this decision. Müjde said at one point in the interview that she would have been divorced if she was living in Turkey. Müjde cannot get divorced because she thinks that if she decides to get a divorce while she has migrated for the future of her child, she will risk her child's future again. The situation of Müjde shows how much women are overwhelmed with the meanings they dedicate to motherhood, and how vulnerable a woman can be when added to the risk factors that come with migration.

Evliliğin güzel bir şey olduğunu asla düşünmüyorum ya da yani denk gelmedik birbirimize. Yanındaki kişi eğer sana destek değilse hani ne bileyim bir gözün yaşlandığı zaman ya da kötü hissettiğin zaman senin üstüne daha çok geliyorsa daha çok ağlatmaya çalışıyorsa bu göçmenlik daha da içinden çıkılamaz bir boyuta varıyor. Çocuğunla beraber hani sen de ağlıyorsun. Buraya nasıl geldiğin pek önemli değil, kiminle geldiğin çok önemli. Yani bir kere para çok önemli bir şey etken tabii ki. Parasız hiçbir şeyin dönmediğini biliyoruz ama bazen o paranın varlığı bile problem çıkartabiliyor. Paranın yokluğu demiyorum bak! Paranın varlığı bile hani bende var sende niye yok tavrı. Hani böyle problem yaratıyor insanı yaralıyor dediğin gibi çocukla, bir de çocuğunun olması bazı söylemleri kabul etmek zorunda bırakıyor kendini ve işte o zaman diyorum işte Müjde bak ne yaptın kendine neden yaptın yani ne istiyordun ne oldu? Hak ediyor musun? Hak etmiyor musun? (Müjde)

I don’t think marriage is something good, or we haven’t matched each other. If the person with you does not support you, or when you feel gloomy if he continues to sadden you instead of understanding, that will make the situation much worse for you. You cry with your kid. It is not important how you came here but whom you came with. First of all, of course, money is an important thing. We know that nothing is possible if you don’t have money but sometimes having money doesn’t solve any problem either. Sometimes having money is also causing a problem, as I have and why you don’t have? It hurts you, it hurts a lot when you have a child, and you have to accept many things. At that time, I start questioning myself, look at yourself, what were you looking for and what did you find? Do you deserve it or not? (Müjde)

While Özge had not been separated from her husband for even a day, she mentioned that her husband had to spend half of the time in Turkey for business reasons in the first year and that Özge's staying alone with children and being away from her husband were challenging for their relationship.

Burada bir de eşimin bir hafta burada bir hafta orada olması ve normalde bir gün bile ayrı kalmadığım bir insanla böyle olması zordu o yüzden o beni çok zorladı. Bunlar olduktan sonra şimdi bu sene Cüneyt de ayda üç dört gün gidiyor. O da bana iyi geldi. Benim için en olumlu şey bu sene oydu. İlk sene çünkü ben hala yazın buraya gelirken ağlamaklı oluyorsam bir sene sonunda normal değil, çocuk değilim çünkü! Ve sürekli şey diyordum 'ay neden böyle yaptık, neden geldik, değdi mi bunlara, al işte iyi oldu sana'. Şimdi o yok, şimdi diyorum ki iyi ki gelmişim aslında, güzel bir tecrübe. (Özge)	My husband is here for a week and away for a week, and it was difficult for me as I normally spend my whole time with him. Now this year Cüneyt goes three or four days a year. That is also good for me. The most beautiful thing is for me. At the end of the year, I still feel like crying when coming here, which is not normal. I am always questioning why we have come here? Is it worth it? Now I am not asking those questions. I say Thank God we are here. (Özge)

4.2.3. Drivers for migration: "It seems voluntary decision from far away but come closer and look, we had to migrate"

Five participants mentioned the reasons that caused them to migrate and made it impossible to live in Turkey, a wide range of reasons were mentioned such as the deterioration in the education system, and lack of life safety (Gezi Park Protests, Ankara Station explosion, Reina Nightclub shooting, explosions in Beşiktaş Inonu Stadium), the feeling of the being other, destruction of natural beauties, and the behaviour of individuals in the society towards the mother.

While talking about the feelings of fear and panic she felt while living in Turkey, Elçin mentioned that the successive events such as Ankara Station Explosion, the Reina Nightclub shooting, and explosions in Beşiktaş Inonu Stadium, have reached a point that seriously affects the mental health of the society. To emphasize the

seriousness of the situation she used the phrase "None of us were normal in terms of mental health anymore." As a researcher, I was outside in Beşiktaş district when bombs were exploded in Beşiktaş Inonu Stadium, and I had my pregnant sister next to me. For me, listening to what Elçin mentioned was so difficult since it reminded me of that traumatizing experience that I had, and I felt that I shared the feeling of fear and horror in Elçin's voice. Elçin's voice was trembling while speaking this and it was as if she was trying to suppress the desire to cry, just like me.

Türkiye'de yaşadığım o dönemde yaşadığım panik ve korkuyu çok net hatırlıyorum. Yani kalabalık yerlerden, psikolojik olarak bir kere zaten normal değildik artık hiçbirimiz(!) Ben çocuğumla, yani o spesifik bir dönemdi, ondan sonra zaten o kadar kötü bir dönem yaşanmadı. En azından insanların o güvenlik, ölüm kaygısını bu kadar yoğun duyduğunu sanmıyorum sonra ama o dönem çok kötüydü. Yani Reina tarandı, Beşiktaş İnönü Stadyumu oldu, yani Ankara'daki o gar patlaması arkasından şey, hepsi o dönem.. Yani inanılmaz bir şeydi. Dolayısıyla bu güvenlik olunca, şey diyorsun yani, tamam o başka bir şey, çocuğumu nasıl böyle bir şeyin dışında bırakabilirim ki! Burada fikirlerimi söyleyebilirim. Türkiye'de son dönemde özellikle, ispiyoncu bir millet yetiştirmeye çalışıyorlar ya. Herkes birbirine, işte yani şey korkusu yaşıyorsun, yani ben hiçbir şey söylemesem bile, birisi benim için bu bir şey söyledi deyip, güvende hissetmiyorsun yani. Her anlamda, hukuki olarak da güvende hissetmiyorsun. Burada, burada kanunlara saygı	I clearly remember the panic and fear that I had when living in Turkey. I mean from the crowded place, we were not normal psychologically; such a bad era has never been lived. I don't think people have experienced that security or death feeling that much. You know the nightclub, Reina was attacked, The Stadium attack, The explosion in Ankara, and so on… It was incredible. After all, you say, how can I get my child out of this? Here I can speak my thoughts. Recently they are trying to transform the nationality into an informant generation. Even if you don't say anything you fear that someone will tell you something about you. But here you know that nothing will happen to you as long as you respect and obey the rules. (Elçin)

duyduğun sürece başına bir şey gelmeyeceğini biliyorsun. (Elçin)

Hande stated that after the Gezi events she felt that she is the one who was labelled as "the other" in her own country and her existence was not appreciated by the rulers of the country. An increase in the reinforced concrete jungle in Istanbul and the lack of protection of green areas such as forests and natural areas, traffic, and air pollution were among the reasons that caused Hande to migrate to the UK.

Biz kendi imkanlarımızla mevcut durumu değiştiremeyeceğimizi fark edince çünkü bence Gezi özellikle bizim gibi insanlar için sesini duyurmada, 'biz de buradayız'ı söylemek için çok doğru bir noktaydı ve çok doğru ve iyi başladı bence. Sonrasında fazla politize oldu ve saçmalaştı radikal gruplar dahil oldu. Ama o ilk her şeyin bir ağaçla başladığı nokta aslında bizim hayattaki yerimizdi. Biz yeşile önem veriyoruz. Zaten İstanbul çok beton oldu, çocuk büyütüyoruz ama çocuğu götürecek parkımız yok. Trafik kötü, hava kirliliği fazla. Yani bütün bu yeşilden vazgeçmenin sonuçları zaten İstanbul'a kötü yansıdı bence. Her tarafın betonlaşması. Dolayısıyla o zaten öncesindeki yıllar boyunca birikmiş bizim hayat şeklimizin bir kenara itilmiş ve onaylanmamasından öte (!) ötekileştirilmesinin son mesajıydı bence verilen. "Biz de buradayız, bizi de hatırlayın biz o kadar da öteki değiliz aslında" mesajıydı. Ve istediğimiz barışçıl bir şeydi ve ağaçtı. Ama konu çok başka yerlere gitti ve oradaki mesaj çok net "siz yoksunuz ya da olmayın, sizden bir hayır yoktu. (Hande)

When we felt that we wouldn't be able to change the present situation with our own possibilities as we think Gezi was a good opportunity for us, for people to speak up to say that we are also here, and I think it started very correctly and well. But later on, it was politically used, and some radical groups interfered with it. But that point where everything started with trees was our place in life. We value green as İstanbul has been very concrete. We are bringing up kids but there is no park where –we can take our kids. Traffic is worse and air pollution is high. And these are the natural results of destroying the green. For that reason, that had been collected for long years, our way of life was pushed aside besides its not being approved, it as the last message of alienation. We are here, please remember us. We are not that many others, in fact, that message was that simple. But it was distorted. What we wanted was something peaceful. But the response was, you don't exist, and will not exist. (Hande)

Elçin said that she felt as if she was living in a law of the jungle in Turkey and that people not respecting each other made her very unhappy. The reason that pushed Elçin's husband to migrate was the inability to afford the child's private school economically and the lack of economic power to meet the quality of life. While Elçin said that economic worries motivated her husband to migrate, she emphasized that men are generally obsessed with these kinds of issues, and she was in a mode of contempt for this point of view of men.

Çünkü kendimi bayağı böyle kuralsız bir ormanın içinde gibi hissettim. İnsanların birbirine saygısı yok çok mutsuz oldum açıkçası. Ve işte ben ne yapmalıyım nereye gitmeliyim diye sorgulamaya başladım. Zaten oğlum doğduktan sonra eşim de şey paniğini yaşamaya başladı yani bu ülkede nasıl çocuk yetiştireceğiz? Ben özel okulu nasıl efor edeceğim? İşte yani hani erkeklerin genelde problemleri parasaldır ya o hep o açıdan düşünmeye başladı. Evimiz yok, kiramız var. Şu kadar giderimiz var, bir de bu çocuğu özel okula göndermek isteyeceğiz özel okulda ne kadar iyi eğitim alacak? O kadar parayı dökeceğiz ama ne elde edeceğiz gibi gibi. (Elçin)	Because I felt myself in a forest, where people had no respect, and I felt very unhappy. And I started to question what I should do, and where I should go. After my son was born my husband also started to question raising a child in Turkey. We started to think about the cost of private schools. He thought about the economic aspect like many men. We don't have a house of our own, we are tenants. We have that much expenditure, etc. Also, we won't be able to get a good education even if we send him to a private school. (Elçin)

Esra mentioned that as a mother, when she took her child out with her stroller, she had to get down on the road because of the cars parked on the sidewalk and that she had to fight every day with the people who did this. Esra stated that when she reacted to the people who did this, she received a mocking and disdainful response from the other side and that the individuals in the society treated a woman with children so disrespectfully made her uncomfortable and unhappy. In fact, the situation Esra mentioned was a good example of the microaggression that the mother had to suffer by the members of the society in Turkey.

Pusetle dışarı çıkıyorum ve her çıktığında biriyle kavga ediyorum. Kavga sebebim de şu, adamlar kaldırıma araba park ediyorlar ve diyorum ki ben pusetliyim. Beni pusetle yola indiriyorsun. Hiç mi vicdanın sızlamıyor bana araba çarpsa, çocuğuma bir şey olsa hiç mi üzülmeyeceksin!? "Ya abla yürü ya" diyor bana. Ben bu zihniyetle yaşayamıyorum! (Esra)

I am going out with the stroller and every time I go out I have a fight with someone because people park their cars on pavements and I am with a stroller. You push me to the road with a stroller. Aren't you worried about it? What if a car crashed me or my baby? They don't care about it and they just want to send me away. (Esra)

Esra, Tümay, and Zeynep stated that they experienced discrimination in society in different ways and that they do not want their children to experience religious pressure in the education system or society. Esra stated that she was Alevi, and she did not want her child to take religion lessons at school. Moreover, Esra stated that the age of five is too early to learn religious principles and that the child may be afraid of the information learned. She also stated that religious education in Turkey is mostly based on intimidation, and she found it wrong.

Türkiye'deki dayatmalar burada yok. Mesela biz Alevi'yiz. Ben istemiyorum çocuğumun din dersi almasını. Yani ben beş yaşındaki bir çocuğa ben Allah'ı neden anlatmak zorundayım. Bu senin benim için çok basit bir kavram olabilir ama beş yaşındaki bir çocuğa şunu söylediğini düşünsene "Allah var". Nerede? "her yerde". Ne kadar korkunç bir şey yani ben niye çocuğumu Allah korkusuyla yetiştireyim. Yani ben bir yaradan varsa onun sevgi kaynağı olduğunu düşünüyorum ama Türkiye'de bu, bu şekilde işlenmiyor. Hep korku kaynağı olarak işleniyor ve istemiyorum. Yani Türkiye'deki eğitim sistemi bence çok kötü. (Esra)

The obligations in Turkey don't exist here. For example, we are Alevi and I don't want my kid to get religious education. Why should I tell a kid of five-year-old what God is? That may be a very simple concept for an adult but think about saying to a child ''There is God. Where? Everywhere. '' it is so scary to grow your child with the fear of God. I mean I believe that if there is a creator, it should be a source of love. But it is not told in this way in Turkey. It is always a source of fear. I think the education system is also bad in Turkey." (Esra)

Tümay stated that she felt alone in her own country as a person who does not fast, does not dress according to religious teachings, and thinks differently from the majority in terms of political views. Tümay was afraid that she felt lonely in society because of her choices and that her child would feel that way because of her own preferences.

Mesela o dönem için yaşadığım bir şey değil küçüktü kızım ama yaşayacağımı bildiğim şeyler, mesela tek oruç tutmayan benim ya da giyinirken dini kaygıları barındırmayan tek kişi benim bulunduğum grup içinde. Siyasi görüşlerim açısından farklı olan, az kişideki, azınlık psikolojisi aslında büyük bir çoğunluğun içinde azınlık psikolojisi, farklı olmak ve yani aslında kendi ülkende kendini yalnız hissetmeye dair, tabii onun getirdiği yaşam ve yaşama dair kararların ve yaptıklarının hani senin seçimlerinin çocuğa da aslında birebir etki ediyor olması. Özellikle yaşı daha ileri olsaydı belki de daha fazla etki edecekti belki de. (Tümay)	For example, it is not something I lived in that area, my daughter was too young, but I knew she would live them all, for example, I am the only one who doesn't fast or who doesn't have a religious concern about clothing. It is all about being different in political ideas, and the psychology of minority, the minority in a big crowd, being different, in fact, feeling lonely in the crowd, and the life that it brought, the decision about life. Especially if he were at an older age, maybe it would have been better. (Tümay)

Zeynep stated that she observed how much the quality of education has decreased in Turkey since she worked as a teacher. She complained that education was full of unscientific religious teachings and that the curriculum and resources were more filled with religious teachings.

Gönüllü bir gelme. Yani şöyle biraz bazı şeyler dayatılınca gönüllü geldik ama biraz zoraki oldu tabii ki.. Hep düşünüyorduk eşimle dil için dil eğitimi için İngiltere'ye gelmeyi ama sonra çocuğumuz doğdu vazgeçtik sonra çocuk doğunca bir daha telaşlandık çocuğun eğitim şeyi ne olacak diye. Evet Türkiye'nin eğitim durumunu biliyorsunuz. Düşündük, taşındık çocuğumuz için karar verdik, geldik. Yani ben kendim eğitim içinde olduğum için eğitimin ne kadar basitleştirildiğini ne kadar yüzeyselleştiğini görüyorsunuz. Bilimden uzak, yani hiçbir istemediğimiz şeyler de dayatılıyor çocuğa. Din eğitimi istemiyorum ben mesela çok açık söyleyeyim. Ama bir baktım altı yedi ders din ile ilgili. Çocuğumuzun işte eğitimi için geleceği için karar verdik ve geldik. Bir de Türkiye'de yeğenlerim gidiyordu okula. Kitaplarını açıp bakıyorum benim istediklerimden çok uzak. Her şeyi dine bağlama, her şeyi peygambere bağlamak! (Zeynep)

It was an eager coming. I mean when some kinds of things were obliged, we came willingly, but it was forceful, though. We were always thinking about coming to the UK for language education, but later we changed our minds when our child was born, and later, we reconsidered the education of our baby. We thought about it and decided to come. You know the education system in Turkey. We decided for the sake of our kid. I am also in the education system, so I know how superficial the system is. It is very far from being scientific. Actually, I don't want a religious education, but there were six or seven lessons about religion. We decided on our child's education and future. And my nephews and nieces were going to school, and I checked their books occasionally. That was not what I wanted. They were putting connection everything a connection with religion. (Zeynep)

4.2.3.1. I would not migrate if I would not be a mother: "We were living in a bubble in Turkey, and the bubble was broken when we had a child"

Except for one mother, Esra, all mothers stated that they would not migrate if they had not had children. Mothers stated that the problems they experienced when they had children were the most triggering point for them to migrate. For mothers, it seemed that saying "I migrated for my child" made this choice more acceptable for them. The "homogeneous bubble" that they could create thanks to certain privileges seemed to be broken when they had a child.

Elçin stated that she got used to the chaos in Turkey since she was able to develop strategies in her own way. But after having a child, Elçin encountered the question, " if my child can have better opportunities, am I selfish and taking away his future?"

Hele çocuk olunca yani sonuçta çocuk olmadığı dönemde zaten Türkiye'de seni çok daha tedirgin edecek bir şeylerle karşılaşmıyorsun işte çevreni küçültüyorsun, güvenli alanlar oluşturuyorsun kendine. İşte ne bileyim, kendine benzeyenler ile birlikte olup biraz da oranın kaosuna alışıyorsun ve bir şekilde psikolojini sağlam tutmayı başarıyorsun ama çocuğun olduğunda başka bir sorgulamaya dönüşüyor o, yani kafanın içerisinde devamlı "bunu yapıyorum ama bu çocuk daha iyi imkanlara sahip olabilecekken bencillik yapıp onu burada tutup, geleceğini mi elinden alıyorum acaba?" sorgulamasına dönüyor. Zaten öyle bir noktadan sonra da çoğu insan şeye karar veriyor yani evet çocuk varsa tamam önce onu düşünüp kararımızı verelim, gidelim. (Elçin)

When you a have a child, even you don't have a child, there is always tense in Turkey, for that reason you minimize your surroundings, making safer area for yourself. I don't know, you come together with the people who look like yourself, and you are getting used to the chaos of that environment and trying to keep your mental health safe. But when you have a kid, the situation is changing, and another kind of questioning comes… You ask yourself if you are doing something selfish even if the condition was for him, after a point many people think that they have to decide according to the needs of children. (Elçin)

Hande shared that she would not have decided to migrate if she had not had a child. Hande stated that she wanted to send her child to public school, but when she did, her son's development was negatively affected. The factors that disturbed Hande were the fact that only people with low socio-income levels went to public school and that the economic segregation in the society was very sharp according to the district. Hande stated that his youngest son had to start primary school at a very young age when he was five and a half years old due to the sudden and unplanned changes in the education system. When Hande went to pick up his son from school one day, she had found her child sleeping on the desk at the end of the day, Hande's voice trembled as

she said this, and her eyes filled with tears. In the end, all the difficulties experienced in the education system, the lack of a fair race in the exams that determine the academic future of the child, and the stealing of the questions made all the effort she would make for her children in the education system meaningless in the eyes of Hande.

Çocuğum olmasaydı gelmezdim aynı şeyi eşim de düşünüyor. Gelmezdik. Çünkü biz aynı fanustaki hayatımıza devam ederdik. Aynı yerde yaşardık gene işimize arabayla gider gelirdik. Bizimle aynı kafadan zaten çoğunlukla aynı okullardan mezun olduğumuz arkadaşlarımız eski arkadaşlarımız hala onlarla görüşüyoruz, onlarla görüşmeye devam ederdik. İşte kendi kendimize 'tatlı su kahramanlığı' yapardık, kızardık gerilirdik ama hayatımıza da devam ederdik. Buraya gelmede bizim motivasyonumuz çocuklar oldu. Oğlum ilkokula başlayacağı zaman devlet okullarına baktığımdaki biz Ataköy'de oturuyorduk. Çok eski iyi bir devlet okulu var. Hm. Ataköy'de oturan hiç kimse çocuğunu oraya göndermiyor. Onlar çocuklarını özel okullara gönderiyor. O okulda Güngören ve Bağcılar'dan gelen çocuklar var. Şimdi Ataköy ile Güngören Bağcılar'ın ekonomik, sosyo kültürel şeyini kıyasladığında ciddi bir fark var. Ya ben, çocuğumu inanmadığım bir sisteme sokup özel okula gönderecektim ki o ara işe ara vermiştim ve kurumsala dönecektim. Ya da devlet okuluna gönderecektim. Bir de mahallenin okulu, yani çocuğun servisle saatlerce İstanbul trafiğinde yol almasını da istemedim. Mahalle okuluna verdim. Fakat enteresan

If I didn't have a child, I wouldn't have come and my husband thinks the same thing, too. As we would continue our lives in the glasshouse. We would live in the same place; we would have a routine life. We would continue to meet friends who have the same mental structure as us and graduated from the same school. Still, we speak and meet them. We would make many things; we would have ups and downs nevertheless we would continue to survive. Our main motivation to come here was our kids. When my son was about to start primary school, I checked the state schools around and there was an old state school in Ataköy. But I saw that no one was sending their children to that school in Ataköy. They were sending their kids to Private Schools. In that school, there were students from Güngören and Bağcılar. But when you compare Ataköy to Güngören and Bağcılar, there are serious differences in socio-cultural and economic respect. I was about to send my kid to a private school and put him into a system that I really don't believe in. I was off from work for a time and was about to start an institutional place. Or I was going to send him to a state school which meant that my son had to travel a long time in the traffic of Istanbul for about an hour. For those reasons, I sent him to the neighbourhood school, interestingly, many things changed about him. For example, his eating habit, I mean my son was able to use a knife and fork since he was five years old, but his habit changed, and he began to use

bir şekilde çocuğumun yemek yemesi bile değişti. Yani çocuğumun beş yaşından belki daha erkenden beri gayet güzel çatal kaşık kullanan çocuk her yemeği kaşıkla yemeye başladı. Demir neden böyle yiyorsun dediğimde. Çünkü hani biz normalde evimizde her öğün çatal bıçak kullanmaya alışkın insanlarız. 'Okulda benle dalga geçiyorlar' dedi. Ve beş buçuk yaşında okula başlamıştı. O deneme tahtası (ilkokula erken başlama) dönemi de benim çocuğuma denk geldi. Çok şanslıydık. Öğretmen bilinçli bir öğretmendi yani ben okula çocuğumu almaya gittiğimde çocuğum okulda sırasında uyumuş, üstüne montunun örtülmüş olduğunu gördüğüm günler oldu, benim çocuğumun ya da başka çocukları. Çünkü öğretmen bile diyordu ki bu çocuklar daha çok küçük, sırada oturmaya hazır değiller (sesi titriyor).... E üstüne bu çocuk kolej sınavlarına girecek burada okursa üniversite sınavlarına girecek. Üniversite sınavlarına girecek. Ama sehven o sorular bir şekilde el değiştiriyor, birilerine sorular veriliyor. Şimdi ben bu çocuk için yatırım yapacağım, emek vereceğim, çocuk deli gibi emek verecek çalışacak. Bunun kolej parası, işte özel dersi, çocuğun verdiği enerjisi işte bir sürü faktör var. Ve sonunda çocuk aslında haklı bir yarışın içinde olmayacak. Dolayısıyla haklı olmayan bir yarışın içine çocuğumu niye sokayım! Yani çok anlamsız geldi açıkçası. (Hande)

everything with a spoon. And when I asked him for the reason, he said that the other kids were making fun of him as he was using a knife and fork. And he started school when he was five and a half. That system changed when he was about to start school. (After that regulation the kids started school earlier.) But we were lucky as our teacher was so conscious. For instance, there had been many cases when I went to school to pick up my son and saw him sleeping at his desk and covered with his coat by the teacher. Sometimes I witnessed some other kids, too. And the teachers didn't also believe it was the right age for kids to start school and sit at that desk. And just imagine that child will sit university or college exam there. And you know the issues that the exam questions had been stolen many times before they were applied. Now I will invest in my son's education, and he will study to do his best and many more factors… Why should I put my child into an unfair system or competition? It is so meaningless. (Hande)

The reasons for Müjde's migration were the religious pressure on children in the education system, increased child rape, the fear of death due to the risk of bomb explosions in the subway, and the fear of leaving her child alone.

Tamamen oğlumu düşünerek aldığım bir karardı. Çünkü çocuğuma bakıyorum yarın öbür gün metroda bir patlama olsa eve dönebilecek miyim? Bunu düşünerek hareket etmek durumundayım. En çok da beni İstanbul'dan uzaklaştıran şey dini durumlar yani İslam ülkesi adı altında çocuklara bazı şeylerin dayatılması, işte anaokulları açılıyor yok şeyh bilmem ne, çocukların kafaları kapalı... İşte çocuk tecavüzleri mi dersin, öğretmenlerin anlamsız şeyleri mi talepleri mi dersin falan filan yani o bir çocuk ve çocuk gibi yaşaması gerekiyor ve burada daha çocuk gibi yaşayabileceğini düşündüğüm için buradayım diyebilirim. (Müjde)	This is a decision which I took just thinking of my son. Because I am looking at him, and asking myself, If I could come back home if I encounter an explosion at a metro, for example? What puts me away from İstanbul is religious concerns. I mean pushing kids into some situation on behalf of Islam. I see some kindergartens and small girls have scarves on their heads, I hear the news of rape to little children on TVs. My son has to have a standard childhood. And I think I found it here. So, we are here. (Müjde)

For Özge, it was one of the most precious things she could do for her children to be able to obtain a British passport for them and thus, prevent future visa problems.

Bu Ankara Anlaşması ile dediler ki işte 5 sene geçecek. Çocuklara aslında pasaport için tamamen o yani. Benim bu yaştan sonra hiç pasaport derdim yok yani vize alırım giderim ederim ama bu çocuklarım için belki verilebilecek en kıymetli şey. Pasaportu olduktan sonra çünkü 1-2 eski dönemde arkadaşımız okulu bitirdikten sonra burada (İngiltere'de) işe girmediği takdirde direk İstanbul'a dönmek zorunda kalmıştı vize kaynaklı. Hani bir uzatma süreci olmadı bir	They said that according to Ankara Agreement five years should pass for the passports of the kids. It was only for it. I have no such concern after this age, I get my passport and visa then I go wherever I want. But for my kids, it is the best gift. A few of our friends couldn't find a job after graduation and they were back in İstanbul because of visa problems. They didn't have an extended period. Those were the questions on our minds. But I wouldn't have come if it weren't for

seçenek olmadı yani, iyice araştırayım bir şey yapayım. Yani bunlar hep aklımızdaydı...Çocuklar olmasa asla gelmezdim %100 asla gelmezdim yani öyle yüzde onluk düşüneyim bir belki de olurdu falan gibi de değil. Yüzde yüz. Asla gelmezdim. (Özge)	my children. 100 % I am sure of it. I wouldn't have. (Özge)

Three mothers have a daughter and two of them mentioned that beyond being a mother, being a mother of a daughter strengthened their decision to migrate. In this part, as a woman who has experienced gender inequalities in Turkey, the participants' desire to raise their daughters as a "free women" in another country made me very emotional as it showed that women gave up their belief in changing their gender roles and at least wanted to protect their daughters from this cycle.

Tümay stated that she wanted her daughter to live in a place where she could feel like an independent woman.

Pelin'in de kendi kararlarını alabileceği ve bağımsız bir kadın olabileceği bir yerde yaşamasını çok arzu ediyordum. Türkiye'nin şartları da malum. Dolayısıyla... Hiç zor olmadı karar almak. Ama anne olunca sanki dönmeliyim hissiyatım arttı. Çünkü burada olmaktan memnundum ve aynı memnuniyeti kızımın da yaşayacağını düşünüyordum. (Tümay)	I wanted my daughter to live in a place where she could make her own mind and live as an independent woman. You know the situation in Turkey. For that reason, it was not very difficult for us to decide. But after being a mother I started to feel that I should go back. I was happy to be here, and I wanted my daughter to live the same pleasure. (Tümay)

As a woman, Zeynep stated that she was always under pressure on public transportation on the street while walking with the clothes she wore while living in Turkey. She emphasized how difficult it is to be as you wish as a woman under the pressure of society.

Bir kere bir kız çocuğu yetiştiriyorum ve bir kız çocuğu için çok zor! Yani kızımın rahat	First of all, I am raising a girl and it is very difficult for girls. I mean I want my daughter to be relaxed, I don't want her

büyümesini istiyorum baskı altında olmasını istemiyorum. Ama o ülkede maalesef. Dedim ya sokakta yürürken bakıyorsunuz kim araba ile el edecek, burada öyle değil ki. Burada kimsenin umurunda değilsiniz. Yani çıplak gezseniz bile dönüp bakmıyor adam yani. Türkiye'de yani her şeyin gözaltında. Mahalle baskısı ile şey yapıyorsunuz, kendiniz olamıyorsunuz ki. Bunu yapsam acaba ne diyecek, şunu giysem acaba bir şey diyecek mi? Zaten toplu taşımaya hayatta o kıyafetlerle binemiyorsunuz! Zor çok zor. Kesinlikle. Özellikle kadınlar ve çocuklar için ülke çekilmez halde. (Zeynep)

to be under pressure. But in Turkey, unfortunately. As I said, when walking, in the street you never know who will harass you. But here no one cares about you. I mean even if you walk naked in the street, no one is interested in it. But in Turkey you are all under observation, you feel the pressure every minute, and you cannot be yourself. What if I wear these clothes? What if I do that, go there? It is difficult, very difficult. It is unpleasant, particularly for kids and women. (Zeynep)

Among the mothers, only Esra emphasized that she would want to migrate for herself, and her child was not the only reason for her decision to migrate. She shared that living in Turkey made her unhappy. Esra said that “my son is valuable, but I am also valuable”, and contrary to what other mothers did, she put her own needs on the same level as the needs of her child. The phrase "I migrated for my child" alleviates the guilt of some mothers' decision to migrate. Since "making every sacrifice for the child" is expected from mothers “I migrated for my child” is a way of speaking in a socially acceptable way.

Çocuğum olmasaydı da ben yine gelirdim de eşim gelmek istemezdi büyük ihtimalle. Çünkü ben mutsuz olduğum bir yerde yaşamak istemiyorum. Tamam, oğlum değerli ama ben de değerliyim. Yani herkes, mesela eşim diyor ki “biz oğlumuz için geldik”. Ben diyorum ki hayır ben kendim için de geldim. Çünkü ben mutsuzdum. Yani sürekli kavga ediyordum yaa evden adımı dışarı attığım anda başımın üstünde gri

I would probably come even if I didn’t have my child, but I think my husband wouldn’t. Because I don’t want to live somewhere I am unhappy. OK. My son is precious, but I am also. I mean everyone, for instance, my husband says we came here for our son. But I say no, we are here for ourselves. Because I was unhappy. I was having quarrels very often. Whenever I go out of the house, it was as if I was like walking with the grey clouds over me and all he is lightening were striking me. (Esra)

bir bulutla dışarı çıkıyordum ve bütün şimşekleri çekiyordum üstüme. (Esra)

4.3. Becoming a migrant mother: Breaking the shell twice at the same time

In this superordinate theme, three subordinate themes emerged. These were named “Opportunities of being a migrant mother”, “Challenging aspects of being a migrant mother”, and “Suggestions to the newcomers”.

4.3.1. Opportunities of being a migrant mother

Transformation of motherhood after the migration was mentioned by the participants by underlining opportunities of being a migrant mother. These can be listed as the opportunity of observing other modelling ideals, experiencing the things that make motherhood more enjoyable in the UK, appreciating social/cultural aspects of their home country, and the way society approaches mothers and children in the UK.

4.3.1.1. Encountering dialogued-based and child-centred mothering ideals: “How migration transforms my motherhood”

Elçin, Zeynep, Esra, Özge, Hande, and Tümay stated that they want to have a supportive, dialogue-based, child-centred, non-intrusive, patient, and non-anxious mothering model that British mothers have. They stated that these maternal characteristics are closely related to the culture, and most of the time they used the phrases "we/they" in their sentences, stating that this is not only unique to them but also specific to Turkish mothers.

Elçin, Zeynep, and Tümay stated that Turkish mothers' communication with their children and their approach to children is very different from that of British mothers. While British mothers treated the child as an individual and treated them with respect, they mentioned that Turkish mothers had a reactive, shouting, and angry attitude. Elçin and Zeynep stated that the way Turkish mothers communicate with their

children belittles the capacity of the child and does not respect the child as an individual, which also influences the way children communicate.

Yani bizim çocuklar çok ağlıyor. Buradakiler ağlamıyor. Buradakiler bağıra çağıra çocukların peşinden koşmuyor. Bizimkiler niye böyle, bir de öyle bir bakış açısı var ya. "Bizim çocuklar niye böyle" "İşte bunlar niye, nasıl bunu yapabiliyor?" falan, burada şeyi çok iyi anladım, bir kere konuşmak ve çocukla göz hizasında konuşmak bunların çok yaptığı bir şey ve çok iyi yaptığı da bir şey. Çocuk bir kere birey olduğunu hissediyor, "bilmiyorsun" denmiyor çocuğa, "sen sus; anlamazsın" denmiyor. Bizim çocuklarda direkt birey değil, o bir yavru, küçük işte, o bilemez, yapamaz, hep bir yetersiz hissettiriyoruz çocuklara da. Bence onun hırçınlığı da var, birey, adam yerine konulmamış gibi hissediyor çocuklar ve hırçınlık oluşuyor. (Elçin)

Our kids cry much more. The babies here don't cry. Those here are not running after their kids shouting and screaming. Why ours are so? There is such a point of view. Why are our kids like this? And how these people can attain it? Well actually I felt that here, speaking with your kids, especially at the level of eye contact is very important and they do it very well, I think. The kid feels that he is an individual. They never tell off a kid as 'Don't speak or you don't know' Ours are not individuals, they are small children, I mean ours are small and they don't know anything. We always make them feel that they are not sufficient and that is the reason why ours are a bit offensive. (Elçin)

İngiliz anneleri kesinlikle daha rahat! Onlar her konuda davranış olarak da daha rahatlar. İşte parkta bağıran bir anne varsa dönüyorum kesin Türkiyeli falan diyorum, gerçekten Türkiyeli çıkıyor. Onlar bağırmıyor çocuklarına, konuşarak her şeyi hallediyor. Biz biraz daha sesimizi yükselterek bir şeyler yapmaya çalışıyoruz. O da bizim çocuklarımızı tam tersi işte bizim çocuklarda bağıran çağıran, yerinde durmayan çocuklar oluyor, onların daha sakin oluyor gördüğüm kadarıyla. (Zeynep)

British moms are definitely more relaxed! They are also more comfortable in behaviour in all matters. Here, if a mother is yelling at the children in the park, I thought she is definitely from Turkey and it really comes out Turkey. They don't yell at their children; they get everything done by talking. We are trying to do something by raising our voices a little more. As a result of this, our children become children who shout and cannot stand still and their children are calmer as far as I can see. (Zeynep)

Bir başka konu da buradaki annelerin, ortalama annenin dışarıdan gördüğüm, evdeki davranışı bilmiyorum tabi ama çocukla iletişimi mesela, sinirlenmemesi, sinirlenmemesinin yansıması veya sabır düzeyi, verdiği cevaplar ve çocuğun algılayış yaşının farkında olarak davranmak ve o sabır Türkiye'de anneanne dededе daha çok gördüğüm burada çok sabırla ve çok şeyle. (Tümay)

One another issue I observed here is the mothers' communication with the kids, but I don't know the situation at home. Their communication, not getting angry easily, not showing their anger even if they are, and their level of patience, their answers and behaving according to the age of the kid, and of course the patience which I am used to seeing at my grandparents. (Tümay)

Like English mothers, Zeynep wants to be able to calmly support her child at times such as when her child falls in the park. Zeynep stated that she does not want to be an intrusive and anxious mother, and she wants to be a carefree mother who gives space to the child, like British mothers. However, it is so difficult for Zeynep since she thinks that these are established patterns that come from cultural encodings.

Sadece insan İngiliz anneleri görünce daha rahat anne olmak istiyor. O da çok elimizde olan bir şey değil. Tabi böyle rahat olamamamız biraz bize kültürümüzün vermiş olduğu bir şeyden dolayı. Çocuğu korumaya alıyoruz mesela. Onların çocuğu düşüyor mesela gördüğüm kadarıyla fırlayıp da "oooo düştü" demiyor, duruyor yerinde çocuğa 'kalk' diyor. Uzaktan telkin veriyor çocuğa. Biz fırlıyoruz ooo falan diye. Çocuk ağlamadığı halde bizim o şeyimizden fırlamamızdan bağırmamızdan dolayı ağlıyor mesela. Dediğim gibi bunu ben çok hayatımda yapmıyorum yapmıyordum da ama yine de onlar kadar olamıyorum. (Zeynep)

When one sees an English mother, they want to be a more relaxed mother, too. It is not something in power. The reason why we are not so relaxed is because of our culture. We take the child under guard, for instance. When their children fall off, they don't hurry to stand him up, they wait for him to stand by himself whereas we run and hold him up. They just watch from the remote. Our reaction causes the kid to cry even if they don't have such an intention. I was not a standard Turkish mother, as I said I was not doing it that much, nonetheless I was doing. (Zeynep)

Similar to Zeynep, Esra thinks that some qualities that she disliked in her motherhood are nourished by cultural codes. Esra showed that in Turkey, it is culturally unacceptable that the child's clothes are dirty, that it is not allowed to cry, and how much this social pressure has shaped the behaviour of mothers.

Ben buradaki anneleri aşırı sabırlı buluyorum mesela.. Ama onu da tabii şeye bağlıyorum. Türkiye'deki kodlanmalarımızla alakalı durumlar, biz mesela kirlenmeye karşıyızdır, öyle mucuk mucuk çamura batacak bilmem ne, kabus yani. Ondan sonra bağıracak yere atacak kendini ağlayacak falan bunlar bizim için kabul edilemez şeyler ama İngiliz anneleri bayağı çocuğu yerde tepinirken başında durup sakinleşene kadar 'buradayım' demesini biliyor ki bence güzel bir şey. Ben mesela onu hala yapamıyorum. Bunlar örnek oluyor açıkçası bana ama uygulaması zor! Diyorum ya yıllarca yani az değil orada doğmuşuz büyümüşüz. Oranın kodlarını taşıyoruz yapamıyor insan, öyle hemen değişemiyorum. Zamanla bende değişirim inşallah çünkü 'ay ona basma, onu yapma' sürekli müdahale çok yorucu bir hayat çocuk için de hoş değil. O da biraz özgür olmak istiyor ama işte defomuz. (Esra)	I think the mothers here are overpatient. And I believe it is about codes in Turkey. Let me give an example, we are against getting dirt on our clothes, it is like a nightmare for us. It is not acceptable for us when a kid shouts and screams. But the British mothers come and stop near their kids until he comes to himself, and they give the message that I am here and waiting for you to be calm again. And I think it is good. I still cannot do it. These are good examples for me, but I cannot apply them. You know we were born there and had our models there for long years. We carry the codes of it and a person cannot change very immediately. I hope to change in the future as it is very tiring to interfere with everything you see. He wants to be free a bit, but this is our fault. (Esra)

Elçin also thinks that mothers from her culture including herself are not courageous and supportive enough to raise capable children. She mentioned these general reactions that were used by Turkish mothers are including the discouraging feedback such as "Oh my! Do not! You will fall!"

Sonra bizde çok müdahaleciyiz, "yapma, yapma, dur, aman aman aman!" Biz çok kaygılı anneleriz, düşecek! Cesaretlendirme diye bir şey bizde yok! Ben burada o cesaretlenmeyi çok net görüyorum, çocuğa mesela diyorlar ki koca bir kule yani, iki yaşındaki çocuk o kuleye tırmanırken biz kalp krizinden ölürdük herhalde, buradaki anne güvenli bir alanda bekleyip çocuğu teşvik ediyor "Yapabilirsin, yapabilirsin, yapabilirsin". Bizde teşvik edici annelik modeli yok, burada var, cesaretlendiriyorlar. Bunları fark ettim, dediğim gibi zenginleştiriyor tabi ya, bir yandan da üzüntü hissediyorsun ya keşke daha erken görseydim de bazı şeyleri. (Elçin)

Well, we are very interfering, we always order to stop or go on. We warn them to be careful, etc. We are very concerned mothers. We are not used to encouraging. But I see very often the people encouraging their kids here. For instance, I saw a kid climbing to a high tower, and his mother was just watching and waiting at a safe distance. If it were in Turkey, we would have had a heart attack. We don't have a model of encouragement like here in the UK. I saw them here all, it makes you have a better point of view, but I wish I had seen them earlier. (Elçin)

In parallel with what Elçin said, Özge and Tümay stated that English mothers are more encouraging and give more responsibility to their children to make them more capable.

Buradaki annelerdeki o serbestlik çok güzel yani çocuğu tamamen çok küçük yaştan itibaren kendileriyle bırakıyorlar ve bundan dolayı da çok ayakları yere basan çocuklar oluyorlar. O yüzden buradaki on altı yaşındaki çocuk bizdeki yirmi beşlik çocuktan ileride bence. Çünkü her işini kendisi yapıyor. O açıdan burası çok daha iyi. (Özge)

The freedom that the mothers gave to their kids is really nice here. They leave the kid on his own from a very early age and that helps them to be a self-confident individual. Here the children sixteen years old have more capacity for decision making than the young man of 25 in Turkey. Because he does all his work himself. From that perspective, here is much better. (Özge)

Hani çocuğun kendisine yapması, kendisinin yapması ve kendisinin sahip çıkmasına dair olan uygulamalar vardır ya, buradaki annelerin default modunun o olduğunu, ona daha yakın olduğunu görüyorum. Bizde ise çocuğun yerine yapma, yardım anlamında, yardım ettiğimizi zannederken aslında çocuğun gelişimine bence ket vuruyoruz orada. (Tümay)	You know the practices of children's doing something for themselves, children's doing something by themselves and possessing it… the mothers here are more prone to it. In Turkey, we do something instead of the kid, with the aim of helping, in fact, we think we are helping but are hampering the child's development. (Tümay)

Hande was carrying spare clothes in a bag for her son until the age of eight, and she realized how this can be strange and unnecessary for a mother from another culture. Hande stated that she was overprotective towards his son because she thought her son would get sick if he stays wet. On the other hand, Hande realized the importance of letting the child experience the consequence of his behaviour when she witnessed the different perspectives of a mother from another culture in her son's class. That woman interpreted the same situation as "even if it gets wet, it dries up, he knows that if he gets wet, he will have to wait in that outfit until the evening".

Ben sekiz yaşına gelene kadar dışarı çıkarken, zaten küçük oğlum için yanıma bir çanta alıyordum mutlaka büyük oğlum için de bir yedek kıyafet atıyordum. Islanır bir şey olur "aman hasta olmasın ". Ben buraya geldiğimde bir tane veli okuldan, küçük oğlumun, çok yağmur vardı ve çok ıslandı ve play gruba götürecektim, acele acele sınıfın için daha bebek yani bir buçuk yaşında üstünü değiştirdiğimi gördü. "Ne yapıyorsun?" dedi. Dedim "çok ıslandı". "Eeee?" dedi. "Nasıl yani?" dedim. "Kuruuur" dedi. "Hasta olur" dedim. "Niye hasta olsun ki dedi!" "Hımm" "ıuıı" "hmmm" dedim. "Kıyafeti nerden	Until he is 8 years old, I used to put spare clothes for my older son and put them in the bag I was carrying for my younger son. You know just in case he gets wet. I didn't want him to get sick. When I first came here, one day it was raining heavily, and my younger son, who was then one and a half years old, got really wet just as I was taking him to his playgroup. I hurried into the classroom and started changing his wet clothes and one of the parents saw me and said, "what're you doing?" I said, "he got really wet." She said "Sooo?, "so what" I asked, and she replied "he'll get dryyyy", I said "he might get sick", she said "why would he get sick?", and I said "hmmm", "mmm". She then asked, "where did you get the spare clothes?" I answered, "I got a bag" and

buldun?" dedi, "çanta var dedim, kocaman çantamı gösterdim", "Çanta mı taşıyorsun manyak mısın sen?!" dedi bana. Ve ben ondan sonra biraz üstüne düşünüp biraz rahat bakmaya başladım. Hatta dedi ki bana "çocuğa söyle eğer ıslanmak istiyorsa mesela bahçede oynuyor yağmurlu bir gün "ıslanırsa akşama kadar ıslak beklemesi gerektiğini biliyor, üstünde kurur" dedi. Böyle bir durumda kıyafet taşımayacaksın tabii dedi. Ben büyük oğlum sekiz yaşındaydı okula ilk başladığında "Yedek kıyafetler için dolap var mı? Nereye koyacağız?" diye sordum. Yedek kıyafet mi diye boş boş suratıma baktılar mesela. Meğer ben baya salak bir şey yapıyormuşum ama farkında değilmişim.

showed her my big bag. She told me "are you carrying a bag, are you crazy?" After this, I thought about this conversation, and started to take it easy. And that day she also told me "tell the child, if, during a rainy day he wants to play and get wet, he has to stay wet until the evening, so that he knows and that the clothes would get dry on him.", "and you don't have to carry spares". A similar thing happened when my older son, who was eight then, started school for the first time. I asked, "are there any lockers for spare clothes? Where should I put them?" and they stared at me in surprise. I didn't know I was doing a stupid thing until then. (Hande)

When Elçin migrated to the UK, she observed that when a new member was born and joined the family life, the child did not settle in the centre of the family's life, parents integrated the child into their own lives, so that the parents continued to do what they wanted to do with their children. Elçin stated that she wished to see the different parenting styles she had seen in the UK before because she thought then maybe she could have had more than one child. In Elçin's discourse, it is understood that the position of the child in the family in the UK and the experience of parenthood are much more natural and carefree because they live their own parenting lives by taking their own needs into account.

Gergin olmayan bir annelik modelini burada gördükten sonra kendi anneliğimin benim için çok ağır ve zor bir deneyim olduğunu fark ettim. Halbuki bunu çok daha kolay atlatabilirdim ve o zaman belki birkaç tane daha çocuk doğurabilirdim. Bizde böyle çocuk çok merkezde, işte, ona göre

After having seen a model of motherhood which is not tense, I felt that my motherhood was heavy and difficult for me. Actually, I could have dealt with it very easily and I could have given a few more births. In our society, the child is at the centre, all the plans are done accordingly. Here the child joins the life of the family. We plan

ayarlanmış planlar ona göre yapılmıştı. Burada, burada çocuk ailenin hayatına katılıyor aslında hep birlikte. Bizde çocuğa göre, çocuğun uyku saatine göre planlayıp hiçbir gezme, bir şey yapmıyorduk mesela. Evde uyusun o saatte uyumaya alışsın diye, burada yani sadece burada değil, dünyanın her yerinde sırtına bağlayıp dünyayı dolaşıyor insanlar bu rahatlıkta, o zaman fark etmiyor. (Elçin)

everything according to the child, his bedtime or dinner time… but here people tie their kids to their backs and they go everywhere together so it doesn't make a difference. (Elçin)

Tümay and Hande were relieved when they saw that some motherhood values that were not approved in Turkey but which they believed to be true, were approved in the UK.

Kendimle ilgili doğrulama yaşadım burada. O güzel bir şey, yani böyle düşünüyordum, ama buradakiler de benim gibi düşünüyor. Mesela çocuğu çok giydirmek istemiyorum gibi. (Tümay)

I experienced verification here. That is a good thing. I was thinking so and people here think the same as me. For example, I don't want to make my child put on a lot of clothes, etc. (Tümay)

Both Hande's mother-in-law and her mother disapproved of their grandson helping to clean the house due to the gender-based roles, which also shows how patriarchal order is nurtured by a parenting approach in Turkey.

Göçmen anne olunca sadece Türk annesi standartlarından biraz daha multinational ya da İngiliz annelere de böyle vizyonu çevirince farklı annelik modellerinin de olabildiğini gördüm. Ve Türkiye'de doğru olup da yapmaya çalıştığım şeylerin, ama mesela aileler tarafından çok onaylanmayan şeylerin burada son derece normal karşılandığını görmek beni son derece rahatlattı

As a migrant mother, I was able to see that there would be the models of multinational mothers and British mother models which is different from Turkish mother standards. Seeing the things that are right for you but not accepted by the families in Turkey made me very happy. And I came to the point that 'Ok then, I was right to think so. For example, I was in the opinion that children must be included in the house life to give them responsibilities.

(!) Tamam o zaman, evet ben doğru şeyi düşünüyormuşum noktasına geldim. Mesela ben çocukların küçük yaştan itibaren ev hayatına dahil olmaları, iş, görev bölümüne dahil olmaları gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Mesela en basiti bir toz bezi verip eline oğlumun "hadi oğlum sen toz al çünkü şu an temizlik yapıyoruz " dediğimde kendi annelerimden bana "aa a biz hiç yaptırmadık! Erkek çocuk toz mu alır!" gibi şeyler duyarken burada son derece normal karşılandığını görünce "tamam doğru yoldaymışım" ve benim düşündüğüm çocuk da travma yaratacak bir şey değilmiş. Erkek diye niye almasın! (Hande)

When cleaning the house, giving your son's hand cloth, and asking him to dust the house is a good example as you can encounter objection when you do it in Turkey like a boy shouldn't do it, etc. But here it is quite normal. Then you say to yourself that you are on the right path. It is not something that may cause trauma in the boys at all. Why shouldn't he do it as he is a boy? (Hande)

Özge, Hande, and Elçin faced their own inner judgment and critical voices about motherhood when they migrated to the UK. Instead of rigid thoughts such as "I have to be perfect, I must always meet every need of my children", they have experienced a change in which they accept and experience good enough motherhood, such as "I cannot always meet every need of my children, there is no one absolute truth in motherhood." This transformation allowed them to reconcile with their own motherhood.

Bu kadar mükemmeliyetçi olmaya gerek yok (!), burada mesela o törpülendi. Bana en büyük faydası o. Yani "olmuyor mu?"; "Peki". Benim bunu söylemem baya (!) zor bir şeydi. Ama şu anda daha bir oluruna bırakabiliyorsun, mesela ev dağınık mı 'tamam, yarın toplarım' gibi. Yani işte çocuklar öğlen ne yiyorsa yiyor. Akşama tabi bir hazırlık yapıyorsun ama böyle bir İngiliz annelerden bir rahatlık geçti bana da. (Özge)

There is no need for such perfectionism(!), here, for example, it has become smooth. The most benefit of it is this. I mean 'Is it not happening', 'Alright'. It was hard for me to say such a thing. But now you let go even further, such that the house needs cleaning fine, I will do it tomorrow' for instance. I mean children eat whatever there are. Of course, you prepare for dinner but such comfort I have adopted from the English mothers. (Özge)

Buraya geldikten sonra sanırım biraz daha şeyim, kendimi ve anneliğimi biraz daha kabul ettim ve "tamam benim yapabildiğim bu" ve bunu mesela çocuklarıma da söyledim. "Ben maksimum bunu yapabiliyorum, elimden gelenin en iyisini yapmaya çalışıyorum hep sizin için ve iyi bir anne olmaya çalışıyorum ve bu benim elimden gelenin en iyisi" Her zaman bana gelip "anne bunu yaptın, buna kızdık diyebilirsin söyleyebilirsiniz" gelişmeye açığım ama şu anki koşullarımla en iyi bunu yapabiliyorum. Sizde herhangi bir üzüntü stres travma yaratıyorsam özür dilerim. Ben bunları isteyerek bilerek yapmıyorum ama evet göçmek benim kendime ve anneliğime acımasız davranışımı biraz geri çekti sanırım. (Hande)

After I have moved here I guess I am a bit like, I have accepted myself and my mothership a bit more and "Okay, this is what I can do" and also told this to my children. I can do this at my maximum, I am trying to do my best for you always and be a good mother, this is the best I can do. "You always coming to me and saying" mama you did this, we were upset about that I am open to any improvements but with my conditions right now this is what I can do. If I am causing any stress or trauma to you, I am sorry. I am not doing those on purpose and willingly however yes migration alleviated my behaviours to me and my mothership to some extent. (Hande)

Farklı annelik türlerini görüyorsun bir kere. Bir kere senin bile kafanda çok fazla yargı var, Türkiye'de yaşarken, farkında olmadan getirdiğin, içinde olan bir sürü yargılama mekanizmaları var. Onlar mesela bende bayağı değişti. Burada farklı annelik modellerini görüp, aslında yani Türkiye'deyken çok yargılayacağın şeyleri daha anlayışla karşılıyorsun. İşte demin dediğim gibi ben, ben asla çocuğun kırk beş dakika ağlamasına müsaade etmezdim. İlgisini dağıtırdım, istediğini yapmazdım ama dikkatini dağıtırdım. Şimdi şöyle düşünüyorum, valla bunların böyle bir formülü yok ki, belki de onun yaptığı daha iyi

At first, you are recognizing different types of motherships. At first, you have lots of judgment in your head, while living in Turkey brings all the judging mechanisms to your mind without even you realize them. They've changed a lot for me, for example. You see different models of motherhood here, and in fact, you give an understanding of the stuff you would normally judge while in Turkey. As I said before, I would never let a child cry for forty-five minutes. I would distract him, I wouldn't do what he wanted, but I would distract him. Now I'm thinking, well, they don't have such a formula, maybe what she did would work out better, so we don't know these formulas for sure. Someone did something like this and her child became unhappy in the future. I think we can't reach very definite judgments

sonuçlanacak, bu formülleri bilemeyiz yani. Birisi şöyle yaptı da çocuğu ilerde mutsuz oldu. Çok kesin yargılara varamıyoruz bence bu konularda, dolayısıyla daha esnetti bakış açımı diyebilirim, insanlara bakış açımı da. Daha böyle şeydim, keskin bakıyordum, işte şöyle yaparsan şöyle mutsuz olur, öyle yaparsan bilmem ne. Mesela ben çok steril yaşatmaya çalıştım işte, ekranda bir şey izlemeyecek 2 sene, çok katıydı kurallarım, televizyon asla yok, işte şekerli yiyecek yok, işte emziği yere mi düştü, hemen onu ben makineye koyayım da steril edeyim falan, burada bakıyorum da çocuk çıplak ayak çamurun içinde, emzik orada, ağzına sokuyor falan. Mesela bunlar, bu rahatlık bende yoktu. Ben biraz daha gergindim, hasta olacak, bir şey olacak. (Elçin)

on these issues so I can say that my perspective has been stretched more, my perspective towards people as well. I was more of like this, I was looking sharp, if you do this, you will be unhappy, if you do that such and such. For example, I tried to make it very sterile, he wouldn't watch anything on the screen for 2 years, my rules were very strict, there was no television, no sugary food at work, did the pacifier fall on the floor, I would immediately put it in the machine so I could sterilize it, etc. Here I am looking at the child, his bare feet in the mud, the pacifier is there, he puts it in his mouth or something. For example, I didn't have them, I did not have this comfort. I was a little more nervous, he's going to be sick, and something bad will happen. (Elçin)

Özge talked about the fact that English mothers do not compare their children with other children and mothers focus on children's happiness instead of talking about which child does the best. Özge was so uncomfortable with the Turkish mothers' situation of competing and comparing their own children with other children that she did not choose to send her son to the school where Turkish children were present to stay away from these parents. Özge has experienced that the competing styles of Turkish mothers put a new burden on motherhood and make the mothering experience more difficult. The fact that mothers race their children and compare them with other children actually means that mothers in Turkey compare their own motherhood with other mothers.

Çok farklı burada annelik, bu İngilizlerin ve Türk ailesinin. Ben hiçbir zaman tam bir Türk annesi değildim. Çünkü Türk annesi ürkütücüdür. Türk annesi yani

Motherhood here is very different, it's British and Turkish family. I was never exactly a Turkish mother. Because Turkish mother is scary. The Turkish mother, that is, a very ambitious mother

okulda çok hırslı bir anne, sürekli çocukları yarıştırıyor ve bunu içinde büyütüp arka planda bir hırs var yani ve o çok rahatsız edici bir şey! Türkiye'deki okullarda beni de eşimi de en çok yoran oydu. Benim kişiliğim buna el vermiyor. Ben kendi içimde yarışabilirim yani hani en düzgün yemeği yapayım en şeyi yapayım diye ama bana göre çocukla çocuğu kıyaslayıp ona göre şey yapmak kötü. Bana göre kötü, onlar mutlu. Burada o yüzden o yok mesela hiç yok. Ama yine bir Türkler işin içine girsin, mesela Orleans Primary diye bir okul var ben orayı istiyordum küçük oğluma. Çünkü o daha yakın. Ama bana şey dediler her sınıfta beş Türk çocuk var. Türk çocuk olması önemli değil, Türk çocuk Türk anneyi de beraberinde getiriyor. Ve bu yine bir yarışa dönüyor yani. Ben de dedim eşime "ay şuradaki okula ben müracaat edeceğim", "neden" dedi, dedim "ay istemiyorum ben o ne yapıyor bu ne yapıyor sürekli didikleneyim edeyim, ben yani gene aynı şeyin içine giremeyeceğim". Ve şu anda oğlum Katolik Church okulunda. Ve hiç Türk yok. (güler) Çok mutluyum çünkü hani güzel, o kadar basit şeyler var ki diyaloglarda, hani geziye gidiliyor o ne yapsın o ne yapılsın falan yani kimse çocuğun futbolda ne kadar başarılı olduğuyla bilmem ne ile ilgilenmiyor. Bir kıyas yok. Sadece çocuk mutlu mu? Mutlu. Bu kadar! (Özge)

at school, constantly makes her children race and grows this ambition in the background by raising this in her, and that is a very disturbing thing! It was what tired me and my husband the most at schools in Turkey. My personality doesn't allow it. I can compete with myself I mean I can cook the best food and do the best, but in my opinion, it is bad to compare the child with the child and do something accordingly. It's bad for me, they're happy. That's why this issue doesn't exist here, for example, it doesn't exist at all. But again, let the Turks get involved, for example, there is a school called Orleans Primary, I wanted it for my little son. Because it's closer. But they told me there are five Turkish children in each class. It doesn't matter if it's a Turkish child, a Turkish child brings a Turkish mother with it. And it turns into a race again. So, I said to my husband, "I'm going to apply to the school over there", he said "why", I said, "I don't want it all, I don't want what he is doing, what is he doing, let me be constantly teased, I mean, I will not be able to get into the same thing again". And now my son is in Catholic Church school. And there are no Turks. (laughs) I'm very happy because there are beautiful, so simple things in dialogues, you know, going on a trip, what they shall do, what else to do, etc. Nobody is interested in how successful one's child is at football. There is no comparison. Is the child happy? Yes, he is! That's all matters. (Özge)

4.3.1.2. Things that make motherhood more enjoyable in the UK: I could make four children if I migrate here earlier

Participants shared three dimensions while explaining the things that make motherhood more enjoyable in the UK. These are listed as the way children and women are perceived and treated in society, the way motherhood is supported in the education and health system, and the child-friendly environment in the city.

4.3.1.2.1. How children and women are perceived and treated in society

Five participants stated that people in the society in the UK do not judge their motherhood, do not interfere with their child-rearing styles, and act in a supportive manner.

Elçin mentioned that a mother on the subway in the UK did not hold her crying child for forty-five minutes and explained to the passengers why she did this and that none of the passengers criticized the woman's motherhood. Elçin thought that if the same situation had happened in Turkey, the situation would be reflected in the media, it would turn into a social event, and the mother would be accused.

> *Ben metroda burada ilk duraktan son durağa kadar kırk beş dakika ağlayan bir çocuk gördüm ve annesi tüm yolcuların bakışlarına rağmen almadı, soranlara da dedi ki "bunu hep yapacak alırsam ve ağlamasının aslında saçma olduğunu, istediği olmadığı için ağladığını anlattım, anladı ama şu an buna devam etmek istiyor. Sizden özür dilerim ama ağlamaya devam edecek" dedi. Biz de olsaydı teheheee yani toplumsal olaya dönüşürdü, kameralar mameralar 'ağlamasına izin verdiler', cani anne (!) falana dönüşürdü. Burada öyle farklar var işte, yani insanlara kendi çocuğuna nasıl*
>
> I saw a child crying for forty-five minutes from the first stop to the last stop here on the subway, and his mother didn't pick him up despite the stares of all the passengers. And she told those who asked. If I will keep on doing that and told that his crying is in fact ridiculous since what he wanted, did not happen. He understood that but he wants to continue crying "I'm sorry to you, but he will continue to cry". If we had it in Turkey –Holy Moley! It would have turned into a social event, cameras, etc would have 'let him cry', would have turned into a monster mother (!). There are such differences here, that is, no one imposes on people how to treat their own child. If I were here (UK), I could have given birth to

davranacağını, kimse dayatmıyor. Burada (İngiltere) olsaydım kesin, bir de üç dört tane doğurabilirdim burada ya. Kesin ya doğururdum bence, daha erken yaşta gelseydim, ya da erken yaşta evlenseydim. (Elçin)	three or four for sure. I think I would have given birth for sure if I had come here at an earlier age or married at an early age. (Elçin)

Hande mentioned that her son cried loudly enough to disturb others on the bus, but nobody on the bus showed any kind of negative reaction, and they even approached them with understanding. Hande was very surprised by the understanding and supportive attitudes of people in the UK and anticipated the negative reactions she would suffer in Turkey.

Mesela İngiltere'de çocuk ağlasın, düşsün, dönüp bakmıyorlar bile! Mesela ben otobüste çok yaşadım bu tip sıkıntılar, kriz geçiriyor resmen, ciyak ciyak pusetten çıkmak istiyor iki durak gideceğim hava yağmurlu, üstündeki yağmurluğu tak çıkar indir o kadar zor ki. İki durak için mümkün değil. Ve anlatıyorum yani bak bu kadar sonra ineceğiz çok az kaldı, hadi gel ona kadar sayalım. Ben onu oyalamaya çalışıyorum çığlıkla ağlıyor. Ya bir kişi dönüp bakmaz mı! Bir kişi şöyle bi tek kaş havada "hımm" diye bakmaz mı! Yani böyle bir şey yaşarken oğlum çok kötü bir kriz geçirdi, çığlıkla ağlıyor metrodayız, otobüs olsa hadi bir durak sonra ineyim. Mümkün değil! Yol sırasında çığlıkla ağlıyor. Sadece yaşlı bir amca döndü şöyle bize doğru gülümseyerek baktı. Kulağında işitme cihazı varmış adam işitme cihazını kulağından çıkardı sırf bizi duymamak için. Ve gülümseyerek yaptı adam bunu. Yani o zaman evet burada çocuk	For example, in the UK, if a child cries or falls, they don't even look back! For example, I have experienced such problems on the bus several times. As if the child is having a seizure, weeping so hard to get out of the stroller, I will be going for only two stops, it's rainy, put the raincoat on her and take it off… Not possible for two stops. And I'm telling you, look, look, we're going to land soon after this, let's count to ten. I'm trying to stall him while he's crying with screaming. How it is possible that nobody looked at us! Doesn't a person look like "hmm" with one eyebrow raised? I mean, while I was going through something like this, my son had a very bad crying jag. We are in the subway, crying with screams. If we were on a bus, let's get off at one stop though we are on the subway. Not possible he cries on the way. Only an old person turned and looked at us with a smile. The man who had a hearing aid took it out just to not hear us. And he did it with a smile. So then yes, it's easier to raise children here. Or, for example, the most massive stare I'll get here is the look of another very understanding mother if the child goes astray, and the

büyütmek daha kolay. Ya da mesela burada alacağım en büyük bakış çocuğun sapıtıyorsa çok anlayışlı başka bir annenin bakışı "biz de yaşıyoruz bunları boşver" mesajı. Ya da sen böyle suratın kızarmış çok özür dilerim dediğinde etrafa "aaaah duymuyorum bile" demesi. Yani yan komşumuz, bizimkiler bazen aşırı gürültü yapıyor, mesela yan komşumuza yaşlı da bir kadıncağız dedim çok özür dilerim kusura bakmayın. "Ben duymuyorum ki" dedi. Mümkün değil (!) duymaması acayip şey kulakları vardır mümkün değil duymaması! Ve hani biz Türkiye'de ki komşumuzdan şikayet duyuyorduk alt kattan ki bir çocuğum vardı, yere oyuncak düşürdü diye.. (Hande)	message "We have also been through, don't make it a big deal. Or when you blushed saying I'm so sorry about your whereabouts, the response is 'I don't even hear'" For instance, our next-door neighbours, sometimes we make a lot of noise. Then, I said to our next-door neighbour, an old poor lady, and I am very sorry. "I don't hear it," she said. Impossible (!) it is strange that she does not hear, she has ears, it is not possible that she does not hear! And when we heard complaints from our neighbour in Turkey that I had a child downstairs, she dropped a toy on the floor. (Hande)

Esra also stated that, like Hande, she was never judged when her child sang on public transport in the UK; on the contrary, there were those who stare when the child made noise on Marmaray in Istanbul. It showed how difficult the experience of motherhood can be in a society where a mother is judged by her child's behaviour and where even basic child behaviours are not tolerated.

Yan gözle bakmak yok. Biz metroda oğlum şarkı söyler kimse rahatsız olduğunu belli etmez olan varsa da belli etmez mesela. Fakat İstanbul'dayken daha yeni Marmaray'da çocuk yüksek sesle konuştu diye tip tip bakanlar yakaladım. (Esra)	There is no side-eye. For example, when we are in the subway, my son sings, no one shows that they are uncomfortable, even if there is anyone, they wouldn't show it. But when I was in Istanbul, I noticed some kind of glares just because the child spoke loudly on Marmaray. (Esra)

Özge stated that she did not feel pressure from other mothers or the society towards her child's behaviour in the UK and that she had become a freer mother who did not interfere with her child all the time, as no one interfered and judged what the child did. Feeling obliged to warn her child because of another mother's judgmental

gaze shows how society's approach to mothers affects the way women experience motherhood.

Daha sakinledim. Şey olarak, belki yapma etme olayı biraz daha vardı, şimdi çocuk kendisi deneyimleyerek öğreniyor. Türkiye'de daha çok yapma etme diyordum. Çünkü neden? Zaten çocuk bir şey yapıyorsa o yandaki anne zaten ona gözüyle bin tane bakış atarak beni rahatsız ediyor. Burada ne oluyor? Hiç kimse ilgilenmediği için senin çocuğun da özgür. E ben de onu neden uyarıyım ki. Birisine bir zarar vermediği sürece çocuğun istediği gibi oynasın. Yani evet Türkiye'de belli kalıplarımız var ve o kalıplarda çocuğun nasıl hareket etmesi gerektiği olan bir hareket şekli var, onun dışında millet eğer rahatsız oluyorsa ve bunu belli ediyorsa bakışlarıyla ben o yüzden çocuğu uyarırım. Burada uyarılarımız azaldı. (Özge)	I become calmer. Well, maybe there were a bit more cautious things like don't this or that, now the child is learning by himself by the experience. I was saying don't do it more in Turkey. Because why? If the child is doing something, the mother next door is bothering me by throwing a thousand glances at him anyway. What's going on here? Since no one cares, your child is free too. And why should I warn him? Let the child play as he pleases, as long as it does not harm anyone. So yes, we have certain patterns in Turkey, and in those patterns, there is a way of acting that is how the child should act, apart from that, if people are uncomfortable and show it, I warn the child accordingly. Here, our warnings have decreased. (Özge)

Müjde mentioned that when a mother went to a pub in the UK with her child in her arms, it was never judged by society. It showed that in the UK, women are not given a restrictive role and responsibility because they are "mothers" that women can live with their own preferences and are respected.

Burada çok rahatsın annelik anlamında yani çocuğunu kucağına takıp gezebilirsin şey yapmazlar. Hani kimse yadırgamaz. Sen bir pub'a gidebilirsin işte kimse sana 'aaa bebeğinle niye geldin buraya' falan demez hani bu bakışlar altında yaşamazsın. (Müjde)	You are very comfortable here, in terms of motherhood, so you can put your child on your lap and walk around, they won't do anything. It will not come as a surprise to anyone. You can go to a pub, no one will say to you, 'why did you come here with your baby', you know, you wouldn't live under these stares. (Müjde)

Esra said that as a mother in the UK, she was sure that someone would help her while she was going out with a stroller and that she was sure that someone would give her a seat when there was a child in her arms on the subway. The fact that the mother receives support in situations where she may have difficulties when she is with her child in public transportation or on the street, the mother feels much more comfortable and freer does not feel restricted, and feels supported that she is not alone.

Burada birisi emziren bir kadını müdahale etse hemen tepki görür. Burada hamile bir kadın ayakta kalmaz, burada eğer çocuğunuz varsa elinizde pusetiniz varsa kaldırıp kaldırmada indirmede kesinlikle şey olur yardımcı olurlar kesinlikle. Ben mesela burada yalnız başıma dışarıya çıktığında hiçbir zaman şeyi yaşamıyorum. Ay işte çocuğum ile pusetliyim ben bu puseti nasıl indireceğim, kaldıracağım sıkıntısı yaşamıyorum. Çünkü biliyorum ki birisi bana yardımcı olacak. İllaki birisi çıkıyor. Kucağımda çocuk varken metroda hayatta ayakta kalmam yanımda çocuk varsa puset varsa kesinlikle kalmam burada. Türkiye'de çok kalmışlığım oldu ama bu son gidişimde ilginçtir yer veren de çok oldu. Galiba bir şeyler değişiyor, inşallah değişsin. (Esra)	Here, if someone interferes with a breastfeeding woman, they will immediately react. A pregnant woman does not stay on foot here. If you have a child, if you have a stroller in hand, they will definitely help in lifting and lowering it. For example, when I go out alone here, I never experience anything. I am in a stroller with my child. Because I know that someone will help me. Surely someone will come out. I would never stand on foot on the subway with a child on my lap. If there is a child with me, I will definitely not stay afoot here. I have stayed in Turkey for a long time, but it is interesting that on my last visit, there were a lot of people who gave me a place. Probably, something is changing, I hope it will. (Esra)

Esra stated that as a mother, she felt comfortable because the way society approaches the child is in a way that respects the child's boundaries. Esra said that the mother's anxiety also decreased when she lived in a society where the child was respected.

Burada şeyi çok güzel gerçekten çocuğun bir birey olduğunu ve onun da bir alanı olduğunun	The one thing is very good here, people are aware that the child is an individual and that he or she has a field, and they

insanlar farkında direkt müdahaleye çok yanlış buluyorlar, çok haklılar bence. Hele başkasının çocuğunu kesinlikle zaten. Yani bir şey yapacaksanız sorarak ederek yani. Ben o konuda çok rahatım burada! (Esra)	find direct intervention very wrong, I think they are right. Especially someone else's child, definitely. So, if you're going to do something it is by asking. I am very comfortable with that here! (Esra)

4.3.1.2.2. How motherhood supported in the systems: The interaction between mesosystem and macrosystem

Esra, Zeynep, Özge, and Tümay stated their satisfaction with the education system in the UK and how much this satisfaction relieved them as a mother. In all quotations, it was noticed how positively affected the experience of motherhood when mothers felt supported by different systems, such as the education system, and the health system.

Esra stated that when she left her child at school, she did not worry about how her son was since she thought that the school would take care of her son even better than her.

Ben oğlumu burada kreşe bırakıyorum, hiç aklım kalmıyor o kadar açık ve net söyleyeyim. Benden bile iyi bakıyorlardır belki diye bile düşünüyorum. (Esra)	I'm leaving my son here in kindergarten, I am not concerned a bit, let me say this loud and clear. I even think maybe they take better care of my child than I do. (Esra)

Zeynep stated that she was pleased as a mother to see the good bond that her child established with the school and how happy her child was at school.

Kreşten çok memnunum. Kızım çok mutlu gidiyor bir kere, o kadar mutlu ki! Yani geliyorum almaya ama gelmiyor yanıma mesela. Beni yarım saat orada bekletiyor, anne biraz daha oynayayım diye. (Zeynep)	I am very happy with the kindergarten. My daughter is so happy first of all, how she is happy! I mean, I'm going to pick her up, but she doesn't come with me, for example. She makes me wait there for half an hour, so Mommy, let me play a little more. (Zeynep)

Similar to Esra and Zeynep, Özge is very pleased to witness the positive development of her child. Özge stated that as a mother, she did not have any concern about the education of her children because the school did not put pressure on the children.

Eğitim ve okul açısından binlerce kere her gün iyi ki geldik diyorum. Çocukların olumlu gelişimini görüyorsun bir kere. Endişe olmuyor, kaygı olayım yok çocukların eğitimi ile ilgili çünkü sistem bu ve çok müthiş bir eğitim değilse bile çocuklara baskı yüklemeden çocukların çocuk gibi yaşamasına olanak verip aynı zamanda da bilgi veriyorlar. Ama çocuk eksik mi kalacak beş altı sene sonra? Hayır. Daha kademeli öğreniyor. Daha relax bir şekilde gidiyor ve bu da beni çok mutlu ediyor. Biz ezberin içinde büyüdük, hiç de faydasını görmedim, hep de sıkıntıydı. (Özge)	In terms of education and school, I say every day a thousand times that I am glad we came once you see the positive development of children. I don't have to worry, I don't have to be distressed about the education of children because the system works and even if it is not a great education, they allow children to live like children without putting pressure on them at the same time providing information. But will the child become short after five or six years? No. He learns gradually. It goes in a more relaxed way, which makes me very happy. We grew up with memorization, I did not see any benefit, it was always a nuisance. (Özge)

For Tümay, deciding on the school her child will attend in Turkey was quite difficult, as she had to make an elimination by considering many things. Tümay mentioned that the information or mentality to be presented to the child changes according to the choice of school in Turkey. For this reason, while there is no option for Tümay to send her child to a public school in Turkey, it is a great comfort that she can send her child to a public school in any neighbourhood close to home in the UK.

Türkiye'deki eğitim içinde verilen bilgilerin durumu, mesela devlet okuluna göndermeyi istememe bu sebeple, düşünce yapısı, size uygun kişileri seçmeye çalışma okulu için. Burada öyle yapmıyoruz mesela, mahallenin okuluna gönderiyoruz. Biz çocukken düşünür müydük	The situation of the information given in education in Turkey, for example, I do not want to send my child to a public school, this type of rationale, the mentality is to try to choose people who are suitable for you. We don't do that here, for example, we send them to the school in the neighbourhood. When we were children, did we think, for

mesela hayır, hani hangi okula göndereyim diye, mahallenin okuluna giderdik hepimiz. Burada da o şey geçerli. O çok büyük bir kaygı rahatlığı hakikaten (Tümay)	example, no, we used to go to the school in the neighbourhood to see which school we should send to. That also applies here. It is a great relief of anxiety (Tümay)

When Tümay and Özge compared the differences in the functioning of the education system in the UK and Turkey, they stated that the burden they carried as mothers was much less in the UK. Tümay gave an example of doing homework with her daughter even while going to kindergarten and stated that there is no such burden in the school system in the UK and that the school does not want parents to interfere in the responsibility of education and that the school embraces the child.

Ödev kavramının Türkiye'ye göre çok farklı olduğunu düşünüyorum. Türkiye'den gelmeden önce çok Nil'le ödev yaparken (gülüyor)… Hatta anaokulunda, bugün gördüm, ben ödev yapmışım, Pelin adına. Aslında sergilemek için, velinin yapması beklenen, biliyorsunuz... Ama mesela burada tam tersi, karışmaman bekleniyor. Burada okul çocuğu sahipleniyor. Dolayısıyla hiçbir şey yapmana gerek yok. Hatta da çok da müdahil olmanı istemiyor bazı noktalarda. Türkiye'de ise tam tersi malum özel okul da olsa, müdahil olmana izin veriyor. Hatta veli olarak, çocuğun ders çalışması ile ilgili senin de çok büyük sorumlulukların var mesela. Eve defter kitap gelmediği için mesela ilkokulda Perşembe günleri ödev defteri geliyordu, Pazartesi günü gidiyordu. Ama normal ders işleme sürecindeki, bilgilendirme çok fazla olmasına rağmen mesela "bu dönem bunları işleyeceğiz" ama defterleri sadece veli	I think the concept of homework is very different compared to Turkey. Before I came from Turkey, I was doing homework with my daughter a lot (laughing)… Even in kindergarten, I saw it today, I did homework on behalf of her. Actually, for display which is expected from the parents. But for example, it's the opposite here, you're expected not to interfere. Here the school adopts the boy. So, you don't need to do anything. It doesn't even want you to be too involved at some points. On the contrary, in Turkey, even if it is a private school, it allows you to get involved. In fact, as a parent, you have great responsibility regarding your child's study. For example, in primary school, homework notebooks would come on Thursdays, but they would not be present after Mondays, since there were no notebooks at home. However, although there is a lot of information in the normal course teaching process, for example, "we will process them this semester", you only see the notebooks at the parents' meeting, very little. Let me check a child's lesson all the time,

toplantısında görüyorsun, çok az. Sürekli bir çocuğumun dersini kontrol edeyim, onu anladı mı, bunu yaptı mı falan yok. (Tümay)

whether he understood it, did it, or not. (Tümay)

Özge also mentioned that thanks to the fact that children in the UK are not given much homework, they can spare time for leisure activities such as playing with Legos and reading books that they like to do.

Büyük oğlum dört sene oradaydı hatta okul öncesinde de bir olay var. Çok farklı, çok ezberletiyorlar her şeyi, çok ödev var. Her gün ödev veriyorlardı mesela, burada sadece hafta sonu veriliyor. Burada belki çocuk vakti olduğu için istedikleri şeyleri yapıyorlar. Benim büyük oğlum hala bir buçuk iki saat lego oynar. Öyle seviyor ve ben de hiçbir şey demiyorum. Küçük oğlan da yaptı yaptı artık istemiyor, o da kitap okumayı seviyor. Belki çarşaf çarşaf ödev verilse çocukların bunları yapacak vakti olmayacak. (Özge)

My older son was there for four years, there is an incident even before school. It is very different, they make children memorize everything, and there is a lot of homework. For example, they gave homework every day, it is only given on the weekend here. Here, maybe because it's time for kids, they do whatever they want. My older son still plays with Legos for an hour and a half or two. He likes it that way and I'm not saying anything. The little boy did it too, he doesn't want it anymore, he also likes to read books. Maybe if they were given homework continuously, the kids wouldn't have time to do it. (Özge)

Tümay and Zeynep talked about how satisfied they are with the support they receive from the school system in the UK, the availability of staff, and the fact that the school authorities and teachers inform the parents in detail about the processes that concern the child and involve them in the process.

Okul ve veli arasındaki bilgi akışı inanılmaz seviyede. Mesela işlenecek konular ve derslere dair değil sadece bu, her anda ve her konuda, yani okulda yapılacaklar, yani mesela çok çok basit ama bana bu çok önemli bir örnek gibi geliyor ama okulun önünde bir yer çamur olmuş oraya yeşil şey atmışlar, çimen gibi yapay çimen

The flow of information between the school and the parents is incredible. For example, it's not just about the subjects and lessons to be covered, it's what will be done at every moment and in every subject, namely at school, for example, it is very, very simple, but this seems like a very important example to me, but there was mud in front of the school, they threw green things there, artificial

koymuşlar ki velilerin ayakları çamur olmasın diye. Yani bu tarz şeyleri biz gittiğimizde görürüz değil mi, karşılaşırız yani. Hiçbir zaman önceden bilgilenmeyiz. Bu tarz şeyler bile ufak gündelik hayatta birkaç günlük bir şey yani onun bile bilgilendirme maili atılıyor bence çok önemli ve güzel bir şey. Veyahut bugün okulda şöyle bir şey oldu, çocuklar bundan etkilendiler, mesela bir kere yılan geldi hemen bütün velilere şey atıldı, mail atıldı. (Tümay)

grass like grass. They put it so that the feet of the parents would not be muddy. I mean, we see these kinds of things when we go, right, we encounter. We are never informed in advance. Even these kinds of things are a few things in small daily life, so I think that even they are sending an information mail, it is a very important and beautiful thing. Or something like this happened at school today, the children were affected by it. For example, once a snake came, something was sent to all the parents immediately, an e-mail was sent. (Tümay)

Tümay talked about the fact that the headteacher welcomes parents and children while starting the day and stands in a more egalitarian place by showing her accessibility and not sitting in the school principal's room.

Her gün okula girerken ve çıkarken müdürün kendisi dışarıda günaydın diyor bütün velilere ve öğrencilere, yanında bir öğretmenle beraber. Çok nadiren müdürün bir başka toplantısı varsa onun yerine müdür yardımcısı veya öğretmenler oluyor. Her an acil bir şey söyleyebileceğiniz en yetkili kişi karşınızda. Öbürleri de ulaşılabilir ama bu gündelik hayat içinde, katarak, odasına gitme zorunluluğu olmadan. Orada bir oda var ve orası sanki yüksek bir makam algısı burada daha az, hizmet ediyorum algısı daha fazla bence o güzel bir şey. (Tümay)

When entering and leaving school every day, the principal himself says good morning to all parents and students outside, with a teacher by his side. Very rarely, if the principal has another meeting, the vice-principal or teachers will take his place. Here is the most important authority you can say something urgent to at any time. Others are also accessible, but in this daily life, by adding, without having to go to his room. There is a room there and it is as if the perception of higher ranks is less here, the perception that I serve is more important here, I think that is a beautiful thing. (Tümay)

Zeynep stated that in addition to being able to communicate easily with the teachers at the school, she can communicate comfortably with doctors and nurses in the health system and that an environment where she can ask any questions that may affect her child's health reduces her stress. Zeynep's quotation shows how a mother's

relationships with systems such as the school system and health system in which the child is involved affect the mother's mental health, how valuable it is for mothers to feel supported by these systems, and how much it affects their experience of motherhood. For example, when Zeynep wanted to ask the doctor a question about her child but could not, due to the doctor's top-notch attitude, she blamed herself for thinking that she was not able to do what she should have done for her child as a mother in Turkey.

Ben öğretmenlerle arkadaş gibiyim. Oturup her şeyini sorabiliyorum ve sıkılmıyor mesela öğretmen karşımda. Gülüyoruz, ben ona kızımın evde yaptıkları şeyleri anlatıyorum gülüyor, o bana anlatıyor kreşte yaptıklarını.. Buradaki ilişki çok güzel. Minik kardeşteki veli öğretmen ilişkisi. Onun için Türkiye'de çok resmi bir ilişki var. Öğretmen çok böyle muhatap olmak istemiyor. Bilirsiniz doktora da gittiğimizde doktora sorayım mı, sormayayım mı çelişkisi yaşardım. Burada doktora oturup bir sürü mesela burada kızımın bir aşısı eksikti o aşıyı yaptırmamı istediler. Doktora aklıma gelebilecek her soruyu sordum. Ve adam sıkılmadan cevap verdi. Beni ikna etmek için negatif ve pozitif yönlerini söyledi adam açıklıyor. Ben aklıma soru geldikçe soruyorum, ben Türkiye'de çekiniyorum çünkü artık adamlar gidin duygusunu uyandırıyor yani. O yüzden buradaki o, bizim Türkiye'de böyle bir şey yükleniyor galiba. Kendilerini böyle ulaşılmaz bir yerde görüyor yani. İşte doktorlar mesela öyle. Ulaşamıyorsunuz sekreteriyle her şeyi hallediyorsunuz. Özele	I am like friends with teachers. I can sit down and ask everything, and the teacher doesn't get bored, for example. We laugh, I tell her about the things my daughter does at home, she laughs, she tells me what she does in kindergarten. The parent-teacher relationship here is very good in school. There is a very official relationship between parents and teachers in Turkey. The teacher does not want to have interfered like that. You know, when we went to the doctor, I used to have a conflict about whether I should ask the doctor or not. Sitting at the doctor here, for example, my daughter was missing a vaccine here, they asked me to get that vaccine. I asked the doctor every question I could think of. And he replied without getting bored. He explains the negative and positive aspects to convince me. I ask questions whenever I can think of them. I have kind of abstained in Turkey since the doctors there give you the feeling of getting out that's enough. So, they see themselves in such an inaccessible place in Turkey. The doctors, for example, you can't reach him, you take care of everything with his secretary. Even if you go private, you can't ask questions in Turkey. Something comes to your mind, whether I should ask or not. Did I coward to act? Why did not I ask? Does my child's life less important than that?

gitseniz de öyle. Türkiye'de soramıyorsunuz aklınıza bir şey geliyor sorsam mı sormasam mı tepkiden çekiniyorsunuz yani. Korkak mı davrandım (!) niye sormadım benim çocuğumun sağlığı daha önemli deyip. Kendi kendinizi yiyorsunuz yani. Ama iki sorudan sonra dediğim gibi "kalk git" şeyini uyandırıyorlar yani. Psikolojik baskı hissediyorsunuz. Burada o şeyler daha güzel. İşte dediğim gibi ben gidip kızımın öğretmeni ile saatlerce kızımı konuşabiliyorum. Hiç şey yapmıyor yani. (Zeynep)

So, I eat my heart out for this. But as I said after two questions, they evoke the "get up and go" thing. You feel psychological pressure. Here those things are nicer. As I said, I can go and talk to my daughter's teacher for hours. So, it doesn't do anything. (Zeynep)

Esra mentioned that there is no service for three-month-old babies in kindergartens in Turkey and that having this opportunity in the school system in the UK is a great luxury and a feature that makes life easier for migrant mothers. Esra relates the reason why this opportunity is available in the UK and not an option in Turkey, with the judgmental point of view towards the mother in Turkey.

Şu da mesela çok güzel çocuk üç aylık oldu diyelim ki anaokuluna bırakabiliyorlar burada. Ve bu çok büyük bir lüks çünkü annen yoksa baban yoksa yanında kayınvaliden yoksa ne yapacaksın? O insanın nefes alması gerekiyor ama ben Türkiye'de düşünemiyorum. Bezli çocuk zaten alınmıyor genelde anaokullarına Türkiye'de, alınan da çok nadir. Ki ben Türkiye'de öyle üç aylıktan verilen bir yer olsa ben hiç zannetmiyorum iş yapabileceğini. Çünkü direk yargıya maruz kalacak kişi. (Esra)

For example, let's say that the baby is three months old, they can send him to kindergarten here. And that's a huge luxury and it's beautiful because what are you going to do if you don't have a mother, father, or mother-in-law with you? That person needs to breathe, but I can't think in Turkey. Children in diapers are generally not accepted in kindergartens in Turkey, which is rare. I don't think that if there is a place in Turkey that accepts 3 months infants that place cannot make money. Because the mom will be judged by others due to her decision. (Esra)

Hande talked about the fact that the rules are settled in the UK, there are penalties for not following the rules, and that the rules are followed in the society

contributes to their children to follow the rules more easily. As a mother, she said that while she was explaining to her children that they should follow the rules in Turkey, she had a hard time convincing her children because her children often observed that someone violated the rule, and that's why they reacted like "but she/he doesn't follow the rule, why am I following the rule". It shows how much easier motherhood and child education are when the parents' teachings do not conflict with the teachings of the society in raising children.

Burada daha fazla kurallar net ve uyulmayınca yaptırımları genel toplumda oturmuş olduğu için çocukların da kurallara uymaları daha kolay oluyor yani. Ben kuralcı bir tipimdir zaten. Ben Türkiye'de de kuralcıydım ama ben koyuyordum, kurala uyuyor ama birisinin o kuralı bay pass ettiğini görüyor ve "o uymuyor ben niye uyuyorum" diyor e onu anlatmak zor oluyor çocuğa. Tamam olabilir o onun uymaması. E ama genel bir kural anne ben niye uyacağım?! (Hande)	Here, rules are clear, and when violated the sanctions are enforced in the society. It is easier for children to comply with the rules since the sanctions are settled in the general society. I'm a rule follower anyway. I was also a rule follower in Turkey. I was setting and he was complying with the rule, but when he sees someone not obeying that rule, he says, "he doesn't obey, why should I obey?". It is difficult to explain it to the child. When I say, it may be ok for that person, he replies "well, it's a general rule mom, why should I obey?! (Hande)

4.3.1.2.3. Are the city and the opportunities child-friendly? The dimension of accessibility of services

Five participants mentioned how easy access to parks and green natural beauties made their lives easier while raising their children in the UK. Two extracts from Hande and Müjde were given below.

Hande emphasized that although she lived in a place with relatively more green space in Istanbul, the most difficult thing for her while raising a child was accessing green natural beauties.

Ya yeşil muhteşem! Esas Türkiye'de çocuklarla en çok zorlandığım şey o iken.. Sadece evimize yakın bir park vardı oraya	Oh, the green is gorgeous! In fact, this most difficulty I had with children in Turkey… There was only a park close to our house, and we were going there,

gidiyorduk ki ben görece İstanbul'un nispeten yeşil bir bölgesinde oturuyordum. Ama burada yani "güneşi gördüğümüz an yaptığımız şey piknik yapmak" ve çocuklar da o kadar çok alıştı ki. Yeşil çok kıymetli, doğanın bu kadar temiz ve korunmuş olması, tarihi eserlerin korunmuş olması.. (Hande)	and I was living in a relatively green part of Istanbul. But here, "when we see the sun, what we do is picnic" and the children got used to it so much. Green is so precious, the fact that nature is so clean and preserved, historical artifacts are preserved… (Hande)

Müjde emphasized that even when entering a forest in Istanbul, one has to pay, and those green natural beauties in the UK are more accessible and free of charge.

Burada bir şey var doğa ile iç içe olabilme ihtimali var. İstanbul'da herhangi bir doğa ile iç içe olmaya gittiğin zaman öncelikle para ödemen gerekiyor, bir ormana girerken bile. Burada park mesela çok daha fazla ve adım başı park girebilirsin hemen oynayabilir. (Müjde)	There is something here, there is the possibility of being intertwined with nature. When you go to be in touch with nature in Istanbul, you first have to pay money, even when entering a forest. Here, for example, the parks are much more in number and you can enter the park per step and children can play immediately. (Müjde)

Five mothers talked about what makes raising children in the UK easier. They talked about the widespread availability of opportunities such as courses, playgroups, libraries, and museums offered to children, the fact that most of these opportunities are free or low priced, and that they can go to these places by using public transport.

While Hande complained that the museums in Turkey are expensive, there are many queues, and they are not of satisfactory beauty, she experienced the comfort of the fact that the museums in the UK are free so that she can visit the museum with her children without stress, and even she can visit different floors of the museum on different days. Hande also stated that there are many activities such as playgroups and gymnastics for children from infancy and some of them are offered free of charge by the municipalities.

Mesela Türkiye'de bir müzeye gitmeye kalksan ya dünyanın parasını veriyorsun ya deli gibi	For example, if you try to go to a museum in Turkey, you either pay the hell of money or you wait in line like

sırada bekliyorsun ve hani sonunda gördüğün şey de çok da tatmin etmiyor seni. Burada müzeler bedava istediğin kadar git. Ben çocuklarla müzeye gittiğimde çoğunlukla artık şey yapıyorum bugün şu katı hedefliyoruz çocuklar diyorum. Çünkü bitirmen mümkün değil zaten bir buçuk saat iki saat geziyoruz paralı olmadığı için. Nasılsa bir daha geleceğim o zaman öteki katı gezersin. Çocuklar için çok fazla aktivite var. Yani kulüpler, daha bebeklikten itibaren play gruplar, şarkı, jimnastik bilmem ne. Ve belediyenin sunduğu bedava hizmetler de var bunun için de. (Hande)

crazy and what you see at the end does not satisfy you anyway. The museums here are free, go as much as you want. When I go to the museum with the children, I mostly say now, we aim for this floor today, children. Because it is not possible for you to finish it and we tour it like an hour and a half to two hours. As a matter of fact, I'll come again, then you can visit the other floor, I tell the children. There are many activities for children. I mean, playing groups, singing, gymnastics from infancy, and plenty of others. And these are free of charge services offered by the municipality. (Hande)

Zeynep mentioned that the only people who can send their children to courses such as ballet and piano in Turkey are families with high income, while families from all economic backgrounds in the UK can send their children to courses thanks to the affordable fees of the courses.

Kursa göndermek için Türkiye'de orta seviyenin üstü olmanız lazım ki bale kursuna yüzme kursuna gönderebilesiniz. Ama burada öyle değil. Burada işte biz iki yıldır buradayız ve bütün bu kurslara kızımı gönderebiliyorum yani. Yüzmeye de gönderebiliyorum, piyanoya da gönderebiliyorum, baleye de gönderebiliyorum. Çünkü herkes gönderebiliyor. Çok ekonomik. Türkiye'de düşünsenize kim gönderebiliyor bale kursuna! Durumu çok çok iyi olan insanlar ancak yani.. O anlamda çocuklara verdiği avantaj noktasında çok çok yani Türkiye'ye göre gerçekten çok iyi. (Zeynep)

To send your children to a course, you have to be above the middle class in Turkey so that you can send your child to a ballet course or a swimming course. But not so here. Here we are for two years, and I can send my daughter to all these courses. I can send her swimming, I can send her to the piano lesson, I can send her to ballet, too. Because anyone can do so. It's very economical. Imagine how many people can send their children to a ballet course in Turkey! Only those who are in a very, very good situation, but... In that sense, the advantage it gives to children is very, very good compared to Turkey. (Zeynep)

Sevda stated that there are many free activities where mothers can participate in with their children and socialize with other mothers and children. Sevda also mentioned that even if the income level is low, parents can send their children to courses. For Sevda, children's libraries, festivals, and children's clubs are examples, which offer a valuable space for children.

İşte anne çocuklarla, anneler ve bebekleri veya çocukları ile ilgili kütüphanelerde, çocuk merkezlerinde yapılan ücretsiz aktiviteler var. Kurslar var ücretsiz gelir düzeyi düşük de olsa yüksek de olsa katılabiliyor. Herkes işte parklar var. Gerçekten çok güzel etkinlikler yapılabiliyor. Festivaller, çocuk kulüpleri. İşte çok farklı etkinlikler var. Yani bu aslında bu ülkede hani çevrenin haricinde birlikte yapılabilecek etkinliklere bakıldığında Türkiye'den o yönden çok çok önde yani onu söyleyebilirim çocukla birlikte. Çocuk bebek kütüphane. Türkiye'de yeni yeni işte projeler hani var birkaç tane çocuk kütüphanesi ama. Buradaki gibi her semtte çocuklara ayrılan kütüphane bölümü yok en basit örneği yani öyle onu söyleyebilirim. (Sevda)	Here are free activities in libraries, children's centers about mothers and their children, mothers and their babies or children. There are courses for free, one can attend some even if their income level is low or high. There are parks. There are really good events. Festivals, children's clubs. There are many different activities here. In other words, when we look at the activities that can be done together with your child in this country, apart from the environment, it is far ahead of Turkey in that respect, I can say that overall. Child baby library. There are some new projects in Turkey, but there are a few children's libraries. There is no library section reserved for children in every district like here, the simplest example I can say. (Sevda)

Like Sevda, Özge also emphasized the importance of children's libraries, she said that going to the library is a pleasure and that her children gain the habit of reading books with the library culture, and that in Turkey she cannot make her children read books so much.

Deli gibi kitap okuyorlar. Ben Türkiye'de onlara bunu sağlayamazdım. Mesela burada	They read like crazy. I would not have been able to provide that to them in

kütüphaneye gitmek çok büyük bir keyif. (Özge)	Turkey. For example, going to the library here is a great pleasure. (Özge)

While talking about the opportunities offered to children and mothers in the UK, Sevda also talked about her experience in Ankara, and in this sense, she talked about the limited number of places and activities in Ankara where she could go with her child.

Türkiye'de maalesef Ankara'ya göre konuşuyorum Ankara'da ne vardı bizim? Tamam sitenin bir şeyi vardı parkı oraya giderdik küçük bir park buradaki parklara göre park da sayılmaz. Oraya giderdik. Nereye giderdik alışveriş merkezine giderdik. Başka da bir yer yoktu yani. Ankara'da gidebileceğimiz. Hani tabii ki Anıtkabir'e falan gidilir. Ama onlara da her hafta her gün gidilmez ki öyle yerlere de. Gidilecek yerler yapılacak şeyler çok sınırlıydı bu ülke o yönden çok iyi aslında. (Sevda)	Unfortunately, I speak according to Turkey by Turkey I mean Ankara. What did we have in Ankara? Ok, the apartment complex had some areas, we used to go there, it's a small park, it's not counted as a park compared to the parks here. We used to go there. Where would we go, we would go to the mall. So, there was no other place we can go in Ankara. Of course, you can go to Anıtkabir or something. But you can't go to them every day, every week, to such places. Places to go, things to do were very limited, this country is really good in that aspect. (Sevda)

Müjde, similar to Zeynep, Hande, and Sevda, talked about the economic ease of access to courses for children in the UK, and also stated that her son is interested in music, and can pursue a career in music in the UK. Müjde stated that she could not continue her interests such as ballet and theatre, which she was interested in as a child because these were not considered careers in Turkey. As a mother, Müjde was proud when she talked about living in a country that could allow her son to pursue a musical career because she was able to offer him an opportunity that she did not have in her childhood. But, when she talked about the support that she could not get as a child regarding her interests in Turkey, there was sadness in her voice covered with anger.

Burada mesela çocuğumun müzikle ilgili olduğunu düşünüyorum. Ve en azından bir müzik eğitimi alabilmesi için	Here, for example, I think my child has an interest in music. And there are many more alternatives here to at least get a music education. Its availability is

buranın çok daha alternatifleri var. Ulaşılabilirliği çok daha yüksek. Çünkü mesela Türkiye'de olmuş olsaydı ben çocuğum piyano çaldırmak isteyeceğim buna erişemeyebilirdim hani maddi anlamda. Daha lüks kalabilirdi ama burada hani hem öğretmenlerin yönlendirmesiyle hem de ben gerçekten görüyorum oğlumdaki müzik şeyini ilgisini, müziğe yönlendirebilirim ve bunun ötesinde müzik kariyeri olabilir. Yani bir piyanist olabilir ya da işte bir davulcu olabilir x yani hangisini seçerse. Ama ya da bir şarkıcı bile olabilir bir meslek sahibi olabilir burada ama orada mesela ben dört yaşındayken baleye başlamış biriyim on iki yaşıma kadar yaptım ama yarım kaldı. Tiyatroya başladım on beş yaşında on sekiz on dokuz yaşıma kadar yaptım. Yarım bırakıldım. Hani hep yarım kaldı benim için bazı şeyler. Niye? Türkiye şartlarında çünkü hep şöyle dendi "Kızım oku!". Hani konservatuara gidip ne olabilirsin ki! (Müjde)

much greater. Because, for example, if it had happened in Turkey, I would want my child to play the piano, but I would not have been able to afford it. It could have stayed more luxurious, but here, both with the guidance of the teachers and I really see the music thing in my son, I can direct his interest to music and beyond that, he can have a music career. So, he can be a pianist or a drummer, whichever he chooses. But, even a singer, he can have a profession here, but there. For example, I started ballet when I was four years old and continued it till the age of twelve, but I wasn't able to continue. I started theater at the age of fifteen and did it until I was eighteen or nineteen. I was left halfway. You know, some things have always been left unfinished for me. Why? Because it was always said in the conditions of Turkey, "My daughter, study!". When you go to the conservatory, will you be able to have a job! (Müjde)

Özge talked about the problems she experienced when she went to places like Hagia Sophia and Topkapı with her children in Istanbul. For example, the heavy traffic, having to go by car instead of public transport, and being overcrowded were some of the examples Özge gave. Özge mentioned that activities with children are more common and easily accessible in the UK, for example, she mentioned that she can go to historical museums by walking with her children.

Türkiye'de Topkapı Sarayı'na götürdüm ettim falan bunu kaç kere yapabileceksin! Burada biz ayda iki tane müzeye gidiyoruz 1-2 tane kart çıkardım, national

I took her to Topkapı Palace in Turkey, how many times will you be able to do this! Here we go to museums twice a month. I took out 1-2 cards, and a national trust card, there are many

trust kartı, çok güzel yerler var yürüyerek gittiğim. Bir tane national palace'a götürdüm. Gidiyoruz böyle oyun alanına gider gibi böyle onlar nasıl diyeyim böyle bir lüks değil çok önemli bir şey değil gibi, onlar mesela çok keyifli. Çocuklarla gezmeyi çok seviyorum burada çok şey öğreniyorum onlarla. Bir kitaptan öğrenmek gibi değil yani ya da bir Tower of London'ı dışarıdan geçerken görmek gibi değil yani içine giriyorsun konuşuyorsun ediyorsun üzerine çocuklar onu okulda işliyor zaten onun üzerine konuşuyorsun yani burada çok hayatla iç içe yaşıyorsun. Türkiye'de bunların hiçbirini yapamazdım. Zor. Bir de hafta sonu falan Ayasofya'ya falan gidince çok kalabalık. Arabayla gitmen lazım, arabayı nereye koymam lazım, cumartesi-pazar trafik zaten bir kaos, e hafta içi de çocuklar okuyor. Yani herhalde 5'ten sonra gidecek halimiz yok, her şey zor. (Özge)

beautiful places I go on foot. I took her to a national palace. We go to the playground like this, how can I say, it is not such a luxury like it is not a very important thing, but they are very enjoyable for example. I love traveling with children, I learn a lot here with them. It's not like learning from a book or seeing the Tower of London as you pass by from the outside. You get to the inside and you talk about it and then children already study those in school and then you can talk it over again. I couldn't do any of this in Turkey. It's difficult. It's very crowded when you go to Hagia Sophia on the weekend or something. You have to go by car, then the issue is where will I park, Saturday-Sunday traffic is already chaos, and children are studying on weekdays. I mean we do not have the condition to go after 5, everything is difficult. (Özge)

Zeynep mentioned that she did not use public transportation with her child in Istanbul and that she can use public transportation very comfortably in the UK with her child.

Çocuğumla otobüse binmek daha rahat, bir yere gitmek daha rahat. İnsanlar daha saygılı gibi geliyor bana. Burada toplu taşımayı kullanıyorum ama İstanbul'da çocuğumla toplu taşımayı hiç kullanmadım. (Zeynep)

It is more comfortable to take the bus with my child, it is more comfortable to go somewhere. People seem more respectful to me. I use public transportation here, but I have never used public transportation with my child in Istanbul. (Zeynep)

For Özge, walking somewhere with her children is something she has never experienced in Turkey, so she feels like she is in an Alice wonderland when she can

walk anywhere with her children in daily life. She stated that even when she was going for a walk to a park in Turkey, she had to go by car and there was no suitable environment for her to reach by walking.

Ben çocuğumla hiç yürümemişim Türkiye'de! Ne yapacaktım? Çekmeköy'de zaten her yere arabayla gitmen lazım. Yürünmez yani orada. Zaten tehlikeli de olabilir. Akşam zaten olmaz. Ama arabayla bir yerlere gidersin, yemeğini yersin. Bir park vardı mesela Doğa Park, ben yürüyüş yapardım orada, orası da bir buçuk kilometreydi oraya da arabayla gidersin, orada yürürsün, arabana binip geri dönersin. Yani burada o açıdan çok farklı bir ortam var. O yüzden Alice in Wonderland gibi diyorum. Her şeye çok kolay erişim var. Toplu taşımalar müthiş! (Özge)	I was never able to walk with my child in Turkey! What was I going to do? You have to go everywhere by car in Çekmeköy anyway. Moving on foot is not an option. It might already be dangerous. The evenings are already cast out. But you go somewhere by car, you eat your food. There was a park, for example, Doğa Park. I used to jog there which was about a kilometer and a half so you can go by your car after you have jogged you would go back home by car. So, there is a very different environment in that respect here. That's why I say it's like Alice in Wonderland. There is very easy access to everything. Public transport is awesome! (Özge)

Özge stated that she was uncomfortable because her child always spent time with children from the same socio-economic group in Turkey, but she could not make it heterogeneous with her efforts. As a mother, she said that while she was upset and worried about her son's lack of space to communicate with children from different socioeconomic statuses in Turkey, on the contrary, in the UK, she was very pleased that her son could be at school with children from different socioeconomic backgrounds, and that she appreciated that all children in the UK could be equal with their uniqueness. Motherhood includes considering the social environment of the child, and the diversity and quality of the people with whom he or she is in contact. For example, when Özge was in Istanbul, she made extra effort to contact children from different socioeconomic backgrounds so that her son would not become a brand-obsessed child in a way she did not want.

Türkiye'de güvenli ya da güvensiz ama çok aynı çevrenin insanlarıyla görüşüyorduk aynı şeyleri çocuklar beğeniyor aynı şeyin peşinden koşuyor ve aynı markalar alınıyor gibi bir durum vardı bunu ben istemiyordum ben kendi adıma sevmem marka giyinmeyi falan. Ama çocuk birinde bunu gördüğünde markasını falan umursamadan ben de bunu istiyorum diyor hani fark etmez markasının ne olduğu Nike'ın mıdır nedir ama o da istiyor. Burada çocukların böyle ne bileyim her çocuğun, benimkiler devlet okuluna gidiyor çünkü özel okula gitmiyorlar, burada her çeşit insan var ve bu bence çok kıymetli. Çünkü ben şeyde Çekmeköy'de bunun için çok uğraşıyordum ama yine de tam istediğim gibi olmuyordu işte. Yani hala çok gecekondular var. Oraların içinde aynı zamanda böyle birtakım güzel siteler yapmışlar ormanın kenarında falan ama önünde karşısında komşu hani siteden çıktığında gecekondular var. Ben de insanlarla konuşmayı çok severim hani merak ederim konuşurum ederim. O yüzden çıktığımda çok öyle merhabalaştığım çay içtiğim çok var ve bu insanların da çocukları var. Onları çok sevdiğim için ben onları bazen alır eve getirirdim Eren ile oynasınlar etsinler diye biraz yaş büyüdükçe tabii ister istemez biraz ayrışmalar oluyor. Çünkü Eren okula gidiyor burada başka bir şey görüyor çocuklar eve gelince moralleri bozuluyor belki yani onun istediği bir oyuncak Eren'de olduğu için böyle yani onu ilerletemedim yani dengeyi In Turkey, we were meeting with people from the same environment, whether it was safe or unsafe, but there was a situation where children like the same things, chasing after the same thing and buying the same brands which I don't like, and I do not like to wear very expensive such brands. But when a child sees this in someone, he says I want it too, without caring about the brand or anything, it doesn't matter what the brand is, is it Nike's or whatever else, but he wants it too. Every child here is such that---, mine goes to public school because they don't go to private school, there are all kinds of people here, and I think that's very valuable. Because I was trying very hard for this in Çekmeköy, it still didn't turn out exactly the way I wanted. So, there are still many slums. They have also built some beautiful living quarters like this in there, on the edge of the forest or something, but there are slums in front of the neighbor when he leaves it. I also love to talk to people, I am curious about that, and I talk. That's why when I go out, I say hello and drink tea a lot, and these people also have children. Because I love them so much, I used to bring them home sometimes so that they can play with Emre. Of course, there are some separations as they get older. Because Emre goes to school, he sees something else here. When the children come home, they get depressed, maybe because Emre has a toy that he wanted, so I couldn't move him forward, so we couldn't find the balance. But here, that balance is very wonderful, all children are equal, but what they like is very different. When I say equal, I mean that the child of the dry cleaner is also at the same school with the child of the girl who works in the bar in the same class with Batu at our school. (Özge)

bulamadık. Ama burada o denge çok şahane bütün çocuklar eşit yani, beğeniler çok farklı. Yani eşit derken yani nasıl diyeyim kuru temizlemecinin çocuğu da bizim okulda Batu ile aynı sınıfta barda çalışan kızcağızın da çocuğu bizim okulda. (Özge)

4.3.1.3. "Appreciation of social/cultural aspects of the country of origin to motherhood"

Three of the participants touched on three different issues in the motherhood model in Turkey that they appreciated and observed that did not exist in the UK. First of all, Zeynep mentioned that mothers in Turkey care about their children's eating healthy food and homemade food and that British mothers feed their children with packaged products, sandwiches, and chips. Zeynep's emphatic use of the word "we" a few times showed how important the child's healthy nutrition is for all mothers in Turkey.

Bir kere biz yiyeceklere daha çok dikkat ediyoruz. Buradaki daha çok. Yani biz paketli gıda vermemeye çalışıyoruz. Ama İngiliz anneler işte cipsler, hazır patatesler, ne bileyim sandviçlerle besliyorlar. Biz çorba elimizde parkta peşinde koşuyoruz, biraz daha sağlıklı olsun diye. (gülüyor) Beslenme en azından benim çevremde daha iyi. Yani onlar hiç dikkat etmiyor. Biz çok fazlasıyla dikkat ediyoruz. İşte her şeyi mevsiminde vermeye çalışıyoruz, her şeyi kendimiz yapmaya çalışıyoruz, ne bileyim çok sebze yedirmeye çalışıyoruz. Onlar dediğim gibi sandviç, cipsti şuydu buydu hazır meyve sularıydı. Bu şekilde besliyorlar. Beslenme konusunda biz

For one thing, we pay more attention to food. Paying more attention here. So, we try not to give packaged food. But English mothers are feeding them chips, fast food, potatoes, I don't know sandwiches. We are running after our children here with a bowl of soup so that they could be healthier (laughing). Nutrition is better, at least around me. So, they don't pay any attention. We pay too much attention. Here, we try to give everything in season, we try to cook everything ourselves, we try to feed them with a lot of vegetables, I don't know. As I said, they make them eat sandwiches, chips, ready-made fruit juices. This is how they feed them. Let me tell you that we are definitely better at nutrition. (Zeynep)

kesinlikle daha iyiyiz onu da söyleyeyim yani. (Zeynep)

Regarding the parenting attitude, Sevda stated that she found the freedom and limitation given to the child by Turkish mothers more appropriate for the child's development because Sevda stated that British mothers allow their children a lot of freedom when raising them. According to Sevda, when British mothers gave a lot of freedom to their children, they put their children at risk in important issues such as the child's safety.

Yani ben genel olarak baktığımda daha bilinçli daha duyarlı bir anne olduğumu düşünüyorum. Bu ülkeye göre. Yani vardır şey olanları ama daha özgür bırakıyorlar çocukları, daha bireysel. Tamam çocuklar bireysel. Ben de biliyorum. Her çocuk biriciktir tektir, hepsi bireyseldir ilgilere ihtiyaçları farklı. Tamam teoride ama yani şey çocuk bireysel diye bireyselliği çok fazla abartıp, bu da negatif şeylere yol açabiliyor. Yani özgüvenli olsun çocuklar ama yani sonuçta desteğe ihtiyacı var bu çocuğun tamamen serbest bırakılmaması gerekiyor bence. Öyle düşünüyorum. Ben daha çok sorumluluk hissediyorum ama geçen bir şey otobüste çok karşılaşıyorum zaten buralarda dikkatimi çekiyor. Dün müydü o? Bir tane şey yaptım. Annesi otobüsün en önüne oturmuş kız da yedi yaşında falan en arkada. Ben de kızımla en arkada oturuyorum. Yanına bir adam oturdu istismara maruz kalabilirdi ama çocuk, ben önce babası falan zannettim ya da kardeşi başka yerde şey vardı, adam biraz tuhaftı. Sonradan kız gitti annesinin yanına sonradan

So when I look at it in general, I think that I am a more conscious, more sensitive mother. Compared to the country. I mean, things are happening like, they let the children be the more free, more individual basis. Ok, the children are individuals. I know that too. Every child is unique, they are all individual, and their needs for attention are different. Okay, in theory, but the thing is, just because the child is individual, exaggerating the individuality too much can lead to negative things. I mean, children should be self-confident, but in the end, they need support, I think this child should not be left on their own completely. I think so. I feel more responsible, but I encounter something passing on the bus a lot, and it draws my attention here. Was it yesterday? I did one thing. Her mother sat in the front of the bus and the girl, like seven years old, is in the back. I sit in the back with my daughter. A man sat next to her, she could be abused by the man, I thought it was his father or something at first, or his brother was somewhere else, the man was a little strange. Later, the girl swapped next to her mother, I thought later that it was not her father. So, they leave the children very free, why will the mother sit alone in the front and the child sit in

düşündüm demek ki babası değilmiş bu. Yani çok özgür bırakıyorlar çocukları, neden anne en önde tek başına oturacak çocuk en arkada oturacak? Yani yapılmaması gerekiyor, bu sadece bir örnek ama bu tarz şeyler çok yapıyorlar. Yani gözlemini yap bir şekilde. Yani tamamen özgür bırakmamak gerekiyor bence. Gözlemleyip takibini yapmak gerekiyor. Özgür bırak ama yani çocuğun hayatı, güvenliği varsa tehlikedeyse bu kadar özgür bırakamazsın yani. (Sevda)	the back? So, it shouldn't be done, this is just an example, but they do this kind of thing a lot. So, observe first. So, I don't think it should be completely free. You have to observe and follow them up. Let them as free, but if the child's life and safety are in danger, you can't set him free like this. (Sevda)

Hande mentioned that loving children in Turkey culturally includes physical intimacy, hugging, and kissing, that English mothers do not establish such closeness with their children and that this is unacceptable in her motherhood. Hande's quote also showed how much the way of showing love in parenting changes according to the culture, and how the way of living motherhood is intertwined with the culture.

Sarılıp öpmek mucuk mucuk bütün o fiziksel temas, sıcaklık, ilişkinin sıcak olması.. Öyle "byee" diyip gidemez benim çocuğum (!) öpcek beni ya! Sarılcam öpcem böyle mıncıklıycam, ya evet o tip şeylerde son derece Türküm hala. Ben ondan vazgeçmeyeceğim. Öyle uzaktan "baaaaay" ya da "günün nasıl geçti?" Ben öyle onu bir (iç geçirerek) mıncırıp koklaya koklaya yapmazsam olmaz! (Hande)	Hug and kiss, mwah mwah! All that physical contact, warmth, sincere relationship. My child can't just say "bye" and go (!) she will kiss me! I'll hug and kiss, I'll be so cuddly, yes, I'm still extremely Turkish in that type of thing. I will not give up on it. From such a distance "bye" or "how was your day?" Not if I don't do it just like that (with a sigh)! (Hande)

4.3.1.4. How does society approach mothers and children in Turkey? "Motherhood is a place where you always fail, and everybody has a right to judge your motherhood"

Under this title, first, the meaning attributed to motherhood in society and the view of motherhood, then the approach and attitude of the society to mothers in Turkey, and finally how the society approaches children are presented.

Elçin mentioned that in Turkish society, the "mother" is not perceived as a separate individual, that after the woman becomes a mother, her whole life is covered with motherhood and family. In other words, the mother is in the centre of the family and the other family members are attached to the mother like parts of the mother. Elçin stated that no mother has a life of her own in Turkey and that she does not find the state of the mother devoting her life to the child's health. Elçin attributes both the depression and mental health deterioration of mothers in Turkey to this unhealthy symbiotic relationship pattern when their child leaves home after years of living according to their child and devoting their life to the child. It was observed that as long as the mother and child cannot exist as separate organisms and the family is perceived as an extension of the mother, it becomes difficult for a woman to live a healthy life as a mother.

İngiltere'de annenin ayrı bir organizma, birey olduğu kabulü var, Türkiye'de anne tek başına bir birey değil. Anne, o aile ile birlikte anne, birey. Yani koca da, çocuklar da her şey onun, anne merkezde ve annenin parçaları onlar, organları gibi yani. Burada anne tek başına bir birey ve annenin planları, hayatı var yani. Türkiye'de, annenin hayatı diye bir şey yok, yani hayatı olan anne, kendine ait hayatı olan anne görmedik en azından. Çok az görmüşüzdür. Anne dediğin hayatını çocuğuna adamıştır ve zaten annelerin Türkiye'de çocuk	In the UK, there is an acceptance that the mother is a separate organism, an individual, in Turkey the mother is not an individual alone. The mother is a mother with that family, as an individual. In other words, the husband and the children belong to the mother, the mother is in the center, and they are the parts of the mother, as her organs. Here, the mother is a single individual, and the mother has plans and life. In Turkey, there is no such thing as a mother's life, so at least we haven't seen a mother with a life of her own. We must have seen a few. A mother is the one who dedicates her life to her child; therefore, mothers in Turkey do get

evden gittikten sonra depresyona girme, saçma sapan hallere bürünme, sürekli kendini acındırması da bu. Çocuktan kopamıyor çünkü, yani çocuk da kopmasın istiyor. Bizdeki aile. Hepsini biraz hastalıklı buluyorum o açıdan. Anne de çocuğa, o hastalığı hissettiriyor, çocuk da anneye hissettiriyor. Biz hastalıklı bireylere dönüşüyoruz yani. Buradakini çok daha sağlıklı buluyorum. Anne ve baba ve çocuk biliyor ki, anne baba hayatının belli bir dönemine kadar onunla birlikte olacak ve ondan sonra çocuk ihtiyaç duyduğunda anne baba onu destekleyecek ama bu böyle bir, simbiyotik böyle, yapışkan bir. O iki, yani tek organizmaymış gibi değil yani. Ama Türkiye'de bunun tam tersi. (Elçin)

depressed after the child leaves home, getting into silly situations, and constantly hurting themselves. Because she cannot break away from the child, that is, she wants the child not to break away either. Our family type. I find all of them a little sick in that respect. The mother also makes the child feel that disease and the child makes the mother feel. So, we turn into sick individuals. I find it much healthier here. The mother and father and the child know that the parents will be with him until a certain period of his life and then the parents will support him when the child needs it, but this is such a symbiotic, such a sticky one, it's not like they are one organism but two. But in Turkey, it is the opposite. (Elçin)

Esra stated that being a mother in Turkey is seen as a necessity rather than a choice for married women. This shows that the free will of women is not respected in society and that there is pressure on women to become mothers with the responsibilities attributed to women according to their gender roles.

Ya bence Türkiye'de annelik olumlu olarak pek desteklenmiyor. Ve Türkiye'de bence işin en kötü yanı her evlenen kadının anne olması gerekiyormuş gibi bir izlenim var. Her evlenen çocuk yapmak zorunda değil. Bu onun özgür iradesi. Ben de ilk evlendiğimde çocuk yapmam diye düşünüyordum. Yani Türkiye'de annelik baskılardan dolayı bence çok sıkıntılı. (Esra)

I think motherhood is not supported positively in Turkey. And in Turkey, I think the worst part is that there is an impression that every married woman has to be a mother. Married women don’t have to have a child. This is her free will. When I first got married, I thought that I would not have children. In other words, I think motherhood in Turkey is very troublesome because of the pressures. (Esra)

Five participants mentioned the approach and attitude of the society to the mothers in Turkey. They emphasized that everyone in Turkey has the right to judge their motherhood. The judges were sometimes people on the street or on the bus whom they had never met, sometimes their mothers or mothers-in-law, and sometimes other mothers. They stated that mothers are approached with an attitude that is critical and makes them feel inadequate, without respect for the woman to make her own decisions in her own motherhood experience and live this experience as she wishes.

Since Elçin is a journalist and sometimes has to travel due to her profession, when she left her child to travel for work, she saw disapproving and criticizing reactions from her environment. When these critical approaches were added to the guilt that Elçin felt as a mother, this situation became more difficult for Elçin to bear.

Yani anne olmanın bir de öyle bir şeyi var. Herkes çok kolay yargılıyor seni, herkes, yargılama hakkı var. Kendi annen, eşinin annesi, arkadaşların "yaa nasıl çocuk, nasıl dayanıyor sen yokken?' Valla dayanıyor yani, niye dayanmasın ki yani? Çocukta zaten dayanamayacağını hissetsen sen onu yapabilir misin? Yapamam ben! Bu yargılamaya çok açık halde oluyorsun anne olduğunda, sen zaten suçluluk hissederken bir de birileri sürekli sana "Ama yani..." falan. (Elçin)	So, there is that type of thing about being a mother. Everyone judges you very easily, everyone has the right to judge you. Your mother, your husband's mother, your friends "How that child, how does he endure when you are not there?" Indeed, he endures. If you already feel that the child won't endure, will you be able to ignore it? I can't! You are an open target to these judgments when you become a mother, let alone while you are already feeling guilty, and someone always says to you, "But how come so..." or something"(Elçin)

When Esra and her husband left her son for a few days when he was six or nine months old and went on vacation alone, they were heavily judged. Esra used the word "how could it be" when describing how people reacted to her, and her tone was angry. It is understood from Esra's choice of words that some truths are accepted for motherhood in society and that these truths are perceived as absolute truths and that women are not given the right to make their own choices while living their motherhood.

Ay mesela bıraktım tatile gittim, biz oğlum dokuz aylıkken mi altı aylıkken mi ne bıraktık bir yere gittik yani birkaç gün. Nasıl olur! O çocuk altı ay işte sana ihtiyaç duyuyor ne kadar önemli şimdi sen yoksun bilmem ne yani. (Esra)	For example, I left and went on vacation. When my son was nine months old or six months old, we went somewhere, for a few days. How come!! That six-month-old boy needs you now, how grave it is, now you're gone, so and so. (Esra)

For Elçin, one of the most difficult aspects of motherhood is the judgmental attitude toward her motherhood shown by everyone she knows or not. Elçin stated that she finds herself constantly presenting to people around herself how she does motherhood since she needs to prove to people the rationality of what she does as a mother. Even a stranger on the street, who does not know the mother at all, found the right to use judgmental statements to the mother such as, "why are you making the child cry, is he full?" These lookdown approaches and judgments of the mother aroused the mother's feelings that she was inadequate in motherhood.

Zor yani anne olmak, işte bir anne olmak mesela şöyle, eskiden tek başına ben böyle istiyorum, böyle yapıyorum derken şimdi her cephede çok mantıklı açıklamalar getirip herkesi ikna etmen gerekiyor ki sen çocuğuna zarar vermeyesin. İşte sürekli sunum yapıyorsun. (karşılıklı gülüşmeler) Sürekli seni şeyden geçiriyorlar ya da sınıfta bırakıyorlar yani. İşte "hasta olmuş, bakamadınız mı, yediremediniz mi?" Bizde bir de öyle bir şey var yani, kimse senin anneliğinin iyi olabileceğine inanmıyor, devamlı bir sorgulama yeme, böyle öğrenmişiz, kültürümüz böyle yani. Anneliğin en zor taraflarından biri o bence sürekli yargılanıyorsun. Herkes hazır böyle, tanıdığın, tanımadığın herkes bir şey söylüyor... En kolay şey anneleri	It is difficult to be a mother, here is how to be a mother, for example, I used to want to be alone like that, I am acting like such but now I have to come up with very logical explanations for all fronts and convince everyone so that you do not harm your child. Here you are constantly presenting. (Muted laughter) So they're constantly testing you through or failing you. Here is "he got sick, couldn't you take care of him, couldn't you make him eat?" We also have something like that, no one believes that your motherhood can be good, you are questioned all the time, that's how we learned, that's our culture. I think one of the hardest parts of motherhood is that you are constantly being judged. Everyone is ready like this, relatives, or strangers, they all say something... The easiest thing is to judge mothers. Everyone who has given birth to a child in Turkey knows. From the moment you go out to the street,

yargılamak. Türkiye'de çocuk doğuran herkes bilir. Daha sokağa çıktığın andan itibaren taksicisinden tut teyzelerine kadar herkes sürekli "o üşür, o bilmem ne mi, aç mı, tok mu, niye ağlatıyorsun?" İşte gençler ağlamasından rahatsız olur, öbürü bilmem neyinden. (Elçin)	everyone, from the taxi driver to your aunts, is constantly saying, "He gets cold, is he hungry, is he full, why are you making him cry?" Here, young people are disturbed by his crying, the others get disturbed from God knows what. (Elçin)

Parallel to Elçin, Hande pointed out that she received intrusive approaches from others such as "your breast milk is not enough for your child", or "your child catches a cold". While Hande tries to convince herself to feel competent as a mother, this judgmental feedback made her feel more incompetent in her motherhood. All the feedback includes an underlying and not articulated message that "you couldn't understand a child's need" which points out the incompetency of a mother. When experienced mothers, approached Hande with an expression such as "We also raised two children, but we did not do this, our children grew up healthy!" they give a message that implies "we know the best". At the same time, they put a new mother in an unfair comparison because experienced mothers can show the results of what they did to their children, while Hande cannot show the results of what she did at that moment only one can estimates.

Bir yandan kendime ben yeterliyim mesajını vermeye çalışmaktı ama etraftan da çok fazla sütün yetmiyordur ya da ay bu çocuk üşüyordur biraz hırka giydir gibi çok müdahale gelince ne olursa olsun ilk deneyimin olduğu için kendine süper güvenli değilsin çünkü şunu duyuyorsun "biz de iki çocuk büyüttük ama böyle yapmadık, sağlıklı da büyüdü bizim çocuklarımız" şimdi bunlar da olunca.. (Hande)	On the one hand, I was trying to give myself the message that I am sufficient enough, but you don't have enough to breastfeed, or this kid is cold, put on a little cardigan, when it comes to much intervention like those, whatever it is, you are not super confident because it's your first experience because you hear that "we raised two children, but we didn't do it like that, our children grew up healthy," now when these things happen.. (Hande)

Hande talked about the negative and judgmental attitude she faced from the individuals in the society while trying to implement what she believed to be right while

raising her child. For example, Hande stated that she sometimes did not prefer to intervene when her child cried since she was trying to teach her child not to use crying to get what she wanted. In addition, Hande mentioned that when she went to her parents with her son, and when she gave a reaction that she found right in her motherhood, to teach her son something, they reacted like "don't do it here." The reaction of her family to Hande "don't do it here with us" shows that in Turkey, a mother can have her unique motherhood only within the boundaries of her own home.

Mesela çocuk ağlar herhangi bir sebepten ağlayabilir bir çocuk. Zaten anne onu anlar. Şımarıklıktan ağlıyorsa anne onu tabi ki almayacak, tabi ki o an bırakacak o duyguyu sakinleşsin ya da öfkesini çıkarsın. Türkiye'de nolur "cık cık cık cık" al bak çocuk ağlıyor, aç bu çocuk ya da bir sıkıntısı var. Ya ben ona orada bir şey öğretmeye çalışıyorum. Ağlayarak istediğini yaptıramayacağını, şu an vermek zorundayım ona ben bu mesajı. Sen karışırsan nasıl olacak! Ya da anneanne babaanne dede olunca "bizim yanımızda yapma " demeleri. Ama bu olay şimdi yaşandı, şimdi ben çocuğum bunu aklında tut üç saat sonra eve gidince bunu tekrar sahneleyeceğiz olmaz ki! Benim o an aksiyon almam lazım! (Hande)	For example, a child may cry for any reason. The mother already senses that. If she is crying because of being bratty, of course, the mother will not take her, of course, she will let go of that feeling at that moment, calm down or take out her anger. Please take "cık cık cık cık (i.e., tisk tisk!)'' in Turkey, look, the child is crying, this child is hungry, or he has a problem. For God's sake, I am trying to teach him something there. He cannot get what he wants by crying, I have to give him this message right now. How will it happen if you interfere? Or like when there are grandparents, they say "don't do it near us". But this happened now, now I cannot say to my child, keep that in mind, we'll be performing it again in three hours when we get home! I need to take action at that moment! (Hande)

Esra stated that the social judgment that people apply to mothers begins with the issue of breastfeeding. She mentioned that there is a judgment in the society that " breastfeeding is a must to be a good mother" and that there is no empathy for how painful this judgment is for mothers who cannot breastfeed because their milk does not come. Esra was truly angry when she talked about the fact that the criteria of being a good mother were shown to mothers in such a strict and pressured way in society and she stated that she was very unhappy about this issue as a mother in Turkey.

Ama onun dışında biz de aşırı derecede yargı var. Biz bu yargı kalıplarından kurtulmak için sürekli kendimizi mükemmel anneye çevirmeye çalışıyoruz. Ve bu çok yorucu bir şey bence. *Mesela emzirin. En başta bununla başlıyor, emzirmek. Allah'a şükür benim için problem olmadı. ama şimdi hiç sütü gelmemiş bir insan için bunun ne kadar acı verici bir şey empati yapmıyorlar. Bizim insanımız empatiden yoksun. "Emzir!!" Yaaa ya yoksa ne yapsın(!) Emzireceksin, o çocuğa iyi bakacaksın işte ince giydirdin 'cık cık cık' dışarıdaki teyzeler, cık cıklar bu çocuk üşümüyor mu!?. Yani el alem örgütü var ya çok fena bir şey. Yani ben kesinlikle mutsuzdum bu konuda. Sürekli bir yargı. İyi anne olmalısın, iyi anne olmanın kriterleri; başta emzireceksin. Sürekli çocuğunla ilgileneceksin. (Esra)*	But other than that, we have over judgment. We are constantly trying to turn ourselves into perfect mothers to get rid of these judgmental patterns. And I think it's very tiring. For example, breastfeeding. It starts with that in the first place, breastfeeding. Thank God it wasn't a problem for me but now they don't empathize with how painful it might be for a mother who has never had milk. Our people lack empathy. "Breastfeed!!" Oh, what she can do if she cannot? No, my good sir, you will breastfeed the child somehow. You will take care of her quite well, look you made him wear very airy "cık cık cık'' say the old ladies outside as goes'' doesn't that child freezing. In other words, there is a cult among everyone, it is a very bad thing. So, I was absolutely unhappy about it. Constant judgment. You must be a good mother, the criteria for being a good mother; you will breastfeed first. You will always take care of your child. (Esra)

Esra told about a situation she lived in with another mother on the Metrobus to illustrate how society approaches mothers. In this situation, that mother felt uncomfortable with the judgmental looks of people because her child is crying, and Esra as a mother who can empathize with that woman gave support to her with her words. The mother tells Esra that her child has pooped in her diaper, and Esra says she can change her child's diaper. The mother timidly asked Esra, "What if it stinks?" this question showed that the woman was afraid of the judgmental negative attitude that might come from people on the Metrobus about changing the diaper. Turning to the people on the bus, Esra says, "Let's ask which one didn't poop in their diapers when they were kids." After the woman was relieved with Esra's support, she told Esra that people were looking very bad and judgmental because the baby was crying and Esra turned to the people on the bus and shouted, "Which one did not cry when she was a

baby, the one who is uncomfortable can get off." This incident was an example of how the people on the bus approached the mother judgmentally because the child was crying, the mother's boundaries were violated when they tried to change the place where the child's stroller stood without asking, and how relieved the mother was when she received support from another mother, and how she could express her fears and anxieties. While motherhood was a compelling experience, it was very difficult to listen to this event, which showed how society's approach to motherhood affects the stress level of the mother and therefore the way she lives motherhood.

Bir gün metrobüse bindim Türkiye'de işe gidiyordum. Oğlum doğmuş. Bir kadın bindi yanıma bir kadının küçük bir çocuğu var. Yaşça da biraz vardı yaşı vardı yani kırk küsurlarda kadın pusetle bindi kan ter içerisinde bebek sürekli ağlıyor. Bebek ağladığı için metrobüsteki herkes kadına bakıyor. Puseti koyduğu yeri beğenmediler oradakiler, puseti koyduğu yere laf ettiler ve kadın bir anda böyle şey benimle dertleşmeye başladı. "Çok strese girdim" dedi. Dedim ki "siz hiç strese girmeyin" dedim "insanlar rahatsız oluyorlarsa inebilirler" dedim bende! O da dedi ki "çocuk kaka yapmış" dedi. "Buyurun yatırın burada değiştirin" dedim. "Kokarsa?" dedi. "Kokabiliiiiir" dedim bende. "Hangisi (!) yapmamış altına soralım isterseniz" dedim ben de. Kadınla böyle konuştukça kadın biraz rahatlamaya başladı. "Çok kötü bakıyorlar" dedi ve ben artık dayanamadım bağırarak dedim ki "hangisi bebekken ağlamamış acaba!" dedim, "rahatsız olan inebilir" diye bağırdım ben de. Pusetin yerini değiştirmek isteyene de "hayır, o orada duracak" dedim. Yani çünkü bir

One day, I took the metrobus and was on my way to work in Turkey. My son was born. A woman sat down next to me. She has a baby. A bit old was the woman, who was about forty-something, got on the stroller, the baby was crying all the time, she was in blood and sweat. Everyone on the metrobus looks at the woman because the baby is crying. They did not like the place where she put the stroller, they talked about the place where she put the stroller, and the woman suddenly started to talk to me about such a thing. "I was so stressed out," she said. I said, "don't get stressed at all, "I said, "people can get off if they are uncomfortable." She said, "the kid pooped." Then, I said, "Here you go, change it here". "If it stinks?" she said. "It can smell," I said. "Whosoever (!) has not pooped their pants, let's ask everyone if you want," I said. As I talked to the woman like that, the woman began to relax a little. "They are staring so disturbingly," she said. And I couldn't take it anymore, I shouted, "I wonder which one of you didn't cry when you were a baby!" I said, "the one who is disturbed can get off" and I shouted. I said to the person who wanted to change the place of the stroller, "no, it will stay here". I mean, because nobody realizes that there is no point in stressing a mother, on the

anneyi strese sokmanın hiçbir anlamı olmadığını aksine çocuğu da iki kat strese soktuğunu kimse farkında değil. (Esra)	contrary, it puts the child in twice the stress. (Esra)

Tümay stated that she was accused of being an "unhygienic mother" when she picked up a book that had fallen on the floor at the bookstore by people she does not know. It was understood that when she became a mother, the woman went through many border violations and became judged with a single act, even by people she did not know.

İşte çocuğun başını şey, üşür… soğuk neden başına bir şey giydirmedin den, hani sokaktaki teyzelerin karışması olayı vardır ya, "aman yavrum". Mesela kitapçıda kitap bakarken yere düşen kitabı aldığın zaman hijyen bilmeyen anne olmaya kadar bir böyle bir anneliğe dair müdahale çok fazla, fiziksel müdahale. (Tümay)	There the child's head, he gets cold… because you didn't put anything on his head, you know, there is the typicality of the aunts on the street jumping over, "Oh my poor baby". For example, when you pick up the book that you were looking for which fell on the floor while being in the bookstore, then you become a mother who does not know hygiene such intervention goes all along the way. (Tümay)

Another thing that Müjde and Esra were pointed out that mothers also practiced a judgmental attitude in society towards the mothers. She stated that mothers judge each other's motherhood among themselves and that each mother has the belief that she knows what is right. For example, approaches such as "you shouldn't do it" were seen when one mother uses the child-led feeding method while the other did not, or when a mother applies sleep training to her child and another mother did not. While Müjde stated that she wanted to experience her motherhood, she also faced the fact that the belief that everyone's motherhood is unique in this society and that every woman can freely create the definition of motherhood has not settled even among mothers.

Türkiye'de herkes her şeyi en iyi bilir o yüzden bütün yetiştirdikleri çocuklar 'harikadır' şeklinde. Herkes bir şeyler öğretmek ister.	Everyone in Turkey knows everything best, so all the children they raise are 'wonderful'. Everyone wants to teach something. Everyone wants to give

Herkes kendinden bir şeyler vermek ister ama ben kendi anneliğimi yaşamak istedim yani ne derler hani. Sıra bendeydi. Tamam, sen kendi anneliğini yapmışsın şimdi ben yapacağım. Bu benim anneliğim seninkini örnek almak istemiyorum ama tabii ki işte bir kriz anında nasıl tepki vermem ya da nasıl bir etkileşim halinde olmam gerektiğini hani uzmanlar tarafından, ki uzmanlarla çok birebir yakinen temasta olduğum için o dönemlerde hani sorabiliyordum mesela röportaja gidiyordum bir doktora bunu sorabiliyordum. O şekilde uzmanlardan çok yararlanmıştım ama annelerden yararlanma konusunda açıkçası çok da şey değilim taraftar değilim çünkü o onun anneliği yani o, o şekilde yapmak istiyor ben bu şekilde yapmak istiyorum. Mesela bir bebeğin yeme alışkanlığının kazandırılması gibi. Kimisi BLW'yi (bebek liderliğinde beslenme) şey yapar kimisi kendi yedirmeyi tercih eder. Yani o, o tarafı seçti diye bu taraftaki kötü olmak zorunda değil! Herkesin tercihleri ya da uyku eğitimi. Bana çok yanlış geliyor; "Öyle yapmamalısın!" falan. Neee!! Neye bakarak yani?! "Neden bu şekilde söylüyorsun?" aynıyız işte, aynı yaşta çocuğumuz!.. Senin çocuğun çok daha iyi uyuyor diye sen daha iyi bir anne misin!? Türkiye'de genellikle işte "sen öyle yapmamalısın!". Hani yargılayan ton. Ton çok önemli herhalde yani. (Müjde)

something of themselves, but I wanted to live my motherhood, so what do they say. It was my turn. Okay, you did your motherhood, now I'll do mine. This is my motherhood, I don't want to take yours as an example, but of course, I could ask how I should react or how I should interact in a crisis, since I was in close contact with experts at that time, for example, I was going to an interview, and I could ask a doctor about this. That way, I benefited a lot from the experts, but frankly, I am not a big fan of benefiting from mothers, because that is her motherhood, so she wants to do it that way, I want to do it that way which is my motherhood. For example, instilling a baby's eating habits. Some do BLW (baby-led feeding), while others prefer to feed their child themselves. So, she doesn't have to be bad on this side just because she chose that side! That's everyone's preference or take sleep training. It seems so wrong to me; "You shouldn't do that!" blah blah. Whattt!! Looking at what?! "Why do you say it that way?" we are the same, our children of the same age! Are you a better mother because your child sleeps much better!? In Turkey, it's usually "you shouldn't do that!". The judgmental tone. I guess the tone is very important. (Müjde)

In parallel with Müjde, Esra also stated that even in her circle of friends, a mother was judged by the other mothers in the same friend group since she preferred pumping her milk and bottle feeding instead of breastfeeding her baby.

İşte ne bileyim ya biz de bile vardı ya.. Yani bir arkadaş sürekli sağıyordu öyle veriyordu sütünü. Onu bile cık cıklayanlar vardı ya! Kız sevmiyorsa ne yapsın yani emzirmeyi sevmek zorunda değil insanlar. Bu da bir gerçek! (Esra)	I don't know, even we had it. A friend of mine used to milk her breast and feed the baby. Some people were opposed to doing it. What could she do if she doesn't like breastfeeding? This is also a reality. (Esra)

Esra talked about the attitude towards children in Turkey and how it felt in her motherhood. She talked about the lack of respect for children in society, giving examples of border violations that could even threaten her child's safety. Esra supported this idea with different examples she observed and experienced. Esra mentioned that she was worried about her child's safety while walking on the street with her child because people walked disrespectfully in a way that would crush the child. One incident that Esra witnessed at the bank was a woman treating a singing girl in an intolerant and disrespectful way. As a mother, Esra was extremely uncomfortable with society's approach to children, and it was understood how "alert" and anxious she felt as a mother because of society's approach to her child.

Geldiğim en çirkin nokta şu olmuştu birisi bu gerçekten yani rahatsız edici bir şey aynı zamanda ama ben hiç böyle düşünmezdim. Birisi oğlumu kucağına aldı bana hiç söylemeden aldı. Ben telefonla konuşuyordum. Bir anda oğlumu kucağına aldı! Ve ben o anda sapık mıdır nedir diye düşündüm mesela karşımdaki insan için. Belki gerçekten iyi niyetli yaptı ama aklıma ilk gelenin sapık olup olmadığı olması bu topluma ne kadar güvenmediğimi şey yaptı gösterdi. Ve sonra mesela	The nastiest point I came was that it was really disturbing, and I had never thought of it so, someone got my son on his lap, without asking. I was talking on the phone. He got my son to his lap suddenly. I thought at that moment, is he a pervert or what. Maybe he was well-intended but what I thought at first was whether he was being a pervert or not? I was supposed to ask him why he did it? But this Turkish society teaches us to be two-faced. We should ask in fact why he was interrupted while we were talking? We don't have borders. We believe that beadledom is sincerity. In the UK no one touches someone's

ikiyüzlülük yaptım, hiç tepki göstermedim. Halbuki benim orada bayağı böyle 'sen ne yapıyorsun!' demem gerekiyordu. Yani bu Türk toplumu bize ikiyüzlülüğü de öğretiyor. Halbuki bilmiyorum ya bence Türkiye'de en çok kullanılabilecek laf 'sana ne!' olmalı mesela. "Seni ne ilgilendiriyor? Sen nasıl bana dokunabiliyorsun? Nasıl aileme dokunabiliyorsun? Pardon biz muhabbet ediyorduk sen nasıl araya giriyorsun" gibi şeyler olmalı bence! Çünkü sınır yok bizde yani bunu samimiyet olarak görüyoruz bir de işin en kötü yanı hadsizliği samimiyet olarak görüyoruz. İngiltere'de kimse kimsenin çocuğuna dokunmaz. Yani ben bir şey vermek istesem önce annesine sorarım. Türkiye'de zort diye çocuğun eline veriyorlar mesela yani. Ya ben vermiyorum arkadaşım belki alerjisi var bi de! İçinde ne var bilmiyorum. Zort diye eline veriyorlar. (Esra)

child. If you want to give someone's child something, you should ask the mother first. I don't give anything, be cautious because he may be allergic to it. But in Turkey, we don't ask. (Esra)

Ben Türkiye'de çocuğumun elini bırakıp yürüyemiyorum hiçbir parkta. Neden? Çünkü güvenmiyorum. Herkes böyle yürüyor. Kimse aşağıdakini görmüyor. Ben Bağdat Caddesi'nde oğlumun elini bıraktığımda üstüne yürüdüğünü biliyorum insanların ya!! Bakmıyorlar, saygı yok, umurunda değil! Herkes "ben" diyor, "önce ben". Ama işte sıkıntı şu ki herkes önce ben dediğinde toplumsal olarak huzur kalmıyor. (Esra)

I cannot leave my child's hand and walk in any park in Turkey. Why? Because I don't trust. Everyone walks like this. No one sees the below. I know that when I let go of my son's hand on Bağdat Street, people walked towards him!! They don't look, no respect, they don't care! Everyone says, "me", "me first". But the problem is that when everyone tells me first, there is no social peace. (Esra)

Ya bir gün bankada bir küçük çocuk nasıl da güzel kız çocuğu

One day in a bank a girl child is singing and dancing, running around, etc. The

şarkı söylüyor dans ediyor bize doğru koşuyor falan ben gülümsüyorum... Yanındaki kadın "ya sus artık başım ağrıdı" dedi çocuğa. Döndüm "hanımefendi siz evden çıkmayın" dedim. "Ayy niye çıkmayacakmışım?" dedi. Duymuyor musunuz bir sürü korna çalıyor insanın kafası şişiyor dedim. Yani "çocuk sesinden kafanız şişiyorsa ohoo" dedim Yani! Yani böyle hiç çocuk olmamışlar, hiç bağırmamışlar, hiç ağlamamışlar gibi bir haller tavırlar... (Esra)	woman over there said, 'Stop it and shut up. I have a headache.' I told her not to go out and stay at home as the cars keep on hooting. And when she asked the reason, I said because of the cars' hooting. I mean if you are disturbed by a child's voice then it is normal for being disturbed by cars. People are behaving as if they have never been a kid. (Esra)

4.3.2. Challenging aspects of being a migrant mother

Participants shared four dimensions of the challenging aspects of being a migrant mother. These were can be listed as "I was a princess in Turkey, and I have turned to Cinderella when I migrate", "Responsibility of the child's adaptation is on mothers" shoulders", "Scary part of being a migrant mother: Raising your child in culture, language, system that you did not know", and "The prices migrant mothers have to pay: "Am I free anymore?"

4.3.2.1. "I was a princess in Turkey, and I have turned to Cinderella when I migrate": A need for support

Five participants stated that one of the things that make migrant motherhood most difficult is that they cannot reach the family support they had in Turkey while raising a child in the UK. Elçin, Hande, Özge, and Zeynep talked about the fact that they could not spend time alone as a couple in the UK, due to the lack of someone like grandparents to leave their children with.

While Elçin stated that she did not feel comfortable leaving her child with a babysitter since the babysitter is a stranger to the child, Hande stated that she tried to arrange a babysitter in the UK to take care of her children, but she saw that it was costly and that her children were not comfortable.

Bir kere aile desteği alamıyorsun. Ben biraz bu konuda şeyim ya, kötü bir düşünceye sahibim. Mesela çocuğu çok yabancılarla yalnız bırakma eylemi olan biri değilim. Dolayısıyla biz mesela hiç kaç senedir babysitter yani burada, buraya taşındığımızdan beri öyle bir şey yapmadık. Çünkü çocuk ilk kez gördüğü ve senin de ilk kez gördüğün birine birazcık tanıyıp birlikte zaman geçirmediğin birine çocuğu hemen o an... Ya bunu yapanları yargılamak için söylemiyorum, bana iyi hissettiren bir şey değil. O desteği hissedemiyor... Biz mesela hiç eşimle baş başa bir şey kaç yıldır yapamadık bu yüzden. Yani anneanne babaanne desteği önemli. (Elçin)

First of you can't get family support. I am a bit pessimistic about this issue. I am not inclined to keep my kid to people whom we don't know well. For that reason, we didn't have a babysitter here for a few years. Because it is almost impossible to leave the kid, someone you have seen, or the child has seen for the first time…I think I had better give my kid someone whom the child has passed some time and after they have got to know one another. I am not telling it to judge the people doing so. We haven't had a chance to be together or do something privately with my husband for a few years. I mean the support of grandparents is very important. (Elçin)

Biz Türkiye'de o geniş ailenin konforunu çok fazla yaşıyorduk. Dolayısıyla o kısmı zor oldu. Ya da işte çocuğu alıp çıkıyorsun, yani çocuğu bırakıyorsun anneanneye babaanneye ve sen dışarı çıkıyorsun kocanla. Burada baya lüks. Mesela babysitter denedik baya, çok rahat edemediler küçük oğlum küçüktü. Bir de ciddi bir bütçe de aslında. Arkadaşından rica ediyorsun, e o da biz mesela haftada 1 dışarı çıkardık Türkiye'de mesela, e burada tabi öyle bir haftada bir rutini yok tabi işte, senede bir kere arkadaşına bırakırsan ne ala! O tip zorluklar. (Hande)

We had the comfort of having a large family in Turkey, for that reason that part was very difficult for us. I mean you put the baby with grandparents and go out with your husband. It is a luxury here. We tried a few babysitters, but we didn't feel comfortable, as my younger son was too young. Telling the truth is quite a lot of money. You ask your friends to look after your kid, but it cannot be very often. We used to go out at least once a week when we were in Turkey. Here it is ok if you can leave once a year. Those kinds of difficulties. (Hande)

Türkiye'de çok daha sosyaldik, burada çok daha çekirdek aile etrafında. Hafta içi burada zaten hiçbir şey yapmıyorsun çünkü

We used to be much more social in Turkey but here we are more nucleolus. After all, you cannot do anything here on weekdays and you cannot do it even

zaten burada çocukları bırakabileceğim bir yer yok. Bazen annem falan geliyor onlar geldiğinde müzikal yapıyoruz bir iki merkeze iniyoruz eşimle hazır evde biri varken bu tarz şeyler yapabiliyoruz. (Özge)	if you weren't as there is hardly any open place. Sometimes my mother comes to visit, and we take the opportunity to go to the city to listen to music. We can just go when someone is looking after kids at home. (Özge)
Kimse de burada olmadığı için Türkiye'de yine kızımı birilerine bırakıp ortak bir şeyler yapabiliyorduk eşimle bazen çok nadir de olsa. (Zeynep)	Sometimes, even it was rarely, we could leave my daughter to someone and be able to socialize with my husband when in Turkey. (Zeynep)

Hande, Elçin, and Esra talked about how much they felt the lack of physical support from their families while raising children as mothers. For example, they stated that as a migrant mother, it is difficult not to be able to ask a family member to pick up her child from school when she cannot go to pick up the child from school. Another difficulty is that when the migrant mothers get sick, it is difficult to fulfil both the responsibilities at home and the responsibilities towards the child, and they stated that they feel a lack of family support at these times. The fact that migrant mothers could not reach family support when they experienced something like an illness made motherhood even more difficult, and it seemed as if even the slightest extra negativity, like a disease, was causing the collapse of the barely functioning system. While listening to the mothers, the feeling about migrant motherhood was that they were under pressure like a football team without a substitute player on the field. Elçin also stated that she felt sorry for herself when she thought that there was no one to take care of her or her child when she and her child got sick. Elçin's sentence showed that feeling psychologically vulnerable and fragile can be more intense for migrant motherhood.

Mesela bazen çocuğu okuldan almaya yetişemiyorsun, fiziksel yardıma ihtiyacın bazen. Ya da mesela sen hasta oluyorsun, sen hasta olunca evde sistem çöküyor, çocukları okula birinin getirip götürmesi lazım, yemeği yapması lazım, evdeki düzeni sağlaması	Sometimes you run out of time and cannot have time to pick up your kid from school and you need physical help. Or you get sick and when you are sick, the house stops working. Someone should take and pick the kids to school, someone must cook, and must put

lazım. O tip şeylerde zorlanıyorsun. (Hande)	everything in order… you have difficulty in such times. (Hande)
Bazen sen hasta oluyorsun, çocuğa bakacak kimse olmuyor, o şey aile desteği çok zor. Bir de o anlarda daha kırılgan hissediyorsun kendini, acıyorsun kendine. İşte şuna bak, hastayım ve çocuk da hasta ve bize bakacak kimse yok falan hani. (Elçin)	Sometimes when you are sick, there is no one to look after the kid, the family support is hard to obtain. You feel more fragile at those times, you pity yourself. See, you are sick, and your kid is too. But you have no one to look after you (Elçin)
Zorlukları var tabii özellikle çocuk yetiştirirken. Yalnızlık zor oluyor, okuldan alır mısın diyemiyorsun insanlara. Allah'a şükür yine burada hani Chiswick deki çevremiz imdadımıza koşacak arkadaşlarımız var evet ama yine de hani şey el neticesinde. Aile desteği eksik kesinlikle burada ne yazık ki. (Esra)	There are difficulties, of course, especially when raising children. Loneliness is so hard; you can't ask people to take your child from school. Thank God, here in Chiswick, we have friends who will support us when we need it, yes, but still, it's not your family after all. Unfortunately, family support is definitely missing here. (Esra)

Hande, Özge, Esra, and Sevda mentioned that the domestic workload has increased when compared to Turkey because they are deprived of the support received from the maid or the mother who lives nearby.

The question Hande's mother asked her was "will you be able to leave your comfort and go?" In fact, this question indicates how difficult it can be the transition from motherhood to migrant motherhood due to being away from support mechanisms. Talking about her difficulties as a migrant mother, Hande mentioned that she went to the customer with a stroller in her hand, took an order while her child was crying, and said, "It was really hard!" then even she was accompanied by a pitying mood for herself. When she thought about the hardships of her own experiences in migrant motherhood, in addition to her pitying mood, she had a proud tone in her voice for being able to do all these together, albeit with difficulty.

Hakikaten bakarsan benim Türkiye'de şımarık prenses süper	Telling the truth, I used to have a life like a spoilt princess when I was in

bir hayatım vardı yani.. Buraya gelince baya külkedisine döndüm. Orada devamlı evine temizliğe gelen kadın var, bir sokak ötende annen oturuyor. "Ay anne ben gece uyuyamadım" diyorsun, hadi sen yat bebeğe ben bakayım diyor, bir uyanıyorsun yemeğin yapılmış. Baya süper lüks bir hayatım vardı. Ve ben ilk gidiyorum dediğimde annem "bu konforu bırakıp gidebilecek misin?, Emin misin? Yapabilecek misin orada çünkü sürüneceksin". Temizliğimi de ben yaptım, müşteriye elimde pusetle de gittim, oğlumla gittim. İşte bir yandan da sipariş alıp bir yandan elimde ağlayan çocuk ağlayan çocuğu sakinleştir... Hakikaten zordu yani! (Hande)

Turkey. When I came here, I became Cinderella. When in Turkey, your mother lives just a few blocks away and a cleaning woman comes regularly. When you complain about not having slept the other night, your mother offers help and you sleep. Sometimes you find your meals have been cooked. I mean very luxurious in fact. When I told my mother that I was leaving. The first question she asked was if I could not find comfort there. Are you sure? Will you be able to survive there? You will have difficulties there. It was the same as she said, I did my cleaning, I went shopping with the stroller, I get orders from one side, and on the other hand, I looked after my crying son. Those were the hard times. (Hande)

Özge stated that since there was a woman who helps with the housework in Turkey, she had time for herself, both in the evening and in the daytime.

Şimdi burada ev düzeni ayrı bir olay, evin toparlanması etmesi, ben bunların hiçbirini yapmamışım. Hiçbir şey yapmamışım yani ne yapıyordum, iş yapıyordum bir finansla ilgili, ondan sonra mesela bir iki saat ben arkadaşlarıma da vakit ayırırdım gün içinde çünkü o beni besliyor. Spor yapıyordum daha yoğun. Ve hani dörtten önce çocuklarımla zaman geçirdiğim vakit, yedi buçuk sekizden sonra da kendime ayıracak vaktim oluyordu. (Özge)

Here the tidiness of the house is another problem. I had never done those chores before. I used to work at a finance centre, and I used to spare one or two hours for friends who were feeding me. I was going the gym very often. I was spending time with kids before four and I had time for myself after seven. (Özge)

While Esra and Sevda talked about the increase in their workload at home, they stated that in addition to the lack of family support, their husbands were less able to support them in household chores or taking care of the children in the UK due to the

increased workload. It has been heard that the burden of motherhood has increased after the migration, the responsibility for the home has increased and motherhood has become lonelier and uncanny.

Ya ben mesela kayınvalidem evdeyken bir kere düşünmüyorum ki hani oğlum aç mı kaldı? Yemeğini yedi mi? Yemek var mı evde ya da sıkıldı mı acaba? Hava da güzel dışarıya çıktılar mı? Bunların hiçbirini düşünmüyordum ama şimdi mesela evde ben olunca yani o destek yok. Hani bunu bir döngü haline getiriyordu. Kayınvalidem yemeği hazırlıyordu ben oğlum ile oynuyordum. Ya da ben yemek hazırlıyorum. O oğlumla ilgileniyordu falan bir denge oluyordu. Şu an o denge tamamen kaydığı için benim üzerime doğru bir de eşim de sabah işte hafta sonu özellikle on buçukta işte olması gerekiyor. Gece geç saatte geliyor. (Esra)	When my mother-in-law is at home I never have a concern about my son. Is he full or hungry? Is there anything to eat or not? When the weather is fine, they go out. But now that support is lacking, I am the responsible one for all those chores. It was like a routine, my mother-in-law used to cook and prepare the dinner and I would play and spend time with my son. Or just the opposite. It was very well-balanced. Now there is no balance and all of them are on my shoulders as my husband works in the morning and at the weekend, he comes very late. (Esra)
Sorumluluklarım çok arttı, artıyor. İş yükü çok artıyor. Yani ben bunları yaşıyorum ve benim hani Türkiye'deyken eşim burada çok yoğun çalışıyor, Türkiye'de bu kadar yoğun çalışmıyordu ve evle ilgili normal yapılması gereken işleri eşim yapıyordu genelde. (Sevda)	My responsibilities, the burden of work has increased. I am going through all these, and my husband works very hard. He didn't use to work that hard in Turkey and he would do most of the chores about running the house. (Sevda)

Sevda and Esra mentioned that after they become a migrant mother, they do not have the opportunity to spend alone time and as a migrant mother, it is very tiring to have to spend time with the child all the time because of the conditions do not allow it.

Sosyal destek en çok aradığım şey o. Yani yakın bir akraba, arkadaş olması kesinlikle çok kurtarıcı olabilir. Yani mesela şey örnek vereyim; Türkiye'de annem olduğu için ya da eşim daha az, Türkiye'de daha az çalışıyordu burada daha yoğun çalışıyor. Yoğunluğu daha azdı daha az yoruluyordu. Ben hafta sonları ya da istediğim zaman dışarıya tek başıma çıkabiliyordum. Arkadaşlarımla görüşebiliyordum, işte alışverişe gittiğimde mesela ben bir mağazaya falan gittiğimde yalnız gitmek ya da arkadaşımla gitmek isterim, burada kesinlikle ben kızım olmadan hiçbir yere gidemiyorum. Mesela bazen insan yalnız kendi başına zaman geçirmek istiyor. O biraz şey yapıyor işte etkiliyor öyle yani. (Sevda)	What I am looking for most is social support. I mean a close relative or a friend; it might be lifesaving. For example, my husband used to work less in Turkey and my mother was there. He works harder here. He wasn't getting tired that much. I could go out alone on weekends or whenever I wanted. I was able to meet my friend. When I go shopping, I always want to go with my friends or on my own. But here I cannot go anywhere without my daughter. You know sometimes you want to be by yourself. It sometimes affects. (Sevda)
Bütün gün çocukla baş başa olmak gerçekten çok yorucu enerjisi bitmeyen bir çocuk yani. Dün mesela oğluma dedim ki "Oğlum ben çok yoruldum benim senin kadar enerjim yok" dedim "ama benim var" dedi. Yani şimdi böyle bir durumda ben ne yapabilirim, haklı! (Esra)	Spending all day with the child is very tiring as he is a child who never runs out of energy. Yesterday I said, 'Dear I got very tired, I don't have that much energy.' And he said 'But, I have.' So now, what can I do in such a situation he is right. (Esra)

Zeynep stated that raising a child far from family and close relatives is also lacking in terms of the bond that her child establishes with people from the family, and that she feels the sadness of not being able to meet with her child's aunt or uncle as she wishes, and that she, as a mother, is terribly upset about this situation. Zeynep stated that her child's bond with relatives could not be nourished because they lived far away, and her child felt the deprivation of these bonds, and this deprivation upset her child. Zeynep stated that her daughter tried to see people she met as her uncle and aunt to meet her emotional need that she could not receive from her relatives due to distance.

İstanbul'da benim ailem de eşimin ailesi de oradaydı. Oturduğumuz yer de birbirimizi tanıdığımız için bir süredir oturduğumuz için. Şey anlamında çok rahattık bahçede rahat oynayabiliyordu. Yani işte teyzeleri çok halaları. Onların hepsiyle böyle bir sosyalleşme şeyi vardı. Şimdi burada akraba şeyimiz yok. Hiç akrabamız yok bizim burada sadece arkadaşlarımız var. Ve mesela ben bazen kızımın o duygusunu hissediyorum. İşte birinin amcası dayısı falan gelince soruyor artık bana "benim amcam dayım niye gelmiyor?" İşte "biz ne zaman gideceğiz teyzemleri görmeye?". Böyle bir sıkıntısı var aslında. Yani ben çok açık söyleyeyim pek akrabacı da değilimdir aslında. Ama çocuk doğunca çocuğun onlara ihtiyaç hissettiğini hissediyorsunuz. Keşke kız kardeşim burada olsaydı diyorum mesela. Teyzesini çok seviyor çünkü. Keşke teyzesi burada olsaydı ona bıraksaydım. Ya da işte birisi alıp gelip bi dışarı çıkartsaydı. Çocuk için de iyi oluyor. Çünkü yeni tanıştığımız insanlarla falan artık o ilişkiyi kuruyor dayı, teyze gibi görmeye başladı kuzum. (Zeynep)

In İstanbul, both my and my husband's family were there. In the place where we live, the quarter was a place where we had been living for a time, we could play in the garden, etc. I mean we were very comfortable. I mean there were aunts around and had the opportunity to socialize. Now we don't have relatives around, we just have friends. And I can feel the lack of that feeling of my daughter when someone's relatives come to visit. And she asks why hers aren't coming? Or she asks when we are going to visit her aunts or uncles. That is the problem. I am not keen on my relatives. But you feel that the kid needs them. I sometimes wish my sister were here, too. I wish I could leave her to my sister sometimes as she loves her very much. Or someone could take her out to socialize as it is very good for the kid. My daughter can set up such a relation to someone we have just met, and she sees them as aunts or uncles. (Zeynep)

4.3.2.2. Responsibility for the child's adaptation is on the mothers' shoulders

Five participants stated that their children had difficulties in the adaptation process to the UK and this was also particularly challenging for their motherhood. Elçin complained that her husband did not share the burden of the adaptation of the child and that the entire burden was on her as a mother. Tümay, Özge, and Sevda mentioned that their children had difficulties in adapting to the country due to language

problems, and this problem affected the social relations of Tümay and Özge's child and adversely affected Sevda's daughter's adaptation to school. Zeynep, on the other hand, talked about her daughter's difficulty in adapting to their small house in London and what she did as a mother to cope with this.

Elçin complained that the burden of every single detail concerning the child's adaptation was solely on the mother's shoulders. She stated that because her husband has a job in the UK, he only takes on the burden of earning money, but all the details and responsibilities of the child's adaptation are left to the mother, from where to buy the hairdryer, which school the child will go to, how the child can get used to the food culture so that he does not refuse the food at school.

Sen çocuğun eğitim hayatını, sosyal hayatını, işte başına gelebilecek her türlü olumlu olumsuz şeyleri sen düşünmek zorundasın. Planlamak zorundasın ama yeni bir ülkedesin. Yani saç kurutma makinasını nereden alacağından tut, çocuğun hangi okula gideceğine, işte sonrasında ne bileyim müzik, müziğe yeteneği var mı acaba diye o kurslara, heerrrr şeeey, her şeyi sen düşünmek zorundasın! Kadın olmanın öyle bir şeyi var işte, taşınma zaten genelde o detay işleri kadınlarda olduğu için sen düşünüyorsun. Çarşaf alacağız yok bilmem ne her şey bizde! İşte, düşünsene mutfak alışkanlıkların bile değişiyor işte. Yani, Türkiye'de bulamadığın şeyleri burada, bulduğun şeyleri burada bulamıyorsun. Yemeği de sen düşünmek zorundasın. Buranın şeyi ile biraz biraz Türkiye'den karıştırıp böyle yeni bir damak tadı yaratmaya çalışıyorsun ki çocuğun okulda reddetmesin diye. Yani her şey, detaylı düşündüğünde her şey aslında bir	You have to think about your child's education, social life, and everything that could happen. You have to plan everything, and you are in a new country. You have to think and plan everything from A to Z and you have to find the proper school, find out your child's skill, like is he talented in music or not? I mean everything. Being a woman requires to think about everything carefully, and about moving, also the women are the ones who should think about everything. Everything. For example, buying a bedsheet. Think, your kitchen habits also change. You cannot find the things you find in Turkey here. You have to think about the cooking, too. I am trying to create a new taste mixing Turkish and English cuisine so that your child doesn't refuse it at school. In short, you are the one who has to think about everything. (Elçin)

şey, bir düşünme kalemi senin için ve çok meşgul eden bir şey. (Elçin)

Özge stated that teachers suggested her son should read a book to cope with the language problem, but Özge thought that it was very difficult because her child was not able to read and write and did not know English. Although Özge thought it was difficult, she stubbornly read a book with her son, and this is how they solved the language problem.

Batu da bir şekilde yaza kadar bayağı bir zorlandı. Çünkü konuşamıyor edemiyor ağlıyordu. Mesela okuldan kitap veriyorlar "bunu okusun" diyorlar. Diyorum ki çocuk daha okuma yazma bilmiyor, İngilizce bilmiyor nasıl okusun?! "Okur okur" diyorlar. (gülüyor) Öyle de bir rahatlık ve okuya okuya oldu gerçekten ben de yılmadım ben de biraz inatçıyım. (Özge)	Batu also had difficulty in away until summertime. Because he couldn't speak and understand. For example, they gave him some books from school, but although I told them that my son wasn't able to read, they kept on. How should he read? He doesn't speak English. They said he could read in a teasing way. And it happened so, he learned to read eventually, I am also stubborn. (Özge)

Sevda stated that when her daughter started kindergarten, she had difficulties adapting to school for two reasons. First, since her grandmother in Turkey took care of her, there was no social environment and she had difficulties communicating with her peers socially. Second, she had difficulties adapting to school because she had language problems. Sevda started a job in her child's kindergarten to support her child, and in the job interview, she mentioned that working at the same school with her daughter was an important criterion for her to support her daughter. It showed how much self-sacrifice and effort Sevda, as a migrant mother, can make to support her child's adaptation. Sevda prefers to work where she can support her child rather than seeing her child's unhappiness, and this is an example of how a mother puts her child first on the priority list.

Sonra stres oluşmaya başladı, ne zaman kızımı işte anaokuluna verdiğimde zaten. Onun için ben	After that, I started to get stressed when I enrolled my daughter in that kindergarten. For that reason, I

anaokulunu tercih ettim, kızıma yakın olmak için. Aynı anaokulunda ben işe girdim zaten. Görüşmeyi o şekilde yaptım. Hem kızımı hem beni, beni işe alıyorsanız kızımı da alacaksanız ona göre ben işe başlayayım, yoksa başlamayacağım diye durumu anlattım. Böyle başladık işte kızımın yani dil sorunu vardı tabii. Türkiye'deyken anneannesi baktığı için daha önce hiçbir kreşe gitmemişti, sosyal ortamları yoktu. Onun için biraz zor oldu. Yalnız büyüyen bir çocuktu apartman ortamında. Hani çevremizde de Ankara'da şey yoktu, arkadaş. Ya vardı ama sınırlı sayıda, akraba falan yoktu. Sürekli görüştüğü bir çocuk yoktu. O zorlandı biraz. O zorlanınca tabii ki o beni de etkiliyor. (Sevda)

preferred kindergarten to work, just to be close to my daughter. I told them to employ me and get my daughter to kindergarten, I told them the situation. We started so, and my daughter had a language problem. When in Turkey, my mother used to look after her, so she had never been to kindergarten before and she never had a social environment. For that reason, it was a bit difficult. She was a lonely girl in the environment of the apartment. We didn't have friends around in Ankara. There was not a friend she usually saw. It was difficult for her, hence for us, too. (Sevda)

Tümay stated that her daughter had a hard time making friends in the first three months when they migrated due to language problems, and during this time she too, as a mother, had a hard time giving advice and support to her daughter. Tümay mentioned that she was not sure whether the advice she gave to her daughter during this period was appropriate and that she needed psychological support during this period. From what Tümay told, it was understood that in parallel with the adaptation problems experienced by the child, the adaptation of motherhood was also in question, because the mother also practices her motherhood in a different culture for the first time.

Sekiz yaşındaydı geldiğimizde. Çocuklar yani yaş olarak kötü bir yaş değil, çünkü çok çabuk öğreniyorlar üçüncü ayda. İkinci ayda İngilizce konuşmaya başladı, üçüncü ayda bayağı şakıyordu ama o üç ay, herhalde ömrümüzün en uzun üç ayıydı çünkü Nil her gece ağlıyordu.

She was eight when we came. It is not a bad age for children as they learn very fast. She started speaking English in the second month. In the third month, she was almost perfect, but it was the most difficult third month of our lives because Nil was crying almost every night. Having no friends is not a good and acceptable thing for a child. At

Arkadaşsız olmak çocuk için güzel ve kabul edilir bir şey değil. O dönemde benim de sabrımın çabucak bittiği, tükendiği, benim de zorlandığım, anne olmakta zorlandığım, daha doğrusu" doğru mu yapıyorum" şüphelerimin çok arttığı, gelmekle değil ama verdiğim tavsiyelerde, gündelik tavsiyelerde. Çocuklar oyun oynuyorlar kızımı çağırmıyorlar ama normal bir kızımı sevmemekle alakalı bir durum değil çok, yani bir süre sonra dili çözülünce kendiliğinden çözülecek bir durum öyle değil mi? Arkadaşlık ilişkileri kuramama, bir de geldiği zaman yaş grubu kız çocuklarının hepsinin birer best friend i (en yakın arkadaşı) vardı, best friend i boşta olan kimse yoktu mesela yani herkes ikili ikili, tek sayıya denk geldi. O çok büyük bir zorluk oldu. Mesela bunu dediler, şunu yaptılar. Onu dedim kafasını çevirdi bunu dedim, e yani gündelik hayat tavsiyesi aslında mesela. (Tümay)

those times my patience was running out very fast. I was also having hard times. Telling the truth, I had also doubt about myself whether I was doing the right thing or not. It was not about coming here but about the advice I gave. The children are playing games and not including my daughter, it is not about liking my daughter but about language, a problem that will be solved when learning the language. Not making new friends, you know, all girls have a best friend, and she doesn't. That was a big challenge. Whatever I told her she didn't listen. I mean the advice of daily life. (Tümay)

Ülke değiştirmeye dair bir çocuğa ülke değiştirtmeye ve dil bilmediği bir ülkede okula gitmesine dair bir deneyimim yoktu. Zaten dolayısıyla benim için de yeni bir alandı. O anda mesela istediğim bir psikolojik destek de bulamadım, istediğim birini de bulamadım. Şu anda online terapistler falan bayağı ortada ama o dönemde çok da ortada değildi. Bazen kızımdan ziyade kendim için yardım ihtiyacı duydum açıkçası. (Tümay)

I didn't have any experience with changing a country or moving to a country with a kid who doesn't speak the language. That is, it was a new experience for me, too. I couldn't find the psychological support I was looking for, either the person I wanted. Now you can find an online therapist but then it was not a common practice. Sometimes I felt help for myself rather than my daughter. (Tümay)

Tümay organized a birthday party because she thought it would be beneficial for her daughter to establish social relations, but because she did not know that there is a culture in the UK where children's birthdays are planned for weeks, she could invite her daughter's friends to the birthday party only one week before and therefore, she talked about how worried she was, thinking that none of her daughters' friends could come to the party. The point where Tümay had difficulties as a migrant mother was that she did not have a grasp of the details that should be considered culturally in the UK in the organizations held to celebrate the special days of the children. Parallel to the adaptation process of the child, motherhood undergoes a cultural adaptation.

Mesela Nil'in ilk doğum gününde ben şeyi düşündüm, çocukları davet etmek ve Nil ile bir arada olmalarını sağlamak, bunun Nil'e bir yardımı olabileceğini düşündüm açıkçası. Ama tabi burada çok önceden, o zaman onu düşünemedim, çok önceden haber veriyor olmam gerekiyordu ama ben o hani nerede yapacağım, nasıl yapacağım, onları ayarlayana kadar belli bir süre geçti ve bir hafta kala davetiye gönderdik. Ama herkesin haftalar sonrasının şeyi var, planı var. Dolayısıyla bayağı bir endişe duyduk. Doğum günü düzenliyoruz ama ya kimse gelmezse?! O konfirmasyonları falan almak mesela her bir confirmation'da, yani ilk confirmation'da ağlayacaktım neredeyse. Aman Allah'ım neyse en azından bir kişi var. Sonra iki, üç, dört, beş sonra normalleşiyor zaten. (Tümay)

For example, on Nil's first birthday I wanted to invite the kids and make them get together. I thought it could help. But I should have told them very earlier, which I should also have thought of. But I sent the invitations a week as I thought about what to do. But everyone had the plans, and I was worried that they wouldn't show up. And getting the confirmation. My God. I was about to cry when I got the first one. At least someone is coming than the second and third… than we got normal. (Tümay)

Zeynep also mentioned that the small size of their house in London compared to Turkey had a negative effect on the adaptation of her child. She stated that the absence of a corridor for her daughter to run and the fact that the first house they stayed

in was a studio apartment made it difficult for the child to adapt. While Zeynep was moving to their second home, she struggled to find a house where her child could run comfortably in the hallway.

İlk geldiğimizde küçük bir evde oturduk oradan da sıkıldı çocuk. Koşacağı bir alan istiyor, oynayacağı bir alan istiyor. İlk geldiğimizde stüdyo flat de oturduk bir süre. Çocuk neye uğradığını şaşırdı bir süre yani biz de sıkıldık ama. En azından şey, o yüzden böyle hep dışarlara çıkarayım gezdireyim. Türkiye'de ki evleri bir süre arıyorsunuz yani. Buradaki evler! (iç geçirir) Neyse ki, büyük bir ev bulduk da kızım da öyle koşturuyor. Yani hep böyle. Çok ev vardı mesela odaları böyle iç içe olan, alanı az olan evleri tercih etmedik. Bir koridoru olsun kızımız koşsun evde, bir de hareketli bir çocuk. Bu sefer yer olmayıp koşamayınca mutsuz oluyor. (Zeynep)	When we first came here, we moved to a small house and the child got bored there. The kids want an area they will run, or play in. We lived in a studio flat for a time. The kid was shocked, and so were we. For that reason, I took it out very often. I mean you miss the houses in Turkey. The houses here!! (Has a sigh) Thank God we could find a bigger house, there were so many houses like a labyrinth, but we didn't prefer them. We wanted it to have a corridor so that she could run. She gets unhappy when she cannot run. (Zeynep)

4.3.2.3. Scary part of being a migrant mother: Raising your child in culture, language, system that you did not know

Zeynep and Sevda touched upon the difficulties of raising children in a culture they do not know. It was understood that both felt uncanny as they experienced motherhood in a culture they did not know.

Zeynep mentioned that while walking on the street in Turkey, she could guess where people came from and how they might behave, but she felt uncanny because she did not know such cultural codes in the UK. Zeynep stated that because her child grew up in the UK, she would have friends from many different nationalities, and she was worried if she would feel confused in these relationships. In fact, one of the concerns that was not mentioned in Zeynep's statement was the anxiety that Zeynep would experience as a mother during this process when her child became friends with

children of other nationalities or could not make friends due to cultural differences. In other words, Zeynep was projecting the anxiety she might experience in her future motherhood to her child.

Türkiye kültüründe ne kadar sokaktan korksanız da, hakimsiniz. Oradaki o kültüre hakimsiniz. Kim olduğunu nereden geldiğini ne yapabileceğine hakimsiniz. Ama şimdi burada o kadar çok farklı ülkelerden insanlar var ki, hâkim değilsiniz. Ya mesela ben şimdiden düşünüyorum çocuğum ilkokula başladığında acaba kimlerle karışılacak? ne olacak? E Türkiye'de biliyorsunuz kimlerle karşılaşabileceğini, ne tür zorluklarla karşılaşabileceğini az çok tahmin edebiliyorsunuz. Burada tahmin edemiyorsunuz. Bu biraz beni ürkütüyor. Yani ki oturduğumuz bölgeyle ilgili biraz da Londra biraz daha karışık bir yer olduğu için. Biraz o konuda endişem var. Onu da artık diyorum kızıma evdeki eğitimle eğitimlerle bilmiyorum inşallah başaracağız yani. Yani çok farklı insanlarla karşılaşacak, çok farklı kültürden çocuklarla karşılaşacak. Bocalayacak mı? Nasıl olacak? (Zeynep)	In Turkey, no matter how much you fear from the street, you know the culture. You know the culture there. You know who might be, what might he do? But here there are so many different cultures that you never guess the reaction of people in the street. I have already started thinking about my child's primary school. What types of people he will encounter? You know the challenges in Turkey, or you can guess the types of people he might encounter. You cannot guess it here. That makes me fear. It is about the region you live in, I mean London scares me as it is a very mixed culture. I am a bit worried about it. And we will get it over with the education at home. I hope we will succeed. She will meet many different people from many different cultures. Is she going to falter? How will it be? (Zeynep)

Zeynep stated that she experienced a reflection of her language problem in her motherhood. For example, she mentioned that she could take her child to different activities if she knew English. On the one hand, Zeynep's not knowing the language of the country she lived in seemed to trigger her feelings of inadequacy which also reflected in her motherhood.

Yani benim için en büyük sorun burada tek sorun da diyebilirim dil yani. Dili bilseydim hâkim	For me, the biggest problem, the only problem I mean, the language, I can say. If I could speak the language, I could

olsaydım kızımı tek başıma daha fazla farklı etkinliklere şuraya buraya götürebilirdim. Şimdi de götürüyorum ama bazen böyle çekiniyorsun işte. (Zeynep)

take my daughter everywhere. I can take her now, but you know you sometimes hesitate. (Zeynep)

Sevda stated that children in the UK have the right to report their parents to the police when their parents treat them badly. Although Sevda found this application so useful to prevent child abuse she also has concerns since she thinks that children can sometimes misuse this freedom given to them, she feels uncanny as a parent in the UK. The root of this feeling was related to growing up in Turkey in which authoritarian parenting culture is dominant. Since she has grown up in Turkey although she took pedagogic training, she had a fear of carrying embedded cultural codes in her parenting while practicing her motherhood in the UK.

Bu ülkede çok fazla aşırı özgürlük var ama bir yandan çok aşırı özgürlük olması da iyi değil. Özellikle de çocuklar için iyi değil. Onun farkındayım. Bir çocuk mesela çıkıp babası ya da annesi bir şeye izin vermediğinde gidip hani biraz da abartarak şikâyet edebiliyor ailesini bu ülkede. Mesela rahatlıkla işte annem bana şiddet uyguluyor, babam bana şiddet uyguluyor ki mesela annesi ya da babası arkadaşıyla yanlış bir arkadaşı ile görüşmesine izin vermemiştir. Ya da mesela zararlı bir şeyi fazla tükettiği için izin vermemiştir. Ama çocuk tabii ki nasıl baş edeceğini bildiği için bununla. Okullarda falan sürekli çok abartılı bir şekilde. Tamam güzel çocuklar yani ihmal istismar kesinlikle çocuklara biraz, bilgi verilmeli desteklenmeli ne olduğunu bilmeleri gerekiyor ama bazı çocuklar bunu gerçekten en ufak bir şeyde ihmal istismar

In this country, there is too much freedom, but too much freedom is not good either. Especially for children. I am aware of it. In this country, a child can go for a complaint by exaggerating it when his/her parents do or don't do something they want. When he/she cannot get permission to see a friend or when he cannot get permission to do something, they may go and complain to the authorities that his/her parents resort to violence against him/her. Or, for example, they did not allow it because he/she consumed too much of something harmful. But the kid is clever and knows how to deal with the situation, even in the school. Yes, we need to share and acknowledge that children must not abuse and ignore, and they must be informed but some children may complain by exaggerating this as neglect and abuse in the slightest thing. In our culture, children aren't given much freedom and we are more unpermissive. I think I am not that unpermissive. I know how to behave as I can understand their psychology, but

olarak abartarak şikâyet edebiliyorlar. İşte bu hani biraz hani bizim kültüre göre de. Bizim kültürde biraz daha çok fazla serbest bırakmıyoruz çocukları, hani biraz daha otoriter bir yapımız var. Aslında ben şey olarak fazla otoriter olmadığımı düşünüyorum. Hani çocuk psikolojisinden gelişiminden biraz anladığım için nasıl davranacağımı biliyorum ama tabii ki kültürel kodlanmalarımız da var. Ne kadar eğitimini alsak da bir şeyin uygulamada daha farklı olabiliyor. Tabii kaygılarım var çocuğumla ilgili kaygılarım var bu ülkede. Kendimden çok, o kaygılarım var açıkçası, öyle söyleyeyim. (Sevda)	you know we have got a different cultural code. No matter how much we are educated, the application could be different. Of course, I have got concerns about my child. I don't have a concern about myself but about my child. (Sevda)

4.3.2.4. The prices migrant mothers have to pay: "Am I free anymore?"

Three participants talked about the price they paid for being migrant mothers by touching on many different aspects. They talked about many losses such as career loss, loss of economic freedom, loss of social support needed in motherhood, and loss of socio-economic status.

Sevda and Müjde mentioned that when they migrated to the UK, being unemployed or the decrease in the quality of their work negatively affected them. As a migrant mother, Sevda stated that while she was trying to cope with the problems her child had during adaptation to school, she got so tired since she was also working long hours at work. At first, along with all these struggles, she tried to force herself to work on her doctoral dissertation since she gave so much importance to it. Unfortunately, realizing that she was having a hard time with all these burdens, Sevda had to stop working for her doctoral study. Unfortunately, as a migrant mother, Sevda seems to have had to pay a price by giving up her career aspirations, as she has no chance to suspend her child's needs or earn money.

İş başladı falan şey oldu stres başladı kızım gitmek istemedi. Okulu sevmedi yani zorlandı. O zorlanınca sabah çıkmak istemedi. Uzun çalışıyordum. Ben zorlandım. Beni etkiledi. Türkiye'deki şey olayı zaten biraz sıkıntılı olduğu için doktora olayları onlar işte ilk başta biraz uğraştım, bir yandan onları yapmaya çalıştım bırakmayacağım falan diye ama baktım çok fazla strese giriyorum. Bırakacağım bir süre dedim, beklesin hani zaten sürem var. Çünkü buradaki önce sorunları çözmem lazım. (Sevda)

When the work started, the stress also started, and my daughter didn't want to go to school. She didn't like the school and it was difficult for her. When it was getting difficult, she didn't want to go. I was working long hours and it was difficult for me. It affected me. As my doctorate situation was difficult in Turkey, I had difficulty at first. I also tried to do it and when it got more difficult, I got more stressed. I decided to give myself a break as I had some time. I had to deal with the problems here first. (Sevda)

In addition to the sacrifice, she had to give in her doctoral dissertation, Sevda also paid a career price since she worked in lower-level jobs when she migrated. Sevda had to experience multiple losses during the migration process. Sevda was the participant who shared the most intense negative feelings about living in the UK and migrant motherhood. It was understood that her feelings of mourning for these losses negatively affected her adaptation to the country and migrant motherhood.

İş ortamım daha iyiydi orada. Hani ortam derken hani stresi falan geçtim yaptığım iş daha kaliteliydi buraya göre. Burada tabii ki daha Türkiye'deki çalıştığım işlere göre daha alt düzey işlerde çalıştım ama yine de hani bir gruba göre şanslıydım çünkü dilim olduğu için iş bulmakta zorlanmadım hani en azından şey yapmadım yani yine öğretmenlik yaptım. Yine hani bu yaptığım iş de sosyal hizmet gibi. Onunla ilgili çalışıyorum zaten ha bir de ben bir Türkiye'de sosyal hizmet şeyi de yapmıştım. Bir masterım var onunla ilgili. Hani o anlamda mutlu oluyorum çocuk

My work environment was much better. I mean the quality of work was much better when compared to here. Here I also worked much inferior work compared to the work in Turkey, but I was luckier as I could speak the language, I was able to find a job easier. I worked as a teacher. This job is also like a social service. I am working on it, and I also worked on social services in Turkey. I am working on my master's degree. In that respect, I am very happy as social service and child development united. (Sevda)

gelişimiyle sosyal hizmet birleşti bu yaptığım işte. (Sevda)

Müjde talked about the two big costs of not being able to work here as in Turkey. The first was the loss of the opportunity to have a private space independent of the child that business life provided, and the second was the loss of the economic freedom of earning her own money as a woman.

Dediğim gibi çalışan bir anne olduğum için çocuğumla geçirdiğim vakit daralırdı. Onun dışında. Belki bu kadar bağlanmak bilmiyorum. Bağlanamayabilirdim hani çünkü artık sadece oğlum olmayacaktı hayatımda. Aynı zamanda bir benim de sadece tek başına olduğum bir hayatım daha olacaktı. Belki o zaman daha bencil olabilirdim. Belki, biraz daha kendimi düşünen biri olabilirdim. (Müjde)	As I said before, I am a working mother, and the time I spend with my child has become less. Except for that, that much dependence… I could have not depended on that much as I wouldn't have only my son in my life. Furthermore, I would have a life that is dedicated only to me, myself. I could have been much more selfish. Maybe I could have a person thinking herself. (Müjde)

Because Müjde has been a working woman since the age of eighteen, losing her economic freedom and becoming economically dependent on a man has been an experience that hurt her identity. Müjde was also mourning the loss of her identity during the migration process because having a working woman identity and not needing a man were the things that defined her, she lost them when she migrated.

Çalışan biri olduğum için dediğim gibi on sekiz yaşından beri çalışan biriyim ve ev işleri ile hiçbir zaman ilgili olmadım öyle yani. Hep böyle çalışmam gerekiyor çalışan kadın olmalıyım. Asla bir erkek bana bakmamalı yani bir erkeğin maddi kanatlarının altına girmemeliyim kafasında iken. En yaralayıcı olan da o zaten bunun içine düşmüş olmak. Korkunç	As I am a working person, as I said, I have been working since I was 18, I have never been interested in house chores. I should be a working woman but not at home. A man never should take care of me, I mean I should never be dependent on a man economically. The most hurtful thing is falling into such a situation. This is very hurting for me and my personality. (Müjde)

yani benim kişiliğimi en çok yaralayan şey bu. (Müjde)

Sevda talked about the fact that the quality of her motherhood was also affected negatively after her migration, by emphasizing several issues. In her first quote, Sevda stated that her responsibility in motherhood increased a lot because she lost her social support after she moved to London. She stated that while she was more positive about her motherhood in Turkey, she was overwhelmed with increasing responsibilities in the UK and was negatively affected psychologically. It showed that the migrant mother became more vulnerable psychologically when she lost her social support mechanisms.

Sosyal destek çok önemli yani gerçekten beni birebir çok fazla etkiliyor. Türkiye'de çok rahatmışım o anlamda. Anne olduğumu ben Londra'da anladım geldiğimde buraya. Orada hiç anne gibi hissetmiyordum kendimi gerçekten çok farklı bir şey her şeyin çok daha büyüsündeydim her şey çok daha pozitifti, buraya gelince "annelik buymuş herhalde" dedim. Çok, sorumluluğum çok daha azdı. Burada sorumluluğum kat kat kat arttı. Öyle olunca dediğim gibi işin psikolojik boyutu da tabii ki çok etkiliyor. (Sevda)

Social support is very important; I mean it affected me very much. I was very comfortable in that sense. I have realized that I am a mother after I have come to London. I was not feeling like another when I was there, I was in the magic of different things. Everything was so positive that when I came here, I said 'This is motherhood' My responsibility was less. Here it doubled or tripled. The psychological dimension affected, too. (Sevda)

Sevda and Esra stated that they need solitary time for their mental health and sparing the time for themselves had a positive effect on their motherhood. While they had this opportunity in Turkey thanks to their social support, they said that unfortunately, they could not be alone without their child in the UK, they always had to be together with their children.

Şöyle bir şey istiyor insan, evde birisi varken işte 'ya ben markete gidiyorum' deyip mesela

One wants to have such things like saying I am going market and going without saying anything. I used to go to

çıkıyordum yemin ediyorum market geziyordum yani. Ama rahatlıyorduk. Ya Türkiye'deyken de mesela işim yok yani hani şantiyenin yok projem yok. Ben ofise gidiyorum diyordum iki saat çıkıyordum Bağdat Caddesi'nde geziyordum geri geliyordum o acayip bir lüks. Bir anne için gerçekten yani anne akıl sağlığını yerinde tuttuğu sürece çok iyi bir anne oluyor. Ama böyle yedi yirmi dört çocukla yapış yapış olduğunda ben şu an biraz öyleyim gerçekten yoruluyor insan. (Esra)	markets without any haste. But we were refreshing. When in Turkey I also didn't have a job to do or a project to complete. I was like, I am going to the office and going out to have some fresh air, and I used to stroll at Bağdat Road. And that was an amazing luxury. It is really refreshing for a mother as long as you keep your mind on your head. But when you very stick to the kid 7/24, it really hurts and tires. (Esra)

Sevda stated that she started to speak Turkish with an accent when she moved to the UK, but she spoke Turkish properly with the positive effect of her working environment in Turkey, and she thought that she could not be a good role model as a mother to her daughter in the UK. Sevda's accent change was like a metaphorical reflection of the feeling of being stuck between Turkey and the UK and the feeling that nothing is perfect. As a mother, Sevda thought that she was a better role model for her daughter in Turkey, with the language she used, the quality of work she did, and the way she experienced motherhood thanks to the social support she received.

Ya şey etkiliyor mesela çalışma ortamı tabii ki insanın normal günlük hayatını da etkiliyor. Daha hani böyle ne kadar şikâyetim olsa daha kaliteli bir iş ortamında çalıştığım için çocuğumla iletişimi etkiliyordu. Buraya geldiğimde şeyi fark ettim. İngilizceyle ilgili değil bence. İngilizceyi sürekli konuştuğumuzdan da olabilir belki ama Türkçe'mde daha çok bozulma olup daha böyle iyi örnek olamadığını fark ettim. Türkçemi daha böyle aksanlı konuşmaya başladığımı fark ettim burada zaten hani kültürel olarak daha	Of course, the working environment also affects a person's normal daily life. No matter how much I complain, a high-quality working environment affects your communication with your child. When I came here, I realize that my Turkish has spoilt to some degree, it is not about English, but maybe it is because we are speaking English constantly. I felt that my Turkish has gained an accent, after all, as a result of the region, I have an accent. Of course, it could have been bid easier in Turkey. I also felt that I am not a good role model for my daughter. I was a better role model in Turkey. (Sevda)

yatkın olduğumuz için hani zaten aksanlı konuşuyoruz genelde. Ama tabii ki çalıştığımız ortamda Türkiye'de bu daha kamufle oluyordu etkilendiğim için diğerlerinden. O yani o şekilde olabilir. Bir de şunu fark ettim. Ben aslında burada iyi bir rol model olmadığımı fark ettim kızıma. Türkiye'de daha iyi bir rol modeldim. Aslında sanki onu fark ediyorum yani. (Sevda)

Another reason that impacts Sevda to experience her motherhood in the UK more anxiously is her fear that her daughter may be adversely affected by the environment they live in during her teenage years because they have to live in a low socio-economic neighbourhood in the UK.

Göçmen anne olmak annelik deneyimini olumsuz yönde etkiledi. Daha fazla strese girmeye başladım. Burada kaygım çok fazla arttı, şimdiden şeyi düşünüyorum mesela kızım daha küçük üç buçuk yaşında. Ama ergenliğini düşünüyorum şimdi bu ülkede. Yaşadığımız çevrede bakıyorum daha çok hani sosyal ekonomik düzeyi daha düşük ve eğitim seviyesi düşük ailelerin yaşadığınız çevrede ve bu kızımın hani arkadaş çevresine etkileyecek ve bu onun tüm hayatını etkileyecek onu düşündüğümde çok kaygılanıyorum mesela. (Sevda)

Being a migrant mother has affected my motherhood experience negatively. I started to get more stressed here. I am more worried here. Now my daughter is little, just two and a half. I am thinking of her adolescence in this country. When looking around the environment we live in, this is an environment which can be said a lower class economically and culturally, and this surrounding will affect her whole life. When thinking about it, I am getting more worried. (Sevda)

Sevda stated that children's school hours in the UK end at three o'clock and therefore if they work full time, they have to hire a babysitter for two or three hours after school and the fees of the caregivers are very costly. She stated that she did not find it reasonable to give a lot of money to a babysitter and trust someone she did not know. In addition, she stated that her child may attend the after-school clubs and leave

the school later, but this time she questioned how healthy it was for the child to spend time at school from morning to evening. Sevda stated that getting a full-time job was not an option for her, as she did not have a support mechanism for caring for her child. It was an example that the migrant mother had to sacrifice her own career choices due to the costs of migration such as living a lower standard of life in another country and the lack of social support mechanisms.

Bir de bu ülkede hani Türkiye'de de tabii ki de o sorun var, yani annelerin birden çok çocuğu olan anne varsa bu ülkeye geldiğinde, bence çalışmaması gerekiyor. Ya da part-time çalışması gerekiyor. Günlük iki-üç saat falan. Çünkü çok zor eğer çalışmak zorundaysa full time ya before school ya okul öncesi bir bakıcıya ihtiyaçları var çocuklar üç de üç buçukta okuldan çıkıyor, yani okuldan sonrası bakıcıya da ihtiyaçları oluyor. Eee bu aralar için bakıcıya verdin parayı, yanında da değilsin zaten kime emanet ettin, okullarda kalabiliyorlar after school clubları oluyor okulların, orda da ne kadar sağlıklı, çocuk zaten sabah sekizde gidiyor altı yediye kadar okul ortamında kalması ne kadar sağlıklı? Öyle de bir şey var. Hani bazı anneler için bu çok önemli olmayabilir ama benim için çok önemli şimdi onu düşünüyorum mesela ne yapacağımı, şimdi anaokuluna gidiyor ama ilkokula gittiğinde bunu nasıl ayarlayabilirim ona göre işimi ayarlamayı düşünüyorum yani daha az etkilenmesi için. (Sevda)	One more thing, here is another problem is that I mean this problem exists in many countries but, when mothers have more than a kid, they shouldn't work at all or maybe part-time. Because it is very difficult both working and being a mother. The school is over at about three or half-past three and they need a babysitter after school, and they also need someone to send them to school. If you pay money to someone to look after that? And you cannot be with them. They might stay at school for a time for after-school clubs but think they leave home at eight and it is hard for them. This is not healthy. For some mothers, it might not be that important but for me, it is very important. I am thinking about what to do about this issue. Now my kid is at kindergarten but when he goes to primary school, I have to take into account all of them for he should not be affected and make a decision accordingly. (Sevda)

Hande stated that when she migrated to the UK, she pushed aside her choice of the country she wanted to live in, which is Turkey, and came to the UK by thinking

only about children. A friend of Hande had warned her in her plan to migrate to the UK, that she should ask herself the question “what is in it for you?”. Her friend thought that she would be very unhappy in the UK if it meant nothing to her. The fact that Hande never thought of this question until her friend asked her indicates how much she did not take her personal preferences into account when making an important decision like changing the country she lived in. Moreover, after asking this question herself, she stated that she realized that her choice was to live in Turkey and that what she thought of herself in the UK did not make any sense to her.

Benim bu çocukların geleceği için gitmem lazım, onların geleceği için" dedim. Dedi ki "sadece çocukların için gidiyorsan bu seni mutsuz eder" çünkü hep sadece çocukların için gitmiş olacaksın bu çok büyük bir hareket dedi. Çocukların için bunu yapmayı göze almak çok büyük bir hareket ama bunu senin de istemen lazım. Senin hani "what is in it for you?" diyorlar ya.. Hakikaten "what is in it for you?" Yani senin için bir şey yoksa bunun içinde o seni mutsuz edecek. Ben o ana kadar düşünmemiştim. Ve sonra da düşünüp kendim için olabilecek şeyler bana bir şey ifade etmedi aslında. Yani ne olacak ki zaten fanus da yaşıyorum, burada güzel bir hayatım var. Çok şey vereceğim bir de. Hakikaten bakarsan benim Türkiye’de şımarık prenses bir hayatım vardı yani. Buraya gelince baya külkedisine döndüm. (Hande)

I said, I should go for my children’s future. And he said if you go for your children that doesn’t make you happy as it will be only for your children, and this is a big step. But you must want such a thing. You know they ask What is in it for you? I mean if there isn’t anything for you, it will make you unhappy. I didn’t think that much. Later, I thought about the things that might happen to me that didn’t mean anything to me. I mean what it could be, I live in a glasshouse, I have a wonderful life, and I will sacrifice in fact. Telling the truth, I had a luxurious life in Turkey and upon coming here my life turned into Cinderella. (Hande)

Müjde stated that she would have been divorced if she had not had a child. Müjde knew that mothers who could not end their unhappy marriage using their child as an excuse have a more negative impact on the child. However, she stated that despite knowing this information, deciding to divorce as a migrant mother makes it even more

complicated due to the circumstances arising from migration. Müjde thinks that the things she did for her child's future will also be wasted if she gets a divorce and returns to Turkey as she migrated for her child's future. It showed that as a heavy price in migrant motherhood, the woman imprisoned herself in the relationship, and the loss of her freedom became the price for her child's future.

Eğer çocuğum olmamış olsaydı evli kalmak durumunda kalmazdım. Ya da duymak istemediğim bazı söylemlerden daha kolay uzaklaşabilirdim. Hep şey derler işte çocuğu kullanarak evli kalıyorsunuz işte bu çocuk için çok daha kötü. Okey ama şartlar ne yazık ki bazen seni bulunduğun ortama çakılı bırakıyor. Kıpırdayamıyorsun. Kıpırdayabilirsin ama mesela bunun tek yolu mesela Türkiye'ye geri dönmekse o zaman da diyorsun ki oğlum var. Oğlumla ilgili gelecek planları var. O zaman durmak zorunda kalıyorsun. (Müjde)	If I hadn't had a child, I wouldn't have had to keep on my marriage or I could have stayed away from some of the conversations I had to hear. You know some people say that some marriages don't end thanks to the kids, I think this is bad for the children. And sometimes because of conditions, you have to stick where you are. You cannot move anywhere. If you want to move there is only one way. You say I have a son. I have my plans for the future of my son. And you feel you have to stay. (Müjde)

4.3.3. Suggestions to the newcomers

When the migrant mothers were asked what they would recommend to the newly migrating mothers to get through the adaptation process more easily, a wide range of answers was obtained.

Hande and Tümay emphasized that they needed psychological support during the migration process and suggested that mothers who will migrate should seek professional psychological support. Hande stated that she has a blog where she writes about her experiences with the migration process, and she wrote a blog post about psychological support titled "Turkish psychologists, where are you and you can make good money here". Tümay stated that when her child had difficulties in the adaptation process, she needed to meet with a therapist and get support on how to help her child. Tümay recommended getting psychological support during this process by meeting

with someone before migrating to the UK. In addition to this, Hande stated that she was very tired physically in the early days of the migration and that physical support was also needed, and that if possible, hiring a caregiver would make the process of the newcomers much easier.

Ama psikolojik olarak zaten adapte olmaya çalışmak zor bir süreç. Ben aslında psikolojik destek alınması gerektiğini de düşünüyorum. Çünkü gerçekten kolay değil, hatta bir blokta yazdığım şeylerden bir tanesi, konulardan bir tanesi oydu, Türk psikologlar neredesiniz burada size iyi ekmek var diye. (Gülerler) Çünkü gerçekten ihtiyaç yani göçmek dediğim gibi hayatının altını üstüne getirmek ve o süreçte bence bir psikolojik destek hayatı biraz daha kolaylaştırabilir. Onun dışında fiziksel destek de son derece yararlı. (Hande)	But psychologically trying to adapt is a difficult process. I think people ought to get psychological support. Because it is really difficult, I wrote on one of the blogs about it. Turkish psychologist, where are you? There are a lot of customers here (Laugh). It is really a big need as migrants' lives are so complicated that it is a big need to have support to ease your lives. But physical support is also important. (Hande)
Psikolojik olarak ilk başta kolay olmayacak, fiziksel olarak da ilk başta kolay olmayacak. Ama ilk başta alabilecek herhangi bir fiziksel yardım, mümkünse ama bir bakıcıdan, Türkiye'den gelirken annemi de yanımda getireyim değil! Çünkü o anneanne kendi kafasını getirecek. Bir bakıcı ile başlamak mesela eğer öyle bir imkanları varsa. Ya da bakıcı olmasa bile evin işini yükünü o dönem üstünden alacak biri ile başlamak bir sıfır önde başlatır bence. (Hande)	Initially it is not going to be easy both psychologically and physically. But physical help that can be received at first, not bringing your mother together, but a babysitter maybe. Because that grandmother will also bring her way. If you start with a babysitter, or nanny if you can. Or if you cannot afford a babysitter, have someone who will get on the responsibility of running the house, which will make a big difference. (Hande)
Ülke değiştirmeye dair bir çocuğa ülke değiştirtmeye ve dil bilmediği bir ülkede okula gitmesine dair bir deneyimim yoktu. Zaten	I had no experience of changing country or making a child change a country where he cannot speak the language. After all, it was a new field for me too.

dolayısıyla benim için de yeni bir alandı. O anda mesela istediğim bir psikolojik destek de bulamadım, istediğim birini de bulamadım. Şu anda online terapistler falan bayağı ortada ama o dönemde çok da ortada değildi. Bazen kızımdan ziyade kendim için yardım ihtiyacı duydum açıkça. Ben psikolojik destek olayında zorlandığım için mesela öyle bir desteğin bulunmasını tavsiye ederim, gelmeden önce, sürekli konuşulabilecek. (Tümay)	I couldn't find the psychological support then, nor could a person I want. Now you can find an online therapist but then it was not a common practice. Sometimes I felt help for myself rather than my daughter. It was difficult for me to get psychological help, but I strongly advise it. (Tümay)

Esra and Özge stated that those who will migrate should evaluate whether they are determined and motivated about their decision. Esra stated that it has been two years since she immigrated, and she is still struggling. She and her husband downplayed the difficulties they would face before migrating, but she realized how hard it was after experiencing it. Esra stated that knowing that the first years will be difficult and that a member of the family should be flexible enough to say, "I can do anything to make money". While Esra stated that coming with the mindset of "let's try" is not an appropriate approach for a difficult journey like migration, Özge set a good example for what Esra said by talking about how they were negatively affected because they came with the logic of "trial" as if they were going on vacation for three months.

Ben bunu gerçekten istiyorum diyebilen insanlar gelmeli. Ya bir deneyelim diyenler değil. Benim kuzenim öyle yaptı mesela bir deneyelim diye geldiler. Şu an mesela aynen şu cümleyi kuruyor "nefret ediyorum buradan" diyor. Ben de ona diyorum ki "nefret ettiğin bir yer sana ne verebilir ki?" diyorum. Bir şey vermiyor ve nefret etmeye devam ediyor ve diyor ki inşallah uzatma bir yıl gelir de basar giderim diyor	The ones who say I really want it should come, not the ones who say let's try it. My cousins did it just to give it a try. For the time being, they say they hate this place and country. Well, I tell her that what can a place you hate to give you? It gives them nothing and they keep hating. She hopes they give her an extension year so that she can go back. If a person is really determined and can take all these risks, she should come then. It is not as easy as it is seen from a safe remote. At first, I also said, come

mesela. Bir insan gerçekten kararlıysa bunları göze alıyorsa gelmeli. Çok zor yani güllük gülistanlık değil. Uzaktan bakınca çok hoş geliyor. Biz de öyle küçümsedik amaaan ne var ki falan dedik, hiç öyle olmuyor yani. Ama ben biliyordum ki benim sırtım yere gelmez. O yüzden eşimi serbest bıraktım. O ne iş olsa yapardı yani burun bükecek bir insan değil. Hiçbirimiz buraya kariyerimizi devam ettirmeye gelmiyoruz. Para kazanıp ayakta kalıp kendimizi iyi bir noktaya taşımaya geliyoruz. Yani o yüzden kimse Türkiye'deki standardını da beklemesin ilk etapta. İlk iki üç yıl biraz zorlu geçiyor diyorlar. Ben ikinci yılındayım hala biraz zorlanıyorum ama atlatılamayacak bir şey değil, bence isteyen herkes yapar istiyorlarsa, gerçekten istediklerinden emin olmaları gerek. (Esra)

on, this is not that hard. But when you experience it, it is. But I knew I wouldn't be a loser, so I let my husband free. He was very skilful, and he was ready to work in every possible place. None of us is here to carry on our past careers. We come here to earn money and to put ourselves in a better place. For that reason, no one should expect the standard they have in Turkey, at least at the beginning. It is said that the first two or three years pass with difficulty. I am in the second year, but this is not a difficulty that we cannot deal with. I think anyone wishing can do it. But the first thing they should do must be to be sure to do the things they want. (Esra)

Zaten kafa buraya tatile gibi gelmiş ilk üç ay bakalım deneyelim gibi yani kafada da daha çok şey yok burada yaşayacağım gibi olmadığı için gel-geç yani sen de çok ilişki kurmaya çabalamıyorsun. Kendi adıma söyleyeyim. Kafam net olsaydı daha kolay olurdu. Neden? Ona yönelik ilişkilerimi kurmaya çalışırdım. Kendimi zorlardım. (Özge)

After all, you feel as if you are on holiday and you don't feel like living here forever and as a result, you aren't willing to set up a relationship. Telling the truth if I had been determined everything could have been easier for me. I would have tried to set up relations on that dimension and I would have obliged myself. (Özge)

Tümay and Özge emphasized that the support to be received from other migrant mothers during the migration process is very valuable. Tümay mentioned that when she moved to the UK, she had friends, but since she did not have a friend who was a mother, they could not help her in cases where she sought help in migrant

motherhood. While trying to adapt to her motherhood culturally, Tümay stated that she sought support on points such as "How the playdate is made? What should she pay attention to when arranging her child's birthday?"

Ben geldiğimde buradaki arkadaşlarımın birçoğu, yani İngiltere'de yaşayan arkadaşlarımın birçoğu tesadüf belki anne değil. Anne olmakla ilgili deneyimleri olan insan azdı. Dolayısıyla İngiltere'de annelikle ilgili deneyimleri olan insanlar edinmek çok iyi çünkü bazı ufak tefek ama çok etkileyecek noktalarda çok işe yarıyor. Mesela, mesela play date nasıl olur, nasıl yaklaşılır? Mesela sleepover, mesela doğum günü düzenleyeceğim, nedir bunun şeyi? Çocuğun sosyalleşmesine dair olan şeylerde katkıda bulunabilmek için bu tarz şeyleri biliyor olmak işe yarıyor. Soru ve cevap konusunda destek olabilecek mesela göçmen anneler gibi community'ler içinde yer almayı tavsiye ederim. (Tümay)	Most of my friends living here were not mothers yet when I came here. There were very few people who had experience with being a mother. For that reason, having some friends who experienced being a mother is really useful as it is very beneficial for some practical issues. For instance, how to make a playdate or how to approach them? For instance, sleepover? For instance, how to organize a birthday party? What are the tips? To be able to contribute to socialising your child, it is very useful to know such things. I suggest taking part in communities where question and answer sessions are founded for migrant mothers. (Tümay)

Özge stated that when she asked a question to mothers from other nationalities, she only got the answer that question, but because Özge did not even know what to ask, she needed a mother from her own culture who would share more information and guidance to her. Özge thinks that a mother from her own culture will approach her in a more caring way and inform her about the questions she could not even think of asking. She mentioned that she would feel safer if she received support from mothers from her own culture during the adaptation process when she migrated.

O süreçte her şeyi kendim öğrenmeye çabaladım yani ne bileyim okul sistemini bana ilk geldiğimde birisi anlatsaydı işte şu okullar iyi, bu lokasyonlar aile	In those times, I had to learn everything by myself, I wish someone had given me information about the location of schools and which are better for the families, etc. I mean I asked them, but

için iyi gibi. Bilen bir anne çok iyi olurdu. Yani yine sordum ama dediğim gibi yabancıların düşünme şekli çok farklı. Onlar ne sorarsam ona cevap veriyor. Ama ben tam olarak ne soracağımı bilmiyorum ki zaten. Bir şey soruyorsun, o kadarcık. Sorduğun kadarına yanıt veriyor. Yani şeyi düşünemiyorlar. Bizde hani böyle bir kıvraklık vardır ya onlarda yok, daha farklılar. Yani aslında belki şöyle yapsan daha iyi olur şunu yap gibi hiç yol gösteren olmadı. Olsa eminim çok daha kolaylaşırdı her şey. Kendimi daha güvende hissedebilirdim. (Özge)

they have a different point of view than us. After all, I didn't know what to ask exactly. You got the answer exactly what you ask. You cannot get more than you ask. You know our people are a bit witty and they can give you extra answers just to state their ideas. If it were so, I am sure I would have felt much safer. (Özge)

Tümay suggested that for mothers who will migrate to make the adaptation process easier they must learn the language and the culture of the UK. She emphasized the importance of joining local communities, organizations such as parent-teacher associations, and groups such as reading or jogging groups according to their interests. According to Tümay, for a person to adapt, they should not only meet Turkish-speaking people but experience the beauties of the place they live, it is also necessary to be in contact with people from different cultures.

Gidilen ülkenin dilini ve kültürünü öğrenmeye dair, eğer bilinmiyorsa, büyük çaba gösterilmesi gitmeden önce ve sonrasında gerektiğine kesinlikle inanıyorum, tavsiye ederim. Gidilen ülkenin, şeyiniz ne ise, ilgi alanlarınız ve size dair olan şeyler ne ise o alandaki yerel topluluklarına ve çalışmalarına katılmayı, mesela koşuyorsanız koşu grubu. Neyse yani o sizin şeyiniz, kitap okuma grupları, anne olarak okul aile birliği grupları hem uyumu kolaylaştırıyor hem ilişki, değişik

I strongly believe, and suggest, if the language and culture of the country you're going to are unknown, you have to make an effort to get to know them before and after you are there. Whatever it is for you, your interests, and the things about you, you might want to join local communities and activities; for instance, if you are running, a running group. I mean whatever it is for you, like book clubs, or as a mom maybe parent-teacher associations…taking part in these both make it easy to adapt and help you to develop different relationships and networks. That's why, when I came here, I never believed that the mentality

ilişkiler ve network kendinize kurmanızı sağlıyor. Dolayısıyla geldim ve sadece Türk Community ile olmalıyım dan, o modun hiçbir zaman doğru olduğuna inanmadım. Dolayısıyla bu modun dışına taşacak, orada olmanın güzelliklerini de yaşayabileceğiniz ve oraya ait hissetmek için belki de çok önemli olan şey bence bu networklere katılmak. Hatta bence çok daha önemlisi sadece böyle kişisel ilgi alanlarının dışında yardım etkinliklerine de katılmak, mesela çorba dağıtmak, çöp toplanıyorsa ona yardıma gitmek. (Tümay)

around being only with the Turkish community is right. That's why I tried to get out of that mentality, to experience the advantages of being here, and to feel I belong here. I think therefore maybe joining these networks is the most important thing. And I think it is even more important to go beyond personal interests and join charity events. For instance, distributing soup, helping to pick up trash. (Tümay)

Kesinlikle dil öğrenmeleri gerekiyor ama şöyle de bir sorun var. Türkiye'de öğrendiğin dil, yani. Tamam bir kısım gerçekten güzel konuşmayı falan öğreniyor ama çok teorik öğrendiğimiz için buraya geldiğimizde, ilk geldiğimde ben de yaşamıştım, güya hazırlık aldım. Ama tabii ki çok çalışmamıştım derslerime falan çok çalışan bir insan değildim. O zamanlar fazla. İşte farklı şeyler var işin içinde, burada yes-no dan başka bir şey anlamıyordum. Yine biraz hani farkındalık olması iyi olabilir. (Sevda)

Definitely, they have to learn the language but the language they learn in Turkey is far from being practical, it is more grammar-based. I experienced it here when I first came, I did have a good one-year education in English, but here it is difficult. But one must be aware that language must be learned very well. (Sevda)

Müjde suggested that women who plan to migrate should make this decision by considering how much they trust their relationships with their partners and how much they can support each other during the migration process.

Mesela bir tavsiye verecek olursam, göçmenlik anlamında evli olarak geliyorsan geldiğin

For instance, if I should advise if you are coming here married, the person you are coming here is very important.

kişi gerçekten çok önemli yani birbirine destek olabileceksen gelmelisin. Ben mesela her şeye rağmen bu kararımızın evet oğlum için çok doğru ama ikimiz içim çok yanlış bir karar olduğunu düşünüyorum. Biz buraya gelecek insanlar değildik, bir arada gelecek insanlar değildik ama oğlum için geldik ve geldiğimiz için de devam ettiriyoruz tabii ki. (Müjde)

I think our decision to come here is certainly correct for our son but false for us. We are not people to come here or come together. But for our son, we came here, and we are going on for him. (Müjde)

Esra thinks that mothers who are considering migration should come by taking the risk of being alone in order not to be disappointed. She suggested that they keep in mind that the partner could take on a completely different state regarding the division of labour. Considering the statements during Esra's interview about 'how difficult it is to be a mother, how easy it is to be a father', and that 'she has all the responsibility of her son', it was understood that the most hurtful and disappointing thing for Esra in her migration experience was that her husband left her alone in the division of labour.

Yalnız olmayı göze almaları gerekiyor. Yani çekirdek aile ile gelip belki eşle iş bölümü yapabilirler ama ne kadar işe yarar bilmiyorum. Gelince çok farklı hallere bürünebiliyor her şey çünkü. Yalnız olacaklarının farkına varırlarsa eğer bence bir beklentiye girmezlerse eşim yardım eder şu olur bu olur. Yardım alırlarsa tabii istemek çok önemli, yardım alırlarsa bu onlar için güzel bir sürpriz olur ama beklenti ile gelindiğinde ve alınmadığında çok üzücü oluyor sonrasında. (Esra)

They have to take the risk of being alone. I mean they come from a nuclear family and cooperate with the wife, and how much I work. When they come, sometimes they are transformed. But if they feel that they will be alone, and if they don't get into an expectation, if they could get help, it is very important to ask, it would be a good surprise, but when you have an expectation and you can't find what you expected, it might end up very worrying and disappointing. (Esra)

Özge stated that mothers who plan to migrate should make a long-term plan. Özge migrated by planning to stay for five years in her experience, but when she

experienced it, she realized that it would be unfair to her children to include them in the education system in Turkey after they get used to the school system in the UK.

özellikle çocuğu burada yapacak ya da küçük çocuğu olan insanların buraya göç etmesi bence çok avantajlı küçükken çünkü ama kafasında şuna da karar vermeli. Göçüyorum ama iki sene sonra geri döneceğim gibi değil uzun metraj düşünmeli. Yani ben şimdi bu çocuklara beş sene için düşünüyordum ama beş sene sonra ben bu çocukları cımbızla çekip alamam buradaki sisteme ve hayata alışıyorlar. Göç etmeden önce üç kere beş kere düşünmeleri lazım. Çocuk onlar için önemliyse bu onlar için üç senelik beş senelik değil çok daha uzun metrajlı bir süreç, tavsiyem o. (Özge)	I think it has many advantages to have your kid here or coming here when your kid is too little. You shouldn't think like I am moving but I may turn back in a few years. I was thinking for five years here, I cannot take my kids away now as they got used to living here. You should think twice before moving here. If kids are important to them, they should think long-term. That is my advice. (Özge)

Zeynep and Özge emphasized that it is important to find a job in the UK in adaptation. Zeynep suggested that mothers who are planning to immigrate should investigate whether their profession is valid in the UK. In addition, she suggested that if they are unable to do their jobs in the UK, they should research the professions that are in high demand in the UK and spend their efforts in Turkey to move on to these professions. Zeynep stated that if there are language barriers for those who are considering migrating to the UK, they should come by taking the risk of working as a waitress for a while in the UK.

Ben annelere şey öneriyorum burada bazı meslekler çok geçerli. Diyorum Türkiye'de onu öğrenip gelin burada çalışmak istiyorsanız. Mesela burada kuaförlük çok tutan bir şey. İşte seviyorsanız mesela Türkiye'de kuaförlük öğrenin burada çalışmak. Dil bilmek de vakit alıyor. Mesela şimdi öğretmenlik	I advise some mothers that here some occupations are very common if you want to live here, learn that job there and come here then. For instance, hairdressers are a very favourable job, learn it there and come here with your profession. Learning the language also takes time. For example, I want to work as a teacher, but I have been attending a language course for eight months and I

yapmak istiyorum ama benim ben yedi sekiz aydır dil kursuna gidiyorum zaten iki yıl kursa gitmem lazım, kreşte bile çalışmam için. Yani iki üç yılı gözden çıkarman lazım. Ama eğer bunu göze alamıyorsanız. Kuaförlüğün çünkü çok farklı şeyleri var. Kaş yapımı var bilmem makyajdı şuydu buydu. Öğrenin gelin diyorum ya da terzicilik çok tutan bir şey. Yani ben yapamam mesela terzicilik ama seven insanlar var. Ve seviyorsanız bunları öğrenerek gelin en azından kendi mesleğinizi yapıncaya kadar ya da. Eşinizin mesleği de öyle. Burada geçerli olan bir meslek benim İstanbul'daki arkadaşlarım gelmek istediler bu dönem. Bizimle konuşuyorlar gelelim mi ne yapalım falan. Dedim ki sen burada işini yapamazsın bir süre en azından unut dil öğreninceye kadar. Garsonluk yapmayı göze alıyorsan geçici bir süre. (Zeynep)

have to attend the course for two years even if I want to work in a kindergarten. That is to say, you have to spend a few years on proper language learning. Hairdressing has different things like eyebrows, and eyelashes, I mean many different ways, being a tailor is also a very favourable profession. I cannot be a good tailor but learn it and then come. It is the same for your husband too. A friend of mine called me from İstanbul and told me that they wanted to come. I told her that she wouldn't be able to do her job because learning the language will take her a long. So, she has to know that until she learns the language, she should know that she will be a good waitress. (Zeynep)

Burada işi olursa bir kişinin çok daha kolay adapte olur. Yani sırf annelik olarak değil de yani o yüzden bir iş ile gelmek burada adaptasyon sürecini çok hızlandırır. (Özge)

If someone has a job, she will adapt easily. I mean so not just as a mother, so coming with a job speed up the adaptation process here. (Özge)

Sevda advised people who are considering migration to search the education system in the UK in detail before making this decision. While Sevda thought that pre-school education was free in the UK, she learned that pre-school education was paid for after migrating. While calculating what percentage of her salary could afford for her daughter's kindergarten price, Sevda thought that kindergarten education was more expensive in the UK when compared to Turkey.

Bu ülkedeki eğitim sistemini bilerek gelmeleri gerekiyor kesinlikle, çocukları için. Anasınıfları nasıldır? İlkokul nasıldır, lisede nasıldır? Ben yani çocuğum olmadığı için dediğim gibi dilim olduğu halde ben bile şu hatayı yaptım. Ben anaokullarını ücretsiz zannediyordum burada okul öncesi eğitimi, değilmiş. Bunu öğrendik ve çok külfetli, şöyle bir şey çocuğunuz anaokuluna gittiğinde kazandığınız maaşın en az yarısı anaokuluna gidiyor. Türkiye'de düşünün, atıyorum. Beş bin lira alıyorsanız iki bin beş yüzü anaokuluna gidiyor. Bin liraya Türkiye'de güzel bir anaokuluna gidebiliyor gerçi fiyatlar arttı bin beş yüz falan oldu herhalde, şimdi nasıldır. Ama kesinlikle maaşının yarısını kreşe vermiyorsun orada yani. Burada maaşın yarısı gidiyor gerçi yaptığımız işlere de bağlı olabilir. O var. (Sevda)

They have to come knowing the education system in advance, absolutely for their children. How are the kindergartens? How are the primary schools? Although I had no kids, and even I spoke the language, I made that mistake. I thought kindergartens were free, but they were not, and they were expensive. When you send your kids to kindergarten, you need to know that half of your salary is spent on kindergarten. I am thinking about it, what if I were in Turkey? I would probably spend two thousand and five hundred if I earned five thousand. But in Turkey one thousand would be enough, I think. I am not sure about the prices. But I am sure you are not spending half of it. Here you spend half. But it changes according to salary. (Sevda)

4.4. Summary of the findings

The study reveals that the differences in mothering experiences between Turkey and the UK appear as a result of the differences in various cultural and social factors. Some of these factors become prominent in understanding motherhood experiences. For instance, it is observed that women's readiness to become a mother without any social and biological pressure impacts the motherhood experience positively; that the meaning mothers attribute to motherhood has a dynamic nature; and that the differences in the role of the fathers in both countries have a significant impact on the motherhood experiences.

The findings show that migrant mothers experience an abundance of contradictory emotions in their motherhood experiences. Cultural and social disparities along with the difference in circumstances in their old and new lives affect

the transformation of the identity of women and their identity as mothers. This constant transformation and the turbulence of emotions may disrupt women's family relationships. Spousal support and the strength of the spousal relationship play a critical role in overcoming this issue.

It is also observed that acculturation of motherhood creates some other everyday challenges for migrant mothers. The decisions they have to make about their children are more challenging for them as both countries have different support systems/networks, educational systems, and social opportunities. Another factor affecting the motherhood experience is the career setbacks the women face as a result of migration.

Despite all the challenges, the findings of the current study indicated that being a migrant mother helps mothers to gain new perspectives through being exposed to new mothering models, enabling them to see their prejudices, and exposing them to new communication and relationship models with their children. Furthermore, unlike in Turkey, women, and child-centred cultural understanding in the UK has a positive impact on motherhood experiences.

In essence, the adaptation of the mother to the new country and acculturation of motherhood through new cultural codes/experiences makes the motherhood experiences of migrant women challenging yet a growing, transforming experience.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter, results were discussed based on the relevant literature. The implications for practice and recommendations for future studies were presented at the end of this chapter.

5.1. Discussion of findings

This study aimed to gain an in-depth understanding of the mothering experiences of Turkish-speaking migrant women in the United Kingdom and to understand the effects of two divergent contexts on their mothering experiences. The originality of this study was that it interviewed migrant mothers who have children between the ages of 1-12 and who had the opportunity to experience motherhood practice in two different countries. In this way, mothers were able to reveal how having practiced motherhood in two different countries in different socio-cultural contexts affected their own motherhood experiences.

As previously expressed within the literature review there is a gap in the current knowledge about the mothering experiences in two different divergent contexts with the women who have experienced being a mother both in Turkey and the UK. Research on migrant mothers tended to focus on pathology and risk (Aroian, 2001; Desouza, 2005) and is mostly dominated by the perinatal stages, birth experiences, and transition to mothering as migrant women (Aydin et al., 2017; Korukcu et al., 2017; Straus et al., 2009).

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with eight migrant mothers and the data were analysed with the Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis method after the audio recordings were transcribed. As a result of this analysis, three superordinate

themes were found, which were named (1) meaning of motherhood: experiencing the extremities, (2) becoming a migrant: breaking the shell, and (3) becoming a migrant mother: breaking the shell twice at the same time. In the following sections, based on the relevant literature each superordinate theme was discussed.

5.1.1. Meaning of motherhood: "Experiencing the extremities"

The first of the three superordinate themes that emerged as a result of the analysis was the meaning of motherhood. When the participants in the study were asked what motherhood means to them, it was seen that it was affected by some important factors such as readiness for motherhood and willingness to be a mother, the age of the child, the distribution of workload at home, and the role of fathers in the care of the child.

It was seen that the reason attributed to motherhood and the experience of motherhood positively affected the woman's feeling of being ready for motherhood and her willingness to experience motherhood. As Meyers (2001) pointed out in the literature, it has been observed that women's decisions about becoming a mother are rarely autonomous and the influence of social environment, the desire of partners to become fathers, and the 'culturally transmitted mythologies of rapturous motherhood' (p. 746). Similarly, one of the participants, Sevda, mentioned the social pressure projected by the people around her by saying "when you get older, you cannot be a mother, you will regret it later on". This showed that the biological clock declining fertility became a social pressure in Turkish culture. On the contrary, it was seen in the study of Benzies et al., (2006) that delayed childbearing has become more socially acceptable in Canada. Participants in the study of Benzies et al., (2006) were feeling confident about delayed childbearing because of fertility technology. Instead of focusing on the biological risks of delaying childbearing such as multiples, and preterm birth, participants favoured achieving carrier and other personal goals before having a baby. Similar to the results of Benzies et al.'s (2006) study, the interviewed woman, Özge, underlined that being a mother at a later age had a positive effect on her readiness for motherhood since she felt that like a beggar on the horseback when she became a mother at the age of 35.

The result of the study showed that the guilt felt in motherhood begins even before the woman becomes a mother. Even when the woman talks about her willingness to become a mother, she prefers to say "I didn't want to deprive my husband of being a father" instead of "I became a mother so as not to deprive myself of motherhood" with the dominance of guilt. This showed that even the idea of becoming a mother activates the sense of guilt. Similarly, Sutherland (2010) also stated that one of the most felt emotions in motherhood is guilt and when we talk about a mother's guilt, it refers to a negative self-evaluation resulting from a mother's behavior. Negative self-evaluation and fear of doing something wrong appear at the very first mental representations of motherhood.

When asked about the meaning of motherhood, two mothers stated that the meaning of motherhood changes according to the age of the child and is dynamic. It has been found that it is not possible to speak of single motherhood even in a mother's own motherhood experience. Similarly, the results of Miller (2007) showed that experience, confidence, and passage of time changed the way of mothering. It has been seen that especially as the child grows, the child becomes more responsive to the mother and the mother can understand the child more easily with the relationship established, which relieves the motherhood experience. Two mothers in the present study stated that the joy they get in their motherhood increases when their children grow up to be old enough to chat with them.

In this study, while migrant mothers expressed what motherhood means to them, half of the participants stated that the meaning would change according to how much fathers were involved in the division of labour at home and in the care of the child. They emphasized that if the father shares the responsibility of the child equally with the mother, the motherhood experienced by the woman is very different when the father leaves the responsibility of the child to the mother, and the meaning that the woman gives to motherhood can change considerably. For instance, Esra contemplated the fact that fathers have the luxury of just playing with a child, which is not an option for mothers. While the mother has time with a child at home she has to organize and make the household chores at the same time. Similarly, Roggman (2004) stated that it will not be possible to talk about the equal distribution of the responsibility of childcare

as long as the daily nurturance of the child is identified with motherhood and fathering with play.

As Dienhart (1998) pointed out that co-parenting fathers are likely to be rewarded by their friends and peers. Even this award showed how rare the concept of co-parenting in society is for fatherhood and how far it is from being the standard norm. Similarly, the woman we interviewed, Elçin, stated that the equal participation of fathers in the upbringing of the child in Turkey was seen as something unique, rare, and unusual.

In this study, three mothers emphasized that motherhood and fatherhood are completely different in terms of distribution of responsibility for childcare and household chores. Even one of the participants used the adjective "terrifying" while trying to explain how difficult motherhood is and emphasized that as a mother Elçin, had to consider everything about the child while her husband is only responsible for earning money and playing with the child for 15-20 minutes a day as a father. Similar to the results of the present study, Sutherland (2010) emphasized that mothers have an extra layer of a parental strain than fathers since mothers report the care and commitment which adds an emotional and psychological component in response to childcare.

All participants in the study mentioned that motherhood involves intense emotions. Feeling of ongoing conflicts, conscience, and the fear of inadequacy in motherhood were mentioned by the participants. The underlying idea, which feeds these emotions, was 'perfect' motherhood. In parallel with the findings of the present study, the feeling of guilt in modern motherhood was seen as an inherent part of motherhood (Liss et al., 2013; Sutherland, 2010). Similarly, the results of Rotkirch and Janhunen's (2010) qualitative study also showed that Finnish mothers associated motherhood with a sense of guilt. Liss et al. (2013) found that mothers, who felt guilt also experience the gap between their 'ideal' self as a mother and the 'real' self which stem from the discourses of perfection in motherhood. Similarly in the present study, while mothers were mentioning the feeling of guilt and inadequacy, they were fearful of doing something wrong since they believed that there is no room for mistakes in motherhood. Henderson et al. (2015) argued the gap between the self and the idealized mother. In parallel with the findings of this study, adverse effects of parenting on

mental health were also mentioned in the literature (Baumeister & Vohs, 2002). Specifically, Nomaguchi and Milkie (2003) found that parents experience increased stress, anxiety, and depression (Evenson & Simon, 2005).

As described by Nicolson (1999) there is a paradoxical emotional state in motherhood. It is the case that women feel happy when they become a mother, but at the same time feel unhappy because they experience the loss of things that belong to them, such as time, appearance, and autonomy. Similarly, one of the participants, Esra, stated that as an example of the ambivalent emotions felt in motherhood, she wanted her child to sleep for two hours in the afternoon, and on the other hand, she felt guilty for wanting this. As the woman loses her own time with motherhood, there is no longer an existential "only me", and the mother feels guilty whenever she wishes for her own time. The fact that the mother cannot rejoice even in the time that belongs to her showed that her existential needs were overshadowed by the identity of motherhood. It is a difficult task for the mother to manage her own needs and the needs of the child in a balanced way and to find the balance between connectedness and separateness. Barlow and Cairns (1997) emphasized that the definitions of self for mother become blurry when ‘care’ for the child becomes ‘self-sacrifice’ for the mother.

While talking about the guilt felt in motherhood, three participants talked about the difficulty of deciding to give birth to a child and the responsibility of this big decision. Mothers were worried about the future of their children because they stated that there are many bad things in the world, such as the climate crisis and economic crisis, and therefore they felt guilty for not offering a good future and world to their children because their own decisions caused their children's existence. This could be explained by the Arnold-Baker (2020) perspective, which explained motherhood as an existential crisis. As Arnold-Baker underlined that Greek origin of “Krisis” was “to decide or to choose”. When we look at motherhood in terms of the "decision-making process", it includes many decisions on behalf of the child's whole life experiences, starting with deciding the birth of the child and his existence. Having to make decisions on behalf of the child in motherhood was one of the most challenging aspects of motherhood for mothers, which triggered their feeling of guilt. Mothers feel like they throw their children into problems such as global warming, fires, earthquakes, and environmental pollution, which feeds the feeling of guilt. Hence, the decision to

migrate to the United Kingdom sounds like they tried to compensate for this guilt by providing a more natural green environment for their children in the UK.

Two of the participants, Tümay and Özge, carried the emotional burden of not allowing mistakes in their motherhood. While Özge mentioned that she always tries to answer every question her child asks, she spoke of motherhood as a "job" and making it "perfect" felt like the only acceptable performance. On the other hand, Tümay felt the anxiety of answering the questions asked by her child according to her truth, and of making decisions for the child according to her truth. Because Tümay stated that her truths changed over time, and she was very worried about making mistakes in motherhood. Arnold-Baker (2020) stated that mothers face an existential challenge in their desire to make the right decision for their child in motherhood because as Kierkegaard (1844) stated, we can only evaluate how right our choices were, by looking retrospectively when we experience the consequences of our choices. In the unpredictability of life, when a woman decides for herself, she feels the responsibility only against herself, while in motherhood, when she decides for her child a layer of feeling responsible for the child is added.

All the participants emphasized that motherhood is one of the most challenging things in the world. While explaining that motherhood is the most difficult thing in the world, points such as excessive responsibility in motherhood, loss of freedom, standing strong for the child and continuing to live no matter what, and the negative effects of psychological health after motherhood were mentioned. In the emphasis of all participants, "motherhood" was heard as a new way of being that shook women's lives and changed them. Similarly, Stadlen (2004) emphasized that, while women can share the responsibilities they took before motherhood, motherhood has a separate difficulty in that it is a responsibility that cannot be shared due to its nature and that no one can replace the mother. Müjde, one of the participants, stated that being a mother means “being tied to the world with a handcuff", even if she wants to die, she has to be strong for her child now. In parallel with the discourse of Müjde, Hartley (2005) stated that the child needs the mother's presence to exist and that the bond established with the child in motherhood is very different from the mother's other social relationships. Since it involves being in a relationship with a dependent, existentially needy person in a mother-child relationship, rather than two equal people

being in a relationship. Apart from the uniqueness of the mother-child relationship, Müjde's statement can be explained through an existential perspective, as Beauvoir (1953) explains, "the birth of children is the death of parents" (as cited in Arnold-Baker, 2020, p.135). While being a mother increases the awareness of the mother's mortality, ironically, the responsibility of caring for the dependent child becomes a new reason to live. Therefore, for Müjde, it may also be her mortality, which she confronts with motherhood, which triggers her to think these thoughts. Motherhood is a very heavy responsibility and stated that her psychological health was also adversely affected after becoming a mother. To understand this, it can be seen that motherhood is experienced as the loss of freedom when we look at which emotion is most dominant when Sevda talks about her own motherhood. She experienced the loss of her freedom in cases such as not being able to continue her academic career and having to choose her place of work according to her child. This can be explained by Kierkegaard's (1884) perspective on depression, Kierkegaard explained that depression arose from the erosion of freedom, and this can be thought of as a reflection of the loss of freedom that Sevda felt in her motherhood.

Half of the participants mentioned the motherhood sacrifice when they were explaining the meaning of motherhood for them. Two of the participants, Müjde and Sevda stated that their jobs as an academy and newspaper reporter were not suitable for motherhood, and they had to make sacrifices in their careers. This could be explained by the pressure that women felt from society. As Dillaway and Pare (2008) stated that this is because women are seen as selfish when they have a career, they dedicate themselves to, the expectation from an employed mother is that have a stable, full-time carrier. The underlying idea is that if a woman devotes herself to her job, she is getting ahead of the sacrifice she will make to her family. The result of Horne and Breitkreuz's (2016) research also showed that mothers made three central themes regarding maternal sacrifice: sacrificing employment, sacrificing personal goals, and sacrificing interpersonal relationships. The other two participants have mentioned the sacrifices they had in their daily life choices. For instance, although Elçin hates attending children's activities she has to attend after she becomes a mother. Zeynep missed the simplicity of travelling freely, although she tries to travel with children, she thinks that travelling with children is so tiring. Similarly, the findings of Moore and

Abetz (2019) showed that sacrifice is one of the regretted conditions of having children. Especially sacrifice about “the loss of selfish things” including time, money, education, and so on. Parents emphasized that they had the luxury of sleep, travelling freely, and pursuing hobbies before children.

All participants mentioned that the positive emotions experienced in motherhood are also felt very intensely. Love, pride, and joy were among the positive feelings that were felt in motherhood. The feeling of enormous love felt in motherhood was also emphasized as indescribable. Stadlen (2004) explained this enormous love as “…the intensity of a mother’s love can feel close to a religious awe” (p. 163).

Moreover, two of the participants, Özge and Tümay, emphasized that while raising children, they also develop and grow. The feeling of "completeness" that Tümay feels in motherhood coincides with the point described in the literature as the expansion of one's self-awareness, which Laney et al. (2015) mention about. In the study of Laney et al. (2015), the women’s experiences of identity change when they become a mother were investigated and the results showed that women experience motherhood as an expansion of the self. One of the participants, Esra, emphasized that she could not even remember how they had fun before her son was born. Özge stated that in motherhood, she most enjoyed being accompanied by her children's surprises and questions while they were discovering something. Similarly, mothers in the study of Garland (2019), also mentioned about overpowering love and joy that children bring into their life and the pride and empowerment they feel as a mother.

Except for one participant, Özge, all the participants emphasized the profound changes they experienced after they became a mother in their identity including changes in perspective towards life, priorities, being more sensitive and fragile, becoming more open to change, behaving more safely, and trying to avoid from danger. First of all, mothers stated that they came to a “self-giving” point in their relationships from a self-centred point of view, and they always took steps by considering their children in their decisions. For example, Tümay, a woman who likes to speed while driving, dives, and takes flying lessons and enjoys them very much, stated that after she became a mother, she stayed away from danger by thinking “I have to survive for my child” and protected herself in her decisions at a primitive level. Similarly, Garland (2019) emphasized that the child becomes the priority for the

mother and in motherhood, women experience self-transformation in terms of relating with others from “self-centred” to “self-giving” one.

Participants in this study interpreted the changes in their identities as a transformation in motherhood. Likewise, in the literature, change in becoming a mother is interpreted as the way, in which the mother reorganizes, and transforms her self-identity (Stadlen, 2004; Stern & Bruschweiler-Stern 1998; Prinds et al., 2014). McMahon (1995) also highlighted that ‘the self-transformation of motherhood was at once both integrating and liberating: the new and the old were born and reborn” (p. 151). On the contrary, other researchers describe change as the loss of former identities (Vik & Hafting, 2012) and loss of sense of self (Barclays et al., 1997).

One of the participants, Esra, stated that motherhood pushed her to change to break the relationship pattern between generations within the family. When Esra realized that her mother-in-law was yelling at her husband and she was yelling at her husband in the same way, she realized that if she could not change herself about yelling at her son, it would reflect on her son's relationship with his future partner. This can be explained by the fact that psychological flexibility and the ability to shift behavioural responses are higher among mothers of infants and toddlers (Parens, 2003), which helps the mother to perceive others’ viewpoints more readily (MacKinnon & Marcia, 2002). This also showed us the significance of “motherhood” to break the unhealthy trans-generational cycles such as physical abuse, and emotional abuse.

Of the mothers, only Özge stated that her personality did not change after she became a mother, and she said that she does not have such things as "I became more anxious after becoming a mother". It was as if she was showing the difference between her own experience of motherhood and the “negative must have an image of motherhood” created in her mind by media portrayal, and social norms. Correspondingly, some mothers can state that they do not feel like a mother (Arnold-Baker, 2020) due to the imposed social norms about “motherhood”.

5.1.2. Becoming a migrant: “Breaking the shell”

The second superordinate theme that emerged as a result of the analysis was “becoming a migrant: breaking the shell”. When the participants in the study were

asked what migration means to them, feelings about being a migrant, drivers for their migration decision, and appreciation of social/cultural aspects differing from the ones in the country of origin were mentioned.

While talking about what migration means to participants, one of the participants, Tümay stated that she interpreted her situation as "changing cities" rather than "migration". The factors that facilitate her adaptation to the UK can be listed as being familiar with the culture of the UK, having a previous life experience in the UK, and feeling close to the culture. The factors which were mentioned by Tümay also show parallelism with the factors such as cultural knowledge, amount of interaction and identification with host nationals, and language fluency which were mentioned in the migration literature (Ward & Kennedy, 1994; Ward & Searle, 1991).

Four of the participants positively interpreted migration by emphasizing the feeling of freedom, personal growth, and change but at the same emphasized the difficult part of it. For instance, Hande described migration as "I feel like an animal that breaks its shell and pulls something new out of it but does it with pain". This can be explained by the potential of migration as a self-actualizing experience (Anderson, 1994) and by posttraumatic growth since the nature of migration involves multiple losses, such as loss of familiarity with physical, social, cultural environments, language, identity, socio-economic status, and social support systems (Berger, 2004). Some of the feelings that naturally accompany these losses are helplessness, insecurity, frustration, anger, disorientation, emptiness, and depression (Berger, 2004; Drachman & Shen-Ryan, 1991; Hulewat, 1996). On the other hand, as Akthar suggested, "Alongside these losses is a renewed opportunity for psychic growth" (p. 5). All these challenging and frightening things that were experienced in migration can foster positive changes (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 1995). The term "posttraumatic growth (PTG)" put forward by Tedeschi and Calhoun reflects the meaning of changes in perceptions of self, interpersonal relationships, and the philosophy of life following a struggle with stressful events (Berger & Weiss, 2006). In addition, there were also some studies, which emphasize PTG in migrant women particularly (Berger, 2004; Pittaway, 1999).

Three of the participants interpreted migration, as an escape from Turkey and their personal and relational problems. In the migration literature, Ryan (2004)

conducted research on the women's narratives of the migration with 12 women who had migrated to the UK from Ireland. The result of the study showed that women attributed the meaning of escape from their family relations and family tension to migration. Similarly, three women in our study, Müjde, Esra, and Sevda, interpreted migration as an escape from their unhappiness, personal relational problems, and the problems of their own country. In all three examples, the problem was related to "relationships", how to relate to others, self, and country.

While migration was a solution for Esra, who migrated due to problems such as freedom of expression in the country, it was not a solution for two participants who had problems relating to another person or herself. They expressed their frustration at giving migration the meaning of "opening a new clean slate" in terms of their relationship. This shows how important it is to be able to receive psychological counselling support while making important decisions such as the decision to migrate because, with the help of space that was provided by psychological counselling, the person can think about the meanings, and motivations underlying his/her desire to migrate and how realistic they are. Unfortunately, in the literature, the importance of the support provided in the decision-making process has been given more attention in the field of health and treatment choices (Hesberger et al., 2013).

While explaining the meaning of migration for them, participants mentioned deep and complicated feelings about being a migrant. These include feelings of anger, resentment, conscience, belongingness, vulnerability, disappointment, freedom, happiness, and peace. Five of the participants, Elçin, Hande, Esra, Zeynep, and Sevda, expressed that they felt anger and resentment at those who caused them to migrate heavily. They were angry when talking about the insecurity caused by those who ruled Turkey politically, the deficiencies in the education system, the feeling of "other" in their own country, and the inability to progress due to the favouritism made in the recruitment of academic staff. The anger of the participants was intense against those systems, and politicians who "forced them to migrate". In fact, anger was the substitute emotion for their primary emotion, "sadness" because when they were deciding to migrate, they were facing migration-related losses, which is so painful. Instead of expressing sadness, participants preferred to express it in the form of anger. In the article "Fear, Anger, and Sadness" Thomson (1983) pointed out how one feeling may

be used to hide another feeling. According to Thomson (1983), anger is about the present, and when a person feels anger, she/he does not like the behaviour of others and wants to change it. On the other hand, sadness is about the past and accepting and dealing with the losses. When someone lost a loved one, the first reaction to loss shows anger. This means that person wants the dead person to change his/her behaviour and not be lost anymore (Thomson, 1983). When we interpret the participants' expression of anger instead of sadness in line with Thomson's statements, it shows how difficult it is to face their losses as migrants and how they could not leave and accept the "migration" in the past.

Another intense emotion that came up from three participants, Elçin, Esra, and Hande, was migration guilt. The main reason for guilt was stemming from the idea of instead of staying and fighting to change the things going bad in Turkey they prefer to escape. One of the participants, Hande, emphasized that the guilt of not acting by Atatürk's principles and reforms was the heaviest one for her. The participants felt as if they had betrayed their own country because they migrated. Similar to the results of the present study, Ivey and Sonn (2020) also found that some South African migrants were carrying the burdened feeling of guilt since they abandoned their country of origin. Just as the participants in this study indicated Turkey as their homeland, South African migrants also identified South Africa as their homeland. The sense of abandonment and guilt was beautifully explained by Paris (1978) from a psychodynamic point of view. Attention was drawn to the similarity in the concepts of mother and motherland and Paris stated, "No matter how well-grounded the reasons for emigration or exile, there is a feeling of unconscious guilt about the country of origin. Like parents, the nation of one's birth commands loyalty for having been the first to offer nurturance" (Paris, 1978, p. 57). In addition, Elçin and Hande underlined the guilt that was felt for leaving their families behind. Similarly, in the migration literature, it was underlined that particularly women felt most guilty when their parents do not approve and support their decision to migrate (Baldassar, 2015).

Seven of the participants mentioned the feeling of "not belongingness" that they felt like a migrant towards both their motherland and their migrated country. One of the participants asked herself "where is my home?" and it was hard to face the feeling of not belonging anywhere. Similar to the results of the current study,

Krzyżanowski and Wodak (2008) also pointed out that not feeling belonging to the country of origin or targeted country is an issue for migrants. In addition to this study, the results of the Cakir (2009) study showed that migrant women coming from Turkey does not feel belong to the UK and feel lonely.

Five participants mentioned that they had the most difficulties in the early stages of the migration process. The feeling that the most difficult times are in the early stages of the migration process is a result closely related to the previous finding, "not feeling belonging" to the migrated country, especially in the beginning. Because, as Baumeister and Leary (1995) stated, when one's sense of belonging is not satisfied, negative feelings such as loneliness arise. In addition, migrant women face the absence of their mothers and fathers (Phillips-Mundy, 2011) and do not have adequate support from the new social network in the early stages of migration (Okeke-Ihejirika et al., 2016; Ogunsiji et al., 2011). To alleviate the loneliness, it takes time to establish a relationship in the country of migration and to adapt to sociocultural differences. As the participants stated, when a social network and social support begin to form in the UK, being a migrant becomes easier for them. Similar to the results of the present study, Ward and Kennedy (1996) stated that the most difficult period of migration is in the early stages although psychological adjustment changes over time during the migration process.

While the participants talked about the meaning of migration, they talked about the disappointment they experienced with migration. Three participants, Müjde, Zeynep, and Özge, stated that they had been disappointed about the loss of working woman identity, not having a regular income, language problems in finding a job, and gender inequality which was felt in terms of making labor and career compromises. In the literature, there are similar findings to the present study. The qualitative study conducted by Liversage (2009) was about the experiences of highly skilled female migrants in the process of finding a job in the country they migrated to. The results of the study pointed out that women felt the threat of becoming ‘just a housewife’, some of them had to take education again to gain work, some of them feel confined to the home and get tired of facing rejections from job applications and even had the decision of returning to their home country to work on their good working positions. The reasons for difficulties experienced by even high-skilled women in terms of finding a

job in migration were mentioned in the literature. Firstly, the reason for this can be explained by the gendered family divisions of work. The woman had to carry the major responsibility of the childcare while she was facing the loss of a former social network in the motherland (Kofman & Raghuram, 2006; Salaff & Greve, 2004), which was emphasized by the participants of this study. Another reason for this situation can be explained that women mostly work in the fields such as teaching and medicine, which is more difficult in terms of accreditation in another country. On the other hand, men mostly work in science, technical and managerial fields, there is a high demand for these jobs and these jobs are easily internationally transferable (Cornelius et al., 2001; Saxenian, 2002). Lastly, as Reskin (1993) pointed out that migrant women are exposed to additional gendered obstacles in the form of labor market discrimination. Similarly, one of the participants Tümay mentioned her disappointment when she realized that gender inequality exists in the work-life in the UK such as inequality between salary differences among men and women, and gender-biased career choices. Considering all these reasons, as Ho (2006) stated, highly skilled migrant women have to face "re-feminization" in their post-migratory lives.

Another disappointment Tümay experienced after migrating to the UK was the absence of a school counselor in her daughter's school. Tümay stated that the school psychological counselor helped her child a lot by providing a space for her daughter to explore her daily relational problems such as "my friend behaved like this what can I do?" in Turkey. Tümay underlined that her child was going to a private school in Turkey but in the UK she is going to a state school. According to the data from a nationally representative survey of teachers (Harland et al., 2015), only 52% of primary schools and 70% of secondary schools offer counselling services in the UK. It showed how much the psychological counseling service in schools supports the child in terms of being able to intervene in children's problems early, and how comforting it is for the mother to know that there is a reliable psychological counselor at school whom the child can knock on her door and explore her problems in a safe place whenever she needs.

Six of the participants expressed their positive feelings after migration. They emphasized that they felt safer, peaceful, free, happy, and respected by society as a woman in the UK. When Elçin migrated, she stated that she felt as if she had a very

heavy cloak on her back and threw it away. She metaphorically described the difficult emotions she has to carry while living in Turkey. They mentioned that they experienced the constant expectation of something awful is going to happen in Turkey because while walking on the road there is a possibility that at any moment someone could cause trouble for no reason.

It was as if they had decided to get out of an unhealthy relationship in which they felt constantly tense and anxious, and they were describing the lightness and peace of being able to free themselves from this relationship afterward. At this point, it was seen that the positive feelings of migrants were shaped according to the reasons that pushed them to migrate. While the participants were describing the positive feelings in the country they migrated to, they were talking in parallel with the issues that bothered them the most in Turkey. Similarly, Hendriks and Bartram (2019) also emphasized that migrants' happiness depends strongly on the reasons that urge them to migrate. In addition to this, Akay et al. (2016) pointed out that the happiness and well-being of the migrants in the country they migrated continues to be determined by the condition of their homeland, so, when the well-being and positive emotions of the migrants were mentioned, this was understood through the comparison with the country they came from.

Half of the participants stated that their relations were threatened in different ways during the migration process and that the person should take the decision to migrate if they have a reliable marriage. From the emphases of the participants, it was felt that migration is like a litmus paper, a process that shows what the relationship will evolve into in the face of difficulties. With the many changes that have to be experienced after migration, the capacity of the relationship to adapt to these changes is being challenged. For example, the losses experienced after migration, including instrumental support provided by paid staff such as housekeepers, and social support provided by extended family about child-raising, have caused a change in women's expectations from their partners in relationships, and this has led to the change of gendered roles. One of the participants, Hande made it clear to her husband that it is unacceptable in the UK for her to accept her husband to bring money to the house and not to help with the housework in a patriarchal manner. Similarly, in literature, it was found that women demand a more egalitarian division of tasks when they migrate to a

new culture where both parents must work and there is no support from family (Degni et al., 2006; Hyman et al., 2008; Osman et al., 2016). In literature, studies also revealed that there is increased marital conflict, divorce, and partner violence (IPV) among the newcomer communities (Kulig, 1994; Naidoo & Davis, 1988). In this study, women may feel more at risk when they conflict with their spouses, as the Ankara Agreement visa format adds some factors that oblige women to their relationships. If the woman has a dependent visa, automatically the dependency of the women on their spouses increases to stay in the UK. If the woman has a business visa, as one of the participants in this research, Müjde, and if she wants to get a divorce, she has to meet visa requirements such as having a certain amount of income. In addition, she has to look after her child alone. At this point, she expressed that since she cannot meet all these things alone, she has to return to Turkey if she wants to divorce her husband. She also stated that having a child and being a migrant at the same time is something that binds her to marriage. Because she cannot leave the marriage since she has a child and does not want to return to Turkey to not eliminate the chance of taking a British passport for her son. It was understood that visa type becomes an important risk factor, especially for migrant mothers when they had increased marital conflict. In addition, when the meaning of motherhood was asked Müjde said metaphorically that being a mother is like "handcuffed to the world" like "shackles on your feet". The parallelism of her emotions in both marriage and motherhood showed that motherhood is deeply affected by the marriage in which she felt "trapped".

While five of the participants explained what it means for them to migrate, they stated that although this choice may seem like a voluntary migration from the outside, they had to take it because of some very basic needs that they could not meet in Turkey. The wail heard from the statements of the participants was "even though we took this decision, we were pushed to take this decision" and they seemed to want to convince the researcher by explaining what they have gone through in Turkey. These were mentioned as drivers for their migration; deterioration in the education system, lack of life safety (Gezi Park Protests, Ankara Station explosion, Reina Nightclub shooting, explosions in Beşiktaş İnönü Stadium), the feeling of the being other, destruction of natural beauties, and the behaviour of individuals in the society towards the mother. Participants were feeling that the category of “voluntary” migration unable to explain

their situation, which is also showed their critique of conventional migration literature. As Sirkeci (2012) claimed that instead of looking at the voluntary or forced characteristics of international migration, it is more convenient to look at it from the conflict model, which assesses migration “as a quest for human security or as a desire to escape from insecure conditions” (Sirkeci, 2012; p. 356).

Considering the reasons that push the participants in this study to migrate, similar reasons were found in the qualitative study of Sirkeci et al. (2016), which was conducted with twenty people who migrated to the UK with the Ankara Agreement. Sirkeci et al. (2016) pointed out that social-political reasons played an important role in taking the migration decision. The reasons for migration stated by the participants were ethnic and religious discrimination felt in Turkey, the way women are seen and threatened in Turkey, political pressure on the academy, extreme political atmosphere, and unemployment which is related to the favouritism and lack of institutionalization, finding a relatively secure place where they can live securely, and economically secure for him/her and his/her family (Sirkeci & Cohen, 2016).

Except for one mother, all the participants stated that being a mother caused them to migrate, they came thinking about the future of their children, and if they did not have children, they would never prefer to migrate. For mothers, it seemed that saying "I migrated for my child" made this choice more acceptable for them when the migration guilt that felt was taken into consideration. Although the reasons, which were related to their children, were the triggers, many statements showed that they were not happy to live in Turkey. At this point, it was a reflection of how socially accepted the discourse "for the sake of my child" was in Turkey. At the same time, it may be the case that mothers did not prefer to share the responsibility of the migration decision and use the "for the sake of my child" discourse to alleviate their feelings of guilt for migration.

5.1.3. Becoming a migrant mother: “Breaking the shell twice at the same time”

The third superordinate theme that emerged as a result of the analysis was “becoming a migrant mother: breaking the shell twice at the same time”. When the participants in the study were asked what migrant motherhood means to them,

opportunities of being a migrant mother, challenging aspects of being a migrant mother, and suggestions to the newcomers were mentioned.

The result of the present study showed that participants experienced that migration transformed their motherhood since they had the opportunity to see different ideal motherhood models in the country they migrated to. Six participants, Elçin, Zeynep, Esra, Özge, Hande, and Tümay stated that they were so impressed by the British mothers' communication with their children. Participants observed that British mothers are patient, calm, and non-interfering with their children, and they see their children as an individual and respect them. British mothers encourage their children's autonomy and self-sufficiency through their child-oriented and dialogue-based practices. On the other hand, mothers in this study shared that their mothering is more obedience-based and so protective. The participants stated that they were not satisfied with their overprotective and anxious motherhood, and they were aware that it was not healthy for the child. They stated that they realized how important it was to encourage children to do something new instead of saying "you will fall, don't do it" and to allow them to experience the results of their decisions and actions. When they compared their children to English children, they realized that the reason why their children are screaming and cannot wait in line has a lot to do with their parenting. The mothers expressed how much motherhood is influenced by the culture in which they live and that they accept many things without questioning them, and without even being aware of them. This can be explained by the differences between collectivistic and individualistic cultures. As Phalet and Schönpflug (2001) found that parents in individualistic countries (e.g., the UK, and the United States) give more importance to autonomy, and independent thinking; on the other hand, parents in relatively collectivistic countries (e.g., Turkey, Singapore) give more importance to obedience and respect. In line with the results of the present study, Southern European migrant mothers living in Norway and Korean migrant parents living in New Zealand also had similar experiences to the mothers of the present study and they try to embrace the mothering style of the country they migrated which is more dialogue-based, child-centered and encouraging child's autonomy (Herrero-Arias et al., 2020; Lee & Keown, 2018). It showed that the meaning attributed to motherhood is changing contextually and motherhood is highly influenced by culture. Seeing different models of

motherhood offers a chance for mothers to question, enrich, develop their motherhood, and rethink the creation of their motherhood meanings.

The participants stated that they enjoyed their motherhood more because of the society's perspective on mothers and children in the UK, the support that was given to mothers from organizations in the macrosystem and mesosystem in which mothers interact, child-friendly cities, and opportunities that make daily life with children easier. Five participants stated that people in the society in the UK do not judge their motherhood, do not interfere with their child-rearing styles, and act in a supportive manner. The main comforting point for mothers in the UK was that their motherhood was not seen as a performance, and they knew that their actions would not be judged by society. In the UK, mothers are not held responsible for their children's unwanted behaviour such as crying and shouting in public transport or in the park. This reduces the stress experienced in motherhood, as the mother does not see motherhood as a performance and does not feel pressured by society. As Butterfield (2010) points out that expecting to be judged by the behaviour of their children and evaluated as a "failure" as a mother is a heavy responsibility that mothers had to carry.

In addition, the result of the present study showed that the way of mothers' experience motherhood is closely related to the values and behaviours the society gives to "motherhood". For instance, whether the individuals in the society help mothers with issues such as carrying the stroller on the stairs and finding a place in public transport, how the people in the subway react to them when their child cries, affect how the mother experiences motherhood. Therefore, when considering motherhood, evaluating motherhood within the ecological system suggested by Bronfenbrenner (1974) is very valuable not to overlook how much the experience of motherhood is affected by interaction with different systems and contexts. Especially macro system cultures and values of the context, and mesosystem, which includes the quality of the relationship established with the school system, the health system of the child have an important impact on how motherhood is experienced. Four mothers in the present study stated how much they felt relieved as a mother since they could trust the school system their children attend, the availability of school personnel, and the fact that the school authorities and teachers inform the parents in detail about the processes that concern the child and involve them. One of the participants, Zeynep, stated that she

could easily ask anything she wanted to ask the personnel in the health system in the UK and that this relieved her as a mother. On the other hand, when Zeynep wanted to ask the doctor a question about her child but could not, due to the Turkish doctor's top-notch attitude, she blamed herself for thinking that she was not able to do what she should have done for her child as a mother which triggers the maternal guilt.

Five participants stated that one of the most difficult things while raising children in Turkey is that the environment is not child-friendly. They mentioned that even to take the child to a forest, they have to spend an hour in traffic by car and have to make a payment to enter the forest, there is no easily accessible green area around their house, that the parks in Turkey and the parks in the UK are very different in terms of the opportunities they offer to children. The concerns of mothers while raising their children in Istanbul (except for Sevda fromAnkara) can be interpreted as a reflection of their children's dissatisfaction with the environment. In the study conducted by Severcan (2015) with children aged 9-11 living in six different regions of Istanbul, most of the children stated that they did not find their environment child-friendly due to lack of spatial and social facilities and problems of security and safety. The absence of these may become a threat to children's physical health because accessibility, safety, and comfort of streets such as access for prams, available seatings, and cycling roads are essential for the movement of the children (Brown et al., 2019).

After migration to the UK the mothering experience of participants became more enjoyable since they can walk and drop off their children at school on foot, their children can go to school by scooter or bicycle, and they can easily use public transportation with their children, benefit from the free courses for children, museums, and activities.

Mothers' concerns about their children's inability to come into contact with nature in İstanbul are very understandable because children, who have less contact with nature, show higher behavioral problems, have higher problems with their peers, and suffer from general health and wellbeing in their childhood and adult lives (Engemann et al., 2019). Louv (2005) used the phenomenon of nature-deficit disorder to describe the disconnection between humans and nature and to draw attention to the seriousness of this issue.

Three of the participants, Zeynep, Sevda, and Hande, also touched upon the points that they appreciated in motherhood in Turkish culture. One of the things they were proud of about motherhood in Turkish culture was the care for their children's eating healthy food and homemade food, and not giving packaged products, sandwiches, and chips, unlike English mothers. In the literature, Herrero-Arias et al. (2020) also found the same pride regarding their culture of origin about dietary practices in mothers who migrated from Southern Europe to Norway. Just like the participants of this study, they felt proud for keeping and instilling a Mediterranean diet instead of the Norwegian diet. Parallel to Turkish migrant mothers, Southern European migrant mothers made the critique for feeding children with sandwiches in the Norwegian diet since they considered it an obstacle to the healthy development of the child. Apart from the practice of feeding the child, Hande stated that in Turkish culture, the mother is in much closer contact with her child physically and she finds this very valuable, and she never wants to resemble British mothers in this respect. This expression can also be interpreted as a coping mechanism with "motherhood guilt", which comes from the mother's culture of their country of origin. Because, in the study by Aytac et al. (2019), which compared the behaviour of English mothers and Turkish mothers to their children, it was found that Turkish mothers show more negative affect on their children than English mothers. Considering the guilt of the participants for not being able to communicate child-centered, dialogue-based, and patient like British mothers, and their desire to behave like them into consideration, perhaps the glorification of physical closeness with their children can be thought of as compensation like "even though I can't act like English mothers, but I hug and kiss my child more" which might help them to cope with the motherhood guilt.

The participants complained that motherhood in Turkey is treated as a phenomenon that is open to criticism from everyone in the society, and that being a mother is perceived as a necessity rather than an option. In fact, mothers stated that when they became mothers they needed socio-emotional support the most, but unfortunately, motherhood is a state that everyone in Turkey has the right to judge. The judges were sometimes people on the street or on the bus whom they had never met, sometimes their mothers or mothers-in-law, and sometimes other mothers. The message they constantly received from society was "your motherhood is inadequate"

which made their motherhood experience much more difficult. Similarly, in the literature, negative effects of perceived failure messages taken from society about their motherhood and the internalization of self-judgment about not being an 'ideal mother' were mentioned (Price, 1988). On the other hand, in the phenomenological study of Hartley (2005), seven mothers from the south of the UK stated that British mothers in the UK also received similar inadequacy messages from the society about their motherhood. This shows that for a mother, who has experienced motherhood both in Turkey and UK, it can be perceived as if there is no criticism and pressure about their motherhood in the UK. This may be explained by the severity of criticism that Turkish mothers are subjected to in their home country or by the lack of understanding of the cultural judgment codes of the country they migrated to.

In this study, social pressure on women to be a mother was emphasized as "being a woman equals being a mother". The study of Aktas and Aydın (2019), which investigated the mechanisms affecting the reproductive decisions of mothers in the literature, found that social pressure, especially family pressure, has an important role in the decision to become a mother which was in alignment with the expressions of the participants of the present study.

Five of the participants stated that one of the most difficult challenges of migrant motherhood was that they did not receive any support from their families while raising their children since they were far from them. Other studies have found similar findings that immigration challenges parenting in terms of family and social support (Lee & Keown, 2018; Liamputtong, 2001). Participants also mentioned that they could not spend time alone as a couple in the UK, due to the lack of someone like grandparents to leave their children with. This situation may influence their relationship quality adversely. Considering the high number of divorces among international migrants (Caarls & Mazzucato, 2015), creating community support mechanisms where families from the same culture can support each other in childcare can play an important role in supporting the couple's relationship of migrant parents.

One of the most challenging things for the participants in migrant motherhood after they migrated was to support their children's adaptation to the country they migrated to, and they had a hard time feeling this responsibility only on their shoulders as "mothers". As mothers, they have also faced the shortcoming of not knowing some

cultural things they need to know to support their children. For example, one participant, Tümay, mentioned that she announced the birthday party she planned for her child two weeks in advance, but that she did not know that these party invitations were given months ago in the UK, and she could not guess because it is a cultural thing. This shows the importance of mothers' acculturation to a new culture which means adaptation to a new culture (Yu, 1984). Because motherhood is an experience that is influenced by the culture in which it lives. As O'Reilly (2016) describes motherhood as "fundamentally a cultural practice that is continuously redesigned in response to changing economic and societal factors" (p. 16). So, when a mother migrated to a new country her motherhood experience has undergone many adjustments in the new context. One of the participants explained how even "cooking" became an issue for the "adaptation of the child to a new country". On the one hand, migrant mother cooks Turkish food in the UK to make their child feels happy at home, on the other hand, she tries to enrich their eating culture by adding new recipes from other cultures by considering her child's adaptation to the school meals.

Two participants Zeynep and Sevda talked about the difficulties of raising their children in an unfamiliar culture. For example, Zeynep stated that she is worried about the possibility that her child might have difficulties when she has friends from different nationalities in the future. Zeynep also stated that she was afraid that her child would call the police and complain when she tried to set limits on her child because although she finds it important to give importance to the child's statement in the UK to prevent child abuse, she thinks that the child may misuse this information which she was thought at school about calling the police to complain of her parents. These anxieties can be evaluated as the reflection of the mother's anxiety about her acculturation. Because as a mother she has the anxiety of not knowing how to help the child, how to adopt her motherhood in a new context when her child has problems with children of different nationalities. Similarly, in the study of Buki et al. (2004) which was conducted with Chinese migrant mothers living in the US, it was understood that migrant mothers who perceived larger acculturation gaps with their children were more likely to feel less satisfaction, more uncertainty, and more likely to have difficulty in communicating with their children. It reveals the importance of mothers' acculturation to the new culture so that they can adapt to the child's acculturation

speed. In addition, Tummala-Nara (2004) also explored intrapsychic and interpersonal conflicts of Asian Indian migrant mothers living in the US in the context of psychotherapy. It was revealed that mothers take the responsibility of teaching their own culture to their children and try to expose their children to mainstream North American culture but at the same time try to protect their children from becoming "too American" (Tummala-Nara, 2004). When a mother shared her conflict with her daughter about dating behaviour and premarital sex, the child's response was "Why can't I be both, Indian and American? You only want to be Indian, and I want to be both." This also showed how motherhood becomes more complicated for mothers since different acculturation levels of children and mothers to the new culture create more conflicts and arguments among them. The participants in this study, like the migrant mothers in the study of Tummala-Nara, also feel uncanny about raising children in another culture because they anticipate conflicts over cultural values that they may experience with their children in the future. Furthermore, concern about the functioning of child protection services was also expressed by West African migrant families living in New York since they thought that their cultural disciplinary tactics put them at risk in "American" values (Rasmussen et al., 2012). This means that culturally, parents also fear that their discipline methods will be misconstrued when they migrate to another country, and they see it as a threat to their parenting culture.

Participants also mentioned the challenges of migrant motherhood as they experienced many losses such as career loss in migration, loss of economic freedom, loss of social support needed in motherhood, and loss of socio-economic status. Similarly, empirical studies on family migration showed that migrant mothers are affected more adversely than their husbands in terms of labour market participation (Cooke et al., 2001), and as Raughuram (2004) stated "it is women who make labour market compromises" (p. 307) and without looking their level of income and personal needs, often women are in the position of 'tied migrants' or 'trailing spouses' in family migration (Boyle et al., 2001; Bruegel, 1996). Participants' situation about the loss of economic social status can be explained by downward social mobility (Castles & Miller, 1998). Even highly skilled migrants from less developed countries face the reality of having to start the labour market at the bottom (Castles & Miller, 1998). In

the study by Alcántara et al. (2014), it was found that Latino migrants, who perceived downward social mobility, had poor health and depression after migration.

In this respect, the deterioration of the mother's mental health with the perception of downward social mobility will also deeply affect her communication with her child, her self-perception, and the child's perception of her mother. Mental health workers working with migrant mothers should keep the risk factors mentioned above in their mind while working with migrant mothers to understand and help them by considering their unique needs and challenges. In addition, by considering all types of losses that were mentioned by the participants of this study, facilitation of the mourning process, validation of feelings related to losses become more essential and especially for the mental health workers who are working with migrants some special training should be offered such as grief and bereavement, acculturation process to support their work in the field of migration.

Moreover, it was also stated that the choice of "divorce" in the face of the problems experienced by the mother in marriage became impossible for many reasons such as visa requirements and economic reasons. This finding was in alignment with the finding of the Liamputtong (2003) study, which explored Thai women's experiences of motherhood in Australia. A participant explained the difficulty of being a migrant mother by explaining the losing the freedom of leaving the house when they faced conflicts with their husband. When they even imagine splitting up with the husband they are faced with the thoughts of "If I split up with him, where would I live? At night there would be no one to help with the baby. I don't know how to drive…. I can't go home (Thailand) either. How would my baby live there?". Nevertheless, Thai mothers who migrated from rural areas of Thailand stated that they are satisfied with their migration decision to Australia since they have a better quality of life and standard despite these negative experiences. Unlike the Thai women, the women in this study, who migrated from Turkey, migrated from the metropolitan areas in Turkey instead of the rural areas, and they thought that the sacrifice they made as women with a profession and higher education in Turkey was too much.

5.2. Implications for practice

The results of this study showed that the opportunity of migrant mothers to observe the mothering styles of women from different cultures had a positive effect on their mothering experience by helping them realize the things they wanted to change in their motherhood. The importance of encountering a different culture has emerged in recognizing the embedded cultural codes about motherhood that many women have unwittingly accepted as well.

In that sense, it reveals the importance of getting in touch with mothers from other cultures or having an opportunity to observe different mothering practices. Therefore, for the institutions, non-governmental organizations that are providing parent training, including the examples of mothering practices from different cultures, or providing an online platform where mothers can meet with mothers from different cultures might be useful to help them become aware of the embedded cultural codes that they want to change.

The findings of the recent study revealed the positive impact of different support systems such as the education system, and the health system on their motherhood experiences. Especially, being able to communicate easily with the teachers at the school, communicating comfortably with doctors and nurses in the health system, and asking any questions that may affect the child's social or physical health reduce the stress level that mothers have. Organizing some training about how to approach mothers' when they need information might be useful for the experts who are in the mesosystem and macrosystem of the child. Moreover, it was also found that mothering experiences become easier for mothers when the city has child-friendly environments, such as child libraries, child-friendly public transportation, free activities that help mothers to spend quality time with their children such as free mother-child support groups or free workshops for the children in the libraries. This shows how much motherhood experiences are affected by the policies in society and offers important suggestions to policymakers in terms of what can be done to support the mother. These can be listed as child-friendly environment arrangements, free activities offered to children and mothers, and places such as a children's library where mothers can spend time with children.

The importance of providing counseling and guidance to people in the process of deciding to migrate is already known. Some participants migrate to the UK with the expectation of reducing their unhappiness and moving away from personal relational problems. In this sense, it shows the extent of people's need to work on their relationship issues. Searching for geographical solutions to relational problems also shows that psychological counseling services are not in an accessible position and people do not have an idea of getting support from psychological counseling services in relational issues. It could be preventive to provide psychological counseling and guidance services in major life decisions like migration to understand what meaning they attach, and how realistic their expectations are. The results of the current study revealed that even for the couples who are both willing to migrate and have a strong spouse relationship migration can be too stressful. The negative effects of the migration are felt more intensely for the couples who have conflict about the decision to migrate or couples with already problematic relationship dynamics. Besides the couple counseling, to support the adaptation of the child to the migrated country, counseling support can be offered to the children at every stage including before the migration and in the first phase of the migration. Because the child's adaptation is closely linked with the parent's mental health. To address how parents support their children during these transition periods, parent consultation services can be offered to the parents to consult their questions and problems about their children. Also, family counselling services can be offered to the families who are most adversely affected psychologically during the migration process.

The results of this study also revealed that migrant mothers perceive social mobility downwards after migration and experience losses such as job and social-economic status. In the literature, the study of Alcántara et al. (2014) revealed that Latino migrants perceiving downward social mobility have negative effects such as poor health and depression. Along with this finding, it can be deduced that migrant mothers who have perceived downward social mobility, are also at risk in terms of mental health. For example, it should be considered that being depressed may negatively affect the mother's capacity to care for her child and the child's perception of the mother. Concerning that, the importance of supportive mental health services provided by migrant mothers in the country they migrated to becomes more

significant. Additionally, by considering the perceived social downwards mobility that migrant mothers experience, support mechanisms such as career counseling can be provided to migrant women to promote their careers.

Preventive community-based actions can be taken to reduce the loneliness and isolation that mothers feel especially during their early stages of migration. Moreover, such actions can help to create spaces that can help them find culturally relevant mother-to-mother support networks and mentorship programs when they need them most (Salami et al., 2020; Weine, 2008). For example, an experienced migrant mother from the same culture living in the UK might be paired with a newly migrated mother for peer support. Women's centers working with migrants should do this systematically to ensure that migrant women's experience and know-how are transferred to the newcomers. Online platforms and systems can be created where experiences can be shared, and migrant women can get in with the network from their culture. This also creates an opportunity for mothers to sustain some of the original cultures. Moreover, to reduce the isolation of migrant mothers and to empower migrant women, it may be recommended to introduce support courses and obligations so that they can achieve a higher level of language acquisition (Tetreault et al., 2021), and cultural information.

This study showed that even educated migrant women who seem to be advantageous since they have a job in their own country and migrate voluntarily can be at risk in many ways during the migration process. Especially, when there are conflicts in the marital relationship, visa status, and some responsibilities of motherhood that can prevent women's freedom. In the Ankara Agreement, if the migrant mother comes depending on the Turkish businessperson visa of her husband, she feels obliged to continue her marriage for a 5-year to stay in the UK and to offer her child a future in the UK. If the migrant mother has her Turkish businessperson visa and her spouse has a dependent visa, she has to meet certain success criteria to be able to extend her visa. Hence, the migrant mother must be able to work intensively for her new job, and for this, she must receive support for the care of her child. At this point, with risk factors stemming from migration such as lack of family support, lack of social support (Lee & Keown, 2018; Liamputtong, 2001), and high caregiver wages in the UK, women feel doomed to marriage even though she has conflicts in her marriage to fulfill the visa requirements. Considering the information that increased marital

conflict, divorce, and partner violence (IPV) among the newcomer communities (Kulig, 1994; Naidoo & Davis, 1988), it has been revealed that women who have this visa type may also be at risk. In this sense, providing psychological counseling support to migrant mothers, giving brochures or training for migrant women to give information about what can they do in the case of domestic violence, and teaching their rights might be beneficial.

5.3. Recommendations for future studies

In migration studies, time spent in the migrated country is an important factor that influences the experiences of migrants. Therefore, it might be useful to conduct this study with a longitudinal design and understand how the experiences of migrant motherhood change over time.

Mothering experiences can be changed by the number of children mothers have. In this study, although homogeneity was achieved in terms of visa type, the experience of motherhood in both countries, and living in the UK for a period of 1 to 5 years, it should be noted that homogeneity was not achieved regarding the number of children. While two of the participants are mothers of two children, six of them are mothers of one child. Since it might influence the mothering experiences, for further studies, homogeneity of the number of children should also be considered.

The findings of the current study cannot be adopted from the experiences of migrant mothers from various groups such as single mothers, lesbian mothers, trans mothers, and teenage mothers. The experiences of migrant mothers from various groups might be examined in further research. Especially, the mothering experiences of migrant women who have lower socioeconomic status or have different visa types might be examined in further research.

Another suggestion for future research is to conduct a focus group in addition to semi-structured individual interviews to increase the depth of the data, especially when collecting data about the aspects of motherhood that are affected by sociocultural factors. In this way, participants may remember more points by hearing from each other in the focus group.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

DUMLUPINAR BULVARI 06800
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ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

Sayı: 28620819 / 379

22 EKİM 2019

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Doç.Dr.Zeynep Hatipoğlu SÜMER

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız **Sevde Barış ŞAHBUDAK'ın "İngiltere'ye Türkiye'den Göç Etmiş Kadınların Annelik Deneyimlerinin Fenomenojik Analiz ile İncelenmesi"** başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **359 ODTU 2019** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Prof. Dr. Tülin GENÇÖZ
Başkan

Prof. Dr. Tolga CAN
Üye

Doç.Dr. Pınar KAYGAN
Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ali İmre TURGUT
Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Şerife SEVİNÇ
Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Müge GÜNDÜZ
Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Süreyya Özcan KABASAKAL
Üye

B. INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Bu araştırma, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi "Psikolojik Danışma ve Rehberlik" bölümü doktora öğrencisi Sevde Barış Şahbudak tarafından Doç. Dr. Zeynep Hatipoğlu-Sümer danışmanlığında yürütülmektedir. Bu form size araştırma koşulları hakkında bilgilendirmek amacıyla hazırlanmıştır.

Çalışmanın Amacı Nedir?

Araştırmanın amacı, İngiltere'de yaşayan Türkiye'den göç etmiş kadınların "annelik deneyimlerine" dair bilgi toplamaktır.

Bize Nasıl Yardımcı Olmanızı İsteyeceğiz?

Araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ederseniz, araştırmacı size bireysel görüşme yoluyla bazı açık uçlu sorular soracaktır. Yaklaşık olarak 30-40 dakika sürmesi beklenen bu görüşmede İngiltere'ye göç hikayeniz, annelik deneyimleriniz, göçmen bir kadın olarak annelik deneyimleriniz ile ilgili konuları kapsayan bazı sorular yöneltilecektir. Sorulara verilen yanıtlar araştırmacı tarafından ses kaydına alınacaktır. Bu formu okuyup onaylamanız, araştırmayı onayladığınız anlamına gelmektedir.

Sizden Topladığımız Bilgileri Nasıl Kullanacağız?

Araştırmaya katılımınız tamamen gönüllülük temelinde olmalıdır. Görüşmede sizden kimlik veya kimliğinizi belirleyici hiçbir bilgi istenmeyecektir. Alınan ses kaydı tamamıyla gizli tutulacak ve cevaplarınız sadece araştırmacı tarafından değerlendirilecektir. Katılımcılardan elde edilecek bilgiler kimlik bilgisi belirtilmeden değerlendirilecek ve yine kimlik bilgisi belirtilmeden bilimsel yayımlarda kullanılacaktır. Sağladığınız veriler gönüllü katılım formlarında toplanan kimlik bilgileri ile eşleştirilmeyecektir.

Katılımınızla ilgili bilmeniz gerekenler:

Çalışma, genel olarak kişisel rahatsızlık verecek sorular içermemektedir. Ancak, katılım sırasında sorulardan ya da herhangi başka bir nedenden ötürü kendinizi rahatsız hissederseniz soruları cevaplamayı yarıda bırakıp çıkmakta serbestsiniz. Böyle bir durumda çalışmayı uygulayan kişiye, çalışmadan çıkmak istediğinizi söylemek yeterli olacaktır.

Araştırmayla ilgili daha fazla bilgi almak isterseniz:

Bu çalışmaya katıldığınız için şimdiden teşekkür ederiz. Çalışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak için Sevde Barış Şahbudak (E-posta: brs.sevde@gmail.com) ile iletişim kurabilirsiniz.

Yukarıdaki bilgileri okudum ve bu çalışmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum.

(Formu doldurup imzaladıktan sonra uygulayıcıya geri veriniz).

İsim Soyad	Tarih	İmza
	__ / __ / ____	

C. ANNOUNCEMENT

Merhaba,

Yürütmekte olduğum doktora tez araştırmam kapsamında Türkiye'den İngiltere'ye göç etmiş, 1-12 yaşları arasında çocuğu olan annelere ulaşmaya çalışıyorum. Bu çalışmanın amacı, göçmen kadınların annelik deneyimlerini anlamaya çalışmaktır. Bu kapsamda gönüllü olan katılımcılarla birebir görüşme yapmak istiyorum. Görüşmeler ortalama 45 dk sürmektedir ve katılımcılara annelik deneyimlerine dair açık uçlu sorular sorulmaktadır. Katılımcıların verdikleri tüm bilgiler gizli tutulacak olup, hiçbir şekilde katılımcıların kişisel bilgileri kullanılmayacaktır.

Bu çalışmaya katılmaya gönüllü iseniz bana aşağıda belirttiğim iletişim yolları ile ulaşabilirsiniz.

Araştırmaya olan desteğiniz için teşekkür ederim.

Sevde BARIŞ ŞAHBUDAK
İletişim bilgileri (araştırma ile ilgili bir sorunuz olduğunda lütfen danışmaktan çekinmeyin)
E-posta: brs.sevde@gmail.com
Tel: 07464 459 479

D. THE INTERVIEW PROTOCOL (TURKISH FORM)

MÜLAKAT SORULARI

Giriş: Bu araştırmayı, Türkiye'den İngiltere'ye göç etmiş annelerin annelik deneyimlerini incelemek amacıyla gerçekleştiriyorum. Size önce göç hikayeniz ile ilgili sonra annelik deneyimlerinizle ilgili sorular sorup, en son göçmen bir anne olmak ile ilgili görüşlerinizi, deneyimlerinizi soracağım. Lütfen benimle mümkün olduğunca detaylı bir şekilde deneyimlerinizi paylaşınız. Yaptığınız her paylaşım araştırma için oldukça kıymetlidir. Önce sizin anlatacaklarınızı dinleyeceğim sonrasında arada size bazı sorular sorabilirim. Hazır hissettiğinizde başlayabilirsiniz.

İzleme Soruları:

Göç hikayesi

1. Göç hikayenizi anlatır mısınız?
   Ne zaman ve nasıl karar verdiniz? Göç kararı kendi tercihinizle gönüllü olarak mi, yoksa zorunlu olarak alınan bir karar mıydı?
2. Sizin için buraya göç etmek ne anlam ifade ediyor?
3. İngiltere'deki yaşamınızı düşündüğünüzde buradaki hayatınızı nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?

(İngiltere'de ki yaşamınızdan hangi açılardan memnunsunuz? Ya da hangi açılardan memnun değilsiniz?)

4. Yaşadığınız olumlu ve/veya olumsuz deneyimler zaman içinde değişiklik gösterdi mi?

Bu değişiklikler nelerdir?

5. Göç sürecinde kadın olmanızın yaşadıklarınıza nasıl bir etkisi oldu? Bir erkek olarak göç etseydiniz neler farklı olurdu?

Annelik

6. Anne olmak sizin için ne anlam ifade ediyor?
7. Çocuğunuzun olması yaşamınızı nasıl etkiliyor? (işlevi, anlamı, önemi)

Anne olunca hayatınızda neler değişti?

Göçmen Annelik

8. Göçmen anne olmak annelik deneyiminizi nasıl etkiledi? Göç sonrası annelik rollerinizde deneyimlerinizde ne gibi değişiklikler oldu mu? Göç etmiş olmasaydınız kendi ülkenizde "anneliğiniz" i nasıl deneyimlerdiniz? (iletişim, bakım, sosyal hayatı, fiziksel, bilişsel gelişim takip, kural koymada, birlikte yapılan etkinliklerde)
9. Göçmen anne olarak en çok zorlandığınız, destek aradığınız noktalar nelerdi? Neleri biliyor olsaydınız ne gibi destekleriniz olsaydı sizin için bu süreç daha kolay olurdu? (geniş aile, baba, eşin desteği, arkadaş, sosyal medya)
10. İngiltere'ye yeni göç edecek olan anneler ne yaparlarsa, hangi destekleri alırlarsa göçmen annelik sürecini daha rahat atlatırlar? Ne tavsiye edersiniz?
11. Bir göçmen anne olarak kendi anne olma deneyiminizi İngiltere yerine Türkiye'de deneyimleseydiniz ne gibi farklılıklar olurdu? (Eğer iki ülkede de anneliği deneyimleme şansınız olduysa ne gibi farklılıklar deneyimlediniz?)
12. İngiltere'de çocuğunuzu yetiştirirken içinde yaşadığınız toplumun anneliğinize etkisini nasıl deneyimlediniz?

Türkiye'de yaşarken toplumun anneliğinize etkisini nasıl deneyimlediniz?
(Farklılıklar , paralellikler)

E. DEMOGRAPHIC FORM

Aşağıdaki sorular İngiltere'ye göç etmiş kadınların annelik deneyimlerine ilişkin çeşitli konularda bilgi edinmek amacıyla hazırlanmıştır. Vereceğiniz tüm bilgiler çok kıymetli olup, verdiğiniz tüm bilgiler gizli tutulacaktır ve bu araştırma dışında hiçbir amaçla kullanılmayacaktır.

1. Yaşınız? ……..
2. İngiltere'ye göç ettiğinizde kaç yaşındaydınız? ……..
3. Medeni durumunuz :

Bekar ☐ Evli olmayıp birlikte yaşayan ☐

Evli ☐ Boşanmış/Ayrı ☐

Dul ☐ Diğer ☐

4. Eğitim durumunuz:

İlkokul ☐ Yüksek okul ☐ Doktora ☐

Ortaokul ☐ Üniversite ☐

Lise ☐ Yüksek Lisans ☐

5. İngilizce seviyenizi nasıl derecelendirirsiniz?

Hiç bilmiyorum ☐

Zayıf ☐

Orta ☐

İyi ☐

6. Göçmenlik statünüz:

İngiliz vatandaşı/Çifte vatandaşlık ☐

Sürekli oturumu var ☐

Sığınmacı ya da ilticacı ☐

Türk İş İnsanı Statüsü (Ankara Ant) ☐

Diğer (Belirtiniz) .....

7. Ne kadar süredir İngiltere'de yaşıyorsunuz?

.....……

8. Şu anda İngiltere'de bir işte çalışıyor musunuz? Evet ☐ Hayır ☐

9. Maddi olarak devletten herhangi bir ekonomik yardım alıyor musunuz?

Evet ☐ Hayır ☐

10. İngiltere'ye göç etmeden önce Türkiye'de çalışıyor muydunuz?

Evet ☐ Hayır ☐

11. Kaç yaşında anne oldunuz?

.....

12. Doğumunuzu İngiltere'de mi yoksa Türkiye'de mi yaptınız?

İngiltere ☐ Türkiye ☐

13. Çocuğunuzla Türkiye'de yaşama deneyiminiz oldu mu?

Evet ☐ Hayır ☐

14. Çocuğunuz göç etmeden önce doğduysa;

Çocuğunuz göç ederken kaç yaşındaydı?

.....

.....

.....

Çocuğunuz şu anda kaç yaşında?

.....

.....

F. CERTIFICATE OF PARTICIPATION IPA WORKSHOP

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ANKARA MEDİPOL UNIVERSİTY

CERTIFICATE OF PARTICIPATION

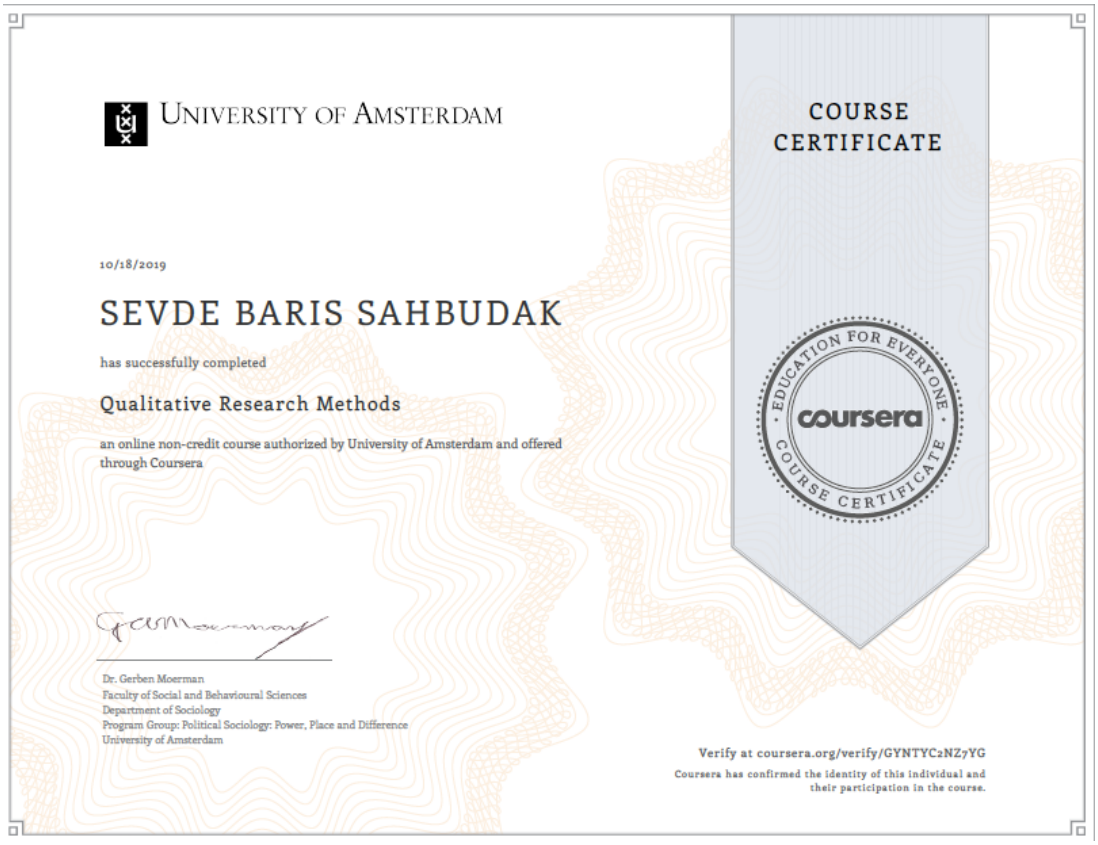
SEVDE BARIŞ ŞAHBUDAK

By successfully completing the **Introductory Workshop on Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis** (delivered by Professor Jonathan Smith & Associate Professor Müjde Koca-Atabey) program, organized by the Psychology Department of Ankara Medipol University on **April 30 - May 1**, 2021, it has been awarded this certificate.

ANKARA MEDİPOL UNIVERSİTY
RECTOR

Professor Ahmet Zeki ŞENGİL

G. CERTIFICATION OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHODS COURSE



UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM

COURSE CERTIFICATE

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SEVDE BARIS SAHBUDAK

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Coursera has confirmed the identity of this individual and their participation in the course.

H. CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Barış Şahbudak, Sevde
Nationality: Turkish (TC)
Date and Place of Birth: 5 April 1989, Nazilli
Phone: +44 7464 459479
Email: brs.sevde@gmail.com

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	Boğaziçi University, Psychological Counseling and Guidance	2016
BS	Boğaziçi University, Preschool Education	2013
High School	Nazilli Anatolian Teacher High School	2007

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2021-Present	The Maya Centre	Sessional Counsellor
2018-Present	Insight Counselling Ltd.	Founder and Director
2019-2020	IMECE Women's Centre	Sessional Counsellor
2014-2018	Boğaziçi University Department of Educational Science	Research Assistant

PUBLICATIONS

1. Baris Sahbudak, S. (2017). Yas Sürecindeki Çocuklarla Çalışmak (Working with Children in Grief). In Erdur-Baker, Ö. & Aksöz-Efe İ. (Eds.) Yas Danışmanlığı (Grief Counseling), (pp. 179-213). Ankara: Anı Yayıncılık.

2. Sart, Z. H., Barış, S., Sarıışık, Y. ve Düşkün, Y. (2016). Engeli olan çocukların Türkiye'de eğitime erişimi: Durum analizi ve öneriler. İstanbul: ERG.

I. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

TÜRKİYE'DEN İNGİLTERE'YE GÖÇ ETMİŞ KADINLARIN GÖÇMEN ANNELİK DENEYİMLERİ ÜZERİNE YORUMLAYICI FENOMENOLOJİK BİR ÇALIŞMA

1. GİRİŞ

Anneliğe geçiş, kadınların sorumluluk aldığı ve bu yeni role uyum sağlamaya çalıştığı en büyük ve en önemli yaşam olaylarından biridir (Don ve ark., 2014). Bu yeni role geçiş hamilelikle başlar, gelişir ve doğumdan sonra da devam eder (Siddiqui ve Hagglof, 2000). Psikiyatrist Daniel Stern (1998), "Annenin Doğuşu" adlı kitabında, doğumda sadece bir bebeğin doğumundan ziyade aynı zamanda bir annenin de doğduğunu belirtmiştir.

Kadının yaşadığı deneyimler ve değişimler göz önüne alındığında, annelik bir yaşam krizi hatta varoluşsal bir kriz olarak değerlendirilebilir. Jacobsen (2016) yaşam krizini anlatırken krizin kayıp boyutundan, varoluşun yeni bir zemine açılmasından ve olumsuzluklardan bahsetmiştir (Arnold-Baker, 2020). Annelikle birlikte kadının hem kendini algılayış biçimi değişmekte hem de annelik öncesi yaşamına dair pek çok kayıp yaşamaktadır (Arnold-Baker, 2015; Prinds ve ark., 2014). Raphael (1975) annelikte yaşanan fiziksel, duygusal ve hormonal değişikliklerin ergenlik döneminde yaşanan değişikliklerle olan benzerliğine dikkat çekerek, anneliğin de aynı şekilde kriz dönemi olarak görülmesi gerektiğini öne sürmüştür. Arnold Baker (2020; 2015) anneliği varoluşsal bir kriz olarak ele alırken, Heidegger'in önemli bir terimi olan "fırlatılmışlık" kavramını açıklar ve tıpkı bir çocuğun hayata atıldığında bilinmeyenle yüz yüze gelmesi gibi, kadının da anne olduğunda bilinmeyene fırlatıldığını belirtir.

Anneliğin varoluşsal bir kriz olarak görülmesinin bir başka açıklaması da kadının anne olduğunda çocuğu ve kendisi için yapmak zorunda olduğu sonsuz seçimler, hissettiği sorumluluk ve doğurmakla birlikte yaşamın sonluluğu ile

yüzleşmesi ile yapılmaktadır (Arnold-Baker, 2020). Simone de Beauvoir doğumu geçiciliğin ve ölümlülüğün bir kombinasyonu olarak değerlendirmiştir. Anneliğin kaygılandıran yönü, annelikte yapılan seçimlerin getirdiği sonuçları ve sorumluluğu kabul etmekle ilişkilendirilmiştir. Sartre'ın (1943) açıkladığı gibi, her seçim beraberinde bir sorumluluğu getirmektedir ve sorumluluk duygusu da kaygıyı tetiklemektedir. Yunanca'da 'krisis' kelimesinin anlamı karar vermek olarak açıklanır. Annelikte verilen sonsuz sayıdaki karar ve bu kararların sorumluluğu düşünüldüğünde anneliğin neden bir kriz olarak yorumlanabileceği de açıklanmış olur (Arnold-Baker, 2020). Arnold-Baker (2015), Heidegger'in belirttiği "gündelik aşinalığın çökmesi'ne" vurgu yaparak (Heidegger, 1962; s.189), annelikte gündelik aşinalığın çökmesinin bir sonucu olarak annenin "varoluşun tekinsizliği" ile karşılaştığı ve varoluşsal olarak "evde hissetmeme" duygusunu yoğun bir şekilde hissettiğini belirtmiştir.

Anneliğe atfedilen anlamlar ve annelik rolüne ithaf edilenler oldukça geniş bir yelpazededir. Psikanalitik kuramcılar annenin bilinçdışı davranışlarına ve çocuklarıyla kurdukları derin bağa odaklanmıştır. Freud'a göre anne çocuğun birincil sevgi nesnesidir. Klein, çocukların yaşadığı sorunların nedeni olarak annenin çocuğa yetersiz bakımını göstermiş, çocukların anne tarafından aldıkları bakım deneyiminin öneminin altını çizmiştir (Klein, 1961). İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra anneyi suçlayan teoriler devreye girmiştir. Bowlby (1953), erken yaşlardaki çocuk bakımının çocukların gelecekteki ruh sağlığını şekillendirmede çok önemli olduğunu iddia etmiş, ancak vardığı sonuç, nevrotik ve psikolojik sorun yaşayan çocuklarla yaptığı gözlemlere dayanmıştır. Çalışan anneler, Bowlby'nin iddiası ile, çocuklarını evde bırakmak konusunda kendilerini suçlu ve endişeli hissettikleri için sorun yaşarlar.

Winnicott, annelere imkansız taleplerde bulunmak yerine önemli olanın "yeterince iyi" anne olmak olduğunun altını çizmiştir. Winnicott (1956), "iyi anne'nin" anlamını, çocuğun taleplerine uyum sağlayabilmek ve onun gelişimini kaygı ve çatışma olmadan destekleyebilmek olarak açıklamıştır. Bowlby gibi, Winnnicott da çocuğun gelişimsel sorunlarını annelerin yetersiz özverilerine ve "yetersiz anne" oluşlarına bağlamıştır. Bu varsayımlar öne sürülürken tüm annelerin istikrarlı evlilikleri varmış gibi değerlendirilmiş ve ekonomik durum, medeni durum, sınıf, ırk gibi bağlamsal şeyler dikkate alınmamıştır.

Beauvoir (1949), kadının annelik rolü ile ikincilleştirildiğine ilk kez dikkati çeken kişi olmuştur ve bu ikincilleştirmenin kadının doğum yapması ve eve hapsedilmesi gibi anneliğe ithaf edilen rollerle yapıldığını vurgulamıştır. Friedan (1963), Beauvoir'ın öne sürdüğü orta sınıf, eğitimli, banliyö ev kadınlarının mutsuzluğunu "adı konmayan sorun" olarak adlandırarak desteklemiştir. Rich (1995), "Kadınların Doğuşu" (Of Woman Born) adlı kitabında anneliğin ideolojik olarak oluşturulmuş anlamını kötüye kullanarak kadınların aşağı konuma konulduğunu iddia etmiştir.

Feminist konstrüktivizm, anneliği, dinamik sosyal etkileşimlerle toplumsal bir bağlam içinde ele alınan, toplumdaki baskın toplumsal cinsiyet inanç sistemi perspektifi ile inşa edilen bir olgu olarak tanımlamıştır (Arendell, 2000). Feminist konstrüktivizm kuramı altında iki yaklaşım bulunmaktadır. Bunlar Partikülarizm yaklaşımı ve Evrensel yaklaşımdır. Bu araştırmada Partikülarizm yaklaşımı temel alınmıştır çünkü bu yaklaşım da anneliğin tekil bir forma indirgenemeyeceğini ve anneliğin içinde bulunduğu toplumsal kültürel faktörlerden etkilendiğini ve bir bağlam içinde ele alınması gerektiğini savunmaktadır (Arendell, 2000). Öte yandan, Evrensel yaklaşım, annelik deneyimine dair genel bir olgu çıkarmaya çalışmaktadır.

Anne olmak zorlu bir deneyimken ve kadının yaşamında pek çok değişim gerektirirken, göçmen anne olmak göçün getirdiği zorluklarla birlikte daha da karmaşık bir hal almaktadır. Oakley (1986) anneliği "anne olmak yabancı bir ülkeye seyahat etmek gibidir" şeklinde tanımlarken, Liamputtong ve Naksook (2003) göçmen anneliği aynı anda iki yabancı ülkeye seyahat etme deneyimine benzetmiştir. Hall vd., (2004), göçmen annelerin çocuk bakımında babalardan daha fazla sorumluluğa sahip olduğunu belirtmişlerdir. Ayrıca göç sonrası kadın, çocuk bakımında kendi ülkesinde sahip olduğu destek mekanizmalarını yitirmekte, sosyal çevre desteği ve aile desteği gibi destek yoksunluğu ile karşı karşıya kalmaktadır.

Göç literatüründe göçmen annelerin yaşadıkları zorluklar, sosyal izolasyon, yeni bir ülkede kendi kültürlerini korumaya çalışma, akraba yokluğu (Liamputtong, 2001), farklı çocuk yetiştirme uygulamalarıyla karşı karşıya kalma (Liamputtong ve Naksook, 2003), yeni ülkeye kültürel uyum sağlamada zorluk (Huang ve ark., 2016) ve yalnızlık duygusu (Russo ve ark., 2015) olarak sıralanmıştır. Göçün psikolojik sonuçlarından bahsederken, psikolojik ve sosyo-kültürel değişimlere uyum olarak da

bilinen “kültürleşme” önemli bir rol oynamaktadır (Sam ve Berry, 2006). Göçmen kadınların annelik deneyimleri de göç ettikleri toplumun değerleri ile bir kültürleşme sürecine girmektedir. Anneliğin kültürden etkilendiğini düşündüğümüzde kollektivist bir kültür olan Türkiye’den gelerek bireyci bir kültüre sahip İngiltere’de çocuk yetiştirme deneyimlendiğinde ciddi kültürel farklılıklarla karşılaşılmaktadır (Herrero-Arias ve ark., 2020; Lee ve Keown, 2018). Tüm bunlar dikkate alındığında, benzersiz annelik deneyimlerini, özgün bağlamsal farklılıkların annelik deneyimlerini nasıl etkilediğini ve göç hikayelerini ortaya çıkarmak için göçmen annelerin seslerinin duyulmasına ihtiyaç vardır.

1.1. Araştırmanın Amacı

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Türkiye’den İngiltere’ye göç etmiş kadınların İngiltere’deki göçmen annelik deneyimlerini derinlemesine anlamak ve Türkiye'deki ve İngiltere’deki annelik deneyimlerini karşılaştırarak sosyokültürel faktörlerin annelik deneyimlerini nasıl etkilediğini araştırmaktır.

1.2. Araştırma Soruları

Bu çalışmanın amacı doğrultusunda aşağıdaki araştırma soruları belirlenmiştir:

1. Göçmen anneler “anneliği” nasıl tanımlıyor?
2. İngiltere’ye göç, annelik deneyimlerini nasıl etkilemiştir?
3. Türkiye’den göç eden kadınlar anneliği İngiltere’de nasıl deneyimliyor?
    - 3.1. Göçmen anne olmanın güçlü yönleri nelerdir?
    - 3.2. Göçmen anne olmanın zorlukları nelerdir?
    - 3.3. Varsa, göçmen anneler bu zorluklarla nasıl başa çıkıyor?
    - 3.4. Bu zorlukların üstesinden gelmek için göçmen annelerin ne gibi desteklere ihtiyacı var?
4. Türkiye’deki ve İngiltere’deki annelik deneyimleri nasıl farklılık gösteriyor?

1.3. Araştırmanın Önemi

İngiltere'nin Avrupa Birliği'nden çıkması ve Brexit süreciyle Ankara Antlaşması yürürlükten kaldırılmış ve başvuru tarihinin 31 Aralık 2020'de sona ereceği açıklanmıştır. Bu durum İngiltere'de yaşama fırsatını kaçırmak istemeyen kişileri başvuru yapmaya itmiş ve başvuru sayılarında muazzam bir artış gözlenmiştir. BBC Türkçe'de yayınlanan İngiltere İçişleri Bakanlığı'ndan alınmış verilere göre 2020 yılının ilk 9 ayında Türk İş İnsanı vize türü ile yapılan başvurusu sayısı, son 10 yılda yapılmış olan başvuru sayısına eşittir. Bu da şu anda İngiltere'de bu vize türüyle bulunan göçmen sayısında büyük bir artışa sebep olmuştur. Türkiye'den İngiltere'ye Türk İş İnsanı vizesiyle gelen göçmenlerin özellikleri, önceki göç akımları ile Türkiye'den gelen göçmenlerden farklıdır. Ankara Antlaşması başvuru sürecinde işlerini kurma ve yürütme yetkinliklerini kanıtlamaları gerektiği için bu göçmenlerin dil ve eğitim düzeyleri, önceki göçmenlere göre daha yüksektir. Dolayısıyla, bu göçmen grubunun kendine özgü ihtiyaçlarının ve zorluluklarının anlaşılması önemli görülmektedir.

Türk İş İnsanı vizesiyle gelen kişiler kendi ülkelerinde yüksek vasıflı çalışan statüsündeyken, özellikle kadınlar, göç sonrası "aşağı yönlü sosyal hareketlilik" olarak tanımlanan (Castles ve Miller, 1998) bir durumla karşılaşmaktadır. Bu durum, yüksek vasıflı kadın çalışanların, gelişmiş bir ülkeye göç ettiklerinde kariyer açısından statü kaybı, iş kaybı gibi sorunları yaşadıklarını göstermektedir. Alcantara ve arkadaşları (2014), Latin göçmen kadınların göç sonrası aşağı yönlü sosyal hareketlilik sebebiyle ruhsal olarak olumsuz etkilendiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Bu da gösteriyor ki bu çalışmanın popülasyonu da aşağı yönlü sosyal hareketlilik açısından risk altındadır. Ayrıca vizenin uzatılması için gerekli olan başarı kriterleri, çocuğun adaptasyonunun ve bakımının göç sürecinde daha çok kadının üzerinde olması (Hall ve ark., 2004), ve göç eden kadının çocuk bakımında aile desteğinin ve sosyal çevre desteğinin kaybıyla karşı karşıya kalması düşünüldüğünde, göçmen annelerin ihtiyaçlarının anlaşılması daha da elzem hale gelmektedir.

Göçmen anne olmak anneliği daha da karmaşık ve zor hale getirmektedir; çünkü, anne göç ettiği ülkede, farklı bir kültürde, farklı annelik modelleriyle

karşılaşmakta, kollektif bir kültürün anneliğe ithaf ettiği anlamlar ve çocuk yetiştirme öğretilerine sahipken, bireyci bir kültürde anneliğini pratik etmeye çalışmaktadır (Berry ve ark., 2006). Bir yandan anne kendi kültürünün devamlılığını koruma sorumluluğu hissederken (Stromquist ve Monkman, 2000) diğer yandan da göç ettiği ülkedeki kültürü takip edip, uyum sağlayarak, çocuğunun kültürleşme sürecini olumlu etkilemek istemektedir (Tam ve Chan, 2015). Ayrıca, göçmen anne ile çocuğunun göç ettikleri ülkeye uyum ve kültürleşme süreci farklılaştıkça anne çocuk arasında yaşanan iletişim sorunlarının arttığı ve anne çocuk ilişkisinin olumsuz etkilendiği bulunmuştur (Buki ve ark., 2004).

Yukarıda belirtilenlere ek olarak, göç alanyazında göçmen annelerle yapılan araştırmalarda annelerin güçlü yönleri göz ardı edilerek sadece patoloji ve risk faktörlerine odaklanılmış (Aroian, 2001; Desouza, 2005) ve çoğunlukla anneliğe geçiş ve doğum deneyimleri konu alınmıştır (Aydin ve ark., 2017; Korukcu ve ark., 2017; Straus ve ark., 2009). Mevcut araştırmada ise annelik deneyimi olumlu ve olumsuz tüm deneyimlerle birlikte bütüncül olarak ele alınmıştır. Bu açıdan alanyazına katkı sunacağı düşünülmektedir.

Bu araştırmanın bir diğer önemli yanı ise, araştırma yöntemi olarak seçilen Yorumlayıcı Fenomenolojik Analiz ile araştırmada anneliği açıklarken baz alınan Feminist Partükilaristik yaklaşımın birbirini tamamlamasıdır. Yorumlayıcı Fenomenolojik Analiz, katılımcıların kendi deneyimlerini ve bir olguyu nasıl deneyimlediklerini baz alırken, genelleştirmelere karşı çıkar. Aynı şekilde Feminist Partükilaristik yaklaşım da anneliğin genel bir tanım üzerinden okunamayacağını ve her annenin anneliği deneyimlemesinin içinde bulunduğu sosyokültürel ortam, ırk, vb. unsurlardan etkilendiğini vurgulamaktadır.

2. YÖNTEM

2.1. Araştırmanın Deseni

Bu araştırmada nitel çalışma yöntemlerinden, bireylerin belirli bir olguyu nasıl deneyimlediklerini temel alan Yorumlayıcı Fenomenolojik Analiz (YFA) yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Çalışmada araştırılan olgu "Türkiye'den İngiltere'ye göç etmiş

annelerin göçmen annelik deneyimleridir". Amaç, kişilerin kendi bakış açılarından bu olguyu nasıl yorumladıklarını ve onlar için yaşadıklarının nasıl bir tecrübe olduğunu anlamaktır.

2.2. Örneklem

Yorumlayıcı Fenomenolojik Analiz ilkeleri doğrultusunda örneklemin homojen olması ve araştırma sorularına cevap bulunabilmesi için amaçlı örneklem yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Katılımcı olacak göçmen annelerin araştırmaya kabul kriterleri 18 yaş ve üstü olmaları, çocuklarının 1-12 yaş aralığında olması, ikiz, üçüz gibi çoğul gebelik yaşamamış olmaları olarak belirlenmiştir. Buna ek olarak, göç edilen ülkede geçirilen süre ve alınan vize türü göçmenlik deneyimlerini etkilediği için, İngiltere'ye Ankara Antlaşması vizesi ile gelmiş, ülkede göçmen olarak en az 1 en çok 5 yıl geçirmiş katılımcılarla bu çalışma yapılmış ve bu doğrultuda homojenlik sağlanmaya çalışılmıştır.

Araştırma, yaşları 29 ile 46 arasında değişen, 8 göçmen anne ile yapılmıştır. Altı katılımcı tek çocuk annesidir, 2 katılımcı ise iki çocuk annesidir. Katılımcıların hepsi Ankara Antlaşması vize türü ile İngiltere'ye gelmiştir. Üç katılımcı, eşinin Ankara Antlaşması vizesi sebebiyle bağımlı vizeye sahiptir. Diğer beş katılımcı iş kurarak Türk İş insanı vizesi alarak gelmişlerdir. Örneklem sayısı, yorumlayıcı fenomenolojik analiz yöntemine uygundur (Smith ve Osborn, 2003). Ayrıca Turpin ve arkadaşları, (1997'den aktaran Pietkiewicz, I. & Smith, J.A., 2014), İngiltere'deki yorumlayıcı fenomenolojik analiz yöntemini kullanan klinik psikoloji doktora öğrencilerine altı ila sekiz katılımcı ile çalışmalarını önermiştir.

2.3. Veri Toplama Aracı

Görüşme Formu: Görüşme soruları alanyazın ışığında, yarı yapılandırılmış, açık uçlu sorularla oluşturulmuştur. Sorular oluşturulduktan sonra üç katılımcı ile pilot çalışma yapılmış ve soruların anlaşılırlığına dair geri bildirim alınmıştır. Pilot çalışma katılımcılarına ek olarak, iki farklı uzmandan da soruların anlaşılırlığına dair görüş

alınmıştır. Uzmanlardan ilki, İngiltere'de Varoluşçu Psikoterapi ve Danışmanlık alanında doktora programını tamamlama seviyesinde ve göçmen kadınlarla 9 yıllık çalışma deneyimine sahiptir. İkincisi, İngiltere'de ruh sağlığı çalışmaları alanında yüksek lisans eğitimine sahip olup, 5 yıldır göçmen kadınlarla çalışan bir psikolojik danışmandır. Görüşmede kullanılan form Ek D'de yer almaktadır. Ayrıca, görüşme sorularından önce katılımcılara demografik bazı bilgiler sorulmuştur ve bu form Ek E'de yer almaktadır.

2.4. Veri Toplama Süreci ve Verilerin Analizi

Katılımcılara ulaşmak için "Göçmen Anneler" Facebook Grubu yöneticileri, IMECE Kadın Merkezi'nde yönetici ve çalışanlara sözel olarak duyurulmuş ve IMECE Kadın Merkezi yöneticisinin önerisiyle Minik Kardeşler Toplum Çocuk ve Kreş Merkezi ile iletişime geçilmiştir. Katılımcıların kendilerini görüşme sırasında rahat ve güvende hissedebilmeleri için görüşme yeri tercihi katılımcılara bırakılmıştır. Katılımcılardan dört tanesi evlerine yakın bir kafede görüşmek isterken, üç tanesi kendi evinde, bir tanesi de Minik Kardeşler Kreşinde bir ofiste görüşmeyi tercih etmiştir.

Katılımcılarla yapılan görüşmeler 65 ve 85 dakika arasında sürmüştür ve tüm görüşmeler ses kaydına alınmıştır. Bu ses kayıtları deşifre edilip yorumlayıcı fenomonolojik analize uygun bir şekilde analiz edilmiştir (Smith ve Osborn, 2003). Yorumlayıcı fenomenolojik analizde görüşmenin transkripti tekrar tekrar okunmuş ve önemli görülen noktalar deşifrenin sol kenar boşluğuna not edilmiştir. Deşifrelerin sağ kenar boşluğuna da kodların oluşturduğu temalar not edilmiştir. Aynı analiz tüm katılımcılar için ayrı ayrı yapıldıktan sonra, katılımcılar arasındaki benzerlikler ve karşılaştırmalar yapılarak üst temalar ve alt temalar oluşturulmuştur. Veri analizinde ses kayıtlarını tekrar tekrar dinlemek, katılımcıların ses tonlarını ve vurgularını hatırlamak açısından oldukça faydalı olmuştur.

2.5. Araştırmanın Sınırlılıkları

Homojen katılımcı kriterini sağlamak, fenomenolojik araştırmaların bir gerekliliğidir. Bu çalışmanın katılımcıları sadece heteroseksüel, evli, Ankara Antlaşması vizesiyle Türkiye'de ve İngiltere'de annelik deneyimi olan göçmen annelerden oluşmaktadır. Ne yazık ki bekar, lezbiyen, trans, genç anne gibi çeşitli gruplardan göçmen annelerin deneyimini yansıtmamaktadır. Ayrıca katılımcıların homojen özelliğe sahip olması için pek çok kriter konsa da çocuk sayısı açısından iki annenin iki çocuğu, altı annenin tek çocuğu vardır ve bu kriterde homojenlik sağlanamamıştır.

3. BULGULAR

Analiz sonucunda üç üst tema oluşmuştur. Bu temalar 'Anneliğin anlamı: Uçları yaşamak', "Göçmen olmak: "Kabuğunu kırmak", "Göçmen anne olmak: Aynı anda iki kez kabuk değiştirmek" şeklinde adlandırılmıştır.

Tema 1: Anneliğin anlamı: Uçları yaşamak

Bu temada anneliğin ne anlam ifade ettiğinden bahsederken üç alt tema bulunmuştur. Bunlar sırasıyla anneliğe ithaf edilen anlamları etkileyen gömülü faktörler, anne olmakla ilgili duygular ve kadınların annelikle yaşadıkları kişisel değişim ve dönüşümdür. Anneliğin anlamını etkileyen gömülü faktörlerden bahsederken katılımcılar üç ana unsura değinmişlerdir. Bunlar, kadının kendini anneliğe ne kadar hazır hissettiği, çocuğun yaşına göre anneliğin anlamının zamanla değişmesi ve babanın çocuk yetiştirmeye dair sorumluluğu ne kadar paylaştığıdır. Kadının, toplumsal bir baskı ya da eşinin çocuk sahibi olmayı istemesinden ziyade kendi isteği ile ve hazır hissettiğinde anne olduğunda, anneliğe bakışının olumlu olarak etkilendiği bulunmuştur. Katılımcı anneler anneliğin anlamını ifade ederken çocukları büyüdükçe anne çocuk arasındaki paylaşımların arttığını; bunun da anneliği daha keyifli hale getirdiğini belirtmişlerdir. Anneliğin nasıl deneyimlendiğinden ve anneliğe hangi anlamlar ithaf edildiğinden bahsederken, evde babanın çocuğun

yetiştirilmesinde ne kadar sorumluluk aldığının önemini vurgulamışlardır. Bu noktada (Elçin) katılımcılar, İngiltere'de toplum içinde şahit oldukları babalık örneklerinin Türkiye'den farklı olduğunu, babaların eşit sorumluluk aldığını ve Türkiye'de bu sorumluluklardan çok daha azını yapan babalara bile "çok ilgili baba" şeklinde yaklaşıldığını belirtmişlerdir.

Anneliğin katılımcılar için ne anlam ifade ettiği sorulduğunda ise, tüm katılımcılar, yoğun bir şekilde anneliğin bitmek bilmeyen bir vicdan azabı çekme, hep kendini daha iyi nasıl yapabilirim şeklinde sorgulama ve bu sorulara eşlik eden yetersizlik hissi, kaygılı ve suçlu hissetme halinde olduklarından bahsetmişlerdir. Örneğin, katılımcılardan Hande, anneliğin kendisi için anlamından bahsederken "Anne olmak hiç bitmeyen bir vicdan azabı" şeklinde ifade etmiştir. Esra annelikte hissedilen duyguların git gelli oluşuna vurgu yapmıştır. Örneğin, anne olarak çocuğun iki saat uyumasını dilerken bir yandan da bunu dilediği için vicdan azabı hissettiğini belirtmiştir. Katılımcılardan üç göçmen anne, çocuk sahibi olma kararını bir canlıyı dünyaya getirme kararının ağırlığı olarak da deneyimlediklerini söylemişlerdir. Özellikle küresel ısınma, toplumsal olaylar gibi dünyada olan olumsuz yaşantılar sebebiyle de çocuklarının geleceği için endişe ettiklerini ve onları dünyaya getirdikleri için çocuklarına haksızlık ettiklerini düşünüp, suçlu hissettiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Tümay'ın ifadesi;

> *Niye bu kadar yüksek nüfuslu bir dünyada bu nüfus artışına katkıda bulunuyoruz? Negatif etkilenme üzerinden devam edebilirdik. Hele de gelecek bu açıdan gittikçe kararıyor, çevre vesaire, dolayısıyla bir çocuğun bunları yaşamasına da sebep olacaksın aslında aynı zamanda.*

Buna ek olarak, Özge, annelikle ilgili duygularından bahsederken anneliği "en sevdiğim meslek" olarak tanımlamış ve anneliği meslek olarak tanımlamasının nedenini de anneliği eksiksiz yapmaya çalıştığı bir görev gibi görmesi olduğunu belirtmiştir. Tümay'da Özge'ye benzer bir şekilde, annelikte hata yapma toleransının düşük olduğunu ve bunun da anneliği kaygılı bir hale getirdiğini belirtmiştir.

Tüm katılımcılar, anneliğin ne kadar zorlu bir deneyim olduğundan ve zorluk açısından hayatta zorlandıkları başka hiçbir şeye benzememesi ile ne kadar eşsiz bir deneyim olduğundan, annelikte yaşadıkları hem olumlu hem de olumsuz duyguları

çok uç noktalarda ve yoğun yaşadıklarından bahsetmişlerdir. Elçin bunu şu şekilde dile getirmiştir;

> *Ya anne olmak dünyanın en zor şeyiymiş. En zor şey bence. Dünyada anne olmaktan daha büyük bir sorumluluk olamaz, olamaz yani olamaz. Daha büyük bir sevgi de olamaz. Her şeyin en en en eni anne olmak bence. En ucu yani.*

Tüm göçmen anneler aynı zamanda annelikte neşe, gurur, sevgi gibi duyguları da çok yoğun bir şekilde yaşadıklarını belirttiler. Tümay gururu aşağıdaki şekilde ifade etmiştir;

> *Hani benden bir şeyler var ama tamamen kendine ait ve kendine özgü, bambaşka şartlarda ve sanki şey bir sonraki model versiyon gibi. Bilmiyorum doğru bir tanım mı ama hani bir sonraki versiyon.*

Ayrıca, bir anne (Özge) dışındaki tüm anneler, annelikle birlikte kişiliklerinde, hayata bakış açılarında, önceliklerinde ciddi değişimler yaşadıklarından bahsetmişlerdir. Örneğin, Tümay, anne olduktan sonra kendini tehlikelerden uzak tuttuğunu ve daha çok korktuğunu şu şekilde belirtmiştir:

> *Anne olmak hayatımı çok değiştirdi. Değiştirdi derken sadece yapmakla yükümlü olduğum şeyler açısından değil ilkel düzeyde de değişiklikler oldu mesela daha çok korkuyorum, daha önceden uçuş dersleri alıyordum şimdi uçmayı düşünmek bile istemiyorum, dalışı bıraktım. Yani primal instinctlerin (ilkel içgüdülerim) çoğu değişti. Hızlı araba kullanıyordum mesela, asla şimdi hızlı araba kullanmıyorum. Kullanmak da istemiyorum, korkuyorum.*

Tema 2: Göçmen olmak: Kabuğunu kırmak

Bu temada göçmen anneler için göçmen olmanın ne anlam ifade ettiği, göçmenliğe dair duyguları ve onları göç etmeye iten nedenlerden bahsedilmiştir. Göçmenliğin anlamı sorulduğunda annelerden sadece Özge, çocuğu odaklı bir cevap verirken, üçü göçmenliğe Türkiye'deki olumsuz koşullardan kaçış anlamını ithaf etmiştir. Diğer dört anne göçmenliğe özgürlük, kişisel büyüme ve değişim ile olumlu anlamlar ithaf ederken, katılımcılardan sadece biri, Tümay, kendini göçmen olarak görmediğini söylemiş; bunu da İngiltere'nin kültürünü sevmesine, daha önceden de burada yaşamış olmasına, İngiltere'nin Türkiye'ye uçakla mesafesinin fazla

olmamasına ve istediğinde Türkiye'ye ulaşabilir hissetmesine bağlamıştır. Hande göçün kendisi için ne anlam ifade ettiğini şu şekilde dile getirmiştir:

> *Şey gibi kabuğunu kırıp içinden yeni bir şey çıkaran, ama bunu da çok acılı bir şekilde yapan bir hayvan gibi hissediyorum bazen kendimi. Ben karakter olarak çok değiştim burada zaten ya.. Bence çok ciddi bir yol göçmenlik. İnsanın böyle hayat içinde öğrenme, büyüme, bilgeleşme hedefleri amaçları var ya.. Bence gerçekten bunun, kişisel gelişimin peşinde olan bir insan göç etmeli. Gerçekten.*

Göçmenliğe Türkiye'deki koşullardan kaçış anlamını veren üç katılımcıdan biri olan Müjde ise şu şekilde belirtmiştir:

> *Dünyanın gidişatı kötü. Kaçacak yer yok! Biz kaçtık yani aslında öyle söyleyebilirim. Hani göçmenlik deyince işte göçmen falan deyince akla hep şey botlarla denizi aşan insanlar geliyor. Biz o günü beklemedik. O anı yaşamayalım diye uçağa atladık geldik.*

Bir anne, Özge, göçmenliğin kendisi için anlamından bahsederken çocuğu odaklı bir yanıt vermiştir. Sadece bir anne, Esra, çocuğum olmasa da göç etmek isterdim derken, diğer tüm anneler çocuğum olmasaydı göç etmezdim diye belirtmişlerdir. Öte yandan Türkiye'de yaşamaya dair hoşnut olmadıkları pek çok şeyden bahsetmişlerdir. Sanki kendileri için de geldiklerini ifade etmek, ülkelerini, ailelerini geride bırakmanın verdiği vicdan duygusu sebebiyle zordu. Anne olarak "çocuğum için göç ettim" ifadesinin kendileri için de psikolojik olarak daha kabul edilebilir olduğu görülmüştür.

Katılımcılar, göçmenlikle ilgili duygularından bahsederken, kendilerini bu kararı almaya iten sebepler olarak politikacılara duydukları öfke, kendi ülkelerini, ailelerini geride bıraktıkları için suçluluk, inandıkları ve takip ettikleri Atatürk ilke ve inkılapları gibi ideolojilere uygun davranmadıkları için vicdan azabı, göç ettiklerinde İngiltere'de yaşamaya dair hissettikleri özgürlük, hafiflik, huzurlu ve güvende hissetme gibi olumlu duygular, göçmenliğin ilk zamanlarında hissettikleri yoğun yalnızlık ve İngiltere'ye dair bazı konularda hissettikleri hayal kırıklıklarından bahsetmişlerdir. Katılımcılardan beş tanesi göç etmeleri sanki kendi kararları gibi gözükse de aslında ülkenin sosyopolitik gidişatının kendilerini göç etmeye mecbur

bıraktığını hissettiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Özellikle politikacılara duyulan öfke ikincil bir duygu olarak yüzeyde gözükse de derinlerde ülkeyi terk etmek zorunda hissetmenin verdiği üzüntünün öfke olarak ifade edildiği gözlemlenmiştir.

Üç katılımcı, Elçin, Esra ve Hande, göç ettikleri için hissettikleri vicdan azabını dile getirmişlerdir. Hande şu şekilde belirtmiştir:

> *Ben çocukluğumdan beri son derece milliyetçi, ülkesini seven ve Atatürkçü yetişmiş bir insan olarak. Buraya gelmiş olmak hala... (ağladı) Vicdan azabı! Çünkü ilginç bir şekilde hala 5 yılın sonunda ailemi bırakıp gelmiş olmaktan çok Atatürk'ün verdiği öğütlere uyamamış olmak bana çok dokunuyor (ağladı). Atatürk'e ve vatana ihanet gibi hala içimde sızlıyor ve sanırım hiç geçmeyecek.*

Göçmen annelerden yedisi ait olmama hissinden bahsetmiş, ikisi (Müjde ve Elçin) ise, ait hissetmemeyi sadece İngiltere'de değil Türkiye'de de hissettiklerini vurgulamışlardır. İngiltere'de doğup büyümedikleri için İngiltere'ye ve İngiliz kültürüne tam ait hissedemezken, Türkiye'nin bıraktıkları gibi kalmadığı, üstelik "bırakıp giden" oldukları için aile ve sosyal çevrenin yargılayıcı yaklaşımlarıyla birlikte, "evim neresi" sorusunun hayatlarında yer ettiğini dile getirmişlerdir. Örneğin Elçin hislerini şu şekilde belirtmiştir:

> *Ve sanırım en güzeli hayvan gibi sorgulamayacaksın yani evim evim evim neresi demeyeceksin, onu dediğin zaman çünkü o boşluk hissi insana iyi hissettirmiyor. Burası benim evim değil, orası da değil; neresi benim evim?!*

Beş katılımcı, Elçin, Esra, Hande, Sevda ve Zeynep, göçmenlikte hissedilen zorluğun en fazla ilk zamanlarda olduğunu, çünkü göç ettikten hemen sonra kişinin kendisini en yalnız hissettiği ve sosyal desteğinin hiç olmadığı zamanın o zaman olduğunu vurgulamışlardır. Örneğin, Hande ilk zamanlar hissettiği yalnızlığı, *"mutlak yalnızlığın ortasına düştüm sanki"* şeklinde belirtmiştir. Beş katılımcı İngiltere'de yaşadıkları hayal kırıklarından bahsetmiştir. Bu kişilerden Tümay, hayal kırıklığının her okulda psikolojik danışmanlık ve rehberlik servisinin olmaması ve Türkiye kadar olmasa da İngiltere'de de maaş farkı, meslek seçimi gibi konularda gözlemlediği toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğine dair olduğunu belirtmiştir. Diğer dört katılımcı, Müjde, Zeynep, Özge ve Elçin ise Türkiye'de sahip oldukları çalışan kadın kimliğini

kaybettiklerini, kariyerleri açısından taviz vermek zorunda kaldıklarını, İngiltere'de ekonomik özgürlüklerini kaybettiklerini ve çocuk bakımının daha çok kendi sorumluluklarında olmasından dolayı kariyerlerinde eşlerine göre daha fazla fedakarlık yapmak zorunda kaldıklarını ifade etmişlerdir.

Altı katılımcı, göç ettikleri için hissettikleri olumlu duygulardan bahsetmiş, İngiltere'de çok daha özgür, huzurlu, mutlu ve güvende hissettiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Bu hisleri, özellikle İngiltere'de kadınlara ve çocuklara saygıyla yaklaşılmasıyla, hukukun işlediği bir ülke oluşuyla ve ifade özgürlüğünün olmasına bağlamışlardır. Dört katılımcı, göç sürecinde çift ilişkisinin ve evliliğin ciddi zorluklardan geçtiğinin altını çizmiştir. Hande, eşi ile olan ilişkisine güvenmeyen kadınlara göç etmemelerini önerirken, eşinin ataerkil, ailesi için sadece para kazanma gibi inanışlarını ve davranışlarını burada değiştirmesini talep ettiğini belirtmiştir. Hande evliliğin göç ile ne kadar zorlandığını şu şekilde vurgulamıştır:

> *Göçmeyi düşünen arkadaşlarımız bazen soruyor "napalım biz de oraya gelsek mi?" diye soranlara ilk sorduğum soru "kaç yıllık evlisin, kaç büyük kavga yaşadın, kaç kriz atlattın?" Çünkü bence bu evlilik tarihi için büyük kriz, evliliği bitirir de güçlendirir de.*

Esra ve Müjde göç sırasında yaşanan ekonomik zorlukların ilişki dinamiklerine zarar verdiğini, çünkü eşlerin birbirlerini suçladığını belirtmişlerdir. Özge ise, göç sürecinde eşinin işi nedeniyle düzenli olarak Türkiye'ye gitmek zorunda kaldığını ve eşinden ilk defa bu kadar uzun süre ayrı kalmak zorunda kaldığını belirtmiştir.

Beş katılımcı, Elçin, Hande, Esra, Tümay ve Zeynep, kendilerini Türkiye'den göç etmeye iten faktörlerin başında Türkiye'de yaşamın imkansız hale getirilmesinden bahsedip gönüllü bir tercih gibi gözükse de zorunda kalmışlık hissiyle göç ettiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Katılımcılar, eğitim sisteminin bozulması, can güvenliğinin yitirilmesine neden olan olaylar (Gezi Parkı Protestoları, Ankara Garı patlaması, Reina Gece Kulübü silahlı saldırısı, Beşiktaş İnönü Stadyumu patlaması), öteki olma duygusu, doğal güzelliklerin yok edilmesi ve toplumdaki bireylerin annelere karşı davranışlarını göç etme nedeni olarak belirtmişlerdir. Ayrıca, göçmen annelerden yedisi "anne olmasaydım göç etmezdim" şeklinde ifade etmiş, kendilerinin mevcut ülke durumuna alışabildiklerini ve kendilerine yarattıkları homojen çevre ve

ortamlarla idare edebildiklerini fakat çocuk sahibi olduktan sonra bunun mümkün olmayan bir hale geldiğini belirtmişlerdir.

Tema 3: Göçmen anne olmak: Aynı anda iki kez kabuk değiştirmek

Bu temada göçmen anneliğin avantajlarından, zorluklarından ve göç etmeyi planlayan anneler için göçmen annelerin verdiği tavsiyelerden bahsedilmiştir. Göçmen anneliğin avantajlarından bahsederken altı katılımcı, Elçin, Zeynep, Esra, Özge, Hande ve Tümay, göç ile farklı annelik modellerini görebildiklerini, İngiliz annelerde gözlemledikleri çocuğa alan açan, müdahaleci olmayan, diyaloğa dayalı, kaygılı olmayan bir annelik modeline sahip olmak istediklerini belirtmişlerdir. Elçin farklı annelik modellerine dair gözlemlediği farkı şu şekilde ifade etmiştir:

> *Biz de çok müdahaleciyiz, "yapma, yapma, dur, aman aman aman!" Biz çok kaygılı anneleriz, düşecek! Cesaretlendirme diye bir şey bizde yok! Ben burada o cesaretlenmeyi çok net görüyorum, çocuğa mesela diyorlar ki koca bir kule yani, iki yaşındaki çocuk o kuleye tırmanırken biz kalp krizinden ölürdük herhalde, buradaki anne güvenli bir alanda bekleyip çocuğu teşvik ediyor "Yapabilirsin, yapabilirsin, yapabilirsin.*

İki anne, Hande ve Tümay da Türkiye'deki çevrelerinde onaylanmayan, oğlunu ev işlerine dahil etmek gibi bazı annelik tutumlarının, İngiltere'ye geldiklerinde ne kadar doğru olduğunu gördükleri için bir rahatlama yaşadıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Özge, Hande ve Elçin, İngiltere'ye geldiklerinde kendi mükemmel anne algılarının törpülendiğini, kendi anneliklerini kabul etmeye başladıklarını ve Türkiye'de anneliğe dair sorgulamadan kabul ettikleri yargıları fark ettiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Beş göçmen anne, Elçin, Hande, Esra, Özge ve Müjde, İngiltere'de anneliklerini daha keyifli yaşadıklarını, çünkü İngiltere'de anneliklerinin toplum tarafından yargılanmadığını, çocuk yetiştirme tarzlarına kimsenin karışmadığını ve destekleyici davrandıklarını ifade etmişlerdir. Anneler özellikle toplu taşımada çocukları ağladığında ya da uygunsuz davranışlarda bulunduklarında kimsenin yan gözle bakmadığını ve anneyi yargılamadığını belirtmişlerdir.

Göçmen anneler, aynı zamanda, çocuklarının içinde bulunduğu okul sistemine güven duyduklarını, eğitim ve sağlık alanında çalışanların anne ile kurdukları

diyaloğun ve erişilebilir oluşlarının anneliklerini oldukça rahatlattığını ifade etmişlerdir. Esra, Zeynep, Özge ve Tümay, çocuklarının okula mutlu gitmesinden, eğitim sisteminin kalitesinden, çocuklarını mahalledeki devlet okuluna yollayabiliyor olmanın mutluluğundan, ödev kavramının olmamasından ve Türkiye'nin aksine veliye eğitimde düşen sorumluluğun (ödev kontrolü gibi) olmamasından bahsetmişlerdir. Tümay ve Zeynep, okul ve veliler arasında bilgi akışının muazzam olduğunu, okulda olacak en ufak bir şey (bugün sınıfa evcil hayvan gelecek gibi) hakkında velilerin önceden bilgilendirildiğini, öğretmen ve okul müdürünün hem erişilebilir hem de yukarıdan bakmayan davranışlarıyla anneliklerini ne kadar olumlu etkilediklerini belirtmişlerdir. Örneğin, Zeynep, Türkiye'deki hemşireye çocuğuna yapılacak aşının son kullanma tarihini sormak istediğinde tersleneceği korkusuyla soramadığını ve aşı sonrası bu soruyu soramadığı, anne olarak korkak davrandığı için kendini suçladığını belirtirken, İngiltere'de aşı tarihini sorduğunda hemşirelerin hemen son kullanma tarihini kendisine gösterdiklerini ve anne olarak kendini daha iyi hissettiğini belirtmiştir.

Katılımcılardan beşi İngiltere'nin çevre düzenlemesinin, yeşil doğal alanlarının, parklarının fazlalığının ve erişilebilirliğinin, özellikle çocuklar için erişilebilir ücretsiz veya çok düşük ücretli kursların, çocuk kütüphanelerinin ve ücretsiz müzelerin olmasının çocuk yetiştirmeyi ne kadar kolaylaştırdığından bahsetmişlerdir. Türkiye ile kıyasladıklarında, özellikle İngiltere'de çocuklarıyla birlikte rahatça toplu taşımayı kullanabilmelerinden, çocukların scooter ya da bisikletle okula gidebilecek şekilde yolların uygun olmasından ve yeşil alanlara erişmek için ücret ödemiyor oluşlarından bahsetmişlerdir. Anneler, çocuk dostu şehir ve imkanlar olduğu için, çocuk yetiştirirken daha az zorlandıklarını ve çocuklarıyla kaliteli zaman geçirmelerini sağlayacak bu imkanların kendi anneliklerini de çocuklarını da olumlu etkilediğini belirtmişlerdir.

Katılımcılardan üçü, Zeynep, Hande ve Sevda, göçmen anneliğin bir avantajının kendi ülkelerindeki kültüre özgü takdir ettikleri annelik pratiklerini fark etmek olduğunu da belirttiler. Zeynep, Türk annelerin çocuklarına sağlıklı yemek yedirmeye gösterdikleri özeni takdir ederken, Sevda, Türk annelerin İngiliz annelere göre, çocuklarını riskli olabilecek şeylerden daha fazla koruduğunu, Hande ise, Türk

annelerin çocuklarına dokunsal olarak daha fazla temas etmesinin çok değerli olduğunu belirtmiştir.

Son olarak da İngiltere'de anneliğe ithaf edilen anlamların, toplumun anneye ve çocuğa yaklaşımının, kendi anneliklerini deneyimleyişlerini nasıl olumlu etkilediğini belirtmişlerdir. Elçin, İngiltere ve Türkiye arasında anneye bakış açısındaki farklılığı şu şekilde belirtmiş ve bunun Türkiye'de annelerin ruh sağlığını ne kadar olumsuz etkilediğini ifade etmiştir:

> *İngiltere'de annenin ayrı bir organizma, birey olduğu kabulü var, Türkiye'de anne tek başına bir birey değil. Anne, o aile ile birlikte anne, birey. Yani koca da çocuklar da her şey onun, anne merkezde ve annenin parçaları onlar, organları gibi yani.*

Beş katılımcı Türkiye'de herkesin anneliklerine müdahale etme ve eleştirme hakkını kendilerinde gördüklerini belirtmişlerdir. Bu yelpaze sokakta ya da otobüste hiç tanımadıkları bir insandan kayınvalidelerine; kendi annelerinden çevrelerindeki başka annelere kadar uzanıyordu. Katılımcılar anneliklerine toplum tarafından yargılayıcı bir şekilde yaklaşıldığında yetersizlik hislerinin arttığını ve olumsuz etkilendiklerini dile getirmişlerdir. Bu yargılar emzirmeden, çocuğu giydirme şekline ve hijyene kadar farklı konuları kapsamaktadır.

Olumlu yanlarının yanı sıra katılımcılar göçmen anneliğin oldukça zorlayıcı yanları olduğunu da belirtmişlerdir. Bunlar özellikle çocuk bakımında sosyal destek ve aile desteğinin olmaması, göç sürecinde çocuğun adaptasyon ve sorumluluğunun daha çok anne üzerinde olması, anne olarak çocuğunu bilmediği bir sistem ve kültür içinde büyütmenin korkutucu olması ve göçmen annelikte ödenen bedellerdir.

Elçin, Hande, Özge ve Zeynep, çocuk bakımına aile desteği bulamadıkları için eşleriyle birlikte geçirdikleri zamanı da kaybettiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Hande, Özge, Esra ve Sevda, göç sonrası ev içi iş yüklerinin de çok arttığını, çünkü Türkiye'deki gibi eve düzenli temizliğe destek olacak birini İngiltere'de alamadıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Hande durumunu şu şekilde ifade etmiştir:

> *Hakikaten bakarsan benim Türkiye'de şımarık prenses süper bir hayatım vardı yani. Buraya gelince baya külkedisine döndüm. Orada devamlı evine temizliğe gelen kadın var, bir sokak ötende annen oturuyor. "Ay anne ben gece*

uyuyamadım" diyorsun, hadi sen yat bebeğe ben bakayım diyor, bir uyanıyorsun yemeğin yapılmış. Baya süper lüks bir hayatım vardı.

Aynı zamanda Sevda ve Esra, tüm bu destek eksikliği sebebiyle kendilerine zaman ayıramadıklarını ve bunun da çok yorucu olduğunu ve anneliklerini olumsuz etkilediğini belirtmişlerdir. Beş katılımcı, çocuğun uyum ve sorumluluğunun eşler tarafından paylaşılmaması ve yükü daha çok annenin sırtlamasından şikayetçi olmuşlardır. Örneğin Tümay, Özge ve Sevda çocuklarının İngilizce bilmemeleri sebebiyle okulda sosyal ilişki kurmakta ve okula alışmakta zorluk yaşadıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Elçin ise çocuğun uyumu ile ilgili her detayı annenin düşündüğünden, çocuğun hangi okula gideceğinden, çocuğun en sevdiği Türk yemeğini yaparak iyi hissetmesini sağlamaya aynı zamanda da İngiltere'deki okulda–yiyeceklere de alışabilsin diye farklı yemekler pişirmeye çalışmaya kadar tüm detayların anneye yüklendiğinden yakınmıştır. İki katılımcı, Zeynep ve Sevda ise çocuğunu bilmedikleri ve kendilerinin de büyümediği bir eğitim sisteminde ve kültürde yetiştirmenin zorluğundan bahsetmişlerdir. Son olarak, üç katılımcı, göçmen annelikte ödedikleri bedellerden bahsederken, çalışan kadın kimliğini kaybetmekten, doktora eğitimi gibi arzuladıkları kariyerlerine devam edememekten ve ekonomik bağımsızlıklarını kaybetmiş olmaktan yakınmışlardır. Bunlara ek olarak, göçle birlikte çocuk bakımı konusunda aileden alınan desteğin kaybedildiğinden ve bu yüzden de çocuktan bağımsız kendilerine ait bir zamana sahip olamadıklarından bunun da anneliği daha zor bir hale getirdiğinden bahsetmişlerdir. Örneğin Sevda "*anne olduğumu ben Londra'da anladım*" derken İngiltere'de her şeyi çocuğuyla yapmak zorunda kaldığını ve çocuksuz hiç vakit geçiremediğini belirtmiştir. Sevda göçmen anne olarak anneliğinde de bedel ödediğini çünkü göçmen annelikte daha fazla strese girdiğini, kaygılandığını ve bunun da çocuğuna gösterdiği anneliğin kalitesini olumsuz yönde etkilediğini belirtmiştir.

Katılımcılara yeni göç edecek annelere tavsiyeleri sorulduğunda, Hande ve Tümay, bu süreçte annenin psikolojik destek almasını önerdiler. Esra ve Özge, göç kararının deneyip görelim mantığıyla alınmaması gereken bir karar olduğunu, kişiler gerçekten motive ve eminlerse bu yola çıkmalarını önerdiler çünkü yolda çok zorlayıcı pek çok deneyim yaşayacakları için motivasyonlarının ve kararlılıklarının yola devam

edebilmeleri için önemli bir rol oynadığını belirttiler. Tümay ve Özge, gelen annelerin kendi kültüründen göçmen anne olan kişilerle temas etmelerinin ve onlardan alacakları sosyal desteğin çok destekleyici olacağını belirttiler. Tümay ve Sevda, gidilen ülkeye alışabilmek için dil bilmenin önemini vurguladılar. Tümay ayrıca gidilen ülkenin kültürünü öğrenmeye çalışmanın da adaptasyondaki katkısından bahsetti. Müjde göç etme kararı alırken kişilerin eşleriyle olan ilişkilerini ve onlara olan güvenlerini gözden geçirmelerini önerirken, nereye gelindiğinden çok kiminle göç edildiğinin pek çok şeyi belirlediğini belirtti. Esra, daha da karamsar bir tablo çizerek bu yolda yalnız yürümek zorunda kalabileceklerini de hesaba katarak gelmelerini, çünkü göç sürecinin ilişkileri çok yıpratıp zorlayabildiğini vurguladı. Zeynep ve Özge ise ülkeye adaptasyonda para kazanabilmenin ve bir iş sahibi olmanın çok önemli rol oynadığından bahsederek, göç etmeyi planlayan kadınların işlerini İngiltere'de yapıp yapamayacaklarını araştırmalarını ve eğer meslekleri kolay akredite olabilecek bir meslek değilse henüz göç etmeden kendi ülkelerinde yeni bir meslek edinmek için kursa katılmalarını önerdiler.

4. TARTIŞMA

Yorumlayıcı Fenomenolojik Analiz sonucunda bulunan üst temalar alanyazın ışığında tartışılmıştır.

Tema 1: Anneliğin anlamı: Uçları yaşamak

Anneliğin anlamından bahsederken katılımcıların anne olmaya ne kadar istekli oldukları ve hazır oluş seviyelerinin annelik deneyimlerini ne kadar etkilediği gözlemlenmiştir. Toplum baskısı, yaş ilerledikçe doğurganlığın azalması, ya da engelli çocuk sahibi olma riskinin artması gibi korkuların kadınları anne olmaya iten nedenler olduğu görülmüştür. Türkiye'de kadınlara anne olma konusunda biyolojik saat ve anne olma yaşı ile ilgili toplumsal bir baskı yapılıyorken farklı bir kültürde, örneğin Kanada'da, Benzies ve arkadaşları (2006), annelerle yaptıkları çalışmasında, doğurganlık teknolojileri geliştiği için kadınların ileri yaşta anne olabilme ihtimalinin kişisel ve kariyer hedeflerini gerçekleştirmek konusunda kendilerine olumlu etki

yaptığı, anne olmadan önce bu gibi bireysel hedeflere odaklanabilmelerinin annelik deneyimlerine olumlu yansıdığından bahsedilmiştir. Bu çalışmaya paralel olarak katılımcılardan Özge'de 35 yaşında anne olduğu için "buldumcuk gibi olduğunu" belirtmiş ve bunun anneliğin kıymetini bilmesi anlamında olumlu bir etkisi olduğunu vurgulamıştır. Bu çalışmadaki katılımcıların yarısı anneliğin anlamının babanın çocuk yetiştirme konusunda ve evdeki sorumluluğu ne kadar paylaştığıyla yakından ilgili olduğunu belirtmiştir. Örneğin katılımcılardan Esra, eşinin çocukla evde yalnız kaldığında sadece oyun oynama lüksünün olduğunu fakat kendisinin çocukla yalnız kaldığında çocukla ilgilenmenin yanı sıra ev işlerini halletmesi gerektiğini belirtmiştir. Alanyazında buna paralel olarak Roggman (2004), babanın çocuğun sorumluluğunu anneye bıraktığı ve çocukla sadece oyun oynadığı tabloda eşit paylaşımdan söz etmenin mümkün olmadığını vurgulamıştır.

Anneliğin anlamından bahsederken tüm katılımcılar anneliği her türlü duygunun uçlarda yaşanması olarak tanımlamışlar ve annelikte hissedilen en yoğun duygunun suçluluk hissi olduğunu belirtmişlerdir. Annelikte hissedilen en yoğun duygunun suçluluk duygusu olduğunu alanyazındaki araştırma bulguları da desteklemektedir (Liss ve ark., 2013 & Sutherland, 2010). Henderson ve ark., (2015)'de annelerin kendi annelikleri ile idealleştiren annelik imajı arasındaki uçurumun, kendi anneliklerini yetersiz hissetmelerine ve suçluluk hislerine neden olduğunu açıklamıştır. Buna ek olarak, tüm anneler anneliğin dünyadaki en zor şey olduğunu, zorluk derecesi olarak başka hiçbir şeye benzemediğini belirtmişlerdir. Anneliğin zorluğunu açıklarken bunun çok büyük bir sorumluluk oluşuna, çocuktan önceki hayattaki özgürlüklerin kaybedilmesine, anne olduktan sonra ruh sağlığının olumsuz etkilenmesine, çocuk için güçlü olmak zorunda hissetmelerine ve pes etme lüksünün olmamasına değinilmiştir. Stadlen (2004) çocuk için annenin yerini alabilecek başka kimsenin olmayışı ile bu ilişkinin benzersizliğine vurgu yapmıştır. Katılımcılardan Müjde anne olmanın anlamını "*kelepçelisin bu dünyaya demek (!) yani böyle bir ayağında pranga var demek*" şeklinde açıklamış ve annelikte çocuk için güçlü olmak zorunda hissettiğini belirtmiştir. Hartley's (2005) de Müjde'nin ifadesine paralel olarak çocuğun yaşamının devamlılığı için annenin varlığına muhtaçlığını vurgulamıştır. Buna ek olarak, tüm katılımcılar annelikte sevgi, gurur, neşe gibi olumlu duyguları da uç noktalarda hissettiklerinden bahsetmişlerdir. Aynı zamanda

anneliğin kendilerini ne kadar değiştirdiğini ve dönüştürdüğünü de vurgulamışlardır. Alanyazında annelik sonrası kimliğin yeniden dönüştürülmesi ve düzenlenmesi eş zamanlı olarak savunulurken (Stadlen, 2004; Stern ve Bruschweiler- Stern 1998; Prinds ve ark., 2014), bazı araştırmacılar bu dönüşümü eski kimliklerin kaybı (Vik ve Hafting, 2012) ya da benlik duygusunun kaybı (Barclays ve ark., 1997) şeklinde açıklamıştır.

Tema 2: Göçmen olmak: Kabuğunu kırmak

İkinci üst temada katılımcılar göçmen olmanın kendileri için ne anlam ifade ettiğinden, göçmen olmaya dair hislerinden, kendilerini göç etmeye iten sebeplerden ve göç ettikleri ülkede kendi ülkelerinden farklı olan ve takdir ettikleri sosyal kültürel yönlerden bahsetmişlerdir.

Katılımcıların yarısı göçü kişisel gelişim, büyüme ve dönüşüm açısından olumlu olarak yorumlarken, göçmen olunca yaşadıkları dönüşümü adeta bir canlının kabuğunu değiştirmesi gibi sancılı olduğuna da vurgu yapmıştır. Örneğin Hande göçü, "*Kabuğu kıran ve içinden yeni bir şey çıkaran ama bunu acıyla yapan bir hayvan gibi hissediyorum*" şeklinde belirtmiştir. Göç eden kişi, göçmenlik sürecinde kimlik, statü, fiziksel, sosyal, kültürel gibi çoklu kayıplar yaşamaktadır. Bu hem Anderson'ın (1994) belirttiği gibi göçün kendini gerçekleştirme açısından önemli bir deneyim olmasıyla hem de alanyazında travma sonrası büyüme kavramı ile açıklanabilir (Berger, 2004). "Travma sonrası büyüme" terimi, Tedeschi ve Calhoun tarafından ileri sürülmüştür ve stresli olaylarla mücadeleyi takiben benlikte, kişilerarası ilişkilerde ve yaşam felsefesindeki algıların değişmesi ve dönüşmesi anlamını yansıtır (Berger ve Weiss, 2006).

Katılımcılar göçmen olmaya dair duygularından bahsederken, kendilerini göç etmeye zorlayan durumlara sebep olanlara karşı öfkeden, göç ettikleri için kendi ülkelerine, inandıkları değerlere, geride bıraktıkları ailelerine karşı hissettikleri suçluluktan, hem kendi ülkelerinde hem de İngiltere'de dışarıda kalan gibi hissettiklerinden ve evsizlik hissinden, göçün ilk zamanlarında yaşadıkları yoğun yalnızlık duygusundan, göç ettikleri ülkeye dair yaşadıkları hayal kırıklıklarından ve özgürlük, mutluluk, huzur gibi olumlu duygulardan, son olarak da evlilikleri için

göçün ne kadar zorlayıcı bir deneyim olduğundan bahsetmişlerdir. Katılımcıların belirttikleri duygular literatürdeki çalışmaların bulgularıyla da desteklenmektedir. Örneğin, Ivey ve Sonn'un (2020) Güney Afrikalı göçmenlerle yapılan bir çalışmada, göçmenlerin ülkelerini terk etmelerinden kaynaklı hissettikleri suçluluk hissi bulunmuştur. Yine benzer bir şekilde, aileye karşı hissedilen suçluluk duygusu da alanyazında desteklenmektedir (Baldassar, 2015; Ivey & Sonn, 2020; Ward & Styles, 2012). Yedi katılımcının vurguladığı "aidiyetsizlik" hissi de Krzyżanowski ve Wodak (2008) tarafından göçmenlerin bir meselesi olarak vurgulanmıştır. Türkiye'den İngiltere'ye göç etmiş kadınlarla yapılan Çakır'ın (2009) çalışmasında da göçmen kadınların kendilerini İngiltere'ye ait hissetmedikleri bulunmuştur. Altı katılımcı, göçmenliğin kendileri için özgürlük, huzur, güvende hissetme gibi olumlu duygular anlamına geldiğini ifade etmiştir. Burada ifade edilen olumlu duygular özellikle katılımcıların Türkiye'de yaşamaktan şikayetçi oldukları ve hissettikleri duygularla örtüşmektedir. Örneğin, Türkiye'de her an her şey olabilir gerginliğini hissetme, can güvenliği hissetmeme gibi duygular İngiltere'de mutlu olmaya sebep olan nedenlere dönüşmüş şekildedir. Hendriks ve Bartum (2009) da bu çalışmanın bulgularına paralel olarak, göçmenlerin mutluluğunun ve iyi oluşunun kendilerini göç etmeye iten nedenlere bağlı olarak belirlendiğini öne sürmüşlerdir. Katılımcıların yarısı, göç etmenin evlilik ilişkilerini oldukça etkilediğini belirtmiştir. Özellikle ev işlerine yardımcı tutamamanın, ailenin ve sosyal desteğin olmamasının çiftlerin birbirlerine olan beklentilerini de değiştirdiğini ortaya çıkarmıştır. Örneğin katılımcılardan Hande, göç ettikten sonra toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin kabul edilemez olduğunu, bu sebeple eşinin sadece para kazanmasının yeterli olmayacağını çünkü kendisinin de hem çalışıp hem de diğer tüm ev işleri ve çocuklarla ilgilenmesinin desteksiz tek başına mümkün olmadığını belirtmiştir. Çalışmadaki kadınların, göç etmenin evliliklerine olumsuz etkileri olabileceği söylemlerine paralel olarak alanyazında da çiftler arasındaki çatışmanın, partner şiddetinin ve boşanma oranlarının yeni göç etmiş kesimlerde daha yüksek oranda olduğu rapor edilmiştir (Kulig, 1994; Naidoo & Davis, 1988). Bu çalışmadaki göçmen kadınların evli olmaları, vize durumlarını ve ülkede kalabilmelerini doğrudan etkilemesi sebebiyle aile içi şiddet, çatışma gibi durumlar yaşadıklarında özgür karar verebilmelerinin çok daha zor olduğu anlaşılmıştır.

Tema 3: Göçmen anne olmak: "Aynı anda iki kez kabuk değiştirmek"

Göçmen anne olmak üst temasında göçmen anne olmanın avantajlarından, zorluklarından ve göç etmeyi planlayan annelere önerilerden bahsedilmiştir. Göçmen anne olmanın avantajlarından bahsederken altı katılımcı farklı kültürden annelik modelleri görmenin kendi anneliklerini dönüştürdüğünü belirtmiştir. Özellikle İngiliz annelerinin sabırlı oluşlarının, çocuğun bireyselliğine saygı göstermelerinin, çocuklarının deneyimleyerek ve hata yaparak öğrenmelerine alan açışlarının, müdahaleci olmamalarının ve çocuklarıyla diyalog kurarak iletişimde olmalarının çocuklar üzerindeki olumlu etkilerini görmelerine ve bu özellikleri kendi anneliklerine dahil etmek istemelerine vurgu yapmışlardır. Katılımcılar kendi anneliklerini aşırı müdahaleci ve kaygılı bulduklarını belirtip bu durumu eleştirmişlerdir.

Norveç'te yaşayan Güney Avrupalı göçmen anneler ve Yeni Zelanda'da yaşayan Koreli göçmen ebeveynler de bu çalışmanın anneleriyle benzer deneyimler yaşamış ve göç ettikleri ülkenin daha diyalog temelli, çocuk merkezli ve çocuklarını teşvik eden annelik tarzını benimsemeye çalıştıklarını ifade etmişlerdir (Herrero-Arias ve ark., 2020; Lee & Keown, 2018). Bu aynı zamanda ebeveynliğin içinde bulunduğu kültürden etkilenmesiyle de açıklanabilir. Örneğin, kolektif toplumlarda (Singapur ve Türkiye) ebeveynler itaat ve saygıya daha fazla önem verirken, bireyci toplumlarda (İngiltere ve Amerika) çocuğun bireyselliğine ve özerkliğine daha çok önem verilmektedir (Phalet ve Schönpflug, 2001). Buna ek olarak, katılımcılar, İngiltere'de anneliklerini daha keyifli yaşadıklarını çünkü Türkiye'de toplum tarafından maruz kaldıkları anneliklerine ve çocuk yetiştirme tarzlarına karşı olan yargılayıcı tavırların ve müdahalenin İngiltere'de olmadığını belirtmişlerdir. Örneğin İngiltere'de annenin, çocuğunun yaptığı herhangi bir istenmeyen davranıştan sorumlu tutulmadığını, çocuk toplu taşımada bağırarak ağladığında annenin kendini baskı altında hissetmediğini çünkü toplumdaki bireylerin çok anlayışlı ve destekler şekilde davrandıkları dile getirilmiştir. Butterfield'ın (2010) da belirttiği gibi çocuğun davranışıyla yargılanmak ve dışarıdan yetersiz, başarısız olarak görülmek, annelerin anneliği yaşayışlarını etkileyen, onlar için taşınması zor bir sorumluluktur. Aynı zamanda annenin çocuğu aracılığıyla temas ettiği sağlık ve eğitim gibi sistemler tarafından desteklenmesinin, personelin erişilebilir olmasının ve anneyi destekleyici davranışlarının, anneliğin

deneyimlenmesine olumlu katkı yaptığı belirtilmiştir. Bu noktada annelik kavramı Bronfenbrenner'in (1974) önerdiği ekolojik sistem ışığında, sistemlerin ve bağlamın anneliğe etkisi göz önüne alınarak değerlendirilmelidir.

Uygulamaya Yönelik Öneriler

Eğitimli göçmen kadınların kariyer ve meslek açısından statü kaybı yaşamaları, bazılarının iş bulma sıkıntıları ile karşılaştıkları göz önüne alındığında, göçmen annelere kariyer danışmanlığı desteği sunmanın önemi ortaya çıkmaktadır. Göç eden anne, daha çok çocuğunun adaptasyonuyla ilgilenmek, aile ve sosyal çevre desteği olmadan çocuğunu yetiştirmek zorunda kaldığı için kariyer alanında desteklenmesi oldukça kıymetlidir. Yeni göç eden göçmen annelere bu anlamda ücretsiz kariyer desteği sağlanması, bilgilendirici videolar ve broşürler hazırlanması önerilebilir.

Bazı göçmen annelerin yaşadıkları ilişkisel sorunlara coğrafi çözümler arama motivasyonu ile göç ettikleri görülmüştür. Eşiyle ilişkisel sorunlar yaşarken hayatlarında temiz bir sayfa açma fikri ile göç etme kararı almak buna örnek olarak verilebilir. Bu durum aslında ilişkisel sorunların ele alınabileceği psikolojik danışma gibi desteklerin daha ulaşılabilir hale getirilmesinin önemini de gündeme getirmektedir.

Göçmen annelerin farklı kültürden gelen annelerin annelik modellerini gözlemlemeleri, farklı bir ülkede ve kültürde kadına ve anneye karşı toplumun farklı yaklaşımlarını deneyimlemeleri, göçmen annelerin kendi ülkelerinde yaşarken fark etmeden edindikleri anneliğe dair kültürel kodları gözden geçirmelerine ve sorgulamalarına yardımcı olmuştur. Özellikle ebeveyn eğitimi geliştiren ve veren kurumların anne eğitimlerinde farklı kültürden annelik deneyimlerine yer vererek, annelerin başka kültürden annelerle temas edebilmelerine olanak sağlayacak çevrimiçi ortamlar oluşturmaları önemli görülmektedir.

Annelerin çocukları için temasta oldukları eğitim ve sağlık gibi kurumlarda çalışan uzmanların erişilebilir olmasının, bilgilendirici ve işbirlikçi bir tutumda olmalarının, annelerin annelik deneyimlerini oldukça olumlu bir şekilde etkilediği

görülmüştür. Bu da anneliğin sistemler tarafından desteklenmesinin önemini ortaya koymaktadır.

Çocuklarıyla toplu taşımayı rahatça kullanabildikleri, anne ve çocuklara yönelik ücretsiz etkinliklerin sunulduğu, çocuk kütüphanelerinin, parklarının ve ücretsiz müzelerin olduğu çocuk dostu şehirlerin anneliği ne kadar kolaylaştırdığı anneler tarafından sıklıkla vurgulanmıştır. Anneliğin makro sistem tarafından desteklenmesi konusunda politika yapıcıların bu uygulamaları hayata geçirmeleri önerilebilir.

Gelecekteki Çalışmalar için Öneriler

Göç edilen ülkede geçirilen süre göçmen kişilerin deneyimlerini etkilediği için göçmen annelerle, göçün farklı aşamalarında görüşmeler yapılarak, boylamsal bir araştırma gerçekleştirilebilir.

Bu çalışmadaki göçmen annelerin çocuk sayısı homojen bir şekilde sağlanamamıştır. İki katılımcı iki çocuk annesiyken, altı katılımcı tek çocuk annesidir. Çocuk sayısı annelik deneyimini etkileyebildiği için gelecekteki çalışmalarda aynı sayıda çocuk sahibi olan annelerle çalışmaların yapılması önerilebilir.

Bu çalışmanın sonuçları bekar, lezbiyen, trans, genç anne gibi çeşitli gruplardan annelerin deneyimini yansıtmamaktadır. Bu grupların deneyimlerini anlamak için yorumlayıcı fenomenolojik analiz yöntemiyle annelerin ihtiyaçları araştırılabilir.

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