ISTANBUL BILGI UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY MASTER'S DEGREE PROGRAM

WHEN MY MOTHER TAKES DAILY CARE OF MY CHILD: A
QUALITATIVE STUDY ON WORKING MOTHERS' EXPERIENCE OF
MOTHERHOOD AND MOTHER-DAUGHTER RELATIONSHIPS

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İSTANBUL

2019

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Annem çocuğumun günlük bakımını üstlenince: Çalışan annelerin annelik
deneyimi ve anne-kız ilişkileri üzerine nitel bir çalışma

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Tezin Onaylandığı Tarih: ....29.05.2019.........
Toplam Sayfa Sayısı: ....113........

Anahtar Kelimeler (Türkçe)   Anahtar Kelimeler (İngilizce)
1)   Çalışan anneler   1) Working mothers
2)   Annelik   2) Motherhood
3)   Anne-kız ilişkileri   3) Mother-daughter relationship
4)   Çocuk bakımı   4) Childcare
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ABSTRACT

With increasing participation of women in labor market, working mothers return back to work after their maternity leave and prefer daily childcare by a babysitter or a relative (maternal or paternal grandmother or other relatives). This qualitative study investigated the experience of working mothers who preferred their mothers (maternal grandmother of the child) as the daily caretaker. The aim of this study is to explore in this childcare arrangement how mothers experience motherhood, changing dynamics of the past mother-daughter relationship and how their perception of their mothers' mothering in the past influences their motherhood today. In this context, semi-structured interviews were completed with 11 upper-middle class working mothers who had their first child. From the results by using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, five main themes emerged: I) Becoming a mother II) Grandmother's involvement in childcare III) Redefining roles in multiple triadic relationships IV) Compromise of conflictual feelings V) Connecting past, present and future. The results were discussed of existing literature on female development, mother-daughter relationships in adulthood and motherhood.

Keywords: motherhood, childcare, working mothers, mother-daughter relationships, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

ÖZET

Günümüzde kadınların işgücüne artan katılımı ile birlikte, anne olan çalışan kadınlar doğum izinlerini kullandıktan sonra iş hayatına geri dönmekte ve günlük çocuk bakımı bakıcı veya akrabalar (anneanne, babaanne veya diğer akrabalar) tarafından üstlenilmektedir. Bu nitel çalışma, annelerinin (anneannelerin) çocuğunun bakımının üstlenmesini tercih etmiş, çalışan annelerin deneyimlerini derinlemesine araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışmanın amacı öncelikle bu şartlar altında annelerin annelik deneyimini ve bakım sürecini öznel olarak nasıl yaşadığını, geçmiş anne-kız ilişkisinin ne şekilde etkilendiğini ve annelerin kendi annelerinin anneliğine dair geçmişten gelen algılarının bugün kendi annelik kimliklerine olan etkilerini araştırmaktır. Bu bağlamda ilk kez çocuk sahibi olmuş 11 anne ile yarı-yapılandırılmış görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Yorumlayıcı Fenomenolojik Analiz yöntemi kullanılarak elde edilen 5 ana tema şu şekildedir: I) Anne olma süreci II) Anneannenin çocuk bakımına katılımı III) Rollerin yeniden belirlenmesi IV) Çelişkili duyguları uzlaştırmak V) Geçmiş, şimdi ve gelecek arasında bağ kurmak. Sonuçlar, çalışmanın ilk bölümünde gözden geçirilmiş olan kadınların gelişimsel süreçlerine dair farklı yaklaşımlar, yetişkinlikteki anne-kız ilişkileri ve annelik deneyimine dair yapılmış çalışmalar ekseninde tartışılmıştır. Son bölümde, çalışmanın kısıtlılıklarına değinilmiş, klinisyenler ve ileride yapılacak çalışmalar için yol gösterici önerilerde bulunulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Annelik, çocuk bakımı, çalışan anneler, anne-kız ilişkileri, Yorumlayıcı Fenomenolojik Analiz

INTRODUCTION

Mothers have traditionally been seen as the primary caretaker of their children. Women's increasing participation to the labor market introduced a challenge to this long-held perception and expectation that mothers should stay at home to look after their children. Today, most working mothers return to work after maternity leave, in a couple of months that follow the birth. This changing trend resulted in a shift in childcare practices and response to the question of who the daily caregiver of the child will be while both parents are at work. In Turkey, grandmothers usually take on this role depending on their availability. Focusing on the effects of such childcare arrangements, this qualitative research examines the experience of motherhood and the mother-daughter relationship from the daughter's perspective when the mother (the maternal grandmother) looks after the child.

When the maternal grandmother is the daily caretaker, the dynamics of the mother-daughter relationship inevitably come into play and can get even more complicated. The daughter becomes a mother yet as a new mother, she is still the daughter of her mother who becomes a grandmother. Notman (2006) stated that the mother-daughter relationship is a highly important relationship with the basic conflict between dependency and autonomy on the daughters' side, and continues to influence on the daughter even if she is away from her mother. It is "a life-long process" with the reverberations of old conflicts from childhood and adolescence in adulthood, creating an opportunity for the transformation of mother-daughter relationship (Notman, 2006, p.140). Being a mother is one of these transformative life events and provides an opportunity to reevaluate the mother-daughter relationship and the past from a new perspective.

The aim of this study is to understand the new mother's reevaluation of her past and establishing her motherhood identity when

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the grandmother takes the caretaker role. In this unique setting, the mother comes together with her own mother to share childcare responsibilities, where the care is centered no longer on herself (as the daughter) but on her child she gave birth to.

Shrier et al (2004) pointed to the lack of quantitative and qualitative research on mother-daughter relationships in adulthood while the mother is still in good health. Additionally, they emphasized the need for the exploration of non-pathological mother-daughter relationships against the abundance of literature on pathological mother-daughter relationships (Shrier et al, 2004). In this context, this study aims to explore the effects of the daughter's motherhood, a special milestone over the life-cycle, on the mother-daughter relationship. The literature on mother-child relationship, on the other, is marked by the lack of research on the mothers' subjective experience (Vissing 2016). The dominant approach considers mothers from the perspective of the infant, as the attention is skewed towards the understanding of the infants' experience. Despite the works of a number of scholars (Benjamin 1990, Parker 1998, Bernstein 2004) our understanding of the subjectivity and the inner world of the mother remains limited (Vissing, 2016). Coupled with the need of a deeper understanding of mothers' experience of motherhood, this qualitative study aimed to explore the experience of motherhood when the grandmother (her own mother) is the daily caretaker of her child, how the mother-daughter relation changes in this arrangement and how the caretaker's role of the grandmother affect the mother's perception of her own as well as of her mothers' motherhood.

1.1 FEMALE DEVELOPMENT

This section provides a literature review of female development theories in order to explore the key influence of this period on a daughter's life and in particular of her early relationship with the mother on the later stages of mother-daughter relationship over the life-cycle.

With this aim, it will discuss various theoretical approaches, from Freud's account on female oedipal experience to contemporary approaches. The review that I provide in this section relies mainly on Shrier et al's (2004) comprehensive discussion of the existing literature on female development and mother-daughter relationship.

1.1.1. Sigmund Freud

Sigmund Freud (1933) argued that boys and girls follow a similar libidinal development in the pre-oedipal period. For him, "the little girl is a little man", the only difference being that the girl derives pleasure from her clitoris while the penis is the center of the boy's pleasure (p.148). Both for girls and boys, the first object is the mother. However, as they reach the oedipal period, the boy retains the same object (mother) while the girl's has to be replaced by the father. The end of the attachment to the mother is a complex, painful process for the girl, accompanied with feelings of hatred and hostile wishes towards the mother. Freud explained the existence of this hostility and hatred by the castration complex, which is basically based on the girl's accusation of her mother for not having a penis. However, this castration complex also prepares the girl for the resolution of the Oedipus complex, as she experiences the entrance of the oedipal situation as "as though into a haven of refuge" (p.160). While the fear of castration in boys results in a firm establishment of the superego, its absence in girls during the oedipal period leads to the establishment of a more flexible superego, consequently making it for girls more difficult to establish their independence (Freud, 1933).

Although Freud largely concentrated on the oedipal period for girls, his less popular paper "Femininity" (1933) emphasized the importance of the girl's attachment to the mother in the pre-oedipal period. Without theorizing about this attachment in depth, Freud

highlighted in this paper its role as a precursor of the girl's relation to the father and the related fixations in the following phases of development:

> We know, of course, that here have been a preliminary stage of attachment to the mother, but we did not know that it could be so rich in content and so long-lasting, and could leave behind so many opportunities for fixations and dispositions. During this time the girl's father is only a troublesome rival; in some cases the attachment to her mother lasts beyond the fourth year of life. Almost everything that we find later in her relation to her father was already present in this earlier attachment and has been transferred subsequently on to her father (Freud, 1933, p.148).

While Freud's theory has been criticized from many perspectives, his work represents a baseline for the issues that will come to foreground about female development in the review below of the subsequent scholars.

1.1.2. Nancy Chodorow

Chodorow's work is influential for highlighting the relational aspect of the girl's relationship toward her mother. In her words (1999, p.123): "The feminine complex is as much a change in a girl's relational stance toward her mother as it is a change from mother to father". In her analysis of the female oedipal configuration, Nancy Chodorow (1999) argued that the girl's oedipal situation does not involve changing objects as theorized by Freud. Instead, Chodorow pointed to a "lack of change" (1999, p.129) and stressed that the girl's turning to her father does not interfere with her dependence on the mother who continues to be both an internal and external object for the girl.

Chodorow's (1999) criticism of Freud and his colleagues extends to their failure in explaining the differences in the length of pre-oedipal period for boys and girls. She proposed to understand this difference in

relation to the difference between women's mothering boys versus that of girls. In doing so, her argument is not based on the biological sameness of the girl and the mother. Rather, she explains this difference in mothering via gender: "the mother's particular psychic structure and relational sense, for her (probable) heterosexuality, and for her conscious and unconscious acceptance of the ideology, meanings and expectations that go into being a gendered member of our society and what gender means" (Chodorow, 1999, p.98). Furthermore, once being a daughter of her own mother in childhood, the mother is more familiar with a daughter's situation compared to the one of a son.

1.1.3. Margaret Mahler

Margaret Mahler distinguished the infant's 'psychological birth' from its physiological birth. Unlike the observable and clear-cut nature of the actual birth, the psychological birth refers to "a slowly unfolding intrapsychic process" (1972, p.487). To explore the infant's psychological birth, Mahler (1972) focused on the pre-oedipal period via various clinical studies and developed, in light of repeated observations of similar patterns within the first three years of the infant, the theory of separation-individuation. This included a classification into four subphases: differentiation, practicing and rapprochement phases for the first two years, and lastly, object constancy (Mahler 1972). Moreover, Mahler (1981) introduced the term "ambitendency" to describe the infant's fluctuation between "the distancing and disengagement phenomena compete with the appeal and approach behavior" (p.628) that starts from the subphase of differentiation and culminates at the subphase of rapprochement. A proper balance between these two positions requires the mother to provide a "home-base" without being too intrusive (Mahler, 1981, p.628).

Mahler (1981) highlighted the importance of the father as a mediator between the child and the mother from the subphase of

differentiation onwards. The father is an external figure that provides a relief to the intensity of the dyadic mother-child relationship, and his role is especially important during the child's separation from the mother to release the tension of being pulled back to the mother as a regression to the previous symbiotic phase (Mahler, 1981). The difference between boys and girls become visible in the rapprochement phase:

> When separation from the postsymbiotic mother becomes a necessity, the boy has the father to support his attainment of personal and gender identity. Under ordinary circumstances, the father offers uncontaminated personality traits, traits in particular which fit the gender identity needs of the boy. The girl also has to disidentify herself from part-object representations of her mother. She, however, more often than not, has to go through a tortuous and complicated splitting, repressive, and reintegrative process to attain and maintain her self and her gender identity (Mahler, 1981, p. 637)

Furthermore, the infant's experience in the separation-individuation process is echoed through the life-cycle and that "[i]t is never finished; it can always be reactivated" (Mahler, 1972, p.487). What makes the separation-individuation theory relevant to my thesis is that understanding the dynamics in this period is important as it is echoed in later stages of development, especially in terms of the mother-daughter relationship during the experience of the daughter's motherhood.

1.1.4. Kristen Dahl

Kristen Dahl (1995) contributed to our understanding of the girl's attachment to her mother during adolescence and described it as a second epoch of the separation-individuation. Moreover, Dahl (1995) evaluated the differentiation of a daughter from her mother focusing on the tie to the mother that facilitates the differentiation process. Accordingly, the tie to the mother is worked through during the adolescence by the maternal object

representations of the mother. She argued that it is important to realize that this process is not pure appearance of "previous fantasy configurations" but is adjusted by the present needs of an adolescent (Dahl, 1995, p.201). Lastly, she emphasized that a similar process does not only take place during adolescence but through the life-cycle:

The process of psychic integration of the tie to the mother as an aspect of the self is never fully complete. The hallmark of adult female psychic organization lies in the daughter's capacity to permit continuing reverberations within herself of the representations of this particular tie in her ongoing intra-psychic dialogue with her mother (Dahl, 1995, p.202).

1.1.5. Jessica Benjamin

Jessica Benjamin (1990) approached the separation-individuation theory from a different lens by focusing on engagement, connection and active assertion, and recognizing the mother as a subject rather than as an object. The recognition of the mother's independent subjectivity comes to the foreground in her intersubjective perspective. Benjamin (1990) emphasized the importance of the development of mutual recognition between the mother and the child. In addition to the attainment of self-agency through being recognized by the mother, the child's reciprocal recognition of the mother is equally important for the establishment of the child's subjectivity. Benjamin (1990) criticized the one-sided approach in psychoanalytic literature that focuses on the mother's recognition of the infant, however she argued that the infant's recognition of her mother is also important: "Certainly, from the standpoint of the mother whose infant returns her smile, this is already the beginning of reciprocal recognition" (Benjamin, 1990, p.38).

1.1.6. Jean Baker Miller

Jean Baker Miller and her colleagues (Alexandra G. Kaplan, Irene P. Stiver, Janet L. Surrey at the Stone Center for Developmental Services and Studies (United States) rejected the necessity of separation-individuation for a healthy adult self and emphasized the complexity of relationships beyond the duality of either autonomy and dependency, or of separation and closeness. Emphasizing the central role of relationships in female development, they developed the theory of self-in-relation and claimed that a daughter's self always remains self-in-relation. Shrier et al. (2004) argued that Jean Baker Miller and her colleagues developed this theory based on their clinical cases and not on normative samples and their work was constrained to be published only in their books and working papers with the absence of their publication in refereed journals, therefore their theory did not become open for a model of development of women.

1.1.7. Deanna Holtzman and Nancy Kulish

Holtzman and Kulish (1998) focused on the duality of love and hatred toward the mother. Starting their analysis by an observation of the inhibition of aggression in female patients, they argue that aggression is often neglected in efforts to understand female development. They suggest that, rather than the myth of Oedipus, the one of Persephone is a better representation of a girl's situation within the triangular situation. Persephone's story is the story of a close mother-daughter relationship of separation and reunion, and of a way of resolving conflicts about entering the sexual world. Through this important myth characterizing the mother-daughter relationship, Holtzman and Kulish (1998) argue that the triangular situation for girls where the girl loves her father and competes with and wants to get rid of the mother does not fully recognize unique feminine characteristics. The female oedipal conflict differs from that of the male because the challenge of the girl is that she must compete

and identify with her primary caregiver. Thus, the girl has a dilemma of separation from her mother and being loyal to her.

1.1.8. Paula Bernstein

Bernstein (2004) pointed to the girls' struggle during the oedipal period to identify with the same person from who she needs to separate. Accordingly, the girl's identification in the oedipal period is blurred by the previous identifications with the mother, therefore the girls struggle more in the establishment of their autonomy compared to boys (Bernstein, 2004)

> These critical identifications threaten the autonomy and individuation achieved by girls whereas they serve to reinforce and consolidate individuation and autonomy for boys. Once again, at this later stage of development, girls are confronted with integrating characteristics of the earliest phases of life (Bernstein, 2004, p. 195).

Paula Bernstein (2004) is another critic of the evaluation of the mother-daughter on a separation-individuation basis and of the Freudian understanding of the ongoing attachment of the daughter to her mother as a "developmental arrest" (p.603). For Bernstein, the connection between the mother and the daughter is "always present". In this line, supporting a nonlinear view of development in contrast to Freud's view on the girl's "change of object", Bernstein (2004) argued that the connection between the mother and the daughter continues through the life-cyle. However, she also added that the connection and empathy with the mother is also accompanied with feelings of competition on the daughters' side. With each developmental step, through her life, the daughter competes with her mother but with stronger empathy for her (Bernstein, 2004).

1.2. MOTHER-DAUGHTER RELATIONSHIP IN ADULTHOOD

1.2.1. Mother-daughter relationship over the life-cycle

Baruch and Barnett (1983) and Fischer (1981) were pioneers in highlighting the absence of empirical research on the mother-daughter relationships in adulthood. Baruch and Barnett (1983) stressed the lack of such research that looks beyond when the mother becomes dependent in old age, as well as the lack of explorations of non-pathological mother-daughter relationships due to dominant focus on the pathological cases. Fischer (1981) stated that the mother-daughter relationship goes through various transitional periods starting with the daughter's adolescence through her marriage and motherhood and the mother's old age, all of them are described as a 'life cycle'. In the context of Turkey, Mottram and Hortaçsu (2005) examined the adult daughter-aging mother relationship by interviewing 30 pairs. They agree that the mother-daughter relationship is transformed by the daughter's marriage and motherhood, and add that the mother's widowhood and declining health constitute other important periods of the relationship.

Boyd (1989) made a comprehensive review of the existing literature on mother-daughter relationships covering a period of 15 years. The themes of mutuality, interdependence and connection came forward in his analysis, which confirmed that the mother-daughter relationship is not stable but affected by the transitional periods the mother and/or the daughter goes through. The daughter's marriage and motherhood are important milestones in this regard, resulting in greater empathy and closeness between the pair (Boyd, 1989).

Bocjzyk et al (2011) interviewed 24 daughters and their mothers to examine the current mother-daughter relationship and the perception of its past. Their findings show that both the mother and the adult daughter revisit and reevaluate the daughter's childhood and the childcare practices of the mother at that time. Moreover, the mother

daughter relationship transforms into an adult-adult bond with the adulthood of the daughter, in the absence of the asymmetries of adult-child bond related to physical and cognitive traits as well as to power dynamics.

Fingerman (1996) studied sources of tension in the aging mother-adult daughter relationship by interviewing forty-eight adult mother-adult daughter dyads. This study, which is unique with its focus on mothers who are still healthy, active and independent, introduces the concept of "developmental schism" to explain the sources of conflict caused by the developmental differences of parents and their children irrespective of the quality of their relationship. Fingerman (1996) referred to Blenkner's (1963) term of "filial maturity", which describes the change in the daughter's perception of her mother when she is in her thirties, "allowing adult children to perceive their parents as human beings with weaknesses and vulnerabilities" and appreciation of the parent's characteristics rather than considering them as something he/she is "doing to you" (p. 594).

1.2.2. Separation from the mother in adulthood

Studies of Miller (1995), Friedman (1980) and Bergman (1987) on the mother-daughter relationship relied on the separation-individuation theory as a framework.

Friedman's (1980) focus in looking at the mother-daughter relationship in adulthood was on the painful aspects of the daughter's separation from the mother. Yet despite the struggle of painful feelings of loss in the separation process, this period creates an opportunity to resolve the conflicts from a new perspective. Friedman (1980) also emphasized the importance of the mother's reaction to her daughter's separation which can potentially help or further complicate the daughter's struggle, and argues that women especially try to maintain

their bond with their mothers at times when they try to establish their autonomy.

Similar to Friedman, Bergman (1987) addressed the mother-daughter relationship by focusing on the issues of daughter's separation from the mother, and described their struggle to establish their family as a rapprochement crisis. According to his observations of adult female patients, most struggle to form long-lasting relationships with men irrespective of their successful carriers. He explains this pattern of the inability to separate as follows:

> What seems to happen is that the required step in individuation has to be sacrificed in order to protect the mother who, whether dead or alive, in the fantasy of the daughter, would perish if she established her own individual love life and family. In fantasy, these daughters believe that their mothers would be destroyed by their separateness and fear retaliation from the envied mother who is the only one who can have the phallus –the man- and the baby. (Bergman, 1987, p.389)

Miller (1995) emphasized the absence of the studies focusing on the various relationship *styles* of mothers and daughters, while there is vast amount of studies on the overall change of the relationship over the life-cycle. To fill this gap and to identify different interaction patterns over the life-cycle, she conducted a mixed-study incorporating qualitative and quantitate methods with a sample of 60 women between the age of 23 and 42. This study combined the present mother-daughter relationship with its past, similar to the intent of my thesis, and clustered the individuation style of the daughters under five typologies that can be useful in predicting the mother-daughter relationship over the life-cycle (Miller, 1995, p.386-390):

> 1. Avoiders: The relationship style of the daughters in this group is characterized by ambivalence. They constantly fluctuate between intense closeness with the mother and withdrawal. A similar fluctuation

is observable in their experience of their mothers either as intrusive or withholding. Overall, they are in close contact with their mothers but maintain a distance from them by directing their attention towards other sources such as their own family or career.

2. Caretakers: The experience of the mother-daughter relationship from the daughter's perspective is described as a role reversal in this group where the daughter is mothering the vulnerable or depressed mother. The weakness of the mother makes the daughter's identification with her difficult and fills the daughter with a desire to be her opposite. It also results in a constant effort by the daughter to prevent any discussion or conflict not to hurt the mother's feelings.

3. Repairers: Compared to the first two groups, the daughters in this group are able to integrate positive and negatives about their mothers as a whole. They are able to transform their relationship with their mother in the positive direction despite the conflicts they had in the past. Their boundaries with the mothers are clear and they feel more comfortable with their mothers than they are with others. The approval of the mother is crucial for them and they behave according to their mother's expectations.

4. Negotiators: The characteristic of the daughters in this group is their intense need for approval of the mother. They are able to evaluate their mothers in objective terms and tend to appreciate their mothers' accomplishments considering her life constraints. They manage to defend their position without fearing hurting the mother's feelings.

5. Good friends: This group is characterized by their independence from the mother. They do enjoy their mothers' approval, but they do not make their decisions according to the expectations of their mothers. The ability to make rational decisions is combined with the emotional support from the mother.

1.2.3. Connection and autonomy

As mentioned in the previous section, Bernstein (2004) criticized the evaluation of the mother-daughter on a separation-individuation basis. For Bernstein, the connection between the mother and the daughter is always present and goes along with the daughter's autonomy. With each milestone in her life, the daughter revisits her relationship with her mother:

> The process of psychic integration of the tie to the mother as an aspect of the self is never fully complete. The hallmark of adult female psychic organization lies in the daughter's capacity to permit continuing reverberations within herself of the representations of the tie to the mother in her ongoing intra-psychic dialogue with her mother (Dahl, 1995 cited in Bernstein 2004, p.622).

Notman (2006) discussed the mother-daughter relationship in adulthood from a similar perspective to Bernstein (2004) with a focus on the tension between keeping the connection with the mother while struggling with the need for the establishment of autonomy and self through the lifecycle. At the center of his analysis lies the body as the source of identification with the mother:

> Girls look to their mother's experience with menopause to predict their own menopause even though genetically they may be more like their fathers' families and the women in them. Later, the daughter looks to her mother to see how she will age, and even how she will die. The daughter can have a direct awareness and identification with her mother's body as having contained and produced her (Notman, 2006, p.146).

Bernstein (2004)'s argument about continuous identification with the mother over the life-cycle is supported in the study of Baruch and Barnett (1983) in the context of the mother's aging process. According to their results, the quality of the mother's aging creates a model for the daughter with the potential of creating an anxiety or a relief in foreseeing her own aging process.

1.2.4. Mother-daughter relationship after daughter's motherhood

In this subsection, I will specifically discuss the results of these studies on mother-daughter relationship in relation to motherhood. Fischer (1981) focused on the effects of the daughter's marriage and motherhood on the mother-daughter relationship by interviewing 43 daughters and their mothers in the United States. The results of Fischer's study showed that in the new situation where the daughter becomes a mother, the pair redefines their roles and involve more in each other's lives with increased contact and the daughters who become mothers tend to idealize their mother's mothering abilities, seeing them better in mothering than they themselves are (Fischer, 1981).

The results of the study of Mottram and Hortaçsu (2005) in relation to the daughter's motherhood demonstrated that it has changed the mother-daughter relationship in the following ways: Firstly, although mothers tend to support their daughters more when they become mothers, the daughters do not take this support for granted and feel grateful for having their mothers' support. Secondly, with motherhood, daughters develop a new perspective in the evaluation of their mothers' anxious and restrictive attitudes toward themselves that they did not quite understand previously and/or were annoyed with and develop empathy for their mothers (Mottram and Hortaçsu, 2005).

One important result of the study of Baruch and Barnett (1983) was that with the additional roles a daughter takes such as motherhood, her psychological well-being is less affected by the issues related to the

mother-daughter relationship: "Being a mother appears to be a 'reducer' of the significance of one's own mother, perhaps by permitting one to resolve outstanding issues in a new relationship" (p.605).

Sterk and Feikema (2012) studied daughters' transition to motherhood during pregnancy, after the delivery of the baby and throughout new motherhood through over 100 interviews with daughters. In their words (2012, p.1), "[u]ndergoing the process of becoming a mother changes a person. One very significant change occurs when a birthing mother engages in the complex, emotion-laden process of reconsidering what her own mother now means to her". Sterk and Feikema (2012, p.6-17) categorized mothers according to the daughters' understanding of their mothers' attitudes towards their own needs: (1) experience-sharers who motivate their daughters with helpful images for their daughters from their own experience; (2) information-givers who take an active role as a source of information about pregnancy and birth; (3) situated-helpers who help their daughters by assuming only physical tasks like household tasks; (4) ghostly-helpers who continue to influence their daughters even if they are not alive; and (5) incompetent mothers who disappointed with their inability to help their daughters.

Moss (2003) conducted an exploratory study on the perceived change of the daughters' perception of the mother-daughter relationship from childhood until the end of the post-partum after the birth of the daughter's child. Based on a sample of 54 participants within the age range of 22 and 41, this study revealed an overall improvement in the postpartum maternal relationship irrespective of the participants' description of the pre-pregnancy relationship. However, the relative improvement was more significant for the daughters who described a negative maternal relationship before the pregnancy (Moss, 2003).

1. 3. MOTHERHOOD

The previous section provided a review of the literature on the adult mother-daughter relationships and how it changed with the daughter's motherhood. This inevitably brings to the fore the question of how the motherhood is experienced by the daughter. Parker (1995) pointed that in psychoanalytic literature on the parent-infant relationship the exploration of the subjective experience of the mother is given less emphasis compared to the one given to the infant. From a similar perspective, Benjamin (1990) criticized the dominant view in psychoanalytic literature that perceives the parenthood from a narrow point of view that ignores the mother's subjectivity and focuses mainly on the basis of success or failure in providing the infant with good-enough mothering. Keeping the focus on the mother rather than on the infant, this section will review the literature on understanding the mother's subjective experience of motherhood that relies mainly on the work of Stern (1995;1998), Pines (1978) and Parker (1995). Recent qualitative research studies of Katterman (2013), Vissing (2016) and Grundman (2016) further shed light upon the lived experience of motherhood of millennial mothers. In line with my research questions, this section will provide a literature review on the subjectivity of the mother and on her reconstruction of the past.

1.3.1. Motherhood as a developmental phase

Bibring (1959) criticized the assumption that pregnancy is experienced only by neurotic women as difficult, and argued that it is, for all women, a developmental crisis period. In the same year, Benedek (1959) claimed that the motherhood is a developmental phase that contributes to the organization of personality that continues to develop after adolescence and the underlying assumption was that the motherhood is a period when the mother uses for development the same mechanisms that have their roots in the infancy. The normal development

is achieved if the mother is able to find hope and establish her motherliness via the evocation of her own preverbal memories in taking care of her infant. Benedek (1959) highlighted the mutuality between the infant and her mother and pointed that a mother achieves confidence in her motherliness with her gratifying infant, this is also perceived as an integration of her personality by the introjection of "good-thriving-infant = good-mother-self" (p.393).

Stern (1998) further argued that the motherhood is not only a life-span phase. It is a unique period in a woman's life that is temporary and has no precedent. He proposed the term 'motherhood constellation' to describe the unique and independent psychic organization of the mother. In this period, the oedipal configurations are temporarily put aside with the entrance to "a new psychic triad of mother-mother's mother-baby" (p.172). Stern organized the motherhood constellation around four themes in relation to the mother's tasks that she was not familiar with before:

> 1)The life-growth theme includes the mother's concerns about keeping the infant alive.
>
> 2)Primary relatedness theme refers to a mother's occupation/concerns about her ability to relate to the child by establishing, security and affection mainly in the first year of the infant.
>
> 3)The supporting matrix theme refers to the mother's need for physical but also emotional support of appreciation in order to fill the previous two tasks. While the support of the husband increases, Stern argues that the supportive matrix consists predominantly of female and maternal figures.
>
> 4)The identity reorganization theme refers to the reorganization of a mother's self-identity from "daughter to mother, from wife to parent, from careerist to matron, from one generation to the preceding one" (p.180).

1.3.2. The importance of support

As Stern (1998) highlighted through the supporting matrix theme in motherhood, a mother needs significant physical and emotional support in their adjustment to motherhood. For Stern (1998), the maternal figures have a key role in supporting the new mother. From a nurse who can fulfill this role right after the birth, to the later supporting network of friends or family members who have experience in mothering, all are sources of confirmation of the mother's need for being aided and appreciated. Stern (1998) argued that the mother's mother (grandmother) is the most important figure for the fulfillment of this role.

Similarly, Pines (1978, p.22) wrote about the importance of support for the new mother: "She may enjoy being cared for herself as if she were a baby" and this support should not be experienced by the mother as an impingement on her intimate relationship with the child (Pines, 1978). However, she also added that the existence of appropriate support does not guarantee the development of maternal love, when the inner problems of the mother are too great to be overcome by emotional support from others.

1.3.3. Psychological birth of a mother

Pines (1978) argued that the birth is the first physical confrontation of the mother with the baby's reality against its fantasy. Parker (1995) pointed to the discrepancy between the ideal of motherhood and its real experience. She argued that the culturally embedded image of an all-giving mother and dreamlike mother-infant union is problematic as it ignores that not all mothers feel that way right after the birth and leads those mothers to feelings of guilt (Parker, 1995). Similarly, Stern (1998b) emphasized the discrepancy between the expectations and the reality of motherhood:

For some women the real mother turns out to be the better one; for others this isn't so. All mothers, however, have to deal with the power of their expectations in comparison to reality, and how they apply these expectations to their husbands, the baby, and to themselves (p.118).

Furthermore, Stern (1998b) stressed that the birth of the baby does not correspond to the psychological aspect of being a mother. Instead it serves to prepare the mother to the following stages when she will start to feel like a mother. A similar point was made by Pines (1978) that the psychological emergence of motherhood is different from its physiology. Pines (1978) claimed that the length of this adjustment process varies for every mother from days to months, some mothers suffer from feelings of guilt for not initially experiencing maternal love, and the development of a realistic maternal love depends on the interaction with the baby.

It is meaningful here to refer to Benjamin's (1990) work that emphasized the mutual recognition between the mother and the baby in addition to the baby's attainment of self-agency through being recognized by the mother. The first crucial phase for the formation of intersubjectivity is around 3-4 months when the baby starts returning smile, while the second one is around 8-9 months when the baby figures out that there are separate minds who can share a similar state with him/her. Importantly, this intersubjective perspective is not infanto-centric, but also takes into account the processes through which a mother starts to recognize the child as her own child. Thus, the recognition of the mother's independent subjectivity, instead of classifying her responses as pathological or healthy, comes to the foreground in this understanding. Benjamin (1990) suggested that the self-psychology, despite focusing on the intersubjectivity, puts the responsibility on the parent to provide empathy and concern while neglecting the responsiveness of the child. Therefore, the mother is also dependent on

being recognized by her baby, and a less responsive baby can make a mother feel despair (Benjamin, 1990).

The importance of mutuality was also confirmed in Katterman's (2013) qualitative study with 18 mothers within the first year of motherhood based on semi-structured interviews. The results of her study revealed that the participants need an adjustment period to adapt to new motherhood that evolves into a better experience with time. In line with Benjamin's (1990) focus on mutual recognition, the participants' adaptation to motherhood depends on the level of responsiveness of the baby to the mother. A similar confirmation of the importance of mutuality can be found in the phenomenological research of Vissing (2016) exploring the transition to first-time motherhood by interviewing 12 mothers. One of the six themes that emerged from the interviews was "Being Recognized" that described the validation of the mothers' motherhood by receiving reciprocity from their babies (Vissing, 2016, p. 64).

1.3.4. Choice of childcare

Sayıl et al (2009) stated that studies conducted in US showed that higher income families prefer babysitters, family day care or day care centers while low-income families prefer a relative as a caregiver at home. In the context of Turkey, the income status of families that prefer a non-relative caregiver is higher compared to families that prefer a relative as a caretaker (Sayıl et al, 2009).

As women enter workforce more and the model of stay-at-home mothers diminish rapidly with changing societal conditions, the need for type of childcare arouse. The decision process on childcare for working mothers was researched by Sayıl et al (2009) by interviewing 200 mothers in Turkey. They argued that working mothers struggle from limited daycare choices and the absence of educated and qualified caregivers. Their results revealed that the mothers' attitudes towards

working and choosing type of childcare was influenced by the demographics of the mothers. Furthermore, the mothers who preferred maternal care have more flexibility in reaching their career goals. Among the working mothers, relative care (grandmother or other relative) precedes other options (except maternal care) in terms of quality. One result of the study was that the necessity of working for income, was not a moderating factor between the mothers' beliefs and their choice of childcare (Sayıl et al, 2009). This brings into mind that other factors must be influencing the decision process.

İnan and Dogan-Temur (2010) made a qualitative research study on the expectations of mothers from babysitters by interviewing 17 mothers in Kütahya, Turkey. Their results revealed that mothers give importance on hygiene, truthfulness, affection and protection when hiring a babysitter. The mothers' expectation from babysitters regarding the education of the infant was low, consequently the babysitter's education level was almost absent in the mother's criteria for choosing a babysitter according to the results of this study (İnan and Dogan-Temur, 2010).

1.3.5. Maternal ambivalence and maternal resilience

Parker (1995) drew attention to the psychoanalytic literature's emphasis on the importance of the attainment of ambivalence for the infant. She argued that equally important is the attainment of maternal ambivalence, that is, the mother's integration of feelings of both love and hate towards the infant. She argued that for the mother, the integration of those feelings is similar to the infant's transition from the paranoid-schizoid position into the depressive position as theorized by Melanie Klein.

Criticizing the psychoanalytic focus on the resilience of the child from a similar perspective, Baraitser and Noack (2007) argued that equally important is the maternal resilience which helps a mother to

accept her ambivalent feelings towards herself as a mother and towards her children. Based on a study of a coordinated analytic group for two years, they opposed categorizing a mother who feels stuck by being not able to sooth a fussy baby as a pathological, and proposed to understand her as "an ordinary devoted mother" (p.180). They argued that not only the containment of the baby's hostile feelings, also the recognition of the mother's own hostile feelings should be underlined (Baraitser and Noack (2007).

1. 4. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PAST

As cited in Parker (1995, p.75), Freud (1933) stated: "Under the influence of a woman's becoming a mother herself; an identification with her own mother may be revived, against which she had striven up till the time of her marriage". Several scholars studied the revival of the mother's past with pregnancy and childbirth more in detail to explore the experience and the remembering context of the mother and its effect on the experience of the mother's relationship with her child and her own mother (Benedek, 1959; Balsam, 2000; Charles et al, 2006; Klockars & Sirola, 2001, Stern, 1995; Stern, 1998). The process of the revival of the past starts with pregnancy for the mother.

Balsam (2000) made a description of the relation between the remembering process and the present experience:

As H. Loewald (1960) theorized, we encounter the "ghosts" of our past, who seek an opportunity to become embodied in life once more. It is inevitable that a woman will internally encounter as "remembered present" (to borrow a term from cognitive science) the intimate actions and attitudes of her primary caretakers as they have imprinted themselves within her (p.482-483).

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1.4.1. The motherhood constellation

Stern (1998) suggested that starting with pregnancy, an intrapsychic process is triggered in the mother which differs from the everyday concerns of the new mother. An important element of this process is the establishment of a new triad of mother-child-mother's mother that occupies the mother's mind and requires reflection on her own past. This new triad, labeled as "the motherhood trilogy" is different from the previous triads, and also from the other 'new' triad of the father-mother-child. While the motherhood trilogy is not visible to others, father-mother-child triad is visible to the outside world. Additionally, while the father-mother-child is a replacement of the oedipal triad where the mother was in the position of the child, the motherhood trilogy has no precedent in any developmental phase of the mother except childhood (Stern, 1998).

The motherhood constellation entails three discourses (Stern (1998, p.172): "The mother's discourse with her own mother, especially with her own mother-as-mother-to-her-as-a-child; her discourse with herself, especially with herself-as-mother; and her discourse with her baby." Now in the position of the mother, her childhood memories are evoked, when she was in the position of the child. The next section will provide a review of the literature on how the reevaluation of her past takes place in the mother's inner world.

Stern (1998, p.68-69) classified mothers according to the quality of how they revisit their own past and their ability to make a connection between the way they were being mothered in the past and their mothering today in three groups according to three categories of their attachment patterns:

1)Dismissing attachment pattern: The mothers who follow this pattern are not much absorbed by the pregnancy and they stay at a distance from their own past and making no connection between their

past and today, in parallel with their distance stance towards pregnancy with the absence of any intense emotional involvement with it.

2)Enmeshed attachment pattern: This group of mothers are strongly attached to their mothers and are expected to form a similar attachment to their babies, the inability to observe what is happening from a distance prevents the mother from reflecting on their experience.

3)Autonomous attachment pattern: The third group consists of mothers who are able to maintain their autonomous position and are able not to mix the revival of her past experiences with her current experience with her infant.

1.4.2. Remembering the past

Before discussing the possible outcome of a reevaluation of the past, it is meaningful to explore how the process of remembering the past takes place on the mother's side. Stern (1998) and Balsam (2000) contributed to the understanding of the process of remembering at the present by highlighting the relation between the present experience and the recollection of the memories of the past. For that purpose, Stern (1998) summarized the results of new studies that explore the process of remembering and emphasized that what one remembers depends on the particular context at that moment with a specific mind and emotional state, therefore what is remembered cannot be the same.

Stern (1998) stated that the remembering process is triggered by the everyday interactions with the baby that evokes the retrieval of the mother's past. Additionally, he stressed that this process should not be seen as a regression but a beneficial tool for the reorganization of the mother to her coexisting roles of being a mother and a daughter.

Similarly, Charles et al (2001) stressed the importance of reflection on the past highlighting the importance of a working through of the past conflicts to prevent the intergenerational transmission of those

conflicts through a study of the daughters' separation from their mothers in early adulthood. Despite the fact that their study is not limited to the pregnancy or childbirth, it explores the relation between the remembering of the past and current mother-daughter relationship. This study is unique in exploring the link between the past and present by not only focusing on the content of the mothers' memories of the past, but also on the coherence of the mothers' memories with the past. In summary, it was hypothesized the coherence of the memories and the working through of those memories matter more than the content of what actually happened in the past. The result of the study showed that the incoherence of the memories makes mothers ignore the effect of the past on the present, but if the mother is "too" aware of negative memories of separation with coherence, there is the risk that these mothers tend to ignore any possibility of the repetition of the past (Charles et al, 2001). As cited in Charles et al (2001), Bretherton (1991) explained the incoherence of the memories with the concept of a "defensive exclusion" where only the idealized good parent is kept by splitting the "bad parent" (p.708). The exclusion is not enough to prevent the reenactment of the 'bad parent' in the present, but because it is an unconscious process and having no access to the awareness, the conflicts of the past remain unresolved without any possibility to integrate them in the present.

Bocjzyk et al (2011) interviewed 24 daughters and their mothers where they aimed to examine both the history of the mother-daughter relationship and current relationship. While the results of this study were discussed in mother-daughter relationship section, one of their findings was that the majority of mothers and daughters reevaluate their past relationship in light of their present ties. This finding again confirms that the reconstruction of the past in the present shapes current mother-daughter relationship rather than the past itself.

1.4.3. Double-Identification with the child and with own mother

Benedek (1959) explored how the remembering of the past is triggered with the experience with the infant. Moreover, he highlighted that the internal process of the mother as an "intra-psychic reconciliation". The infant can evoke both positive and negative feelings in the mother. While the gratification of the infant's need increases the mother's confidence, conversely the frustration of the child results in the frustration and the regression of the mother. Both outcomes are caused by the revival of the mother's preverbal memories in the oral-dependent phase of her development. What makes the mother's situation more complex is that the mother is identifying both with the infant and her own mother – she is the source of the frustration by identifying with her infant but at the same time she becomes the "bad, frustrated" mother finding herself in the position of her own mother in the past. The distinction between these two positions are described on the transition of the mother from "the receiving part of the symbiotic unit" to "the active, giving part of the symbiosis" and as "the mobilization of the ambivalent core of the mother's personality" (p.397). In some situations, if these two positions cannot be integrated, the mother cannot establish her motherliness.

Similar to Benedek, Charles (2006) and Pines (1978) indicated the identification of the mother with her child and her own mother as a source of an intrapsychic transformation. Charles (2006) described two different positions of identifying with the infant and the mother's mother as "the internal representations of what it means to be a child in relation to a mother and what it means to be a mother in relation to a child" (p.252). Pines (1978) highlighted a similar shift between the adult status and emphasizing with the infant to understand its needs, this shift results in the mother's struggle between reminding herself her adult status to be able meet the infant's needs while in constant effort for empathy to understand the infant's needs. On top of that, the mother has to cope with the revival of her own childhood memories.

1.4.4. The Effect of The Past on The Present

The remembering of the past at the present and the reevaluation of the past from today's perspective has the potential to affect the mother's relationship in two dimensions: with her child and with her own mother. The consequences of the mother's reflection on her past can be an intrapsychic process resulting in a different understanding of the experience of the mother at the present as suggested by Stern (1998) but also has the potential to lead to a transformation interpersonally, both with her child and her mother.

1.4.4.5. The effect on the mother-child relationship

The importance of the coherence of the mother's memories of her own childhood was similarly stressed in Stern's (1998) work that focused on the motherhood experience and the importance of the understanding of the past regarding the mother-child relationship at the present:

> Clearly, the kind of mother you will be is not simply determined by what happened in the past. It also has a great deal to do with the work you have done on understanding that past. Understanding and reorganizing your past into a coherent autobiographical story may at times be more important than whether what actually happened historically was good or bad (p.221).

Stern argued that the more the mother is inclined to deny the effect of her past on the present, the more is the likelihood of the repetition of the past today. The results of Charles et al (2001) are in line with Stern's emphasis on the importance of the mother's reflection on her past which gives her the opportunity not to repeat in the present day what happened in her childhood. As cited in Parker (1995), Bettelheim was optimistic on the possibility of creating a positive experience with the child at the present despite the negative experiences of the mother's childhood: "Our memories of our own childhood will make us patient and understanding;

and as we realize that despite our child's obstinacy he suffers as we suffered then, our love for our child, in whom we recognize so much of our old selves, will, all on its own, return" (p.39). Charles et al (2001) emphasize hope and the possibility of forming a positive experience with the child at the present despite the disappointments of the mother's childhood. The possible transforming aspect of the working through of "the idea of the relationship" is about enabling the mother to offer a new, possible outcome in the present in contrast to the desperation of the childhood (Charles, 2006, p.252).

The awareness and understanding of the disappointments of her own childhood prevents the mother from repeating the past. However if she idealizes her motherhood, she can interfere with her child's development in another form as described in Sirola and Klockars (2001). Her disappointment in childhood can make a mother ignore the actual needs of her child, rather it turns into a compensation of her own deficit rooted in her childhood.

Akhtar (2016) argues that it is possible to escape the negative experiences of the past by appropriate support and encouragement through "identification with positive aspects of her own mother and dis-identification with negative aspects" (p.66). However, Pines (1978) stated that for some mothers, despite their effort to take care of the child perfectly and the support they receive from others, it is difficult to develop maternal love for the child if her intrapsychic problems are too intense to overcome by pure experience of motherhood.

1.4.4.6. The effect on the mother's perception of her own mother

Stern (1998) argued that the understanding the mother-daughter relationship from a new stand point is more important compared to changing the mother-daughter relationship: "A woman who is able to

reconstruct the story of her relationship with her mother with openness and perspective will have set herself free of the past, to a large extent" (p.217).

To explore the mother's experience more in depth and the relation to their own mothers, Balsam (2000) described the experience of pregnant and new mothers who were in analysis in this period with a special focus on the internalization of mothers by the new mother/pregnant daughters. Some patients bring their babies into the room, expecting admiration from the analyst as a result of "good grandmother transference", a term suggested by Stern (1998) (Balsam (2000). The most striking observation by the analyst is the shift of the patient's description of her mother, from more limited previous descriptions to more in depth elaboration in the present. Balsam (2000) states:

> The "cold" remembered mother of the patient's infancy may be transformed into what sounds like a confused and befuddled new grandmother, awkward with the baby. This observation is a discovery for the patient, and may even call into question the simplicity of her former notion of "cold". "A "warm" sensible-sounding mother may became entranced by the new baby besotted, and unable to separate from daughter and baby, making life difficult for the young mother who may not want to set boundaries or hurt her feelings […] Another "warm" mother may continue her supportive behavior, easily encompassing both her daughter and grandchild; the impact of the new experience stirs up new variants of old moments for further transformations. (p. 471-472).

Charles (2006) made a similar conclusion that for the mother the appreciation of her own mother's deficiencies is a crucial step in the discovery of her 'self'. As cited in Charles (2006), Klein (1946) theorized

the transition from the paranoid-schizoid position to the depressive position which corresponds to the persecution of the unmet needs to the acceptance of the limitations of the other to meet his needs. Charles (2006) made a connection with this process of the infant to the new mother's change of her own mother's perception as a whole person with limitations rather than the simple definitions of good or bad.

Stern focused on the revaluation of the past as a predominantly intrapsychic process while Balsam (2000) and Pines (1978) focused on the positive consequences of the revival of the internalization of own mother at the present with overall improvement in understanding her own mother and their mother-daughter relationship. The revival of the internalization of the mother is re-externalized in the present and it offers for the mother and the daughter to form a new closeness with each other. Pines (1978, p. 21) stated: "The early childhood ambivalence towards her own mother is reawakened, but a more mature understanding of the realities of life may help the pregnant woman to forgive her mother's faults and make a friend of her". Furthermore, Balsam (2000) emphasized that the clinical examples do not serve to make an explanation of the mother's experience on simple causal relationship, and that instead the main aim is to enable a discussion of the psychological power of internalization.

METHOD

2.1 PRIMARY INVESTIGATOR

As a 35 years old woman, I am married for 8 years and have two sons who are 5 and 7 years old. I had lost my mother unexpectedly shortly before I got married. Before she passed away, I was eager to have a child and was also dreaming of how my mother would enjoy having a grandchild. At that time as a working woman, I was also thinking about possible childcare arrangements, and was planning to hire a babysitter under the supervision of my mother when I was at work. After losing my mother, all of my plans, except having a child, fell through. But the question of how my relationship with my mother would be affected when I become a mother remained with me, and inspired me to write this thesis by exploring other mothers' experiences about it. The whole process of conducting this research evoked many feelings in me which were sometimes overwhelming. I realized once again how much I was in need of her support during my transition to motherhood. But at the same time, this research also gave me the opportunity to reevaluate our relationship and realize her influence on the establishment of my motherhood identity even she is not alive. This study also had an effect on my professional practice as a therapist and will continue to do so in the future, as through my research, I gained a deeper understanding of my female clients and the importance and dynamics of mother-daughter relationships as well as the experience of motherhood from a new perspective.

2.2. PARTICIPANTS

Eleven mothers whose children are taken care by grandmothers participated in the study. All mothers had full-time white-collar jobs and their ages ranged from 30-38. Only mothers whose children were 3 years old or less were invited to participate. The reason for this limitation was to make sure that the participants are all in early phase of motherhood.

To recruit the participants, snowball method was used, and the participants were reached via the acquaintances of the researcher.

Ayla: Ayla is 34 year old, her son is 3 and her mother is 69. She takes her son every day to the grandmother's house. Ayla was very open to express herself. In the past, her main issue with her mother was that they could not spend time together and she thinks this is still the case. Therefore now she tries to spend a lot of time with her child. While describing her character as opposite to her mothers', with motherhood she became more acceptive to the grandmother's characteristics that she perceived as negative previously. Despite having the relief of returning work, she believes that a mother should raise her child by herself.

Ayşe: Ayşe is 34 year old, her daughter is 3 and her mother is 50. She was very cooperative to share her experience and seemed to be excited about it. Using her gestures a lot, she did not shy from expressing her emotions. Ayşe shares her house with the grandmother, while her husband is most of the time away from home due to his work. The grandmother's presence at home is experienced by Ayşe as warmth, however she also had concerns. Her main concern was the grandmother's passive character and its potential effects on her daughter. Ayşe also feels that her mother became like a second child, which overwhelms her. At the end of the interview, she was emotional and shared that she realized many aspects of her experience which she was not aware of.

Burcu: Burcu is 36 year old, her son is 1 and her mother is 59. Her husband and her mother do not get along well, and she feels disappointed for not getting support from either of them. Having a child was a turning point in her mother-daughter relationship. Burcu shared that she does readings on child psychology and that these also triggered a critical reevaluation of her past. Her interest in psychology was also clear in her frequent use of psychology terminology during the interview. She emphasized a lot on what she would do different from her mother

compared to how she remembers her mother and her main focus was on her determination about not repeating the grandmother's past behavior towards her on her child today.

Nazlı: Nazlı is 34 year old, her son is 1 and her mother is 66. She takes her son to the grandmother's house every day. In her case, the grandfather's involvement is also very helpful as he takes care of the child when the grandmother needs socializing. She experiences their involvement positively without a struggle over boundaries. With motherhood, her conflicted relationship with her mother in the past seems to have been transformed into a more positive one. During the interview she became often emotional.

Pelin: Pelin is 38 year old, her daughter is 8 months and her mother is 56. In her case, the grandmother lives in another city but came for childcare to Istanbul to live with Pelin's family. Pelin was also raised by her grandmother and experiences her mother's involvement in childcare very positively. Her main concern is the feeling of limiting the grandmother's social life, and she is afraid that the grandmother may give up taking care of her child at some point. She described having a very close relationship with the grandmother while respecting each other's boundaries.

Selin: Selin 36 year old, her son is 7 months and her mother is 56. She is an ambitious woman working long hours. She has strong identification with her mother who was similarly a successful business woman. She experiences the grandmother's involvement very positively as she was also raised by her grandmother. The expression of her emotions was limited with more emphasis on an idealized continuing mother-daughter relationship that involves the closeness of a friend along the respect of a mother-daughter relationship.

Sevda: Sevda is 33 year old, her son is 2 and her mother 55. The grandmother came from another city to take care of her son and goes to her own house on the weekends. Her main difficulty is not having time

for herself as she either spends time with her child or with the grandmother. Every day she feels the guilt of going to work and leaving her son, and when she is with him, she is overwhelmed by not being able to separate from him.

Sıla: Sıla is 33 year old, her son is 3 and her mother is 66. The grandmother takes care of her child in her own house. At the beginning of the interview she refrained from expressing her feelings but with prompting questions she opened herself more. Her main concern about the childcare arrangement is the overprotection of her child by the grandmother in contrast to her desire to encourage autonomy. On that front she does not feel understood by the grandmother and complained mainly about her reluctance to recognize her identity as the mother of her child.

Simge: Simge is 36 year old, her daughter is 2 and her mother is 68. She had lost her father, and her mother comes to their house every day. Starting from the first contact over the phone, Simge was very eager to offer help for the study. She had a difficult post-partum period with difficulties in adjusting to motherhood, which resulted in the grandmother's fulfilling most of the childcare responsibilities. Her main concern is the grandmother's rigidity when she thinks she is right. Her perception of her relationship with her mother rests upon her feelings of inability to express herself. Unlike other participants, the question of how she would experience this period when she had a babysitter came up often during the interview.

Tuğçe: Tuğçe is 30 year old, her son is 1 and her mother is 50. The grandmother comes every day via a long commute to Tuğçe's house. Tuğçe's main concern is that the grandmother would give up as she started to complain about the long commute. From her childhood memories, the scarcity of the financial resources of her family came up often. She does not want her son to experience the difficulties she had and puts much effort to offer him a good education. Tuğçe believes that

her motherhood is very different from hers as Tuğçe expresses her love towards her child by physically by hugging or kissing him. She wished her mother loved her similarly in her childhood.

Zeynep: Zeynep is 30 year old, her daughter is 1 and her mother is 50. The grandmother comes to her house every day. She described the grandmother as a dominant character who was not capable of helping her in childcare in the post-partum period. But the grandmother performed much better than her expectations. She made many connections with her childhood. Despite having a conflicted relationship in the past, she seemed to have established a motherhood identity by identifying with positive aspects of the grandmother's motherhood.

2.3. MATERIALS AND PROCEDURE

To explore other mothers' experiences in depth, this study adopted a qualitative research methodology. After getting the ethics approval of Istanbul Bilgi University, I conducted semi-structured interviews with the participants who were asked about their experiences of being a mother and of having the grandmother as daily caretaker of their child. At the start of the interview, all participants were informed about the aims and methodology of the study and their rights to withdraw at any point during the interview if they would like to. They were also given opportunity to ask questions about the research and their participation. The interviews lasted around 1 hour and were audiotaped upon consent of participants. I transcribed each interview verbatim and replaced the real names of participants with pseudonyms. Transcripts were later sorted on MAXQDA program for further analysis.

2.4. DATA ANALYSIS

Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) was used to explore in detail mothers' experiences. The main goal of IPA is to understand the meaning, events, and states for the people (Smith &

Osborn, 2003). The goal of this study is to understand the mother's personal perception and subjective experience rather than to produce objective statements. Since the meaning is essential, it was necessary to explore the transcripts in depth. For this aim, the transcripts were read several times by the researcher and each sentence was coded in short statements reflecting. At the end of the coding process of each transcript, the analysis of coded statements were also made by identifying similarities and diversities among the accounts of the participant mothers. Clustering the coded statements according to their meanings following a chronological order lead to the emergence of the themes and subthemes. The emerging themes were discussed with the supervisor.

2.5 NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

As my thesis focuses on the experiences of new mothers in a specific childcare arrangement, my thesis deploys the term 'mother' generally to refer to my research participants (the daughters) and 'grandmother' to refer to their mothers who take on the responsibility of the child's daily care and supervision. These clearly are terms that establish a person's status vis-à-vis the child who is at the center of the shifting configurations my study looks at. My preference to use 'father' and 'grandfather' follows the same line of reasoning. The next chapter on literature review, however, are exceptions to this general rule adopted, as they rely on the terminology of the studies conducted on the mother and daughter relationship.

RESULTS

While the overall experience of the grandmother's involvement is experienced positively, initially most of the mothers were not make a clear statement about how their relationship with the grandmother changed. An explanation for it could be that with the child at the center, the mothers do not have much opportunity and energy to reflect on the mother-grandmother relationship. However, as the interviews progressed and as they thought more about their own past, the changing dynamics of their perception of the mother-grandmother relationship became more visible. At the end of the interviews, some of the mothers shared as a feedback that the interviews made them think about the mother-grandmother relationship and realized about the changing dynamics they were not aware of.

My first research question was about the experience of motherhood when the grandmother is the daily caretaker of the child. Unpacking this question required an exploration of the mother's subjective experience of motherhood from the pregnancy onward and the role of the grandmother in this process as a basis for further understanding of the former. Related results were presented under "Becoming a mother" and "Grandmother's involvement in childcare" themes. These two themes laid the ground for a thorough exploration of the next two research questions about the changing dynamics of the mother-daughter relationship and the mother's reevaluation of her own past. While the themes of "Redefining roles in multiple triadic relationships" (with the inclusion of fathers and the grandfathers) and "Compromise of conflictual feelings" emerged in relation to the second research question, the third research question was explored under the theme of "Connecting past, present and future" which reflect the mothers' journey in finding their way in motherhood while making a

reevaluation of their own past and imagining the future of their children accordingly.

3.1. BECOMING A MOTHER

The need to understand the mothers' subjective experience when the grandmother is the caretaker necessitates an understanding of her subjective experience of motherhood. The motherhood is described by the participant mothers in very positive terms: "too much love", "the motherhood is a crazy thing", "being a mother is a very beautiful feeling", "it's miraculous". However, most mothers add that motherhood is also very challenging for them and they elaborate about those difficulties more in detail.

The feeling of being a mother did not automatically come with the birth for most mothers. They went through different stages where they actually felt that they gradually became a mother. First couple of months after the childbirth is experienced by all mothers as a difficult period filled with concerns about understanding their newly born baby's needs, anxieties about its well-being and care, and feelings of guilt for not feeling like a mother. Most of them felt the real joy of being a mother only later, when the child started to interact with them and recognize them as the mother. Most participants weigh the advantages and disadvantages of being a working mother, however they arrive at the conclusion that they could not be stay-home mothers.

3.1.1 Disparity between the expectations and the experience

The participants' responses revealed that there is a discrepancy between the expectations about motherhood and the experience of it. While some participants did not imagine anything about the motherhood, some of them expected it to be more negative while some of them more positive. Ayla stated that she had put emphasis only on the difficulties of having a child while she never had considered the positive side.

"Actually I did not want to have a child because I feared that my freedom would be restricted, that the child would finish my life. I never thought of the beautiful side of it and the love aspect. You only understand this after you become a mother." (Ayla).

Conversely, Ayşe had expected a dream-like motherhood which turned out to be the opposite.

"The motherhood is very different from what I had expected. I was thinking about the motherhood that I will put my baby into the car and bring it to a cafe and she would sleep if I give her the pacifier or the bottle. Now it turned out that is impossible. Until she got 1 year old, she started to cry as soon as I put her into her car seat." (Ayşe)

Some participants' perception of themselves as mothers also differed from their expectations before the birth. Three mothers thought that they have become the opposite of what they predicted about themselves.

"I was thinking I would be more obsessed with hygiene. Everybody thought I would be like that but now I am more relaxed. My husband had doubts whether I would manage to wake up for the baby at night because I sleep very deeply. I was also scared but now it is the opposite. You get used to it. Now it is ok if I sleep for three hours. But before having my child, I was thinking: How am I going to wake up at night?" (Zeynep)

Ayşe and Simge who used to think of themselves as "motherly" characters previously found it difficult to adapt to the new situation:

"Everybody knows that I love kids. Previously I was thinking I could have three kids in my age. But it appears easier by looking at other's having children then having your child" (Ayşe)

Simge summarized her disappointment in the first months after she gave birth to her baby by making a comparison with her husband.

"In the first months, my husband has become a very good father but I could not become a good mother. I used to know myself as a motherly character, I was thinking that my husband was the opposite, that there must be something wrong with it." (Simge)

3.1.2 Guilt in the post-partum period: "Am I a good mother?"

Another divergence the mothers experienced considered the gap between their feelings in the postpartum period and the feelings that are commonly associated with motherhood. They evaluate their own feelings of motherhood against the image of an idealized mother who experiences motherhood with full excitement from the pregnancy onwards. Despite this was a common discrepancy evident in most participants' accounts, each thought that the absence of their 'motherly' feelings was exceptional. Moreover, some mothers also found themselves struggling with the question of how to be a good mother.

"I was not one of the romantic mothers who are very excited to have the baby in her stomach, there are mothers who write on the forums "I found a piece of me". I did not feel like that at all" (Nazlı)

Sıla went through a similar questioning about not having sacred feelings after the birth.

"I did not have the feeling of being a mother as soon as I had my child. In the first month, if someone would take my baby away, I could say OK I did not have that sudden, sacred feeling of being a mother as soon as the baby falls into your uterus." (Sıla)

For Nazlı, not feeling like a mother even made her regret having a child and retrospectively she realized that was depressed:

"First three months were very difficult for me. I even said at that time "Having a child was actually not a good idea for me, I will never ever have the second child. Everybody should think twice before having the child". As I look back, I realize that I was depressed. Actually it was not a depression but I did not have that "motherly" feeling." (Nazlı)

On top of having no 'motherly' feelings, some mothers experience constant doubt and anxiety about being a *good* mother.

"I became a mother the day he was born, but not because he is born. As soon as I gave birth, I felt like I need to feed him, nurse him, to take care him well, I should not sleep at all and check all the time if he breathes. All of a sudden, I became a very different person, and this challenged me a lot… Actually, that period was very stressful for me. I was trying to be a good mother." (Ayla)

For some mothers, breastfeeding the baby is the symbol of being a good mother. The inability to breastfeed triggers the feelings of inadequacy.

"Every doctor appointment was like an exam for me as he told my baby's weight is below the average. I was crying on the way thinking about the question, am I not a good mother?" (Zeynep)

"The post-partum period was difficult for me. I had the fear of not being able to breastfeed, initially my milk was not enough for my baby, and the first couple of days I felt very bad." (Tuğçe)

3.1.3 Role of the grandmother in the post-partum period

Sharing childcare responsibilities with the grandmother in the post-postpartum period provides a significant source of support in mother's attunement to the new phrase of their lives. For some mothers, the fulfillment of their practical needs come to the fore, such as doing housework or relying on the grandmother's experience in child care. For

some mothers the grandmother also has a central role in fulfilling an emotional need. While some mothers did get the support they need from their mothers for which they feel grateful, some others experienced disappointment about not getting this support.

Zeynep benefitted from the grandmother's emotional support before the birth. She had lost a baby in a previous pregnancy and the grandmother helped her to cope with the loss and encouraged her to be hopeful about her new pregnancy.

"In my previous pregnancy I lost my child one week before the birth. That was a real trauma for me and my mother stood by my side. And when I got pregnant again, I did not want it and was afraid of experiencing a loss again. At that time my mother always motivated me to think positively." (Zeynep)

For Sevda, the grandmother was a source of comfort to adapt to the unfamiliarity of motherhood.

"When I gave birth, I did not know how to nurse my baby. The nurses were there but I wanted my mother to help me as if she is the only person who has to support me on every aspect like changing diapers, etc. All the time I relied on her about how to do things. I really needed her, and she was always there for me to support me on everything that I had no idea about." (Sevda)

Sıla described the grandmother's support in other areas such as housework that are not directly related to the childcare.

"After the birth my mother stayed with us for one month. I had a cesarean section and in that period she offered unlimited support to us by preparing food and hosting the guests." (Sıla)

Ayla expected from the grandmother more than fulfilling her practical needs such as preparing food, but she was disappointed when

her expectations were not met. Ayla's complaint about her mother's reluctance to spend time with her is rooted in the past. Since her childhood, she suffered from not spending enough time with her mother.

"Until I started to work, the only support my mother gave me was preparing food for us. Normally the mothers stay with their daughters for the first forty days, but my mother only stayed for a couple of hours every day and then went home. I still invite my mother just for being together, yet she is not coming." (Ayla)

Burcu was disappointed both with the grandmother and the father because of their severe conflicts in her post-partum period when she was so desperate for help with her child's health problems.

"I was really desperate at that time. For the first time in my life, I wanted something from my mother and my husband, and they could not offer it. My son had hepatitis which lasted long. We (me and my son) really needed care but they did not manage to offer sincere support. Because they were having their own arguments, and there was always discomfort at home." (Burcu)

For Zeynep, the absence of support of the grandmother was not a choice but the result of the grandmother's inability to sooth her baby in the post-partum period:

"I started to think that my mother will not be able to take care of my child when I was on maternity leave. She was coming and I was going outside to the supermarket, and she was calling me all the time saying: 'Where are you? The baby is restless I cannot stand it, come as soon as possible." (Zeynep)

For some mothers, the level of support is also important where too much support results in conflicted feelings or make the mother's

adjustment to her motherhood difficult. This aspect will be elaborated under the theme of "Compromise of conflictual feelings".

3.1.4. Joy of mutuality

The first couple of months after the childbirth is filled with the tasks and related anxieties about the child with additional feelings of inadequacy on the mothers' side. However, most of the participants describe the beginning of the responses of the baby like smiling, recognizing the mother or first voices as a turning point where they start to enjoy the motherhood and feel that they became a mother. This excitement was also observable in the participants' facial expressions and body language, as they seemed more alive and happy when talking about such interactions. The statements of four participants below convey how being a mother evolved to a joyful experience from just completing tasks, through mutual interaction with the baby.

For Simge and Burcu, the joy is related to the relief from constant effort to understand the child's needs when the child starts to convey her/his needs.

"Initially I had a passive role as a mother but later as my communication with my daughter started to improve, after I started to understand her and after I got more calm and she started to convey her needs, our relation became more…I guess it was around in the eighth month when I really started more to feel like a mother." (Simge)

"The motherhood is very difficult initially, you always question if you everything right, is he hungry or not? You constantly make a guess about someone's needs who cannot talk. But it became easier when he started to express his needs." (Burcu)

For Sıla and Nazlı, the joy of motherhood came along communicating with the child.

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"But after some time, as our communication started, for example as he starts to cuddle, it really was crazy. After I gave birth it was only about nursing and changing his diapers when it got dirty, it was more like only a responsibility." (Sıla)

"As he starts to respond to you, around sixth month when he makes voices 'agu agu', or when you start to play with him and the communication starts, you pass to a very different level. At that point it really gave me pleasure to be with him. The first three months were like only completing a task, I need to do everything and everything should be intact. But now I do things because I enjoy it or because he wants it." (Nazlı)

Sevda relates the responsiveness of her child with the attachment to her child.

"I did not feel like a mother when I was pregnant or when I gave birth, I think motherhood is something you feel as you experience more. All of a sudden you have your child in your arms, initially you feel like 'I need to feed him'. But with time, as my attachment to her developed and she started responding to me, I felt like a mother." (Sevda)

Simge described a similar feeling of joy when her baby started to respond to her differently than he responds to others.

"As he started to respond differently to me and saw his love I felt like a mother, this must be around after he got one year old, because initially it does not matter if you take care of him or someone else." (Simge)

3.1.5. Being a working mother

Returning to work at the end of the maternity leave is accompanied for some mothers by various challenges and lots of worries. Concerns arose on the daily care of the child, missing the first milestones in their children's lives or whether their relationship with the child will

be affected negatively due to the decreasing time they spend together. For some mothers this struggle was so intense that they considered leaving work. For some others, on the other hand, returning to work was a relief after maternity leave. For mothers whose mothers used to work and had a successful career, the adjustment to work went more smoothly without any hesitation to quit their jobs. The adjustment period ends when the initial months are over and their interaction with their children becomes stronger. They try to spend quality time when they get home in the evenings. Despite going through many worries and conflictual feelings, most of the mothers stressed that they could not have stayed at home with the child and working is better for their well-being. Only Ayla regrets that she could not raise her child by herself:

> "The first day when I got back to work again was very difficult. Actually the last two weeks before I started was very difficult. Every day I was thinking of quitting my job as I thought I was not ready to leave my child at home. I had questions about how the new arrangement will be. But somehow it came out that it is ok, maybe my mother is not doing it like I do, but I am sure she does her best." (Burcu)

Zeynep felt sad when her child did not show attention to her when she got home from work but this has changed over time:

> "Initially my child ignored me, she did not look at me when I got home. I was expecting her to come to me, and she is rather with her grandmother and does not care if I came home or not. I was breastfeeding at that time, I was expecting her to cling to my breast with hunger but she did not suck it at all. I was very sad and my breast milk lessened. But after a while, there was a turning point, and my mother and my daughter were waiting at the door for me to come and to kiss and hug me when I arrive." (Zeynep)

Selin and Pelin stated that being the daughter of a working mother and being taken care by the grandmother eased their adaptation to work.

Nazlı compensates for the time lost during the day when she gets home.

"There is no rupture in our relationship with my son because we spend 3-4 hours together when I get home. Therefore he goes to bed a little late around 10-11pm." (Nazlı)

"I feel tense if I take care of my son whole day. But when I get home from work, I am more patient as I did not see him whole day. I know that spending quality time is important." (Tuğçe)

Conversely, Ayla is against the notion of quality time which is advised to working mothers. This discrepancy from other participants seem to be affected by her past childhood memories, becuse she complained about not being able to enjoy spending time with her mother by going out in her childhood.

"Our pedagogue told us that spending quality time is important. OK, she is right but if you are a working mother you always do things with your child within a limited time. I want to wake up with my child in the morning and enjoy it. We would not need to do anything and we would just enjoy it. You cannot do anything spontaneously. You do reading and feeding, all the cliché things, but you cannot take your child to your neighbor. Working mothers always have limited time even to go to supermarket." (Ayla)

Despite all the drawbacks, most mothers arrive at the conclusion that working is best for them and staying with the child whole day would be exhausting and prevent them to mother efficiently.

Zeynep and Pelin focused on the impossibility of effective mothering for stay-home mothers.

"Now I am with her only two days on the weekends. These two days are very efficient. If it was the whole week, I would not be able to spend time with her this efficiently. I always make up games and do not leave her with her toys. If I was at home, I would do that because I am too tired or because I would be bored of being together all the time." (Zeynep)

"If I was taking care of her, my relationship would not be better because I would be too tired of doing things only related to the child. Being away from work life and spending 24 hours with her would make me tired and stuck in a routine." (Pelin)

Nazlı and Sevda emphasized the overwhelming feeling of being unproductive at home.

"Going back to work was a relief because I had started to question what I was doing at home." (Nazlı)

"I went back to work as I did not want to stay at home doing nothing and without breathing and without producing anything." (Sevda)

3.1.6. Priority of the child's needs

The needs of the child become the most important concern for some mothers for which they make self-sacrifices from their own needs which were crucial for them before becoming a mother.

"Before having my child, I used to think that a mother should have time for herself, but I realize that I was thinking rationally and not considering the feelings. Now if I go out she is always in my mind, I cannot stop myself and feel guilty for leaving her at home." (Zeynep)

"For example, normally I like shopping a lot, but after he is born I did not buy anything for myself, I shopped only for him." (Sıla)

"I do not want to buy anything for myself anymore. If I do, immediately I start to question it if it is unfair. If I eat something outside I always bring some to her. I used to have dinner out but I no longer do it. I try to spend money only for her." (Ayşe)

"What you expect and understand from life changes with motherhood. You no longer care for your career any more. Before having a child, I was only working for my success, but I do not have that ambition any more. The only thing I care about is now to earn enough money for being able to send him to a good school." (Nazlı)

3.2. THE GRANDMOTHER'S INVOLVEMENT IN CHILDCARE

Most mothers go through a difficult decision-making process where they consider available options for childcare: getting support from the maternal grandmother or the paternal grandmother, or hiring a babysitter. The option of nursery is not considered at all. While the closeness of the mother-daughter relationship prevails in deciding between the maternal and paternal grandmother, trust is predominantly the most important factor that rules out the option of a babysitter for most of participants. In some cases, several factors were considered which potentially could have hindered the maternal grandmother from taking care, but these were eventually ruled out due to various reasons, or by coming up with different solutions. Most of mothers feel happy and lucky for having the grandmother as the caregiver compared to other options.

3.2.1. Trust

Hiring a babysitter was not an option for eight participants from the very beginning. Its financial implications was a reason. While one mother expressed that for them it was financially impossible, others did

not want to have an additional financial burden as the grandmother was already willing to take over childcare.

The mothers who had not completely eliminated the babysitter option at the beginning had similar experiences. This initial consideration was underlined by a concern about the potential harm the care taking process might have on the maternal grandmother due her location, age, physical health and the intensity of social life. Tuğçe, Ayşe and Nazlı initially decided that a babysitter would take care of the child. While for Tuğçe and Ayşe the distance of the grandmother's house was an obstacle, Nazlı had thought that the grandmother's active social life makes it impossible to take care of the child. But eventually all realized that it was impossible for them to trust a babysitter, and the factors that appeared previously to be obstacles to the maternal grandmother's care taking were somehow overcome.

Indeed, trust is one of the rare themes on which all participants had a consensus on their decision to receive the support of the maternal grandmother and not of a babysitter. Some mothers expressed directly that the grandmother is the only person in the world they can trust with.

"There is no other person who is more reliable than my mother and to whom we can trust with our eyes closed." (Simge)

This is in direct contrast with the perception of babysitters as untrustworthy which is caused and/or confirmed by the negative experiences of their friends or colleagues with babysitters.

"Initially we wanted to hire a babysitter, however because of the bad experiences we hear from experienced mothers, I started to think: How is that going to be?" (Ayşe)

"Trust is something that money cannot buy, and we hear from the experiences of wealthy families what the babysitter does to their children." (Sıla)

The idea of having a babysitter evokes an anxious need in participants to control what is happening at home when they are at work.

"The most beautiful thing is that I do not have any worries. Some days I even do not give a call to them to ask how they are doing. But if we had a babysitter, of course I would be worrying more about what they are doing." (Tuğçe)

For most mothers, having a babysitter directly necessitates the use of cameras during the day when the mother is at work. But using cameras to watch what the babysitter is doing with the child is considered as time-consuming and a distracting factor from working efficiently.

"I see my colleagues who are anxiously watching from the cameras what is happening at home. For me this was not the case. I did not have any worries and could concentrate on my work immediately." (Simge)

For Burcu, the reason why having cameras is not a solution to the problem of trust was different. Her statement shows how much anxiety can be evoked by the idea of having a babysitter which can result in the need to control and need to know everything about her child when she is not there.

"I would not feel comfortable leaving my son to a babysitter, she would take care of him but my son is too little. I could watch what they are doing by the cameras but I would not be able to know if the babysitter is washing my baby with too cold or too hot water, or I would not be able to watch them when they go out to park and I would not have any idea what is happening out there." (Burcu)

While the participants do not use cameras as they trust the grandmother, they still want to be informed about what the child and the grandmother do during the day. The grandmother either sends videos of the child to the mother at work or she gives a detailed summary to her

when she gets back home. The mothers do not worry about what is happening at home, but they want to be informed and trust in what the grandmother says.

For most of the participants, trusting the grandmother also entails an element about fulfilling the participants' need to be confident that the child is given the best care. Three mothers emphasized that the grandmothers put more effort in care taking compared to a babysitter:

"A babysitter would not make an effort while my mother is the opposite. For example my mother wants her to eat properly and tries everything for it, but a babysitter would not put that effort. If she does not want to eat, a babysitter would just give up at that point." (Sevda)

3.2.2. Closeness

The paternal grandmother was initially an alternative to the maternal grandmother for some participants. However, the accounts of the participants indicate a significant factor eventually pulling them to their own mothers: closeness. For most participants, the maternal grandmother is portrayed either as someone who knows best about the mother, to whom it is easier to say what to do, and to whom it is easier to talk more harshly and openly as it can be tolerated more easily.

"It is important that you have your mother as caretaker because in this period you can say everything how you want it to be without worrying whether she is hurt by or misunderstands what I say. Even she misunderstands she can say it openly and we would solve it in a dialog. Feeling that confidence makes me feel good." (Pelin)

Tuğçe emphasized similarly the ease of communication with the maternal grandmother.

"Of course for me it is better that my mother takes care of my child. I really get along well with my mother-in-law but if she would take care

of my child, I could not be as comfortable. It is easier to ask for something from my mother as I do not need to worry if she is hurt or not." (Tuğçe)

Most participants did not express directly why they eventually preferred the maternal grandmother over the paternal grandmother. It seems like obstacles that could have prevented from the maternal grandmother from taking care of the child were somehow overcome, while factors that could have shifted towards the paternal grandmother were more easily dismissed. From some participants' perspective, the distance of the paternal grandmother' house was a plausible reason not to consider her as a potential caretaker, but if the maternal grandmother lives far or even in another city, an effort was made to make a new arrangement so that she can take care of the child.

The paternal grandmother was Ayla and her husband's first option due to her relatively young age. Yet at the end, it was overridden by the closeness of the maternal grandmother's house.

"Actually before the birth we had decided that my mother-in-law would take care of my child, because she is 52 years old while my mother is 68 years old. But we had not taken into account that my mother is six blocks away from our house while my mother-in-law lives far away. Therefore, after the birth we thought it is more convenient that my mother takes care of the child." (Ayla)

3.2.3. Positive feelings about the grandmother's involvement
The grandmother's involvement in childcare is experienced by most mothers very positively. Most state that they are thankful that the grandmother took the care taker role.

The participants who were taken care by their grandmothers in their childhood tend to describe the process more positively. For

example, Selin summarized a very positive experience with a strong identification with her mother.

"For me it is miraculous. I need to add that I am also the daughter of a working mother, my mother is a mechanical engineer. I was also taken care by my grandmother, and when my grandmother died, I felt like my mother died. Therefore I know how beautiful is to be raised by the grandmother." (Selin)

The children who are raised up by their grandparents are perceived to be full of love. After complaining about her mother's lack of showing her love, Ayşe who grew up with her paternal grandmother and grandfather in the same house emphasized that she received love and attention from them.

"I took the love from my grandmother and grandfather. My grandfather used to ask me how my day went, they give me this kind of love." (Ayşe)

Some participants remember their mothers' strict attitude in contrast to their grandparents' flexibility.

"The grandmothers give more freedom, what the mother does not allow is allowed by them. Therefore I wanted to my child to grow with his grandparents, and this has been my luck." (Selin)

Grandmothers' patience was appreciated by participants, something they strive for and feel that they fail at.
"My mother is more patient. When I say something three times, at the fourth time I might raise my voice. But instead, she would divert his attention to something else. She finds different solutions." (Sıla)

Burcu, who does not remember her mother as patient as she is now, attributes it to the fact that mothers have more to worry about in life compared to the grandmothers.

"Because we have more worries about life, we get impatient more quickly. That would be negative if I were taking care of my child. For example, my mother is better at changing diapers, she does it very fast. But when I do it, it takes much longer, and it ends up with screams." (Burcu)

From the perspective of the participants, the grandmother's age creates worries about wearing her down at old age as childcare is a full-time activity which requires physical effort and energy. Yet with the grandmother taking the childcare responsibilities, most participants witnessed a revival and improvement in her overall mood and well-being which came as a surprise to them.

"It was like that my mother was reborn. The woman who had some aches every day no longer complaints about life. My son gave him an energy for life." (Ayla)

"My mother revived joy of life in my mother, she recovered and felt useful." (Ayşe)

"Retirement was a form of stagnancy, recession for my mother. Now she feels better, more energetic." (Selin)

While most participants did not foresee such a revival, Simge whose father had passed away unexpectedly, brought forward her decision to have a child as she thought that taking care of her grandchild would bring her out of depression.

"After we lost my father, my mother got severely depressed. She even could not go out by herself, she lost her self-confidence. Normally we wanted to have a child but maybe one needs to fill such a pain with the arrival of the child, therefore we decided to have a child as soon as possible. Maybe this decision was taken to recover my mother out of depression." (Simge)

Witnessing the child's attachment to the grandmother is another aspect of this childcare arrangement that make participants feel good.

"At the crowded places when my child does not see me, seeing him going to his grandmother, and witnessing that he is also attached securely to her, makes me feel very good." (Sevda)

"Between my mother and my son, there is something they call love. They stretch out their fingers to each other, there is something very special between them. […] For example they have special songs which they laugh at loudly." (Selin)

Some mothers describe the ability of the grandmothers to teach the child more things than themselves.

"If I had taken care of my child, it would be less efficient. I would teach him less. [My mother] teaches him very different things with her experience. She teaches him games and songs I do not remember at all." (Selin)

3.2.4. Generation gap in childcare

The grandmother's involvement in childcare is experienced positively for most of the mothers as they feel the confidence of trust and their children are well taken care of. However, the generation gap with the grandmother creates some conflicts where the mother and the grandmother diverge on how the child should be taken care of. Zeynep pointed out to the generation gap.

"Overall our style in childcare is similar, and the differences are about that new word: I belong to Generation Y, she belongs to Generation X." (Zeynep)

Most participants expressed their uneasiness about the overprotectiveness of the grandmothers while they encourage autonomy of their child. All mothers expressed that they would take the child out more than the grandmothers. Although this different attitude is usually

explained by the age difference (that grandmothers get tired more easily), the underlying reason usually is the grandmothers' reluctance to take the child out due to overprotective concerns: they are either anxious that the child will get hurt, his/her clothes will get dirty or he/she will be cold. Conversely, the mothers are more willing to encourage the child's exploration of the world despite those risks and likely consequences.

"I think I let him freer (compared to the grandmother). I try to encourage him to learn things, but not just for the sake of learning. I let him explore by himself, it is not important for me if he falls down or gets dirty." (Burcu)

"The things I allow to my son is sometimes too much for my mother. For example he can run without holding my hand until the next tree, but my mother always holds his hand." (Sıla)

"When my mother takes my child out, she is always very cautious and she does not want him to fall down or get dirty. She is always very protective." (Sevda)

Feeding and clothing the child is a frequent source of conflict between the mothers and the grandmothers.

"There is a popular method now to encourage the child to eat by herself, my mother rather feeds her and she does not give the spoon to her." (Pelin)

Most mothers want the child to have a healthy and organic diet, while the grandmothers' priority seems to on the child's weight. Mothers also want to encourage the child to eat by herself, which they see as another area to develop the child's autonomy. While most of the mothers are fine with the thinner clothes of their child, the grandmothers tend to rely on thicker clothes with the fear that the child will be cold. Another divergence stems from the changing trends in childcare where most

mothers want to use mediums for the child's cognitive development such as books or educative cards and try to get involved in more developmental activities. Grandmothers on the other hand do not have such a motivation, according to the participants' accounts they engage more directly with the child by talking or singing.

3.3. REDEFINING ROLES WITHIN MULTIPLE TRIADIC RELATIONSHIPS

With the grandmother's involvement in childcare, the mothers need to redefine their roles as they find themselves in a triadic relationship of mother-grandmother-child which is unfamiliar to both the mother and the grandmother. In this new triad, for most participants there is an authority figure who has a leading position and takes the decisions in childcare. Most mothers describe the grandmother's involvement in childcare as "harmonious" however what they define harmony is usually the submission of the grandmother. In addition to that, the fathers' and the grandfathers' involvement result new triads.

3.3.1 Grandmother-mother-child: *"This is my child"*

The child creates a new triadic relationship which is unfamiliar to both the mother and the grandmother and where they need to redefine their roles according to the child who is in a passive role. Most mothers yearn to be recognized by the grandmother as a mother in addition to their role as a daughter, however they struggle to establish a double identity in the grandmother's eyes.

While some mothers go through an adjustment period where they have conflicts with the grandmother about who decides what is best for the child, some mothers' adaptation goes more smoothly which is described by them as 'being in harmony'. The decisions at stake are usually about feeding, clothing, daily activities or the level of autonomy that should be given to the child as discussed above. But what is called

as harmony in these accounts is predominantly the unconditional submission of the grandmother to the mother who tells her what to do. While it is apparently not easy for the mothers to name it as such, these less conflictual relationships have the appearance of an employer/employee or boss/babysitter relationship. The latter expression was actually only used by Ayşe, but this phenomenon can be traced in the word choices of some mothers like Nazlı as well.

"We allowed my mother two days off a week for socializing". "Duty" of the grandmother is also another word used by some mothers. Burcu stated: "My mother's only duty is to take care of him." (Nazlı)

Selin explained the absence of conflicts in the grandmother's involvement in care taking by her mother's submission to her directives because she was in the same situation in the past where Selin was taken care by the grandmother's mother.

"For example, if I say to her this house is warm and my child does not need a jacket, she always listens to me. My mother says: 'I know what it feels like if your mother does not listen to you. A babysitter would do whatever you say to her because you pay her, but the mother-daughter relationship is different'. My mother always does what I tell her to do, therefore we do not have any difficulties on that front." (Selin)

"My mother complies with what I say to her. For example I say to her what activities they can do such as reading or coloring, and she follows it." (Ayla)

Some mothers want to be the decision-maker about issues related to the child they consider important but also do not want to be bothered much for less important details and leave those to be handled by the grandmother when they are at work. Zeynep is happy that the grandmother does not call her all the time when she is at work for little stuff, but the grandmother takes her "permission" for more important

things. Conversely, Ayşe complained about her mother's dependency on her.

> "We were always directing my mother what to do or where to go during the day. Always calling and directing, this was hard for me. She is always dependent on me, she never takes any initiative." (Ayşe)

In this triadic relationship, the mothers long for the recognition of their double identity as both a daughter and a mother. This recognition becomes particularly important when the grandmother and the mother have conflicts about the care taking process and how the child should be raised. Sıla, who had a smooth relationship with her mother until her son was born, explains the underlying reason of their recent conflicts with reference to her struggle to establish her two identities.

> "At that point I think it would be easier if we could leave our identities aside and approach me as the mother of my child. The main problem is that I am still my mother's child, and she still could not get that I am the mother of my child at the same time." (Sıla)

Most mothers are not worried that their child would see the grandmother as his/her mother.

> "My parents are never ahead of me for my child. I observe it from my friends' experience that the children see the grandmother who takes care of them as their mother or stay away from the mother." (Nazlı)

However, some mothers feel the need to make their motherhood clear by their frequent use of the sentence "This is my child". Ayla had such a worry when she felt that the grandmother possessed her child too much. With the following statement Ayla wanted to make clear both to the child but also to the grandmother who is the mother of whom.

> "My mother started to possess him as if my child is her child and not his grandson. She was checking all the time if I did everything alright

[…] initially my son used to say "mommy" to my mother. Honestly, I did not like that. It disturbed me and I wanted my son to know the word 'grandma'. To avoid hurting my mother, I said to my son when my mother was there: 'She is your grandmother and she is my mother'." (Ayla)

Ayşe experienced this triadic relationship in a different way, feeling at times like she is the only mother in the setting where her child and the grandmother are both children.

"Sometimes they (the grandmother and the child) are like siblings. They fight with each other and then they hug each other. This is tiring for me because a fight starts all of a sudden and everybody is screaming. Actually both of them are like children." (Ayşe)

3.3.2. Father-mother-child

Another triad that emerge from the interviews is the father-mother-child triad. Especially when talking about decision-making related to the child, the language the mothers used indicated how they experience this triad. While some used more the first person plural pronoun "we" indicating the father's active involvement in childcare, some others relied on the singular pronoun "I", indicating a passive involvement or disinvolvement on the father's side. Some mothers' highlighted the relief of the support of the fathers.

"My husband has become very supportive since we had our child. Our baby was 4-5 months old and he started to make a fuss when my husband was going to work. Their relationship is also very strong and this makes me very happy." (Tuğçe)

Most mothers complain about having to carry the burden of childcare alone. Waking up at night for the baby is one of the instances where they feel the unbalance of their burden compared to the one of fathers the most.

"The fatherhood is very different from the motherhood. Of course there is a physical difference in the mother-child relationship but you are the one who wakes up three times at night even if you are ill or you will be going to work in the morning." (Nazlı)

"My husband never woke up at night for the baby. Maybe because I feel responsible, I am always the one who wakes up for the baby." (Zeynep)

Simge complained about the continuation of her husband's social life while she does not have such a luxury.

"My husband created his space easier. For example he goes to football matches on Sundays and I am alone with my daughter the whole day. But I cannot even go to the hairdresser. Before having my child, I used to go to the hairdresser every 10-15 days. Now it is about every 2-3 months." (Simge)

Some fathers can disengage themselves from the father-mother-child triad for their own needs. Burcu's husband was one of the starkest examples of such self-disinvolvement. Burcu now lives during the week with the grandmother who takes her of her child and spends only the weekends at 'her' house where the father permanently lives. This is an arrangement they came up with when her husband refused to move to another house which could have been more convenient for both the grandmother and Burcu.

"When our baby was born, my husband could not get used to his existence at home. He was crying early in the morning, he said 'I do not want to get up early, I will go to work' or he did not want to wake up at night. He had very hard time in getting used to the new arrangement at home." (Burcu)

For Simge, the father-mother-child triad was replaced by the father-grandmother-child triad until the attachment to her child

developed around after eight months. In the post-postpartum period, she had difficulties to sooth the baby while the father and the grandmother jointly were able to do so. Not being able to nurse the baby further made her feel that there is no need for her as a mother because the grandmother and the father handles everything.

3.3.3. Father-mother-grandmother

According to most mothers, fathers are happy that the grandmother takes care of the child. Their relationship with the grandmother is described by most as one that is with a respectful distance as visible in

On the one extreme, in Selin's situation the father took the position of defending the grandmother against Selin when she criticizes the grandmother, and on the other extreme, in Burcu's situation, the father and the grandmother do not talk to each other.

"For example when I was angry with my mother about something related to my child, my husband reacted harshly. In the past he was not saying anything when I got angry with my mother. He told me: 'Are you aware who you are angry at? You owe it to your mother who takes care of our child that our child is safe. I never let you say anything to her'" (Selin)

On the contrast, the relationship of Burcu's husband and the grandmother is severely disturbed.

"Initially they did get along very well. They are so much alike and after some point, if I am not wrong you (psychologists) call it projection, they saw themselves in each other and they did not like what they saw." (Burcu)

For some mothers, the father's involvement is experienced as "giving directives" to both the mother and the grandmother about the

child's care. This is considered as an additional burden and causes the mother to feel stuck between the father and the grandmother. In most cases, mothers described a lack of direct communication between the father and the grandmother where the mother has to act as a bridge as seen in Ayla's statement.

"If there was something he was not happy with, he told it to me and I told it to my mother." (Ayla)

Zeynep experienced any critique by the father of the grandmother's caretaking as an attack to the grandmother's personality and abilities. Even when she thinks the father may be right, she feels the need to defend the grandmother against him.

"I am always in the position of defending my mother against my husband. For example, when my child has a runny nose, he says 'because your mother is in menopause and she sweats a lot, she does not realize that the child is cold'. Sometimes I think he is right, but I feel like he is pointing out that my mother cannot take care of the child." (Zeynep)

Tuğçe made a similar comment about her potential need to protect the grandmother if the father were to intrude the caretaking process.

"I know that some fathers do get involved more and interfere with the mother, like telling her what the child should eat or wear. My husband did not interfere; so he did not do it to my mother either. However, if he had done something like that, I would feel bad even if I think he has a point." (Tuğçe)

3.3.4. Grandfather-grandmother-mother

A final triadic relationship that emerge from the interviews is the one of grandfather-grandmother-mother. Similar to the advantages of having a supportive father, having a supportive grandfather is a source of relief for both the grandmother and the mother. In Nazlı's situation the grandfather's involvement in childcare is also a helpful one that which eases the burden of the grandmother to a great extent and allows her to take breaks and socialize. Moreover, for Nazli, who finds herself more similar to her father in thinking rationally and encouraging autonomy, the grandfather takes on the role of representing her in childcare. She feels that her likely arguments with the grandmother are solved before they reach her and as a result, she experiences very little conflicts with the grandmother, even though their relationship was very conflicted in her childhood.

In Sıla's situation, the grandfather is less involved but still is a supportive figure which allows her to take breaks from the overwhelming aspects of motherhood. In another part of the interview Sıla shared that her parents always stood by her side, and today they still continue to do so by providing her time to have for herself.

> "My parents never refused me when I got overwhelmed and asked for their help. If we go out in the evenings with my husband, they always welcome our child." (Sıla)

In contrast, for Ayla, the grandfather's involvement had an opposite effect on her by interrupting her harmony with the grandmother.

> "When my mother started to take care of him in their house, my father also got involved and all of the rules that were followed by my mother previously were suddenly broken. My child started to drink coffee. I never wanted him to drink coffee. First it started with a couple of drops and now he drinks one cup of coffee. This disturbs me a lot as I was so cautious about his health. But my father never listens to us." (Ayla)

3.4. COMPROMISE OF CONFLICTUAL FEELINGS

The grandmother's involvement in childcare is overall a positive experience for most participants and is considered as the best solution for the childcare. However, when they specifically evaluate the mother-daughter relationship in the current setting, some mothers realize that their relationship to the grandmother changed completely whereas some other mothers stated that they did not experience a significant change in their relationship. While the perception of the change of the mother-daughter relationship varied, what the participants' experience had in common was the emergence of conflictual feelings from which current theme emerged.

The variation in the participants' answers regarding their perception of the change in their relationship is visible in the following statements. Ayşe experiences that her relationship to the grandmother changed positively.

"Our relationship became stronger and more transparent. I feel like she is not my mother but she is more like a friend. Since then I can talk to her more openly, I no longer need to think about if she is hurt or not." (Ayşe)

Selin described a stable mother-daughter relationship with no change after the grandmother's involvement in caretaking.

"My mother got training in psychology because of her profession. Therefore she knows well that she should respect our personal space. At the same time she did let us free to some extent, so we have a very smooth mother-daughter relationship. Neither it was boring nor fearful. Our relationship combined the closeness of a friend relationship with the respect of the mother-daughter relationship. And it still continues like that." (Selin)

Similarly, Sevda did not experience a change in their relationship with a slight difference where the grandmother saw her aggressiveness that was not familiar to her before.

"From my point of view there is no change in our relationship. But she started to see my nervous side more, therefore I think she knows me better now but she is the same person in my eyes. Sometimes I return from work tired or stressed, my mood is different from hers and we sometimes have an argument. These are usually about child care and we solve them before they get too big." (Sevda)

The participants described some common conflicted feelings in the interviews despite differences in their form and intensity. For most, the ambivalent feelings that originate from the past mother-daughter relationship become more visible or resurface in the current caregiving relationship. For some mothers the type of the conflictual feeling is specific to the mother-grandmother pair with the continuation of a past conflict. Coupled with the ambivalent feelings related to motherhood, most mothers frequently fluctuate and try to balance their conflictual feelings by making a compromise between the two. Below I look at the main threads these conflictual feelings are experienced by the mothers.

3.4.1. Being a different mother vs. resembling to the grandmother

By becoming a mother, participants realized their similarities with the grandmother. Zeynep and Nazlı realized their identification with the grandmother regarding their devotion to their children:

"I am a different mother but now I realize her influence on me. For example, even if I am very tired, I cannot go on holiday without my child. Even if we go out with my husband in the evenings, we only talk about our daughter. Physically I might be leaving her, but my mind is always busy with her. My mother says she was feeling the same." (Zeynep)

"My mother says I used to be the priority in her life. Similarly, my son is at the center of my life." (Nazlı)

Some mothers are not always content with every aspect of their similarities to the grandmother. Simge realized her resemblance which caused her some concern about its likely negative effects on the child. Following her statement below, Simge made an additional comment about her discomfort that while respecting others' rights is not a bad thing, she is afraid that there is the risk of being and giving from herself too much.

"For example when my child is on the swing at the park, if someone else comes and is waiting, I feel the urge to take her out of the swing and I say to her that it is someone else's turn. I never can be careless about the others. My mother was similar in my childhood. When we were in the bus, and even if there was no one in the bus except us, I was sitting on her lap, not on a separate chair, as I should always give space to others to elderly, etc." (Simge)

"I see some similarities. For example, in the past I did not like being compared to others by my mother, like when my mother says "someone else's doing this or that why don't you do that?". Now I catch myself saying to my daughter "[Another child] is eating this, so why don't you eat?". I regret when I say it, but cannot stop myself, and I get angry with myself because of what I said." (Ayşe)

The similarities the mothers discover in themselves to the mothering of the grandmothers were accompanied by their emphasis on their differences. Burcu had a long list of what she is doing differently from the grandmother.

"I think I give him more freedom to encourage to learn new things. Not just to make him learn something, but to make him explore by himself.

I let him fall down, he can become dirty it is not important. I do not have strict rules. I try to show him my love, not only verbally but also physically. I do not force him to do something that he does not want do. I never lie to him, I do not bring him to anywhere else if I promise him that I would take him to the park. I do not label him like 'you are nasty'. I do not compare him to other children. These are what I do different to my mother." (Burcu)

To cope with the conflict of being different from and resembling to the grandmother, some mothers try to take the positive traits and refrain from doing things they suffered from in the past. Zeynep describes her motherhood.

"Because I know what I experienced in my childhood, I do not use the negative ones. I let the positive traits to continue." (Zeynep)

Another compromise the mothers do is slightly moderating the grandmother's attitude they used to find "too much". This can be about the grandmother being too strict, too passive, too rational or too sentimental. Simge deals with the ambivalence by identifying with the grandmother with such a slight moderation.

"When I compare my motherhood to my mothers', maybe I am strict like her, but a little bit less strict. For example, it is about stopping her to touch everything she sees. Still I am much more relaxed compared to how my mother was in my childhood, but I realize that for me sticking to the rules is important." (Simge)

Other mothers also shared similar instances of moderated forms of the grandmother's traits that they used to criticize, or were not happy with it, and now discovered in their own mothering. Nazlı, who used to think her mother as too sentimental, started to feel that she is also becoming sentimental, and Pelin, who used to think her mother as too distant and too rational, came to realize her own reliance on rational thinking at some degree.

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"When I compare my motherhood to my mother's, I realize that I have all what I used to find too rational in my mother's reactions. I am also a rational mother; I do not get excited easily. Even if I do, I show my excitement moderately. In the past I did not think I would be similar to my mother" (Pelin)

Nazlı, who criticized the grandmother's sentimentality in the past became aware that she is also becoming like her.

"In the past I was not touched by bad news about a mother-child. But now it brings me to tears. In the past I did not understand why my mother was touched by similar things and it was strange to me. Now I became like her." (Nazlı)

Similarly, Ayla who used to criticize her mother for being too calm, states her wish to resemble to her mother after having a child.

"I could be more calm and motherly to my son. Actually I resemble to my mother, or I start to resemble." (Ayşe)

3.4.2. The grandmother's support vs. struggle over boundaries

The grandmother's support is experienced in most cases as a relief to the mothers. However, in some cases the level or form of support is different to their needs and expectations. When the participants received support, it provides a comfort but it has other consequences that blurs the boundaries and opens space for invasion.

Ayla shared a boundary confusion of which she became aware of and took action to stop it.

"For a certain period we ate dinner [at my mother's place] when we were picking [my son] up. This was initially a convenience for us. You do not lose time with dinner preparation, you have dinner, take your child and go home. But later we realized that we were not able to spend time as a nuclear family, only my husband, my son and me. When we realized it, we thanked my mother and said that she should take care of my son until 6 o'clock." (Ayla)

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For Simge, the grandmother's support in the post-partum period resulted in her stepping back too much which delayed her adjustment to motherhood which she regrets now.

"Maybe it was a great comfort that my mother handles everything for me. My child was crying all the time and I was not able to sooth her, my mother always did it for me. After some point I gave up because my mother was already doing it. Maybe I was jealous, but what makes me sad was that my mother was the mother figure instead of me." (Simge)

Ayla experiences a similar experience that made her feel like only the biological mother for a certain period. Ayla had struggled a lot when she got married because she was used to being treated "like a queen" before her marriage where her mother handled everything for her, washing her clothes or preparing breakfast or dinner. Current situation can be interpreted as a continuation of the past where the grandmother continues to take care of her while taking care of her child.

"I never prepared my child's food or washed him, maybe it was because I am working and do not have time for it, but later it became my mother's duty…She handles everything for you and after some point you become the physical mother, as if she is the mother." (Ayla)

For some other mothers, like Zeynep and Simge who described the grandmothers as very dominant, the grandmothers accuse them for not taking care of the child properly. Zeynep whose mother takes care of her child on the weekdays stated.

"My mother and my aunts make fun of me that my child eats properly during the week and she loses weight on the weekends when I am there. They say I cannot take care of my child." (Zeynep)

Simge is also blamed by the grandmother for not taking care of her child properly.

"At the end of the weekend my mother comes and checks what my child eats when she is not there. She questions me about everything, and finally she says 'You cannot take care of my child, I will take her from you'." (Simge)

She further explained this situation as a continuation of the dynamics of their mother-daughter relationship.

"Because my mother is authoritarian and I am still afraid of her and hold back. I still cannot say to her 'It is none of your business and I care of my child this way'. I accept what she says. But this not something new. I have never dared to say anything like that to my mother in my life." (Simge)

3.4.3. Need to be understood vs. hurting the grandmother's feelings

As shown in section "Generation gap in childcare", some mothers have conflicts with the grandmother that stem from the generation gap about topics like feeding, clothing or the grandmother's overprotective style that is perceived as an obstacle to the child's autonomy. While some do not have any difficulty in expressing it, some struggle to tell to the grandmother her expectations from her, because they do not want hurt the grandmother's feelings.

Sıla feels stuck between her need to be understood by the grandmother and to hurt her, a conflict she tries to solve by giving up the argument.

"We cannot solve our conflicts. Because I do not want to hurt her, I do not insist. There are times when I want to talk to her more openly, but somehow we do not have time to talk about it." (Sıla)

For Simge, the reason for not arguing with the grandmother is about her easily hurt feelings as much as her authoritative character. The grandfather's loss is an important factor not to hurt the grandmother's feelings, and the compromise is closing the topic without arguing further.

"I am always the one who compromises because she is easily hurt. From her point of view she is always right and I am not. We can never talk about any issue, always I am the one who apologizes. Even if I would try to talk to her, nothing would change because she is always right. Especially after we lost my father, I just close the topic." (Simge)

3.4.4. Guilt of overwhelming the grandmother vs. dependency on her

Regardless of the quality of the mother-grandmother relationship, most of the participants carry the feeling of guilt of overwhelming the grandmother physically with childcare. But this feeling is accompanied with the desperation of not having another alternative to the grandmother, therefore they feel dependent on her.

Most mothers choose to make a compromise by making compensation in different ways that would ease the grandmother's burden of childcare. Sevda and Ayşe shared that they made a compromise by sacrificing from her needs:

"I feel as if I have a guest every evening, I really struggle because after my child goes sleep, I cannot say to my mother that I will sleep. Because she takes care of my child whole day, I think she is bored and I feel I need to chat with her, drink tear with her, bring fruits, as if she is a guest I try to do some things for her. I cannot take my book and go to my room. I could not do this for the last two years, this is the most difficult part for me." (Sevda)

Ayla explained her need to buy presents for the grandmother as a result of feeling dependent on her.

"I used to be more independent but now because she takes care of my child, I feel more dependent on her. For example, I feel the need to buy gifts for her. She does not expect me to, but this is what I feel. Or I take her where she wants to go on holidays. If she asks me what to cook, in

the past it was an exchange of ideas for me. But now I feel immediately the urge of helping her to make her life easier." (Ayla)

3.5. CONNECTING PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

Having a child triggers childhood memories for many mothers. Yet witnessing at the same time the grandmother's caretaking is a much stronger trigger to remember and reevaluate the past. The participants discover in the grandmother "a different mother" than they had experienced in the past mother-child dyad. Selin and Pelin, who were taken care by their grandmother while their mother was at work remember positive scenes from their childhood. Selin remembered how excited she was waiting for her mother to come from work, and Pelin remembered how she had fun going shopping with her mother when she was a child.

On the other side, most mothers have childhood memories of neglect and remember their mothers being so busy with housework that there was no time left for children. Examples of the mothers' complaints are about their mothers' inability at expressing their love towards them verbally or physically by touching, not spending enough time with them, not having any idea about their inner world or being parentified too early, either taking care of the siblings or themselves.

Memories of the other mothers are less positive. Most have childhood memories of neglect, and other memories usually relate to their mothers' authoritarian style, setting very strict boundaries and blaming them for not following the rules, or to their ambitious style, setting to high academic expectations and comparing them to other children. As they look back at the past, some mothers get more flexible in their perception and empathize with both the child and the mother (of the child-mother dyad of the past) in different ways. What the mothers experienced as negative in the past in their relationship with their own

mothers influences deeply how they want to raise their own children now and imagine the future.

3.5.1. Surprise of witnessing the grandmother's affection

Most mothers suffered from neglect in their childhood. They remember their mothers' inability at expressing their love towards them (verbally or physically by touching), not spending enough time with them due to their busy schedules (at work and at home doing housework), not having any idea about their inner world, or being parentified too early, either taking care of the siblings or themselves. But none of the participants shared any feeling of being not loved in their childhood, they "felt" somehow their mothers loved them but they believe their mothers would not show it to them. But today, most of them get to know an unfamiliar side of the grandmother, who does not shy away from expressing her love to her grandchild. Ayla was one of the participants surprised about witnessing the grandmother's affection.

> "My mother sings now to my son, she takes him out every day so that he benefits from sunshine. I never experienced such things in my childhood. I do not remember a scene where she thought such in detail about me. She became such a different woman." (Ayla)

> "I remember a scene from my childhood when I was around 3-4 years old, and we were in my paternal grandmothers' house. My mother beat me for a silly reason: because I was surprised at seeing a banana there. But now, my mother goes with my daughter to the supermarket, and she does not say anything to her when my daughter touches all the fruits and vegetables" (Simge)

Only Ayşe complained about that the grandmother is still the same with their inability to express her love.

"My mother was not one of the mothers who says loving words to her children or hugs them, she still cannot show her love. You can feel how much she loves us but she does not express it. Even my daughter gets surprised if she sees her affection." (Ayşe)

For Ayla and Zeynep, their siblings came to the foreground in different ways when they talked about the grandmother's affection that surprised them with a reference to feelings of jealousy. Ayla, who has a son, suggested an explanation for the grandmother's affection that surprised her in relation to her brother.

"I remember that my mother was warmer to my brother in my childhood. And now she is similar to my son. Maybe the reason is that my mother loves boys more than the girls." (Ayla)

Zeynep shared that she is not jealous about the grandmother's affection towards her child, but her sister is.

"I am not jealous when I witness my mother's affection towards my child. But my younger sister, who is my mothers' favorite, is jealous of my daughter now. In contrast, I am very happy for it (Zeynep)

3.5.2. Empathy with the mother of the past

Looking at the past from today as a mother enabled the participants to reevaluate the past through a different lens, from a mother's perspective today. This sometimes resulted in higher empathy with the grandmother. The mothers who complain about their mother's absence in their childhood expressed that they started to understand their own mothers after having a child. They admit that they did not know how hard it is to handle both housework and childcare responsibilities.

Tuğçe summarized how she empathized with her mother.

"[After having a child] I started to understand my mother more. My mother used to say that she does not have any time or that she did not sit the whole day, and at that time I was thinking how it is possible that she has no time? But when I became a mother, I really wonder how she raised three kids without any help. At that time there were no diapers and the conditions were much worse. Now I see that my mother was actually right." (Tuğçe)

For some mothers, finding themselves in the conditions of their childhood mother resulted in being more understanding to the grandmother's character or coming to the realization how much they are loved by her. Ayla, who describes herself as the opposite of her mother and tried to change her mother since puberty, became more acceptive that her mother's character is structurally so and cannot be changed.

"At puberty, again because she was too passive and I was very aggressive, (…) But now I see that my mother's temperament is like that. She is a calm woman." (Ayla)

Sıla realized that she was not aware how much their parents loved her before having a child.

"We used to experience the mother-child relationship from the child's perspective. Our parents used to say 'You will understand when you become a mother or a father'. I realized this as my son gets older, and I told to my husband: 'Do our mothers and fathers love us as such? If they do so, it is shame on us that we were not aware about the extent of it. This is too much love. Do they really love us as we love our child?'" (Sıla)

3.5.3. Empathy with the child of the past

On the other hand, the experience of having a child also triggers a strong empathy with the child of the past. Such a reconsideration of the

past results for some mothers in reevaluating something they (as a child at that time) did not problematize in the past until they became mothers.

"My mother used to leave us at home and would go out sometimes for work. I was too little, maybe about 7-8 years old. She could trust me at that age. Now I look back and I think she was not supposed to do that." (Tuğçe)

"Our motherhoods are completely different. Every mother loves her child, but I think I show my love to my son more than my mother did to me. I always hug and kiss him, but I do not recall such a scene from my childhood. But now my mother shows her love to my son, which is very good, but I wish she had showed her love to us in the past like she is doing now." (Ayla)

Ayla feels empathy with her mother and understands now how busy her mother was, but this does not hold her from criticizing her openly from the perspective of the child of the past.

"She was not approaching us with love as I am approaching my son now, but at that time you do not realize it. Now when I see how she shows her love to my son, how she hugs and touches him with love, I say to her: 'If you had just did the same to us (her and her siblings) we would be very different.' When you have a child, you can observe and realize better how much love a child needs and is dependent on you."

Burcu started to think about her childhood with a new eye when she started to read books for her child's development.

"I got involved with the attachment issues after my child was born. I had started to read books on child psychology for my son, I started to question about my own childhood and I realized that in my childhood I was insecurely attached to my mother" (Burcu)

3.5.4. Projection of own needs in childhood onto the child

In addition to making a connection with their past, three mothers came to the realization that they might be projecting their own needs which were not met during their childhood to their children even though the child does not have such a need.

Zeynep complained about her mother's ambitious style in her childhood, and she does not want to be like her mother.

"My mother wants my child to be successful like us. But I do not want my child to have academic success. I wish he has joy in doing sports or art or he has a hobby. I did not have a chance to do it maybe therefore I am directing her to this side. And maybe my mother pushed us to have an academic career because she was interested in arts." (Zeynep)

Sıla complained about her mother's too protective style to her child.

"I still like being under the wings of my mother and my father, but sometimes I doubt if it damaged my self-confidence. Maybe therefore I react so much now when my mother does the same to my child". (Sıla)

"In my childhood my mother could have spent more time with me. When I was seeing my friends' mothers, I had such a wish. Therefore now I try to spend a lot of time with my son. On the weekend I take him to the museums, to the cinema, etc. Maybe my son does not have such a need but I am dictating my needs to him." (Ayla)

The examples of the projection of own needs to the child above were related to needs that were not met. A positively remembered childhood and mother-daughter relationship can also be projected onto the child today as visible in Pelin's statement who described a very close relationship with the grandmother.

"(Right after her daughter is born) Every mother might be feeling this way but as soon as I saw her, I dreamt we will have a beautiful relationship with her." (Pelin)

3.5.5. The effect of the present on the child's future

The mothers research and read a lot on child development. They feel a strong need to protect the child from the potential psychological harm they may cause on their children. Pelin expressed the burden of having to consider the effects of child raising practices on the child's future life.

"[Having a child] is a big responsibility. The fact that the basic feelings she has today that will shape her life makes one think all the time about preventing her to have negative feelings." (Pelin)

Some mothers take the present attitude of the grandmother as a reference point for what they think is wrong and could have an effect on the child's future.

Sıla, who is stuck between hurting her mothers' feelings and the need to be understood said.

"I could have ignored these things (over-protection of the grandmother) that disturb me if these did not have any effect on my child. But my child spends more time with them and these things can have long-term impact on him, it is my only problem. Otherwise I would not care about it." (Sıla)

For some mothers, the construction of the child's future from today is not only about protecting the child from the consequences of a present attitude of the grandmother of which they are not happy with. They also make a connection with their childhood and do not want to repeat what the grandmother did in the past from which they feel they suffered and had an impact on their current selves.

Tuğçe does not want to be like her mother and tries to control herself to avoid any damage to her child.

"When I was a child my mother was very impatient because as three sisters we used to fight a lot, there were times when she shouted a lot. She was not calm. Compared to her, I can say I am calm. Actually, I try to control myself because my child will be affected by my reactions in the future. I try to be more cautious." (Tuğçe)

Simge expressed how she strives to be more attentive and supportive of her child's wishes than how she was raised.

"I think I will be more respectful to what my daughter wants. For example, I wanted to go to musical school but my parents did not allow me to. I think I would not do that to my child. I would do everything to support her but would not manipulate her according to my wishes […] I would not ask too many questions about what she is doing. Rather I would try to understand her inner world. Instead of rushing to prepare dinner or finish housework like my mother did, I want to have time to observe my daughter and realize if there is something wrong. I want to do these two things absolutely different from my mother." (Simge)

Connecting the past, the present and the future in a similar, Zeynep tries to prevent the grandmother from doing to her child what she did to her in her childhood.

"She used to compare us to others, if another child is more intelligent than us. Now she does the same to my daughter. I stop her and say, you had always made us feel compete with others, I do not want to raise my child like that." (Zeynep)

DISCUSSION

4.1. DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

4.1.1 Becoming a mother

The results presented under "Becoming a mother" about the new mother's experience of motherhood confirm Stern's (1998) argument on the discrepancy between the mother's expectations and her real experience of motherhood. At the one extreme, some participants had an expectation of a dream-like motherhood, whereas on the other extreme some only had focused on the difficulties of having a child and did not expect the intensity of loving feelings that would come. Participants in the former group felt the guilt of not having the joy of being a mother in contrast to their expectations. Participants in the latter group, on the other hand, were not aware of that the love towards their children can be so intense that would more than compensate the difficulties of having a child which they were afraid of previously. In both situations, it can only be concluded that the experience is different from the fantasy of having a child as proposed by Pines (1978).

Echoing Stern's concept of the "psychological birth of a mother", for most participants "becoming a mother" did not correspond to the time when they gave birth. The first months after the birth are described as a period filled with difficulties of understanding the baby's needs, the anxiety of not being a good mother or feelings of inadequacy. Echoing with the results of Katterman (2013), mothers who are not able to breastfeed suffer from feelings of inadequacy, and being a good mother is associated with the ability to breastfeed. Other negative feelings including regret of having a child were experienced in this period and expressed in the interviews as well. Participants felt the joy of mothering at a wide time interval of 3-4 months to 1 year. Some felt "like a mother" when the baby started smiling or making voices, while for others the feeling came with the baby's recognition of the mother as different from

others. These results are in line with Katterman's (2013) study which showed that the reciprocity where the mother receives positive feedback from the baby is the most enjoyable part of motherhood. The initial difficult period of adjustment to motherhood is progressively replaced by these positive moments with more interaction with the baby. Vissing (2016) reached a similar pattern in the adjustment to motherhood and argued that the satisfaction from being recognized by the baby helps a mother to cope with the emotional struggles of motherhood.

The importance of the recognition and mutuality reminds Benjamin's (1990) concept of intersubjectivity and the importance of the recognition of the mother's subjectivity. However, at the same time, this emphasis may also be influenced by the characteristics of the millennial generation. Belsky and Pleuss (2013) found that the millennials expect instant reward and want to be recognized in the work place (cited in Grundman, 2016). In a similar way, these characteristics may also be affecting the experience of motherhood where the mothers start to enjoy motherhood as soon as they start to feel rewarded and being recognized.

Returning to work was for most participants a relief. The results indicate that mothers with a strong identification with a grandmother who had a professional career adjust to work more easily. The existence of a conflict with the grandmother, such as not spending sufficient time together in childhood despite having a stay-at-home mother, was a factor that made the mother's adjustment to work more difficult. Either case, most participants stated that they could be not stay-at-home mothers. As cited in Grundman (2016), Ng et al (2012) concluded that for the millennial generation career is important and being a stay-at-home mother does not give the satisfaction of having a profession. This was confirmed by the participants' accounts emphasizing that working provides them the self-confidence of having an occupation, socialization and the opportunity to refuel for a more effective mothering. The

financial aspect of having to work was almost not touched upon, this could be explained by the upper-middle income status of the participants. However, the findings of Sayıl et al (2009)'s quantitative research study on the first time mothers' infant care selection with a more diversified sample in terms of income, revealed a similar situation. According to their results, having to work because of financial constraints did not play a moderating role on the mothers' decision on the preference and selection of childcare including maternal care (Sayıl et al (2009).

The participants' experience of work as a refuge from the strain of motherhood brings to mind Parker's (1995) concept of maternal ambivalence. Maternal ambivalence was hinted by most mothers' responses in describing the experience of motherhood as "very beautiful but very difficult". Working and recharging while away seems to help mothers to cope with maternal ambivalence. However, most of them complained about not having time for themselves. This result was observed by Parker (1995) as a "stalled revolution'" of mothers as if the mothers work 'double-day' (p.57). Grundman (2016) made an in-depth review of literature on the characteristics of millennial mothers who are born between 1980 and 2002. According to Grundman's (20016) review of literature, for millennial mothers, career is very important and many of them do not want to be stay-at-home mothers. At the same time, they put great emphasis on being a good parent, constant effort to spend quality time with their children and want to be informed about every detail about their children's development. The participant accounts indicate their relentless efforts to make activities with the child to foster the child's development. This result is in line with the review of literature of Grundman (2016) on the characteristics of millennial mothers that portrayed the millennial mothers as "intensive mothers that strive to be experts on child development" (p.47).

The constant occupation of their mind with this issue was interpreted by Parker (1998) as a derivative of the old maternal ideal that is about a mother's devotion to her child. In the current study, a similar pattern of devotion was observed where most of the participants stressed the self-sacrifices they make where the needs of the child supersede the mother's needs.

Before discussing in the next section the grandmother's involvement in childcare after the participants returned to work after maternity leave, the grandmother's role in the mothers' adjustment to motherhood in the postpartum period needs also to be considered. In the postpartum period, the mother's need of the grandmother is more than just a physical or practical support. It also entails elements of psychological needs because the mothers themselves feel the need to be mothered in this special period as proposed by Stern (1998). The participants' perception of the grandmother's support was in line with Sterk and Feugma's (2012) classification for the period of the mother's transition to motherhood. For some mothers, grandmothers provided full support emotionally and physically, while some were only helpful in meeting physical needs. Some mothers were disappointed and felt being left alone by the grandmother. Their experience of the grandmother's involvement in childcare will be discussed next.

4.1.2. Grandmother's involvement in childcare

The theme "grandmother's involvement in childcare" emerged to describe the mothers' experience from the decision-making process about who will take care of the child onwards into the continuing experience of the grandmother's involvement. The results of İnan and Doğantemur (2010) on mothers' expectations from a babysitter to be trustworthy, hygienic, affectionate and protective are almost in parallel with the emerging subthemes under this theme except hygiene. All

mothers stated that trust is the most important factor for their preference to have the grandmother as their child's caretaker over a babysitter. Morrissey (2008) concluded that grandparent care eased the process of returning to work by moderating the vulnerability of the mothers (cited in Grundman, 2016). Most participants shared that having the grandmother helps them to concentrate better on their work. Secondly, the closeness of the mother-daughter relationship is assumed to help the mother in this process. According to most mothers, conflicts are resolved more easily within a mother-daughter relationship and communication flows easier between a mother and a daughter. The importance of open communication was confirmed in Grundman's (2016) study that showed that the mothers want to be able to communicate easily with the caregivers and want to be informed about everything when they are at work.

Overall, the grandmother's involvement in childcare is experienced positively by most mothers. The mothers, who were themselves raised by their grandmothers, have a more positive attitude towards the grandmother's involvement in childcare. Coupled with a strong identification with a working mother, they have a very positive perception of the grandmother's involvement. Most mothers stressed that the grandmothers are more patient than themselves, and the grandmothers take care of their children much better than their expectations. Taking into account the maternal ambivalence (Parker, 1995), the grandmother's patience seems to help the mothers at times when they feel helpless when they struggle to sooth their babies. Moreover, most mothers feel happy to see the grandmother's revival from a depressed state or the stagnancy of retirement.

Despite mentioning many advantages and comfort of having the grandmother as the caregiver, the participants also mentioned some drawbacks caused by generation gap between grandmothers and

mothers. Despite positive feelings summarized previously, this childcare arrangement is also a source of conflict with rapid changing trends in childcare. Fischer (1983)'s study showed that the daughters tend to believe that their mothers are better than themselves regarding mothering. However, with rapid changing trends in childcare, it became difficult for grandmothers to catch up with changing trends. A recent study of Grundman (2016) stressed that the 21th century parents differ from their parents by being more knowledgeable about child development. According to the results of the present study, the most common conflict arises about the child's autonomy. The participants want to encourage autonomy, while the grandmothers tend to overprotect the child. Some participants complained about their mothers' pressure on academic success and about having chosen a career in line with their mothers' expectations. This could be explained by Grundman's (2016) review of literature on "helicopter parents" who programmed their children's school life and continued to support their children into their 30s (p.82).

The findings of Grundman (2016), who made a phenomenological study of millennial mothers' decisions about childcare choices in the United States, revealed that the mothers tend to believe that the having the maternal grandmother or a babysitter as caregiver hinders the development of the child compared to a day care center where the child can foster developmentally with more socialization and professional education. Most participants of my study shared that they plan to send their children to kindergarten around when they reach 2,5-3 years old. However, following a similar line with Grundman's (2016) results, most mothers emphasized the lack of socialization in the current setting where the child spends the whole day with the grandmother. To compensate for the lack of cognitive stimulation at home, most of the participants feel the urge to support the child's cognitive development by using books, cards or other mediums.

The previous two themes covered the motherhood experience and mothers' perception of the grandmother's involvement in childcare. The next three themes of "Redefining roles within multiple triadic relationships", "Compromise of conflictual feelings" and "Connecting past, present and future" revealed a deeper understanding of the mothers' inner experience of the grandmother's involvement in childcare, to which I return below.

4.1.3. Redefining roles within multiple triadic relationships

With new motherhood and the involvement of the grandmother in childcare, the mothers find themselves in multiple triadic relationships: mother-child-grandmother, mother-father-child, mother-father-grandmother, mother-grandmother-grandfather. The arrival of the child requires the mother to adjust to her new roles within the changing dynamics of old or new dyadic or triadic relationships. Within this theme, the mothers adapted their roles according to their new motherhood identity by positioning themselves in different ways in each triad.

The results of the qualitative research of Moss (2003) who explored the perceived change of the mother-daughter relationship after the daughter's motherhood, revealed that with the birth of the child, the daughter's focus shifts to the child. Moss (2003) argued that as a consequence, the dyadic mother-daughter relationship becomes less important for the daughters. In the new mother-child-grandmother triad, the main issue according to the participant mothers is the recognition of their status as the mother of the child, reflected in frequent use of the sentence "This is my child". Safier (1992) pointed this new situation: "In a three-generational system that includes an adult daughter, her mother and that mother's grandchild, there are two mothers, at least two daughters, and one child who upon birth is immediately both a child and a grandchild" (p.53). Some participants struggled to establish their new identity as a mother in the grandmothers' eyes in addition to their pre-

existing role as a daughter. Vissing (2016) who explored the change of mother-daughter relationship after the daughter's motherhood had a similar result pointing to the need of a redefinition of the roles. Similar to the experience of the participants in my study, Vissing's study (2016) also showed that not being recognized as the mother of the child in the eyes of the grandmother creates an additional burden for the mother.

Despite some mothers' struggle on being recognized by the grandmother as a mother, most feel in charge as the decision maker about their children. The participants' answers reveal that in most cases the mother acts like an authority figure on the issues related to the child. This position of the mother is usually a covert one hidden under the expression of "being in harmony with the grandmother" or words that indicate dynamics of an employee/boss relationship. This is confirmed by Grundman (2016) who stated that the choices about childcare is still mainly taken by the mothers.

In the father-mother-child triad, most mothers feel that they jointly take decisions about the child with the father. Most fathers are perceived as supportive, however the mothers carry most of the physical, emotional and social burden of childcare. This was most visible in waking up at night for the child despite the participants go to work in the morning like the fathers. Similarly, while some fathers are able to maintain their social life, most of the mothers complained about not having any time for themselves.

In the mother-father-grandmother triad, the mothers' new role becomes visible by acting as a mediator between the father and the grandmother. Most fathers' relationship to the grandmother is described as respectful but distant. A supportive father (a supportive husband) seems to release the tension between the mother and the grandmother. The mothers who do not suffer from conflicts between the grandmother and the father feel lucky as this would be an additional burden for them.

But according to the accounts of some mothers, they suffer from a struggle to manage a delicate balance between the grandmother and a father who gives directives about childcare. It is striking that any critique of the grandmother by the father puts some mothers in the position of defending the grandmother even when they think that the father is right.

The last triad to be discussed is the triad of mother-grandmother-grandfather. Similar to the role of the father's support, some grandfathers provide a relief to the tension of the mother-grandmother dyad. The absence of the grandfather (divorced or not alive) seems to increase the intensity of the mother-grandmother relationship towards a more symbiotic and a more conflictual relationship. This reminds Mahler's (1981) emphasis on the father's role as an external figure, where the child's relationship to the father is less subject to projection and splitting compared to the relationship to the mother.

4.1.4. Compromise of conflictual feelings

From the analysis of the interviews it can be concluded that for the mothers who already have a close relationship before the birth of the child, changes regarding the basic dynamics of the relationship are slighter. On the other hand, the grandmother's involvement in childcare led to significant transformations in some participants' relationships, in a positive or negative direction. Only one mother expressed that her relationship with the grandmother completely deteriorated with the intensification of the dynamics of the past. Except this case, the results of this study are in line with Moss' (2003) finding that the relative positive change with pregnancy for the mother-daughter relationship is more significant for mothers whose perception of the mother-daughter relationship was less positive previously.

Miller's (1995) typology about the mother-daughter relationship over the life-cycle (avoiders, caretakers, repairers, negotiators, and good friends) reflects to a great extent the basic characteristics of the mothers' who took part in this study. Taking into account their past and current mother-daughter relationships, this typology can also help us in explaining the discrepancy of two mothers' experience of a similar situation. For example, Sevda who would fit into the typology of 'Avoiders' experiences the condition of living with the grandmother in the same house as overwhelming, while Pelin who would fit into to typology of 'Good Friends' experiences it positively as she is able to keep the boundaries. Likewise, Simge who would fit into 'Caretakers' category complained about rushing home in the evenings with the concern of not overwhelming the grandmother, while Ayşe who would fit into 'Repairers' could comfortably utilize the grandmother's support that enabled her to socialize whenever she feels such a need.

Each mother-grandmother relationship is unique and a common theme that emerged from this study is that all mothers fluctuate constantly between conflictual feelings. Most of the time they feel stuck and struggle to find a middle road between the opposing positions. As cited in Parker (1998, p.75), Freud commented on the daughter's relationship to the mother: "under the influence of a woman's becoming a mother herself, an identification with her own mother may be revived, against which she has striven". This statement reflects the underlying base for the emergence of the current theme. While the mothers go through a form of separation from the grandmother in establishing their new role as a mother, at the same time they are pulled back to the grandmothers in various ways like for support or for identification. As a result, they constantly try to balance two opposing feelings (identification vs being a different mother; support vs boundaries; dependency vs overwhelming the grandmother; need for being understood vs. hurting the grandmother's feelings) and make a

compromise between the two. The idea of making a compromise with the mother is stressed in Holtzman and Kulish's (1998) interpretation of the Persephone complex as a daughter's efforts to keep the connection with the mother in order to cope with the separation from her with the entrance to the sexual world (which corresponds to being a mother in my study).

First compromise between two conflictual feelings is about being similar to the grandmother and being different from her. Confirming Bernstein's (2004) argument on simultaneous need of a daughter to identify with and differentiate from her mother, the participants seemed to find a balance between the two. Most participant mothers identify with the grandmothers regarding the self-sacrifices they do for their children. In addition, motherhood results for some mothers in identification with a trait of the grandmother which they disliked in the past. This is in line with Balsam's (2000) term of 'gradual awareness of identification' with the mother. The mothers who describe themselves as the opposite of the grandmother, started to realize some similarity to the grandmother. Additionally, some mothers who identify with a certain characteristic of the mother (for example strictness), shared that they think the mother is 'too strict' and that they also want to be strict but *less* than the grandmother. In summary, the commonality for the participants is that what is perceived as 'excessive' regarding any characteristic of the mother results in the observation of a moderated version of that attitude in themselves. On top of being a mother, 'filial maturity' (Fingerman 1996) might be influencing this process. As Fingerman (1996) pointed out, as daughters in their thirties reach "filial maturity", they do not take their parents' undesired actions personally. Instead, they perceive their parents as human beings with weaknesses and vulnerabilities. Even if the offspring perceive something still annoying, it is no more perceived as what the other is "doing to you" but is accepted as a trait of that person (p.594).

The ambivalence between getting the support from the grandmother while keeping the boundaries is a central theme for some mothers. They oscillate between the comfort of having the support which has to be compromised by blurring boundaries. The grandmother's help went for some mothers beyond a support to the extent to taking the role of the mother. The mothers' struggle to establish their autonomy and mother identity while still in need the grandmother's support reminds the dynamics of the separation-individuation period. Mahler (1981) introduced the term "ambitendency" to describe the infant's fluctuation between "the distancing and disengagement phenomena compete with the appeal and approach behavior" starting from the subphase of differentiation culminating at the subphase of rapprochement (p.628). Similarly, the participants need the grandmothers as a home-base who are available for support if needed without being too intrusive and who recognize their autonomy. A similar argument was made by Pines (1978) about the support a new mother gets from others should not intervene with the mother's relationship with her child.

A related result of the study of Moss (2003) was that the mothers have difficulty in expressing when the help of the grandmother is not wanted. In my study, most mothers refrain from 'hurting the grandmother's feelings' even if there is something that they are not happy with. Some mothers complain that the grandmothers are not open to any critique. Participants' accounts rarely revealed an open communication between the grandmother and the mother about their conflicts. Some others feel stuck between the need of being understood and the possibility of hurting the grandmother if they talk openly with her. The results of Moss (2003) pointed to a similar tendency in the daughters not to share their feelings openly to avoid conflicts, and that only the mothers who feel that their mothers would respect their opinion are open to share their feelings. Similarly, for some mothers the reason of not raising the issues they are not happy with regarding the childcare

was mainly from their belief that it would not have an influence on the grandmother.

Another compromise had to be made by most of the participants between the guilt of overwhelming the grandmother with childcare but having no alternative and therefore feeling dependent on her. The feelings of dependency are caused by their fears of the possibility of the grandmother's giving up taking care of the child, as they feel they have no alternative of another caretaker (like a babysitter) because of lack of trust. At the same time, they feel the guilt of overwhelming the grandmother with childcare, most try to overcome this guilt by buying gifts, taking the grandmother to holidays or making other things that would give the grandmother a relief from the burden of childcare. Moreover, as discussed in the second theme, the mothers derive great pleasure from witnessing the revival of the grandmother by childcare, which can be interpreted as another compensation of the feeling of guilt.

The compromise between autonomy and dependency that is the main conflict of the participants with the grandmothers could also be discussed from a cultural perspective by using the concept of "autonomous-relational self" of Kağıtçıbaşı (1996). Kağıtçıbaşı (1996) argued that individual autonomy is difficult to attain but a combination of agency and relatedness is possible through the autonomous-relational self. She argued that with changing urban life styles, there is a shift from material interdependence to emotional interdependence. The participants in the study revealed a similar need of being recognized by the grandmothers as autonomous while retaining emotional interdependence with the grandmothers.

4.1.5. Connecting past, present and future

The results pointed to an internal process of the participants in reevaluating their childhood. Stern (1998b) emphasized that the change

in mother's understanding of her relationship to her mother is more important than the change of her relationship. Stern (1998b) argued that such an understanding can only be achieved by a reconstruction of the mother's own past. The participants' reevaluation of the past from today entailed a double-identification, both with the mother of the past and the child of the past. Charles (2006) described this process as "reworking of the *idea* of relationship—a reparation of the model itself—affects the internal representations of what it means to be a child in relation to a mother and what it means to be a mother in relation to a child" (p.252).

For the participants, empathy with the mother of the past resulted in a more accepting stance towards her and her limitations. For some mothers, the anger towards the grandmother transformed into a regret of not fully understanding her in the past. Mottram and Hortaçsu (2005) concluded that sharing similar worries help daughters to see their mothers as individuals rather than authority figures, with both strengths and weaknesses. Charles (2006) pointed to the similarity of this process of accepting one's own mother's limitations to the transition from the paranoid-schizoid position to the depressive positive position as theorized by Melanie Klein. Pines (1978) argued similarly that this process involves the transformation of the revived old ambivalent feelings into a forgiving position and getting closer to the mother.

The reevaluation of the past also included the feelings of empathy with the child of the past. This is a process also triggered by the mother's identification with her child. As a new mother, the participants realized the importance of meeting the needs of a child better. Retrospectively, they started to criticize the grandmother for not giving them in the past what they try to give their children today. Witnessing the grandmother's affection towards the child today, which was not familiar to the participants from the past, also evoked various feelings. Some mothers experienced a pleasure of finding out an unfamiliar side of the

grandmother and a kind of a reparation of their own feelings of neglect from the past. But for some others, it intensified feelings of resentment for not having their needs acknowledged/met in the past. The concentration of the participants on their children seem to shadow their own childhood memories of neglect, but the recalling of their memories is inevitable and evokes many feelings. The mourning of a childhood that could not be experienced positively becomes more visible with an attempt to be the perfect mother today for some of the participants.

The participants did not only reevaluate their past. They also look to their children's future and emphasized the importance of the child's current experiences on the future. Charles (2006) held an optimistic approach focusing on the possibility of a new mother to transform the failures and feelings of desperation of her childhood into new adaptive mechanisms in the position of being a mother. Overall, most participants' imagination of their ideal motherhood is based on identifying with positive aspects of the grandmother accompanied by refraining from the identification with her negative aspects as argued by Akhtar (2016) who proposed that even a woman with a difficult past has the chance of transformation "through identification with positive aspects of her own mother and dis-identification with negative aspects; by converting maladaptive defenses to adaptive ones." (p.66).

4.2. CONCLUSION

The adjustment to motherhood and the development of motherhood identity is a long path that is progressively experienced and given meaning to. For mothers, there are two essential landmarks of this process: being recognized by the baby as the mother and being recognized by their own mothers as a mother in addition to their role as a daughter.

The participants in the study considered the grandmother as the best available option for childcare, however despite its advantages, for some mothers being in such an arrangement resulted in conflictual feelings for the participants. These conflicts were intensified by the past conflicts of the mother-daughter relationship. But overall, all participants went through an intrapsychic process in the form of a reevaluation of the past and of the mother-daughter relationship in conjunction with the present experience. Mothers made a reevaluation of their past from a new perspective in two dimensions: empathy with their mother and empathy with their children. This process is unique for every mother, which has an impact on her relationship to her child and the establishment of her motherhood by identifying with the positive aspects and refraining from the negative aspects of their mothers' motherhood as remembered by them.

Benedek (1959) argued that the development of personality does not stop at adolescence, and parenthood utilizes similar processes of an infant. Combining the results of the study and an in-depth analysis of the participants' experiences with the existing literature on female development, mother-daughter relationships and motherhood, a mother goes through a psychic development which has similarities to the development of a child. These similarities are in three dimensions that were emphasized by different scholars: Firstly, the psychological birth of a mother is similar to the psychological birth of the infant. As Mahler (1974) theorized, the psychological birth of an infant is different from its physiological birth. Likewise, as discussed in previous sections the findings revealed that mothers do not immediately become a mother inside right after the birth, (Stern, 1998; Pines, 1978). Secondly, with motherhood the participants started to integrate the characteristics of the grandmother that were perceived by them either positively or negatively. Charles et al (2001) argued that this new perspective of the appreciation of the grandmother's strengths and weaknesses similar to the transition

of the child's transition from the paranoid-schizoid position into the depressive position. Lastly, the current experience of the mother having the grandmother's support for childcare is similar to the separation-individuation phase of development. Bergman (1987) argued that a woman's establishment of a family is similar to the rapprochement phase of separation-individuation. Similarly, motherhood is particularly a reenactment of the rapproachment subphase when a child needs differentiation from the mother, while being still in need of her. In a similar sense, the participants were struggling to establish their motherhood identity with constant fluctuation between separating from their mothers by establishing their autonomy and the rapproachment to the grandmother for support and identification.

While mothers try to establish their autonomy, the connection with their mothers also continue by getting from support from them and stronger empathy for their mothers.

4.2.1. Clinical Implications

The findings of the study revealed that for all participants, the most important factor in their preference for the grandmothers to take care of their child is trust. The lack of professional babysitters or day care centers for infants in Turkey is a fact. Therefore, one implication of this study is that working mothers today, returning to work between 4-6 months after the birth of the child, face a challenge of not having many alternatives for childcare that would suit them. Moreover, despite going back to work is experienced by most mothers as a relief, still most of them feel strong need to spend more time with their children and most carry the guilt of missing special milestones of their children's development when they are at work. The lack of special working arrangements for the mothers in current working environment leaves the mothers in a situation of working 'double-day' (Parker, 1998). The improvement of these conditions by policy makers would ease the

burden of motherhood for mothers and clinicians should take into account the additional burden of working mothers when working with them.

In exploring the subjective experience of motherhood, this study revealed that the mothers go through an in-depth meaning making process of their motherhood experience. Current dominant approach in theory and practice in psychology concentrates on the infant, giving less emphasis on the lived experience of the mothers. The dominant focus on pathology such as post-partum depression is another limitation of the literature. The experiences of the mothers who participated in this study revealed a gap between the expectations about having a child and the real experience of it. Most mothers go through a new, complex adjustment period especially in the post-partum period during which they had to struggle with negative feelings. It was in the interviews that the mothers reevaluated how they felt in the post-partum period from a new perspective, and retrospectively realized how anxious or depressive they were at that time. The maternal ideal and questions about being a good mother make the acknowledgment of such negative feelings more difficult. Mothers also usually felt that they were alone in experiencing this period as challenging, although all participant mothers shared similar feelings. Therefore, it is important that every mother receives psychological support in this special adjustment period. In particular, new mothers would benefit from group therapies where they can have the opportunity to share their experiences and support each other. Group therapies can enable them recover from the effects of isolation and suppressing thoughts.

The importance of individual therapy comes to the foreground with the finding of the study that points to the mothers' reevaluation and reconstruction of their childhood memories and their relationship with their mothers when they have children. When daughters become mothers, they gain a new understanding of their mothers by integrating

the limitations of their mothers that were perceived as negative and they were striving to change before. Most importantly, they establish their motherhood identity taking their mother's motherhood as a reference point. Most mothers arrive at a different form of motherhood that is somehow similar to their mother's, by identifying with its positive aspects, but trying to moderate those that they perceived as excessive so not to repeat what they suffered from in the past. Individual therapy would help mothers to determine negative aspects and prevent intergenerational transmission of them while the positive aspects would be reinforced today. However, it is also important that a mother does not build her motherhood by looking at her past, the projective identification with the child can also be detrimental. Therefore, restructuring one's own history in psychotherapy would further help mothers to distinguish their unmet needs from the past from their children's needs today. This process is not always conscious, psychodynamic psychotherapy would further to help mothers become aware of these unconscious processes.

4.2.3. Limitations and Future Research

This study has some limitations that could be addressed in future research. First limitation is that the findings of the study reflect the experience of a specific group of mothers who preferred the grandmother instead of a babysitter for their children's care. The participants also belonged to a certain socio-economic group of educated upper-middle class mothers, and therefore the results only reflect their experience. The exploration of other socio-economic groups could reveal the emergence of different themes compared to the findings of the current study. For example, the conflicts regarding generation gap is closely related to the resources that are available to the participants in the current study which make them knowledgeable about childcare trends and able to spend more time and money for their children.

The children of the mothers who participated in this study were younger than three years old. It can be interesting to examine the changing experience of motherhood and mother-daughter relationship as the child gets older. It is possible that they can make a better comparison of their childhood memories with their experiences as mothers today. Studies that focus on mothers whose children are in a specific phase of development, adolescence for example, and the exploration of issues specific to those developmental stages would be a rich research area. Possible areas for research could be the comparison of the mothers' attachment styles or separation-individuation models with their children's.

In this study, the dependency on the grandmother for childcare and feelings of gratitude for taking this responsibility seemed to have shadowed feelings of anger and aggression towards the grandmother that was visible for some of the participants' expressions. A qualitative research on the experiences of mothers and how they reevaluate their childhood after having their children, whose children are not taken care by the grandmothers would possible allow the expression of more negative feelings about their own childhood memories.

A striking observation was made about the variation of the number of codes generated from the interviews, and the average number of codes of mothers who have daughters were 23% higher than the overall average while the number of codes for the mothers with sons were 14% lower than the overall average. One explanation for this discrepancy could be a relatively stronger identification of the participants with their daughters being the same gender compared to the participants who have sons, a strong identification with their daughters possibly facilitated a richer reflection about their own past. A second observation related to the gender of the child was that the participants who have sons tended to describe their children with a focus on their autonomy compared to the participants who have daughters. These

differences related to the gender of the child and related differences in the mothers' perception and the treatment of their children could be addressed in further studies that would enrich our understanding of possible bias related to gender in childrearing.

Finally, this research, while shifting the focus of the literature on the child to the mother, examined only the subjective experience of the new mother. A potential research focus could be the exploration of the subjective experience of the grandmothers who take care of their grandchildren. How do the (grand)mothers experience this special period when their daughter becomes a mother, how do they reevaluate and rebuild their own motherhood, and how does this period effect the mother-daughter relationship from the grandmother's perspective? Studies that incorporate the grandmother's experience in dialogue with the one of the mother would provide a valuable contribution to our understanding of mother-daughter relationships and motherhood.

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APPENDIX A

**Bilgi Üniversitesi Klinik Psikoloji Yüksek Lisans Bölümü
Bitirme Tezi - Bilgilendirilmiş Onam Formu**

Değerli katılımcı,

Bu araştırma, Bilgi Üniversitesi Klinik Psikoloji Yüksek Lisans Programı bünyesinde bitirme tezi olarak, Yard.Doc. Yudum Akyıl danışmanlığında Merve Irmak tarafından yürütülmektedir. Araştırmanın amacı anneannenin çocuk bakımını üstlendiği durumlarda annenin öznel deneyimini ve bu durumun hem bugünkü anne-kız ilişkisine olan etkileri hem de geçmiş anne-kız ilişkisi dinamikleriyle olan bağlantıları hakkında detaylı bilgi toplamaktır. Bu form siz araştırmaya davet edilen katılımcımıza detaylı bilgi vermek amacıyla hazırlanmıştır. Lütfen bu formdaki bilgileri detaylı bir şekilde okuyunuz. Açık olmayan herhangi bir bölüm ya da aklınıza takılan herhangi bir soru olması durumunda araştırmayı yürüten kişiden detaylı bilgi talep edebilirsiniz.

Araştırmanın amacına uygun olarak, çalışan ve ilk bebeklerine sahip olmuş ve annesinin çocuk bakımını üstlenmiş bulunduğu annelerle görüşmeler yapacağız. Bu kriterle uygun olmanız sebebi ile araştırmamıza davet edildiniz.

Çalışma İşlemleri/ Gönüllülük

Araştırmaya katılmaya karar vermeden önce araştırmanın neden ve nasıl yapılacağını anlamanız çok önemlidir. Araştırma tamamen gönüllülük esasına göre yürütülmekte olup araştırma hakkında bilgi aldıktan sonra araştırmaya katılmayı reddedebilir veya araştırma sürecinde istediğiniz zaman çekilebilirsiniz. Araştırmaya katılmayı reddetmeniz ya da araştırmadan çekilmeniz halinde herhangi bir ceza ya da elde edilecek herhangi bir yararın kaybedilmesi söz konusu değildir. Katılım onaylandıktan sonra sizinle 3 temel soru etrafında yaklaşık 1-1.5 saat süren bir görüşme yapacağız.

Kişisel Bilgilerim Nasıl Kullanılacak? / Gizlilik

Siz katılımcı annelerden sadece deneyimlerinizi, duygu ve düşüncelerinizi paylaşmanız beklenmektedir. Görüşme boyunca açık ve samimi olmanız, araştırmanın verimli olabilmesi açısından önem taşımaktadır. Siz bilgi formunu okuyup onayladıktan sonra çalışmaya katılmayı kabul ederseniz "Anneannenin çocuk bakımını üstlendiği durumlarda annenin öznel deneyimi ve bu durumun anne-kız ilişkisi ile olan ilişkisi" hakkında 1-1.5 saat süren bir görüşme yapılacaktır. Görüşme sonrasında yapacağımız değerlendirmelerin eksik olmaması açısından görüşme esnasında izniniz ile not tutulacak ve ses kaydı yapılacaktır. Tutulan kayıtlara sadece araştırmayı yapan kişi ve danışmanı ulaşabilecektir. 3. Şahıs ve kurumlarla asla paylaşılmayacaktır. Tüm kayıtlar şifrelenerek korunacaktır. Araştırmanın bitiminde tüm kayıtlar imha edilecektir. Araştırmada herhangi bir isim ya da özel bilgi birebir asla kullanılmayacak, tüm kimlik bilgileri anonim bir şekilde gizli tutulacaktır. Araştırma sonuçları çalışılması planlanan tez kapsamında değerlendirilecek ve olası herhangi bir başka yerde sunulması ve/veya yayınlanması durumunda tüm kimlik bilgileri gizli tutulacaktır.

Çalışmaya katılmanın olası riskleri nelerdir?

Çalışmanın amacı siz katılımcıları yargılamak ya da değerlendirmek değil, sadece anlamaktır. Bu yüzden görüşme boyunca sizi eleştiren ya da sorgulayan sorgular sorulmayacak ya da yorum yapılmayacaktır. Soruların cevapları için doğru veya yanlış gibi bir ayrım söz konusu değildir. Görüşme sırasında size ağır ve/veya fazla gelen herhangi bir soru/yorum olursa mutlaka araştırmacıyı durdurmanız ve ihtiyacınızı söylemeniz beklenmektedir.

Çalışmaya katılmanın olası yararları nelerdir?

Araştırmaya katılmanın size hemen dönecek somut bir faydası bulunmamakla beraber, sorular sorularla birlikte düşünme fırsatı yakalayabileceğiniz bir süreçte

kendinize, annelik deneyiminize ve annenizle olan ilişkinize dair farkındalıklar yaşayabileceğiniz düşünülmektedir.

Sorularınız için:

Araştırma sonunda e-mail adresinizi bırakmanız halinde, araştırma sonunda elde edilen sonuçlar hakkında bir bilgi sizinle paylaşılacaktır.

Araştırmamıza katıldığınız için teşekkür ederiz.

Çalışmaya Katılma Onayı

Bu bilgilendirilmiş onam belgesini okudum ve anladım. İstediğim zaman bu araştırmadan çekilebileceğimi biliyorum. Bu araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ediyor ve bu onay belgesini kendi hür irademle imzalıyorum.

	Katılımcı	Araştırmacı

Ad - Soyad:

İmza:

Tarih:

Görüşme Soruları:

1) *Bebek sahibi olduktan sonra bebeğinize annenizin bakması sizin için nasıl bir deneyimdi?*

    1.a) Annenizin bebeğinize bakma kararını anne-baba olarak nasıl bir süreçten geçerek aldınız?

    1.b) Anneniz bebeğinize bakmaya başladıktan sonra neler yaşadınız, neler düşündünüz, neler hissettiniz? En keyifli anları anlatır mısınız? En zorlandığınız anları anlatır mısınız?

    1.c) Çocuğunuza siz bakıyor olsaydınız neleri annenize göre farklı yapardınız? Neleri korurdunuz?

    1.d) Annenizin bebeğinize bakması bebeğinizle olan ilişkinizi nasıl etkiliyor? Siz bakıyor olsaydınız bebeğinizle ilişkiniz daha farklı olur muydu? Evetse nasıl farklı olurdu?

    1.d) Eşiniz bu süreci nasıl yaşıyor? Onun bu deneyimi sizi nasıl etkiliyor?

2) *Bebeğinize annenizin bakması annenizle ilişkinizi nasıl etkiledi?*

2.a) Annenizi bebeğinize bakmaya başlamadan önce nasıl biri olarak tarif ederdiniz? Şimdi nasıl tarif edersiniz?

2.b) Annenizle ilişkinizde çocuk sahibi olmadan önce geçirdiğiniz dönemleri anlatır mısınız?

Çocukluğunuzda nasıldı? Aklınızda kalmış sahneler var ise anlatır mısınız?
Ergenlikte değişiklik oldu mu? Evetse nasıl değişti?
Evlendiğinizde değişiklik oldu mu? Evetse nasıl değişti?

2.c) Çocuk sahibi olduktan sonra annenizle olan ilişkinizde ne gibi değişiklikler gözlemlediniz?

3) *Anne olduktan sonra anneliğe bakışınız nasıl değişti?*

3.a) Çocuğunuz doğmadan önce annelik sizin için ne ifade ediyordu? Zihninizde anneliğe dair neler canlanıyordu?

3.b) Anne olduktan sonra nasıl hissettiniz? Anneliğe dair neler daha önce düşündüğünüzden farklı geliyor?

3. c) Anneliğinizi annenizin anneliğiyle karşılaştırdığınız zamanlar oluyor mu?
Neler benziyor? Bu benzerlikten memnun musunuz? Evetse bu sizin için neden   önemli? Hayırsa nasıl farklı olsun isterdiniz?

Neler farklı? Bu farklılıktan memnun musunuz? Evetse bu farklılık sizin için neden önemli? Hayırsa nasıl benziyor olmak isterdiniz?

ETİK KURUL DEĞERLENDİRME SONUCU/RESULT OF EVALUATION BY THE ETHICS COMMITTEE

(Bu bölüm İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurul tarafından doldurulacaktır /This section to be completed by the Committee on Ethics in research on Humans)
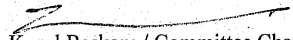
Başvuru Sahibi / Applicant: Merve Irmak

Proje Başlığı / Project Title: Annem çocuğumun günlük bakımını üstlenince: Çalışan annelerin annelik deneyimi ve anne-kız ilişkileri üzerine nitel bir çalışma
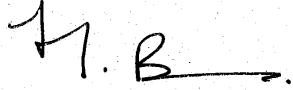
Proje No. / Project Number: 2018-20024-52

1.	Herhangi bir değişikliğe gerek yoktur / There is no need for revision	XX
2.	Ret/ Application Rejected	
	Reddin gerekçesi / Reason for Rejection	

Değerlendirme Tarihi / Date of Evaluation: 24 Nisan 2018

Kurul Başkanı / Committee Chair

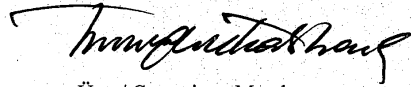Doç. Dr. Itır Erhart

Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Hale Bolak

Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Koray Akay

Üye / Committee Member

Doç Dr. Ayhan Özgür Toy

(izinli)

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Prof. Dr. Ali Demirci

(izinli)

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